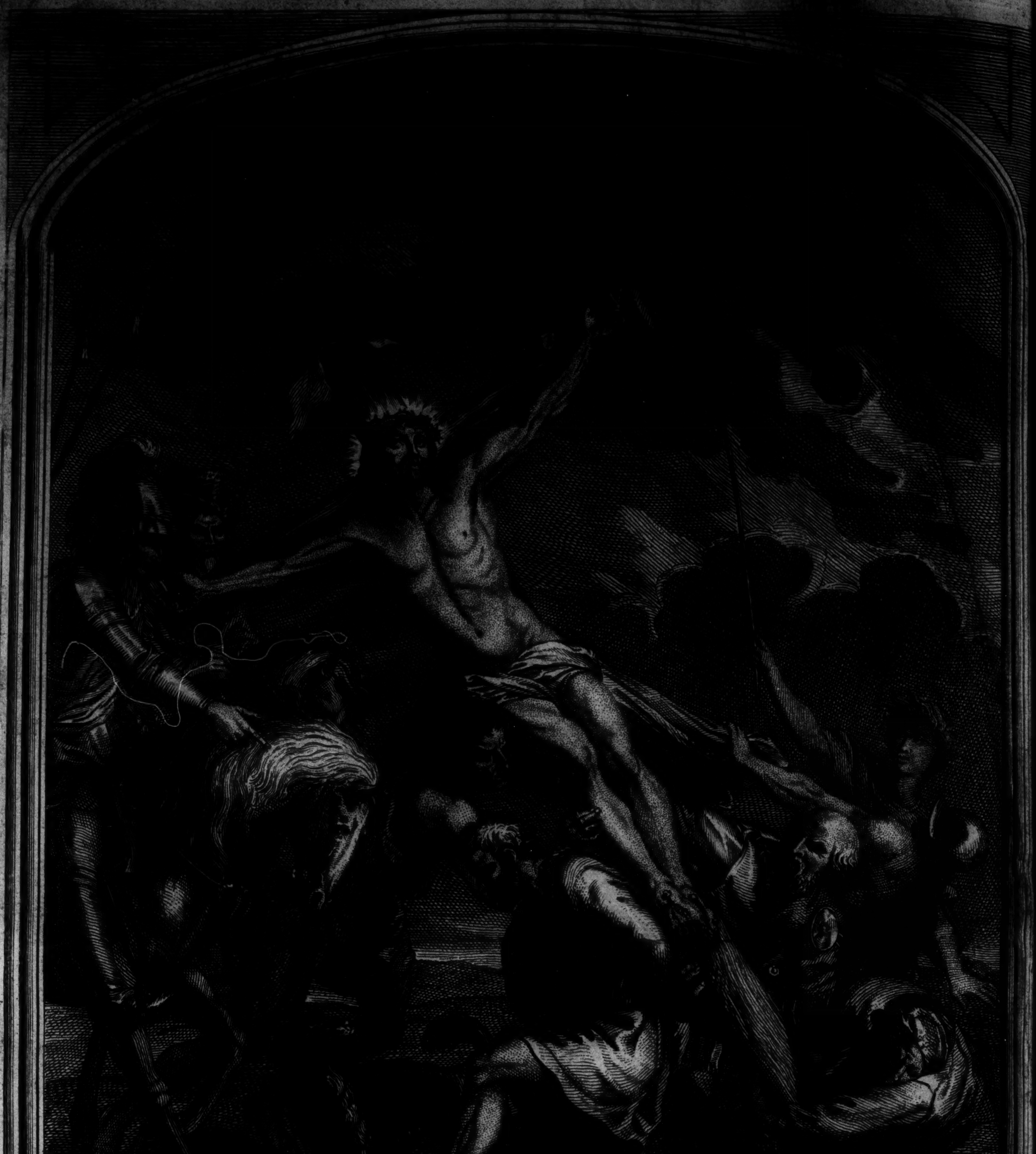

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I. Mynde sculp.

As Moses lifted up the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, even so was the Son of Man lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal Life. John. III. 14. 15.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

Incarnation, Life, Doctrine, and Miracles;

THE

Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion,

Of Our Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST.

In SEVEN BOOKS.

Illuſtrated with NOTES; and interſperſed with DISSERTATIONS, Theological, Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Critical.

To which are added,

The LIVES, ACTIONS, and SUFFERINGS,

OF THE

TWELVE APOSTLES.

ALSO OF

St PAUL,	St LUKE, and
St MARK,	St BARNABAS.

TOGETHER WITH A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

From the Beginning of the Reign of HEROD THE GREAT, to the End of the APOSTOLIC AGE.

The whole collected from the BOOKS of the NEW TESTAMENT, the moſt Judicious COMMENTATORS, the Beſt ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS, and other Eminent WRITERS.

Adorned with Thirty-three COPPER-PLATES, repreſenting the moſt remarkable *Hiſtorical Paſſages*; and two very *uſeful* MAPS, in which are delineated all the TRAVELS of Our SAVIOUR, and his APOSTLES.

By a DIVINE of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

LONDON:
Printed for ARTHUR BETTESWORTH and CHARLES HITCH,
at the *Red-Lyon*, in *Pater-Noſter-Row*.
MDCCXXXVIII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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AN

Introductory Diſſertation,

CONCERNING

The Writers of the Goſpel, the Deſign of their Work, and the Time when their Writings were publiſh'd and read in the Chriſtian Churches.

The Deſign of this Diſſertation. I. *Teſtimonies of the Antients concerning* Matthew. *Whether he wrote originally in* Hebrew. *It appears not that the Goſpel of the* Nazarenes *was* Matthew's *own Writing.* II. *Teſtimonies concerning* Mark's *Goſpel.* III. *Teſtimonies concerning* Luke's *Goſpel.* IV. *Teſtimonies concerning* John's *Goſpel. His Deſign, from* Euſebius. V. *Teſtimonies concerning the four Goſpels, and that none elſe were held authentic.* VI. *The Deſign of the Evangeliſts illuſtrated from* Grotius. VII. *That they wrote their Goſpels purſuant to the Commands of* Chriſt. VIII. *They were openly read in the Chriſtian Churches not long after their being publiſh'd.*

SINCE we have no authentic Hiſtory of the Life and Actions of *Chriſt*, but the Books which are attributed to thoſe holy Men called the Evangeliſts; 'tis of the greateſt Moment to know certainly by whom, and with what Deſign they were wrote, as alſo at what Time they were firſt publiſh'd; that our Aſſent to them may appear not a raſh Credulity, and liable to be ſhock'd by every trifling Objection. Wherefore we deſign in this introductory Diſſertation, to make Enquiry into all Accounts relating hereto, that may be collected from Writers of the greateſt Antiquity; the more Modern not being to our Purpoſe, who have taken, without Examination, what they have from the Antients, and are not undeſervedly reckoned of ſuſpicious Credit, as having ſo mixed Truth with Falſhood, that they are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſh'd. We ſhall therefore diſcover, as far as poſſible, " the Authors of the four Goſpels, " their Deſign in writing them, and " their Time of putting them forth, and of the public Reception of thoſe Writings in the Chriſtian Churches. Theſe are Points, indeed, which we have curſorily touch'd in the Body of the Work, but which deſerve to be more accurately handled in this Place, for the Reaſon juſt now aſſigned.

I. We ſhall, in the firſt Place, produce the Teſtimonies of the Antients concerning the Evangeliſt St. *Matthew*; and examine them afterwards, for the clearer underſtanding what Uſe may be made of them. *Papias*, who had been converſant with the Diſciples of the Apoſtles, ſpeaks thus of St. *Matthew*, in a Work, conſiſting of five Books, entitled, *An Eplication of the Oracles of our Lord*; as [a] *Euſebius* obſerves: Matthew *wrote his Oracles in the* Hebrew *Tongue, which every one interpreted as he was able. Irenæus*, who much valu'd the Authority of *Papias*, and had carefully peruſ'd his Books, [b] agrees with him, and is thus cited by [c] *Euſebius: Thus St.* Matthew *publiſh'd his Goſpel in the Language of his Countrymen, the* Hebrews, *amongſt whom he was at the Time when* Peter *and* Paul *preach'd at* Rome, *and laid the Foundation of the Church.* To *Irenæus* we may ſubjoin not any certain Author, but an antient Tradition mentioned in this Manner by [d] *Euſebius*, where he is treating of *Pantænus*, who flouriſh'd under the *Antonines:* Pantænus, ſays he, *is ſaid to have travelled among the* Indians, *and reported to have found St.* Matthew's *Goſpel there, amongſt certain that had heard of* Chriſt *from the Preaching of* Bartholomew, *one of the Apoſtles, who had left them that Goſpel in the* Hebrew, *which they had preſerved to the Time mentioned. Origen* has written to the ſame Purpoſe in his firſt Book of Explications upon *Matthew*, where is this Paſſage concerning him cited by [e] *Euſebius, The Goſpel according to St.* Matthew *was firſt compoſed by him in* Hebrew, *for the Sake of the* Jewiſh *Believers.* And *Euſebius* himſelf, who produc'd the preceding Teſtimonies, recedes not from them, when he ſpeaks of the Goſpels; for he ſays thus of St. *Matthew:* [f] Matthew *having preached to the* Hebrews, *and going to other Nations, compoſed his Goſpel in the Language of his Country; that what was wanting might be ſupply'd by his Writing in his Abſence.* Laſt of all St. *Jerome*, in his Book of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, obſerves to this Purpoſe: Matthew, *the ſame with* Levi, *of a* Publican *the firſt Apoſtle in* Judea, *wrote his Goſpel in* Hebrew, *for the Sake of the Believers of the Circumciſion. Who tranſlated it into* Greek *is uncertain*; *but the* Hebrew *Edition is at this Day in the Library of* Cæſarea, *which* Pamphilus *the Martyr carefully collected together. I alſo had the Liberty to tranſcribe it granted me by the* Nazarenes, *who make uſe of this Volume in* Berœa, *a City of* Syria.

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[a] Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. 39.

[b] Irenæus lib. iii. cap. 1.

[c] Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 8.

[d] Lib. v. cap 10.

[e] Lib. vi. cap. 25.

[f] Lib. iii. cap. 24.

Not to inſiſt upon more modern Witneſſes, and whoſe Authority may be ſuſpected; nor yet, that in almoſt all the Remains of the Writers of the ſecond and third Centuries, there are many Paſſages of this Goſpel cited by them, which they expreſly attribute to St. *Matthew*; we think we may fairly conclude from the Teſtimonies already alledged; which are ſo firm of themſelves, that they need no others to ſupport them. However, we will add ſome more afterwards, only deducting theſe Corollaries from what has been produced already: *Firſt*, That the Goſpel called St. *Matthew*'s is undoubtedly his whoſe Name it bears, ſince all Antiquity is agreed in it. *Secondly*, That 'twas commonly believed this Goſpel was written originally in *Hebrew*, for the Sake of the *Jews* that underſtood not *Greek*. *Thirdly*, that the Interpreter was unknown, to whoſe Care we are ſuppoſedly indebted for the Tranſlation. This laſt *Papias* and St. *Jerome* expreſly aſſert; which others now cited ſeem to confirm by their Silence: Agreeably to that Maxim of the Civilians; *He that is ſilent, does not confeſs indeed*; *but 'tis likewiſe manifeſt that he does not deny*. Certainly one would think that *Irenæus*, *Origen*, and *Euſebius*, would never conceal his Name, if they knew it; eſpecially when ſenſible what *Papias* had already declared in the Matter.

The *firſt* Corollary is unqueſtionable to all, but ſuch as can doubt if *Virgil* wrote the *Æneids*; that is, to ſuch as know not upon what Evidence we take Books to be theirs, whoſe Names they bear. For there is not a Book in the World attributed to any one by a greater Conſent, than this Goſpel is to *Matthew*. We know the *Marcionites*, and after them the *Manichees*, have excepted againſt it, but without any critical Arguments upon the Matter; indeed without any Judgment, or ſo much as common Senſe: And therefore we ſhall take no notice of them.

We dare ſcarce ſay the ſame for the *ſecond* Corollary: For tho' 'tis generally affirm'd by the Fathers, that *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*; yet, to ſpeak our own Sentiments, we fear they were induc'd to think ſo upon two Reaſons, which appear to be ſomewhat inſufficient. The firſt is the Authority of *Papias*, who firſt of all advanced that which No-body could ever collect from the Copy we now have of *Matthew*, which looks no more like a Tranſlation than *Mark* or *John*: And all know of what little Weight *Papias*'s Teſtimony muſt be, when alone. He might either relate what he did not well underſtand, or perhaps what he himſelf had forged. Which *Euſebius* in other Caſes obſerved of him long ſince, when ſpeaking of the *Millennium*, which *Papias* affirm'd we muſt expect upon Earth, he proceeds thus: [g] *Which, for want of a thorough Underſtanding in the Apoſtolical Writings, I am of Opinion he was induced to believe, not diſcerning what they delivered myſtically and in figurative Speech*; *for in Truth he was but of a ſhallow Capacity, as is manifeſtly ſeen from his Books.* Yet by Reaſon of his Antiquity he impos'd on many, and perſuaded them of his fictitious *Millennium*; *having*, according to *Euſebius*, *given Occaſion of falling into the ſame Error to moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Writers that followed him, who defended themſelves by his Antiquity.* And indeed it was no difficult Thing for others to take on Truſt what he had firſt advanced of St. *Matthew*'s *Hebrew* Goſpel. But this his Teſtimony is invalidated, not only by what we have quoted from *Euſebius*, but by Part of what he ſays himſelf: *Every Man interpreted it as he was able.* Which Words betray that narrow Underſtanding he is upbraided with by *Euſebius*: For inſtead of *every Man*, he ought to have put *whoever underſtood* Hebrew; ſince the Generality of the *Greeks* could not tranſlate it. Nor yet had that been a proper Way of ſpeaking; but rather, *Which ſome ſkilled in the* Hebrew *had tranſlated for the Uſe of the* Greeks, *who alone wanted ſuch a Tranſlation.* Beſides, who can allow of that Expreſſion, *as he was able*, if he conſiders the Goſpel we have? For ſuppoſing it tranſlated from the *Hebrew*, it could not be done better, nor with more Sincerity; as is plain to all who have any Reliſh in ſuch kind of Learning, and may appear from comparing it with the other Goſpels. Beſides, if every one interpreted it according to his Ability, there muſt have been ſome Account amongſt the Antients of this Variety of Verſions; as we have of the various *Latin* Tranſlations of both Teſtaments, of which St. *Jerome*, amongſt others, makes mention in the Preface to his Goſpels. But we meet with no ſuch Account, only with ſome various Readings, chiefly occaſioned by the Negligence of Tranſcribers.

This *Papias* himſelf plainly enough diſcovers in theſe Words, which we read in the ſame Place in *Euſebius*: *For I thought I could not profit ſo much in peruſing of Books, as in conſulting thoſe that ſurvived the Authors.* From whom notwithſtanding he imbib'd thoſe whimſical Doctrines of the *Chiliaſts*, if he himſelf was not the Inventor of them: As if theſe were fit to be compared with the Writings of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, which ſurely none but Fools could think leſs uſeful than the Diſcourſes of their Followers.

This only is certain therefore from *Papias*, that in his Times there was as Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, which No-body doubted to be his. What he relates of the *Hebrew* Original we can hardly admit. But 'tis objected, St. *Jerome* affirms he hath read it: For, ſays he, *The very* Hebrew *is ſtill preſerved*

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[g] Lib. iii.

[h] ἕκαστος.

[i] ὅστις ἦν ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτου ἔμπειρος.

in the Library of Cæſarea. *I alſo had the Liberty of tranſcribing it granted me by the* Nazarenes, *who make uſe of no other in* Berœa, *a City of* Syria. Moreover he turned it into *Greek*, as he tells us upon the twelfth Chapter of St. *Matthew*: *In that Goſpel, which the* Nazarenes *and the* Ebionites *make uſe of, which I lately tranſlated from* Hebrew *into* Greek, *and which is called by many* Matthew'*s authentic Work, the Man with a wither'd Arm is ſaid to be a Maſon.* This has been ſuſpected as another Reaſon, why 'tis the common Report that *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*; namely, the *Nazarenes* boaſting that they had this Original; and becauſe it did not ſeem improbable that *Matthew*, converſing chiefly with the *Jews*, ſhould write in their Language. But on the other Hand, it is not more unlikely that a *Greek* Copy might be turned by the *Nazarenes* into *Hebrew*, than that the *Hebrew* ſhould by the Chriſtians be turned into *Greek*: And what makes this more plauſible, is that the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* is ſtrangely interpolated; as is abundantly manifeſt from the Fragments of it, ſome of which are collected by *Grotius*, at the Begining of *Matthew*. And thoſe who durſt thus interpolate the Evangelical Hiſtory, might with the ſame Boldneſs cry up a Tranſlation for an Original, and impoſe upon the Credulous, of whom *Papias* might be the firſt: And from them ſuch an Opinion might be the more eaſily propagated to ſucceeding Ages, inaſmuch as the Original Copy was reported to be ſtill extant.

But St. *Jerome*, it may be ſaid, who was a nice Critic in theſe Matters, was not only of this Opinion himſelf, but adds, *'twas commonly ſaid to be* Matthew'*s Original.* We might agree with him, if in his own Judgment and mature Thought he had weighed the Caſe; which, in the Buſineſs before us, he ſeems not to have done. Nor will the Authority he had be ſufficient to any one elſe, who hath read never ſo few of thoſe Additions in the *Nazarene* Goſpel, which are yet to be ſeen. St. *Jerome* often, in his Commentaries, ſpeaks not only his own Thoughts, but the Sentiments of other Men: And here he diſcourſes with them that never ſaw this Goſpel, and who, being ignorant of the many Additions to it, believed it to be *Matthew*'s genuine Work, not varying from our Copy in any Thing but the Language. To give an Example of one, ſo perſuaded, that had never ſeen it; *Epiphanius*, in his Hereſy of the *Nazarenes*, ſpeaks thus of the *Hebrew* Goſpel made uſe of then: [k] *They have St.* Matthew'*s Goſpel compleatly written in* Hebrew, *which remains unqueſtionably as it was firſt written in* Hebrew *Characters.* Now had *Epiphanius* ſeen it, or the Tranſlation of it, he would never have ſaid ſo; unleſs he had imagined, at the ſame Time, that Copy imperfect, which the Church made then a general Uſe of; which doubtleſs ſuch a declared Enemy to Heretics did not believe. But there needs not much Reaſoning, to prove that *Epiphanius* never read the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes*; for thus he proceeds: *But I know not whether they have mutilated the Genealogies, which are continued from* Abraham *to* Chriſt. Hence 'tis plain *Epiphanius* had not ſo much as turned over the Book, and therefore ſpoke before as relying upon the Authority of another. But had thoſe Expreſſions come out ſingly, they might have paſſed as from one that had been ſatisfied in the Point: For who, after full Enquiry, could declare himſelf more peremptorily than *Epiphanius* in the Paſſage juſt alledged? And yet he was grievouſly miſtaken, and followed the Uncertainty of vulgar Report. The ſame Judgment we may paſs upon St. *Jerome*, when he ſaith, *It was thought by many to be* Matthew'*s authentic Work.*

Nor is it from mere Conjecture that we argue St. *Jerome* to have followed the common Opinion rather than his own, in his Obſervations upon the *Nazarene* Goſpel: For beſides thoſe Interpolations in it, of which he was very ſenſible, in another Place he talks very doubtfully of it. Theſe are his Words, cited not far from the Beginning of his third Book againſt the *Pelagians*: *In the Goſpel according to the* Hebrews, *written indeed in the* Chaldee *and* Syrian *Language, but in* Hebrew *Characters, which Goſpel the* Nazarenes *now uſe, entitled according to the Apoſtles, but, as 'tis generally believed, according to* Matthew, *and which is now in the Library of* Cæſarea, *there is an Account*, &c. Theſe Words, *according to the Apoſtles*, ſeem altogether to imply, that ſome were of Opinion there were in this Goſpel, beſides *Matthew*'s Narrative, other Relations belonging, or attributed, to other Apoſtles: For, as the Phraſe [l] *according to* Matthew, imports *the Labour of* Matthew in writing and digeſting the Hiſtory of the Goſpel; ſo, in like Manner, [m] *according to the Apoſtles* implies, that there were many Things added to this Work, not from the ſole Authority and Tradition of *Matthew*, but other Apoſtles, whether the Report was true or falſe that it was ſo. And certainly there were many Things added in that Goſpel, which are wanting in our Copies of St. *Matthew*'s.

But ſome object a Place in *Ignatius*'s Epiſtle to the *Smyrnæans*, where he produces a Paſſage as uttered by *Chriſt*, and to be found in the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes*. Thus St. *Jerome*, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, under *Ignatius*: *And being come to thoſe that were with* Peter, *he ſaid unto them, Take, handle me, and know that I am not a Spirit without a Body.* Which Words, altho' we may believe, with St. *Jerome*, that they were in the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes*, yet they ſeem to have been a Paraphraſe upon [n] St. *Luke*; which *Ignatius* might uſe, after the Manner of the moſt antient Fathers, who frequently cite the Senſe rather than the very Words of Scripture. Certainly *Ignatius* does not refer thoſe Words to *Matthew*; and the *Nazarenes* might take that Account from St. *Luke*, and inſert it, ſomewhat alter'd, into their Copy of *Matthew*: So that both might borrow from the ſame Author, and not *Ignatius* from the *Nazarenes*.

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[k] Epiph. de Heræſ. 30. Sect. 9.

[l] κατὰ Ματθαῖον.

[m] κατ' Ἀποςόλȣς.

[n] Luke xxiv. 39.

From hence we may conclude, that the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes* doth not appear to be the undoubted Original of *Matthew*; contrary to the Judgment of Father *Simon*, in his Critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament: Whoſe Reaſons, without conſidering them apart, we may be preſumed to have entirely confuted, by ſhewing the Inſufficiency of thoſe Principles on which they are founded: In which we appeal to the learned and impartial Readers, who may compare the Arguments on both Sides together, if they think it worth their while. We may likewiſe conclude, from what hath been ſaid concerning the Origin of this current Opinion among the Antients, (that *Matthew* wrote originally in *Hebrew*), that this Tradition doth not make the Thing certain, and paſt Diſpute. *The general Conſent of ſacred Antiquity*, which *Grotius* urges, is not of any Force in the preſent Caſe: For the Queſtion is not concerning ſomething undiſputed, and delivered as a certain Truth by the Writers that ſucceeded *Papias*; but only concerning an Opinion which they ſeem to have taken upon Truſt, and without Examination, upon his ſingle Authority.

II. There are in a Manner the ſame Witneſſes concerning *Mark* which have been produced concerning *Matthew.* Firſt of all *Papias*, whoſe Words are in *Euſebius*, where he relates what he knew of this Matter from *John* the Elder. [o] *The Elder ſaid, that* Mark, Peter'*s Interpreter, faithfully penned all he had regiſtered in his Memory; but had not diſpoſed the Works and Sayings of* Chriſt *in proper Order, as having not received them from his Mouth, nor been his Follower; but, as I was ſaying, a Companion of* Peter *afterwards, who delivered the Diſcourſes of* Chriſt, *in a Method applicable and inſtructive to the Hearers, and not with a Deſign to have them diſpoſed into a methodical Hiſtory. So that* Mark *is not to be blam'd for writing Things only in the Order they recurred to Memory, it being his main Scope to omit nothing of all he heard, and to avoid falſe Mixtures.* From this Teſtimony, and what follows, 'tis evident, No-body doubted whether *Mark*, the Diſciple of the Apoſtles, was Author of the Goſpel which carries his Name. The Remainder of this Account, which *Papias* pretends to have learn'd from his Converſation with *John* the Elder, is, if not an idle Story, certainly of very little Credit. Let him ſay what he pleaſes, *Mark* digeſted the Deeds and Diſcourſes of *Chriſt* into a Method, as well as the other Evangeliſts: And nothing hinders, but he might receive them from *Peter*, delivered in that Order, which ſo accurately agrees which moſt Part of *Matthew*, and the other Evangeliſts. Some Writers alſo very much ſuſpect what he ſaith of *Mark*'s being *Peter*'s Interpreter; affirming, that 'tis much likelier that *Peter* ſhould have learn'd *Greek* when a Boy, a current Language diffus'd through all the Eaſt, or otherwiſe attain'd it by Inſpiration. No doubt, but *Peter* rehears'd the Deeds and Diſcourſes of *Chriſt* to his Diſciples; but 'tis abundantly ſeen from *Paul*'s Sermons, that the Apoſtles did not deliver their Goſpel in that naked Manner, as to make uſe only of mere Narrations. 'Tis much more credible that *Mark* induſtriouſly enquired of *Peter* every Thing, and from his Anſwers compoſed his Hiſtory, of which even his Method alone is ſufficient to perſuade one. But to go on with other Teſtimonies.

Irenæus, after his uſual Manner, depending almoſt in every Thing upon *Papias*, as was obſerved before, after what we cited out of him upon *Matthew*, ſays, *After their Deceaſe*, Mark, *the Diſciple and Interpreter of* Peter, *what* Peter *had preach'd, deliver'd to us in Writing.* The *Greek* Citation is owing to [p] *Euſebius.* Here both he and *Papias* agree; only *Papias* makes him to have written when *Peter* was alive, but *Irenæus* after his Death.

Mark is reported to have written his Goſpel during the Life, and with the Approbation of *Peter*, by [q] *Clemens Alexandrinus*; from whom *Euſebius* hath theſe Words: [r] *With ſo ardent a Zeal for Piety were the Minds of* Peter'*s Auditors inflamed, that they were not contented with having once heard him reveal that heavenly Doctrine, but earneſtly intreated* Mark, *the Companion of* Peter, *to leave them in Writing the Doctrine which they had been thus inſtructed in. Nor would they ceaſe their Importunity, till they had prevailed upon him to write the Goſpel that bears his Name. Which* Peter *underſtanding by the Revelation of the Spirit, he was pleas'd with their Deſires, approved of the Book, and by his Authority recommended it to be uſed for the future in the Churches.* The ſame alſo in other Words [s] *Euſebius* hath obſerved of *Clemens*; but differing a little, when he ſays, that *Peter* neither encouraged *Mark*, nor forbad his Undertaking. Which we know not how to reconcile handſomely with the former Account; for what the learned *Valeſius* hath remarked in the Caſe, upon this latter Inſtance, is not ſatisfactory. But this, however, is evident, that *Mark* received his Goſpel from the Mouth of *Peter*, to which *Euſebius* ſubſcribes. Agreeably to which, [t] making mention of the four Goſpels, without the leaſt Heſitation, he recounts *Mark* among the Evangeliſts. From whom St. *Jerome* ſeems to have borrowed this Obſervation upon *Mark*, in his Book of Eccleſiaſtical Writers: Mark, *the Diſciple and Interpreter of* Peter, *at the Importunity of the Brethren in* Rome, *wrote a ſhort Goſpel; which when* Peter *had heard, by his Approbation he recommended it to the Uſe of the Churches, as* Clemens *hath written in his ſixth Book of* Hypotypoſes. And certainly, that *Peter* ſhould commend the Undertaking, is far more credible than what is obſerv'd by *Euſebius* juſt before.

III. But to proceed to *Luke*, *Irenæus* has theſe Words concerning him: [u] *And* Luke, *the Follower of* Paul, *compoſed into a Book the Goſpel that was preached by* Paul. But ſince *Paul* was not preſent at the Actions and Diſcourſes of *Jeſus*, he could not relate thoſe Particulars upon his own

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[o] Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 25.

[p] Ibid. lib. v. cap. 8.

[q] In lib. vi. Hypotypoſeon.

[r] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 15.

[s] Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 14.

[t] In his Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 24.

[u] Lib. iii. cap. 1.

Experience, but only as he had received them from other Apoſtles. Therefore *Luke* cannot be ſaid properly *to have compos'd that Goſpel into a Book, which* Paul *had preached*; unleſs *Irenæus* is to be underſtood of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, whereas he is diſcourſing of the Goſpels: And *Luke* no where declares he had the Materials of his Goſpel delivered from *Paul*, but from thoſe [w] *which from the Beginning were Eye-witneſſes, and Miniſters of the Word.* 'Tis ſtrange *Irenæus* ſhould not remember this: But from this, and innumerable other Inſtances, we may learn not to give too eaſy a Credit to the beſt and honeſteſt Men, eſpecially if we cannot diſcern in their Writings and Judgments any great Accuracy and Exactneſs. In the mean Time 'tis agreed in the principal Thing: That in the Time of *Irenæus* the Goſpel of St. *Luke* was believ'd to be the genuine Compoſition of an Apoſtolical Writer, and Diſciple of St. *Paul*. *Euſebius* [x] alſo, diſcourſing of the Order of the Goſpels, without any Scruple makes mention of *Luke*'s Goſpel.

But St. *Jerome* hath argued the cloſeſt of all for *Luke*, in his Enumeration of Eccleſiaſtical Writers. *Luke*, ſays he, *a Phyſician of* Antioch, *was not ignorant of the* Greek *Tongue, as his Works evidence: He was a Follower of* Paul *the Apoſtle, and Companion of all his Travels. He wrote a Goſpel, of which take a Character from* Paul. With him, *he ſaith*, we have ſent the Brother, whoſe Praiſe is in the Goſpel, throughout all the Churches. *And to the* Coloſſians, *Luke* the beloved Phyſician ſaluteth you: *Alſo to* Timothy, Only *Luke* is with me. *He put out another excellent Piece, with the Title of* the Acts of the Apoſtles.—*Whenſoever in his Epiſtles* Paul *ſays*, after my Goſpel, *he alludes to this Treatiſe of* Luke; *tho' he learn'd his Goſpel, not only from* Paul, *who had never been with the Lord in the Fleſh, but from the reſt of the Apoſtles; which he thus acknowledges in the Beginning of his Book*, Even as they delivered them to us who from the Beginning were Eye-witneſſes. *So that he wrote his Goſpel from Report, but was an Eye-witneſs in what he relates in his Acts of the Apoſtles. He lived eighty-four Years, and never married.* But as for the Word *Goſpel* made uſe of by *Paul*, the beſt Interpreters have obſerved, that it ſignifies only the Evangelical Doctrine, or at moſt the Preaching of it, and not any particular Volume concerning it.

IV. The Thread of our Diſcourſe now leads us to make a large Diſquiſition concerning the Goſpel of *John*; but we ſhall reduce our Arguments into as little Room as we are able. That it was the Apoſtle *John*, and not the Heretic *Cerinthus*, as ſome have affirmed, who wrote this Goſpel, is manifeſt, not only from the Teſtimony of the moſt antient Fathers, but even from the Goſpel itſelf. Upon our Lord's Anſwer to *Peter*, who had enquired what the Diſciple ſhould do whom *Jeſus* loved; [y] *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* the Apoſtle tells us, That [z] *then went this Saying abroad among the Brethren, that that Diſciple ſhould not die*: After which he adds immediately, [a] *This is that Diſciple which teſtifies of theſe Things, and wrote theſe Things.* Now hence it is evident, *Firſt*, That he who wrote that Goſpel was a Diſciple of our Lord, which *Cerinthus* never was; *Secondly*, That he was that Diſciple *whom* Jeſus *loved*, and *who leaned on his Breaſt at Supper*; which is the conſtant Periphraſis of St. *John the Evangeliſt*, throughout this Goſpel. The whole Chriſtian World hath ſtill applied theſe Sayings to St. *John*; who is never mentioned in this Goſpel by his proper Name, but in this circumlocutory Manner, contrary to what we find in the other Evangeliſts; for which there can no other Reaſon be aſſigned, but only that St. *John* was the Author of this Goſpel, and therefore mentions not himſelf. *Thirdly*, The Diſciple here ſpoken of, was that Diſciple of whom the Fame went abroad *that he ſhould not die*. Now this was ſo conſtantly applied to St. *John the Evangeliſt*, that ſome of the Antients declare he died not at all, and others, that he only lay ſleeping in his Grave: And it was he alone, of all the Apoſtles, according to [b] ſome, who tarried till our Lord came to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; at leaſt, it was he who longeſt ſurvived that Coming, as may be ſeen in the Chronological Table at the End of this Book.

And beſides his own Words, we have the Teſtimony of all the antient Fathers of the Church, that this Goſpel was written by St. *John the Apoſtle*. *Euſebius* ſays, that the [c] *Goſpel according to St.* John *was always reckoned among thoſe Books not controverted among Chriſtians*: And again, that the Goſpel of *John muſt be received, as being known to all the Churches of the World*: And a third Time, that *this Goſpel, with his firſt Epiſtle, was admitted without Controverſy, both by the Antients, and by thoſe of his Time.* *Irenæus* informs us, among other Things, that John [d] *the Diſciple of our Lord, who leaned upon his Breaſt, writ his Goſpel at* Epheſus. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* ſaith, that [e] *St.* John, *being moved by an Afflatus of the Spirit, writ this ſpiritual Goſpel.* *Origen* reckons the Goſpel of St. *John*, among *the Goſpels* [f] *received without Diſpute by every Church under Heaven.* And *Tertullian*, among the Apoſtles who inſtruct us in the Faith, [g] reckons St. *Matthew* and St. *John*; among the Apoſtolical Men, St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*.

It is a wonder that Father *Simon*, in his critical Hiſtory of the New Teſtament, ſpeaking of this *Goſpel*, ſhould not only affirm, *That there remain no Records authentic enough to give the Reaſons upon which the holy Apoſtle was moved to this Undertaking, after he had ſeen the Goſpels of* Matthew, Mark, *and* Luke; but that he ſhould alſo add, That Irenæus *had declared no more than that* John

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[w] Luke i. 2.

[x] Lib. iii. cap. 24.

[y] John xxi. 22.

[z] Ver. 23.

[a] Ver. 24.

[b] Others, whom we copy in our Chronology, make St. Jude, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, St. Simon, and St. Andrew, all to have ſurvived the Deſtruction of that City.

[c] Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 24.

[d] Lib. iii. cap. 1.

[e] Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. vi. cap. 14.

[f] Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 25.

[g] Cont. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 2.

had publiſhed his Goſpel at Epheſus, *omitting the Time and Reaſons inducing him thereto,* referring us in the Margin to the Paſſage laſt quoted from that Father. Now Father *Simon* ought to have known, that *Irenæus* had taken notice of *John the Evangeliſt* in another Place, the eleventh Chapter of the ſame third Book, in theſe Words: John, *the Diſciple of the Lord, preaching this Faith, and being deſirous, by the Promulgation of his Goſpel, to extirpate that Error which had been ſown by* Cerinthus *in the Minds of Men, and had been broached formerly by the* Nicolaitans, *a Sect of the* Pſeudo-Gnoſticks; *to convict and reclaim the Seduced,* &c. In regard to this Overſight of ſo learned a Man as Father *Simon*, we may remark, that, as Civilians tell us, *'tis dangerous in their Faculty to give a ſtated Definition, as being liable to be overthrown by Exceptions*; ſo 'tis likewiſe indiſcreet to deny a particular Paſſage to be in the Antients, even for thoſe that have moſt carefully read them over: For the happieſt Memory may ſometimes fail.

But to increaſe the Wonder, after the fore-mentioned Allegation, Father *Simon* gives us a Recital out of [h] *Euſebius*, of what he imagines *Clemens Alexandrinus* to have written concerning the Scope of *John*, which is plainly repugnant to what he has advanced in the Beginning of this Chapter. His Citation is well worth the Reading; for which Reaſon we have tranſcribed it. "The three Goſpels coming abroad, and to the Knowledge of *John*, he is ſaid to have paſſed his Approbation upon them, and confirmed their Teſtimony with his own; but withal perceived that a Relation of thoſe Things which *Jeſus* had done in the Beginning of his Miniſtry, was wanting; which indeed is true: For the three former Evangeliſts had only accounted for one Year's Actions of our Saviour, after *John Baptiſt* was caſt into Priſon, and declared as much in the Beginning of their Works. *Matthew*, after the forty Days Faſting, and the Temptation immediately following it, ſpecifies the Time of his Hiſtory in theſe Words: *Now when* Jeſus *had heard that* John *was caſt into Priſon, he departed into* Galilee. Likewiſe *Mark: Now after that* John *was put into Priſon,* Jeſus *came into* Galilee. And alſo *Luke*, before he enters upon the Actions of our Saviour, thus ſpecifies the Time, ſaying, Herod *to all the Evils he had done, added yet this alſo, that he ſhut up* John *in Priſon.* Theſe Reaſons they give for *John*'s accounting in his Goſpel, upon the Importunity of his Friends, both for the Time omitted by the Evangeliſts before him, and the Actions of our Saviour preceding *John*'s being caſt into Priſon: Which he gives us to underſtand, firſt when he ſaith, *This Beginning of Miracles did* Jeſus; and afterwards in the Courſe of his Narrative of the Actions of *Jeſus*, when he makes mention of *John Baptiſt*, as ſtill executing his Office of baptizing in *Ænon* near *Salem*; which appears plainly from theſe Words; *For* John *was not yet caſt into Priſon.* Therefore *John* takes into his Goſpel the Actions of our Saviour before *John Baptiſt* was committed to Priſon; the other three after his Confinement. Whoſoever therefore attentively conſiders this, will find the Goſpels do not at all vary from one another; ſince *John*'s Goſpel contains the Beginning of our Saviour's Actions, the other Goſpels only an Account of the ſubſequent Time: And with very good Reaſon hath *John* omitted the Genealogy of *Chriſt* according to the Fleſh, as having been before related by *Matthew* and *Luke*; but commences his Work from the Divinity of our Saviour, a Task peculiarly reſerv'd for him, as the moſt worthy, by the Holy Ghoſt." And ſo much concerning Father *Simon*.

In regard to what is here advanced by *Euſebius*, we think it manifeſtly plain, from comparing *John* with the other Evangeliſts, that he deſign'd to ſupply what was wanting in their Relations: But that this was not his Deſign throughout, as *Euſebius* would have it, may be perceived by any one that ſhall but look over the References in the Chapters of this Hiſtory; ſo that we need not inſiſt here upon a particular Proof of it.

V. Having demonſtrated the ſacred Volumes aſcrib'd to the Evangeliſts to be truly theirs, we ſhall briefly make appear that none elſe were held authentic. *Irenæus* hath a whole Chapter [i] upon this Argument, under this Head, *A Demonſtration that there could be neither more nor leſs than four Goſpels.* In which Chapter he argues thus: *The Goſpel ſtands ſo mighty firm, that the very Heretics give Teſtimony to it, and every one goes about from the Goſpels to confirm his Doctrine. The* Ebionites *uſing only* Matthew, *are from him alone convinced of their undue Preſumptions concerning our Lord.* Marcion, *tho' mutilating* Luke, *is notwithſtanding, from what he has left of him, ſhewn to be guilty of Blaſphemy againſt the one exiſting God. Thoſe that ſeparate* Jeſus *from* Chriſt, *affirming that* Chriſt *remained impaſſible, and that* Jeſus *only ſuffered; from* Mark's *Goſpel, which they prefer, upon impartial Reading may correct their Miſtakes. And the* Valentinians, *who extend the Goſpel of St.* John *to the wideſt Purpoſes, to prove their Conjugations, from him are detected in their Errors; as I made evident in my firſt Book. Since therefore thoſe that ſpeak againſt us, bear us witneſs, and make uſe of theſe very Goſpels; our Demonſtration of them is true and valid, that there are neither more nor leſs than four Goſpels.* Which is a ſtrong Argument of *Irenæus*, and a clear Evidence of the Number of the Goſpels. But he diſgraces this manifeſt Truth afterwards by frivilous Inductions; endeavouring to prove it from the Diviſion of the World, and the Number of the Cherubims. But here the Diſpute is not upon what Reaſonings *Irenæus* proceeds, but what was the Perſuaſion of the Chriſtians his Contemporaries concerning the Number of the Goſpels; and what it was is evident from his Words.

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[h] Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 24.

[i] The Eleventh of his third Book.

Tertullian in many Places argues for the ſame Number; but more eſpecially in his Tracts againſt *Marcion*, from whence we ſhall cite one or two Paſſages. [k] *We*, ſays he, *lay down firſt that the Apoſtles were Authors of the Goſpel, on whom the Office of propagating the Goſpel was impos'd by our Lord himſelf. And, admitting their Followers were engaged, yet 'twas not of themſelves alone, but in Concurrence with the Apoſtles, and after them. For the Diſciples would have been ſuſpected of Vain-glory in their Miniſtry, had they not been back'd with the Authority of their Maſters, and of* Chriſt *himſelf, who made the Apoſtles Maſters. In fine,* John *and* Matthew *lay the Foundation of our Faith, which is built upon by* Luke *and* Mark, *advancing on the ſame Grounds as they with reſpect to one God the Creator, and his* Chriſt *born of a Virgin, the fulfilling of the Law and the Prophets: For ſo long as they are agreed in the capital Point of Faith, let him know what he pleaſes of their varying in the Diſpoſition of their Narratives.* He ſhews afterwards, [l] *That* Luke's *Goſpel was upheld from the very Date of its Publication, and vigorouſly maintained, not only by the Apoſtolical Churches, but univerſally by thoſe that were of the ſame Communion with them. Add to which, amongſt more of that Nature, that the very Authority of the Apoſtolical Churches gave Patronage to the other Goſpels, which from them were handed to us by their Order; I mean* John's *Goſpel, and that of* Matthew: *Altho'* Mark's *be aſcribed to* Peter, *whoſe Interpreter he was; and* Luke's *alſo they are wont to make* Paul *the Author of.*

This of *Tertullian* is very abſtruſe, occaſioned by the Obſcurity of his Expreſſion, and the Brevity of his Stile; but deſerves a better Light, which we will endeavour to give it in a ſhort Explication. And firſt, "by a ſingular Providence, the Goſpels were written partly by the Apoſtles, and partly their Followers. Had the Apoſtles been ſole Authors, it might have been diſputed afterwards, whether our Saviour's Promiſe had been accompliſhed concerning the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles: For the Apoſtles themſelves could not ſatisfy Poſterity in a Matter which not a little tended to the Advancement of their own Authority, nor could they be Evidences in their own Cauſe; but their Diſciples, *Luke* and *Mark*, have given a bright Teſtimony to this Point, and thereby confirmed the whole Goſpel, *Mark* at the End of his, and *Luke* in the Preface to his *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Of which Promiſe had *Chriſt* defeated his Apoſtles, they had been without any Number of Diſciples; for to have been miſtaken in a Matter of that mighty Moment, would have utterly ruined their Credit. And ſo far would they have been from finding Diſciples to take Memoirs of *Chriſt*'s and their own Actions and Sayings, that they would have been a public Deriſion to all, and unable to propagate their Memoirs to Poſterity. For who would not have forſaken and deſpiſed Men of no polite Learning, of no Authority, and ſupported by no Eſtates, and, above all, the Diſciples of a Maſter who had ſo notoriouſly failed in his Promiſe? Who could have credited the Apoſtles relating the Miracles wrought by that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, who had not, tho' under an Engagement, conferred the like Ability of working upon them? Or who could have forbore calling them a Pack of credulous, tho' perhaps honeſt Men, put upon by their Maſter, and of no Manner of Repute? 'Twas therefore of the greateſt Importance to have tranſmitted to After-ages a Hiſtory of the Goſpel delivered by our Saviour, and by his Apoſtles: For 'tis plain the Diſciples of the Apoſtles were convinced from thence that they were ſent from God, and that *Jeſus* was in his heavenly Kingdom; from whence he had diſperſed the Gifts of the Holy Spirit upon the Apoſtles, who had otherwiſe been without Followers."

In the next Place, "as the Diſciples of the Apoſtles bring a weighty Teſtimony to their Maſters, ſo their Relation, ſo agreeable to the Writings of their Maſters by them unſeen, is not a little confirmed: For 'tis not credible that *Mark* or *Luke* had ſeen the Goſpel according to St. *Matthew*, who otherwiſe would have avoided all Repetitions of what was well related before, and all ſeeming Claſhings. *John* indeed might have had a Sight of them all, having repeated very ſparingly what had been ſaid by others before."

Another Thing to be obſerved, for the Explication of this Paſſage, is, that "the moſt primitive Churches founded by the Apoſtles, ever ſince the Publication of the Goſpels, conſtantly believed them to be theirs whoſe Names they bear. Some Heretics, 'tis true, as we have gathered from *Irenæus*, adhered only to one of the Evangeliſts; but neither did they agree in their Choice, and they were condemn'd by much the greater Part of Chriſtians. But *Marcion*'s Goſpel, ſays *Tertullian*, (meaning *Luke*'s Goſpel corrupted by him) *was unknown to moſt, and by thoſe that knew it diſapproved of*."

Origen, admirably ſkilled not only in the Tenets of his Age, but in the Antiquities of the Church, hath this Obſervation upon the four Goſpels, in a Fragment of his firſt Tome of Annotations upon *Matthew*, which is preſerved by [m] *Euſebius: I have learned by Tradition concerning the four Goſpels, which alone are indiſputably received in* Chriſt's *univerſal Church upon Earth, That the firſt Goſpel was writ by* Matthew, *ſometime a* Publican, *afterwards an Apoſtle of* Jeſus Chriſt, *who put it forth in* Hebrew *for the Sake of the* Jewiſh *Converts. The next, we are informed, is* Mark's, *compiled from the Inſtructions of* Peter; *for which Reaſon* Peter, *in his General Epiſtle, calls him his Son:* The Church that is at *Babylon*, elected together with you, ſaluteth you, and ſo doth *Marcus* my Son. *The third is the Goſpel of* Luke, *commended by* Paul, *and compoſed for the Benefit of the* Gentiles. *The laſt of all is the Goſpel of* John.

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[k] Cont. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 1.

[l] Cap. 5.

[m] Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. vi. cap. 25.

The concluding Teſtimony ſhall be of *Euſebius*, abundantly confirming the former Allegations; and whoſe Authority here is ſo much the weightier, for that in recounting the Records of the more antient Writers in the Church, he hath uſed a more diligent Enquiry than ever was made before, what Apoſtolical Tracts they had taken notice of, whether genuine or ſuppoſititious; which is maniſeſt to all that have read his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. And thus he: [n] *Only* Matthew *and* John, *of all the Diſciples of our Lord, have left us their Commentaries, being, as 'tis ſaid, neceſſitated to write.* Then follows the Paſſage concerning *Matthew*, already cited in ſpeaking of his Goſpel. After which *Euſebius* proceeds: *Now, after* Mark *and* Luke *had publiſhed their Goſpels,* John, *they ſay, who had been all his Life-time a Preacher only, and not a Writer, was obliged to write for this Reaſon.* Then he ſubjoins what is alledged before from him upon *John*.

From theſe Teſtimonies it appears, that univerſally the Chriſtians, whoſe Tenets were moſt conformable to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, were always of a Perſuaſion that there were no more Goſpels than theſe four now in uſe, from which the Writers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, of the ſecond and third Century, quote a great many Paſſages agreeing with our Copies, which put it beyond doubt that ours now are the very ſame they received from their Anceſtors. There are, it is confeſſed, now and then ſome various Readings, but of very ſmall Regard, compared with thoſe in which the antient and our modern Copies agree. For Satisfaction, let the Indexes of Places of Scripture annex'd to the beſt Editions of the moſt primitive Fathers be not only conſulted, but their Reaſonings alſo carefully conſidered, and it will appear they generally argued from the Readings we now uſe, and which we find in the moſt antient Manuſcripts. And beſides, let the old Verſions now extant in the *Polyglot* Bibles, be but compared with the Texts cited by the Antients, and No-body will doubt but they had the ſame Copies.

M. *Le Clerc*, whoſe Arguments we now copy, tells his Readers, that he was ſenſible ſome would diſlike this Method of proving the Legitimacy of the ſacred Text; but thoſe, ſays he, are wholly ignorant of the Art which preſcribes us Rules in Examinations of this Nature: They muſt therefore learn *that*, before they can deſerve an Anſwer; for they confound Matters of the moſt different Kind, thro' their Unſkilfulneſs in that very Art which they profeſs. 'Tis one Thing, for Example, to prove the Doctrine of the Goſpels divinely inſpired; but another to demonſtrate them to appertain unqueſtionably to thoſe Authors whoſe Names they bear. This laſt is all we aim at in this Diſſertation, tho' they are in themſelves ſo nearly allied. The Divinity of the Evangelical Doctrine is demonſtrated from its own Excellence, and alſo from the Miracles by which God has confirm'd it, which are particularly related and defended in the Body of this Work. Now a Book is proved genuine from the concurring Teſtimony of thoſe through whoſe Hands it has paſs'd ſince the Publication, and who have unanimouſly given it the Name it carries: For there is no other Way to come at the Knowledge of the Author. From the Matter of the Book is perceived the Excellence of the Argument, and the Learning of the Author; but No-body can divine his Name from thence, eſpecially if that be the only Book of his remaining. Nor is it ſufficient for the Editor to prefix the Name, to reſolve us of the undoubted Author: For to enhance the Purchaſe, they frequently put the Names of famous Perſons to other Mens Works. The beſt Teſtimony to be relied on, is that of contemporary Writers; or, for want of theſe, of thoſe that lived not long after. But we need ſay no more in a Matter requiring ſo little, and which if it needed a more prolix Diſquiſition, could not be ſo pertinently enlarged on here, without deviating too much from the main Subject of this Diſcourſe.

VI. A [nn] learned Man put formerly this Queſtion to *Grotius*, the ableſt Commentator we ever had upon the Sacred Text, "Why no Mention was made of any Paſſages of our Lord's Life before his thirtieth Year, ſave that one ſingle Inſtance reported by *Luke* to have happened in his Twelfth?" To which this excellent Critic [o] makes a compendious, but very acute Anſwer. Since therefore, in purſuance of our Deſign, we are to account here for the ſame Thing, we ſhall tranſcribe *Grotius* [p] Piece by Piece, together with the Illuſtrations of M. *Le Clerc*.

What every Author ought to relate, and what to omit, is deducible from the Deſign of his Work. The Intention of the Apoſtles, and their Diſciples, was not to write a complete Hiſtory of Chriſt; *but the Matter of their Writings was the ſame as that of their Preaching, namely, what the Title imports, no other than a Goſpel.* For in miniſtring the Word, and calling People to Repentance, two Things were principally incumbent upon the Apoſtles to account for, which they might eaſily have an exact Knowledge of; namely, who this *Jeſus* was, from whom they pretended to derive their Miſſion; and what Duties he exacted from Men: Not what he had done in his Minority; which it was not poſſible for them to know, unleſs from his Mother and Relations. Wherefore, to make evident who that Maſter was, whoſe Diſciples they profeſſed themſelves, their Buſineſs was to tell how they knew him, what Miracles he had wrought, and all thoſe other Particulars which we read in their Goſpels; in which they make uſe of no Diſquiſitions, but in a plain and faithful Narrative declare their Knowledge of thoſe Matters. And this looks like the ſingular Care and Wiſdom of divine Providence, that nothing of human Invention might be ſaid to be mix'd with the Goſpel; which could not have been prevented, had the Apoſtles in their Writings ſet down not only what they themſelves had ſeen, but their Conjectures alſo and Deductions from the Actions and Sayings of our Saviour. Now to ſignify what Duties were required from us by *Chriſt*, they related his Diſcourſes in the Manner they had heard them, as they occurred in their Memories, which were miraculouſly ſtrengthened by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt; and thus delivering the plain Doctrine of our Saviour, without any artificial Diſguiſe, whether Logical or Rhetorical, they rendered themſelves eaſily intelligible to their Hearers. This was the main Scope of the Goſpel; which hindered not but that on other Accounts the Apoſtles might draw Conſequences of their own from the Doctrines of our Saviour, in Application to the particular Neceſſities of thoſe they had to deal with: Tho', upon a due Balance, we ſhall find this was not ſo much the Goſpel itſelf, as an Accommodation of it to the particular Exigencies of Converts, and thoſe that were yet to be converted. Their Additions did not conſiſt in Notions of their own, never learned from their Maſter, and propounded as neceſſary to Salvation; but in Confirmation of the Doctrine delivered to them by *Chriſt*, and that with a particular Regard to the Edification of their reſpective Hearers, *Jews* or *Gentiles.* This is plain from *Paul*'s Preaching and Writings, where he argues with the *Jews* for the moſt Part from their own Law, and with the *Gentiles* from heathen Practices and Maxims, *being all Things to all Men, that many may be ſaved*; but exacts from No-body the Belief of any thing as neceſſary to Salvation, but what he had received from *Chriſt*; that is, that they would believe the Goſpel which *Jeſus* himſelf publiſhed. And what is that Goſpel?

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[n] Lib. iii. cap. 24.
[nn] Petrus Puteanus.
[o] Epiſtolæ ad Gallos, Ep. xxxii. Edit. Elz. 1648.
[p] The Words of Grotius are printed in Italic Characters; Thoſe of Le Clerc in Roman.

It is[a] *a new Doctrine, requiring ſincere Repentance, and promiſing Remiſſion of Sins and everlaſting Life; proclaimed at firſt by* John Baptiſt *to prepare the Minds of Men to entertain it, when it ſhould be more perfectly revealed by* Chriſt, *who enjoined it to be preached by his Miniſters all the World over.* Indeed the *Moſaical* Law had no Reſerves of Pardon for the contumelious Deſpiſers of it, or thoſe that violated a Precept enjoined upon a capital Penalty, tho' they repented afterwards: Whereas the Goſpel, on the contrary, promiſes God's Pardon to every Sinner; requiring no Expiation, only a ſincere Converſion, and a new Life: Which was obſcurely hinted by the *Baptiſt*, but after him expreſly taught by *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles; inculcating to their Diſciples a Sanctity of Manners, as the one Thing abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation, without any Obſervation of the Ceremonial Law, tho' they did not condemn it. But ſo great was the Converſion required of them, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, that the hearty Penitents might be truly ſaid to become *regenerate, and new Men.* The *Jews* were to learn, that all the Rites ſo highly valued by them, an extreme Regard to which had made them ſhun all familiar aſſociating with other Nations, were of ſmall Concern; that a Religion pleaſing to God conſiſted in our awful Thoughts of him, and in expreſſing the Sincerity of our outward Profeſſions by a ſuitable Holineſs of Life. They were to think Divorce unlawful, tho' tolerated by *Moſes*; and were to put on a more refined Sanctity than heretofore, manifeſting itſelf in brotherly Love and Charity to all Men, altho' they did not obſerve the *Moſaic* Rites. And certainly the *Jews* could never be brought to ſuch a Perſuaſion and Behaviour as this, without that entire Change of Judgment and Will, as might juſtly make them ſeem to be new Men after ſo great a Reformation. And if this may be ſo juſtly ſaid of the *Jews*, with greater Reaſon may it be applied to the Heathens, who entertained ſuch abſurd Notions of the Deity, and were Men of the moſt profligate Lives. Now to theſe, equally with the *Jews*, hath our Lord engaged Remiſſion of Sins; impoſing no external Obſervance of Rites, only obliging to ſuch a Reformation of Manners, as may make them frame their future Lives to a Conformity with his Goſpel Precepts: And preſently, upon Promiſe of Obedience to thoſe his Precepts, *Chriſt* enjoins this their Profeſſion in a more ſolemn Manner to be renewed in Baptiſm, an eaſy Rite, before in uſe among *Jews* and *Gentiles.* Now to all that made good this their Baptiſmal Engagement, by a conſtant Perſeverance in the Laws of his Goſpel to their Lives-end, he made a general Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins, and, after this Mortality, of Life eternal, without any Excluſion, of what Nation ſoever the penitent Convert was, and whatſoever his former Offences had been. But this Perſeverance is not that which we might be content to pay, when our Honour, our Lives, and Fortunes are at Stake; but diſcovers itſelf in our Willingneſs to part with all theſe, rather than deny him, or renounce our Profeſſion of being his Diſciples.

The Truth of which Doctrine revealed by Chriſt, continues *Grotius*, *and the Certainty of his Promiſe, is conſiderably evidenced from his Death, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion into Heaven, and Miſſion of the Holy Spirit; all which are manifeſt Tokens that he is the Son of God. So that the Goſpel conſiſts of two Parts, the Doctrinal, and the Hiſtorical, confirming the other.* We are not to look on the Goſpel Precepts as Syſtems of Morality, tending only to make our Lives as happy as may be in this World; but as divine Conſtitutions, ſecuring heavenly Rewards from God to the due Obſervers. That we may have this juſt Notion of the Goſpel, and pay a ready Obedience to it, it is neceſſary for us to be rightly informed, and ſtedfaſtly to believe the Deſcent of *Jeſus* upon Earth: Otherwiſe, tho' his Rules be exactly conſonant to right Reaſon, and excellently accommodated to the Condition of our Nature, we ſhould only embrace them as the Inſtitutions of an excellent Politician, and follow them on no other Obligation than as conducing to our Good; but ſhould never hazard our Lives, or ſubmit to any grievous Calamity for their Sakes. For having no hopes of a State after this, where Rewards are laid up for Virtue, it were our Intereſt to improve the

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[a] Matth. iv. 23. Chap. ix. 35. Chap. xxiv. Mark i. 14. Eph. vi. 15. Acts x. 36. Luke xvi. 16.

Enjoyment of preſent Happineſs, and to love Virtue no more than as it promotes our ſecular Ends. Since therefore *Jeſus* hath commanded us, in Compliance with his Laws, to lay down our Lives chearfully upon Occaſion; that is, if Men will oblige us upon that penal Conſequence to a Violation of them; it became our great Lawgiver, in Compenſation for Life loſt, and to commute for the Croſſes to be undergone in keeping his Goſpel, to promiſe us a Reſurrection and happy Immortality. Which Promiſe we could never have relied upon, unleſs he had carried himſelf as became a Teacher commiſſioned by God, and confirmed his Doctrines by the Miracles that are related in the Goſpels. So that an Account of the Miracles of *Chriſt*, his Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion into Heaven, is no inconſiderable Portion of the Goſpel, as *Grotius* thus confirms in the following Words.

[r] *Wherefore,* ſaith St. *Peter, of thoſe Men which have companied with us all the Time that the Lord* Jeſus *went in and out among us, beginning from the Baptiſm of* John *unto the ſame Day that he was taken up, muſt one be ordained to be a Witneſs with us of his Reſurrection. And in another Place he calls this Diſpenſation,* [s] *the Word which was publiſhed throughout all* Judea, *and began from* Galilee, *after the Baptiſm which* John *preached.* Luke *briefly* [t] *gives us the Argument of his former Treatiſe, namely his Goſpel, in the Beginning of the* Acts, *where he calls it, an Account of all that* Jeſus *began to do and teach, until the Day in which he was taken up; that is, from the Time he began to teach, and to work Miracles. Now* [u] *that which he did in* Cana *of* Galilee, *after he had been baptized by* John, *being then* [w] *about thirty Years of Age, was the Beginning of his Miracles.*

Not to enlarge upon the Morality of the Goſpel, which we have already mentioned; we likewiſe find in the Evangelical Hiſtory, that many Mirales were wrought by *Jeſus*, and for his Sake; as alſo an Account of his Reſurrection, Aſcenſion into Heaven, and the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt; And this, that we may apprehend, in the firſt Place, that *Jeſus* was ſent from God; and then confide in him, in Reference to his Doctrine, which inſtructs us in the Bleſſings that will be the Conſequence of a holy Life, and the Puniſhments attending Sin; and not only ſo, but give Faith to his Aſſertions of himſelf, both before and after his Reſurrection. So, for Inſtance, we muſt believe that he is the Son of God in a wonderful Manner; that he died not for any Crime of his, but to procure Credit to his Doctrine by his Reſurrection, and to his Believers and Servants Redemption from Sin and Puniſhment; that moreover all Power was given him in Heaven and on Earth, from which Time commenced his Reign over the whole World, tho' in a Manner not diſcoverable by us, and which will continue till he come to judge Mankind at the Reſurrection, agreeably to the Laws delivered by him to his Apoſtles and Followers; the Obſervers of which ſhall be crowned with eternal Happineſs, but thoſe that have neglected them be caſt into everlaſting Fire. Now to work a Belief of theſe Things into the Apoſtles, he did not diſpute them into a Faith by ſubtil Reaſonings, or draw Proofs from his own Expoſitions of obſcure Texts in the Old Teſtament; but convinced them by Miracles, and the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt upon them, purſuant to his Promiſe. Which Things being afterwards reported by them, confirmed alſo by additional Miracles of their own, and all the manifeſt Tokens of Truth, gained Credit to the Doctrine of their Maſter from all the honeſt Part of the World; and do now, from thoſe that read their Writings with a ſincere Deſire of being informed in the Truth. This is the Sum of the Apoſtles Teſtimony; from which as it is not lawful to detract, neither is it to add any Thing; it being the ſole Province of *Chriſt*, and not of any Mortal, to eſtabliſh Laws, on the Obſervation of which our everlaſting Felicity depends. Which we could wiſh Chriſtians had always remembered. But we forbear making any ungrateful Reflections on this Subject, and return to *Grotius*.

The Account, ſays he, *which we have of his divine Nativity, given us by* John, *and of his human by* Matthew *and* Luke, *and what* Luke *relates of his Specimen, as it were, in the Temple, of his future Authority, are to be looked upon by way of Preface to the Goſpel, for the clearer marking out and recommending the Perſon from whom it derives its Authority.* And indeed how ignorant ſoever the *Jews* were of the inſeparable Union of the *Logos* with *Jeſus*, treated of by *John* afterwards, yet they had no Grounds to reject him as a falſe Pretender to a divine Commiſſion, and afterwards to crucify him: For his admirable Doctrine, confirmed with mighty Miracles, gave ample Manifeſtation that he was no Impoſtor. And the *Jews* were obliged, upon this Account, to believe him ſent from God: For had he not been of the Lineage of *David*, as he moſt certainly was, yet the *Jews* had no Grounds of imagining him a falſe Prophet; for he never made uſe of that Argument to evince himſelf a true one. So that having himſelf never propos'd this, or any Thing of like Nature, to the *Jews*, as Matter of their Belief; the Apoſtles, whoſe Task it was to relate his Diſcourſes and Miracles, and not their own Deductions from them, touch'd upon other Matters but by-the-bye. But then, ſince *Jeſus* was of the Stock of *David*, and, what is more, the Son of God, as is declared by *John* in the Beginning of his Goſpel; and had accompliſhed, in a more excellent Manner, all that was expected by the *Jews* from their *Meſſiah*; they had abundant Reaſon to have received him with all imaginable Satiſfaction, and to regulate their Lives after his Goſpel, that they might be made Partakers of the Benefits of his heavenly Kingdom. But the *Jews*, on the contrary, looking for a terreſtrial Prince, from whom it was not poſſible for them to receive ſo manifold and ſignal Bleſſings, were not only defeated of that Hope, but, by rejecting *Jeſus*, of all the Advantages of his Coming; which is the very Thing for which they are upbraided by the Apoſtles, and for which the *Jews* have not the leaſt Colour of Excuſe. Now ſince *Jeſus* did not aſſume his Miniſterial Office before his Baptiſm, nor wrought any Miracles in public, it is no Wonder that *that* Period of his Life led upon Earth was entirely omitted, as *Grotius* makes appear in the following Words.

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[r] Acts i. 22.

[s] Acts x. 37,

[t] Acts i. 1, 2,

[u] John ii. 11.

[w] Luke iii. 23.

Wherefore ſince Chriſt *had done nothing appertaining to that Deſign of theirs, before he was completely of that Age, all the Time before is juſtly paſs'd over in Silence by the Sacred Writers. For he lived private till that Age, in* [x] *ſubjection to his ſuppoſed Father and Mother. For which Reaſon he was not only called the* [y] *Carpenter's Son, but alſo* [z] *the Carpenter. And indeed, in the Books of the Old Teſtament, we uſually find no Mention of the Prophets, till the Time that the Word of the Lord came unto them; that is,* till the Day of their ſhewing unto *Iſrael: As* Luke [a] *obſerves. And this is the Meaning of that Expreſſion,* A Prophet ſtood up. We ſhould therefore greatly injure the Apoſtles, if we undervalued their Labours, becauſe they have not gratified our fooliſh Curioſity, in taking ſo little notice of what paſſed during the Infancy and Youth of *Chriſt:* For they did not write his Life, but his Miniſtry, containing only ſuch Matters of Faith and Practice as may lead us to everlaſting Salvation. But what the Apoſtles had been ſilent in, and no Body for the two firſt Centuries knew, ſome idle and miſchievous Perſons pretended to have a Light into, and ſet out ſome ſilly Books *of the Infancy of* Chriſt, the Beginning of one of which *Cotelerius* has publiſhed from the King of *France*'s Manuſcripts, in his *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*.

VII. The foregoing, we take it, is a true, or at leaſt a very probable Account of the Deſign of the Evangeliſts; and we doubt not but this was their Drift in writing the Miniſtry of our Saviour. Being enjoined by their Maſter *to go and make Diſciples of all Nations, teaching them to obſerve all Things, whatſoever he had commanded them*; they could not conveniently execute theſe Orders without a Hiſtory of his Words and Actions, and that for three Reaſons. *Firſt*, The twelve Apoſtles could not travel all the World over, and make that proper Stay in every City, as was ſufficient for them, by Word of Mouth, to declare all Things neceſſary to bring them over to the Faith, and to confirm them in it. The *Jews* and *Gentiles* laboured under many fooliſh Prejudices and groſs Errors, and would be with Difficulty retrieved, ſo far as to have a ſteady Faith, and to retain a clear and diſtinct Impreſſion of the Chriſtian Doctrine: Many and frequent Inculcations were neceſſary for that Purpoſe. A *ſecond* Reaſon was, that a Matter of ſuch infinite Conſequence, to be tranſmitted down to the very laſt Ages, could not with Safety be committed to Tradition wholly, nor be by that Means preſerved uncorrupted for ſo many Ages. Human Memory is naturally frail, and moreover apt to be carried away with the Affections; ſo that we often think we remember, what we are willing ſhould have been told us. And we know a great Door is opened to Frauds, when Matters are committed to the Memory only, without being preſerved in any written Records. How could we be able to detect the Impoſture of one or more Men, that ſhould pretend to have learned ſomething from the Apoſtles, their Followers or Succeſſors, eſpecially if they were Perſons in Authority? But what need of being prolix in a Point ſo evident of itſelf, and confirmed by the Experience of many Ages? 'Twas very well known that the *Jewiſh* Rabbies had corrupted their Law ſtrangely, by mixing with it lying Traditions of their own. The Chriſtians have controverted, and at this Day diſpute the Senſe of the Apoſtolical Books; ſo that one Side or other muſt neceſſarily be in a grievous Error; nor is there any Hope of an End of the Controverſy: But what would it come to, if there were no Writings of the Evangeliſts extant? The *laſt* Reaſon is owing to the commendable, and almoſt neceſſary, Solicitations of good Men; who, after they had impatiently heard their Relations of *Chriſt*, and were commanded to diſperſe the ſame, moved to have his Story in Writing, that no Paſſages might ſlip from their Memory, or thro' its Infirmity be corrupted and repreſented untruly to the World. Every body certainly would read the Hiſtory with much more Delight and Satisfaction than they heard it told; ſince what is read and weighed leaves a deeper Impreſſion, and more affects the Mind. For theſe Reaſons, as we gather from *Luke*'s Preface in the very firſt Words, [c] *Many had taken in Hand to ſet forth in Order, a Declaration of thoſe Things which are moſt ſurely believed amongſt us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the Beginning were Eye-witneſſes, and Miniſters of the Word.* By which it came to paſs, that *Luke* ſet about a more accurate Relation of theſe Affairs. Moreover *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *John*, wrote at the Requeſt of the Chriſtians; but *John* later than the reſt, three Goſpels being already publiſhed, from which the whole Doctrine of *Chriſt* might be eaſily deduced.

Since therefore the Apoſtles could not, without written Records, *make Diſciples of all Nations*, ſo as to ſettle a Foundation to continue uniform and laſting; we are apt to believe, that among the other Commands of our Saviour, he left them in Charge alſo to tranſmit to Poſterity a written Account of his Doctrine.

VIII. Whoſoever maturely conſiders theſe Things, will eaſily believe that the Goſpels, in a few Years after their Compoſure, were read in the Chriſtian Churches, as we have already ſhewn from the Teſtimony of antient Writers. For the *Jews* having *Moſes* and the Prophets read in their Synagogues, the new Chriſtians, imitating their Example in a great many Caſes, ordered the Old

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[x] Luke ii. 51.
[y] Matth xiii. 55.
[z] Mark vi. 3,
[a] Chap. i. 80.
[b] Conſtit. Apoſt. lib. vi. cap. 16.
[c] Luke i. 1, 2.

Teſtament not only to be read, but the Books of the Evangeliſts, containing the Words and Actions of *Jeſus Chriſt.* For what could they hear in the Church, that was any way comparable to them? We own that the particular Year in which each Goſpel was writ and publiſh'd, cannot be certainly determined: For the moſt antient Writers differ, as appears by Citations from them; and the Modern, that have ſupplied the Defects of Antiquity with Inventions of their own, deſerve no Credit. However, we are apt to think that the three firſt were publiſh'd, and generally known, a conſiderable Time before the Concluſion of the firſt Century; agreeably to the Opinion of *Euſebius*, who, in a Place already quoted, makes mention that they had been ſeen and approved by *John.* Which agrees alſo with what we have already obſerved concerning *John*'s omitting, for the moſt Part, what had been already related by the other Evangeliſts; as may appear at firſt View to any one who conſults the References, which ſtand at the Beginning of the Paragraphs in every Chapter of this Hiſtory. Otherwiſe it is not at all credible that *John* would have neglected ſo many remarkable Actions of our Saviour, as are recorded by the other three. And this likewiſe concurs with a Remark both antient and modern, why he gives the Number of the *Paſſovers*, not minded by the other Evangeliſts; that by them the Years of *Chriſt*'s Miniſtry might be known, which otherwiſe had been difficultly diſtinguiſh'd. Beſides, relying in this Matter upon ſome Teſtimonies from the Antients already cited, we may affirm that *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, wrote their Goſpels before the Expiration of *Nero*'s Reign, in which *Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered Martyrdom; which Aſſertion may further be confirmed by an Argument of Weight taken from [d] themſelves, where they ſet down the Prophecy of the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as not yet accompliſh'd when the Goſpels were compos'd: For had theſe Evangeliſts put down that Prophecy after it had come to paſs, they would in ſome ſhort Note have given at leaſt a Hint that it was fulfilled; which *Matthew* and *Mark* are ſo far from, that in this Admonition, [e] *He that readeth let him underſtand,* annex'd to the Prophecy, they rather exhort the Chriſtians to give diligent Heed to thoſe future Preſages, to provide the better for their own Security.

But we have had a learned Gentleman in this Age, of great Penetration and Skill in Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, who did not a little differ from *Euſebius*'s Opinion before recited, but who yet hath many Things upon the Goſpels deſerving a nice Diſquiſition. It was Mr. *Henry Dodwell*, whoſe Words, in his firſt Diſſertation upon *Irenæus*, we ſhall faithfully tranſcribe; in the ſame Manner, tho' not quite with the ſame View, as we juſt now tranſcribed thoſe of *Grotius*; the Remarks which we ſhall here add from M. *Le Clerc*, conſiſting of Strictures upon the Author, and not of ſimple Illuſtrations of his Senſe.

Before Trajan's *Reign,* [f] ſays Mr. *Dodwell*, *there was no ſet Canon of Scripture, nor any certain Number of Books received in the Catholic Church; to which afterwards they were obliged to have Recourſe, as to a Rule by which they might determine Matters of Faith: Nor were the ſpurious Tracts of Heretics, under falſe Titles, exploded, nor the Orthodox cautioned to avoid them.* Now in Anſwer to this, it is confeſſed, that no Synod, univerſal or more particular, had then given Rules in this Matter. But whence was he informed that none of the Apoſtles, no not *John* the Survivor of them all, nor any of their Followers, had directed the Chriſtians, what Books, that were then very frequent in their Hands, they might ſecurely conſult for our Saviour's Story? Is it credible that the Chriſtians were incited by no Manner of Curioſity, in a Point, as we have ſaid, of that exceeding Weight and Moment? Or that the Apoſtles were ſo little concerned for the diſtinguiſhing the true Goſpels from the falſe? Should we ſuſpect any thing of this Nature concerning them, we ſhould undoubtedly entertain too mean an Opinion of them; and certainly the Preface to St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, is a Demonſtration that thoſe holy Men were very hearty in it. We have very few Remains of the Hiſtory of the firſt Century, immediately enſuing the Acts of the Apoſtles: But, as few as they are, they ſuffer us not to deny any thing to have been, which is not abſurd in the Notion, or includes no Contradiction to any authentic Hiſtory, becauſe not obſerved by Writers that lived then. For *Irenæus*, of that very Age, not to inſtance in *Papias*, and ſoon after him *Clemens* and *Origen*, both of *Alexandria*, and both excellent Writers, affirm the ſame, as may be concluded from our Citations from them. And ſhould any advance the contrary, it would leaſt of all be expected from thoſe who pay that Deference to primitive Authority, as Mr. *Dodwell* ſeemed to do.

Now the genuine Writings of the Apoſtles, ſays he, *were wont to be bound up ſo promiſcuouſly with Apocryphal Tracts, that, for want of a Mark of Diſtinction, or a public Decree of the Church, Nobody could tell which to prefer and rely on.*—We do not deny but the Tracts of *Barnabas*, *Clemens*, *Hermas*, and others, were ſometimes bound up with the Apoſtles own Works; but this appears not to have been done in the Apoſtolical Age. We would attribute this to the Negligence of the ſecond Century, of which we have frequent Inſtances given us by the Learned, rather than accuſe the Apoſtles, and thoſe who had convers'd with them, of that Supineneſs which we are afraid would be unpardonable in them. But whoever they were that have mixt ſpurious and Apoſtolical Pieces together, making no Diſtinction, they muſt be of a very weak Judgment; which we dare not ſuſpect of the Apoſtles own Diſciples, who from their Writings and Dictates compiled the Goſpels. But the learned Mr. *Dodwell* proceeds.

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[d] Matth xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

[e] Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

[f] Diſſert. i. Sect. 39.

We have now extant ſome Eccleſiaſtical Writers of Note of thoſe Times; for Example, Clemens Romanus, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp; *who all of them wrote in the Order I have mentioned them, after all the New Teſtament was publiſhed, except the Epiſtles of* Jude, *and of both the* Johns. *In* Hermas *there is not a ſingle Paſſage of the New Teſtament to be met with; and in the others not one Evangeliſt is ſo much as named. And if any Expreſſions are cited that bear a Reſemblance with ſome contained in our Goſpels, they are, for the moſt part, ſo changed and corrupted, that 'tis not diſcernible whence they had them; whether from the Goſpels, or other Apocryphal Writings.*

By way of Anſwer to this Paragraph, we ſhall not here make any Digreſſion concerning the Time when the forementioned Authors wrote; neither will we ſay any thing concerning *Jude,* and the other *John* beſides the Evangeliſt, altho' Arguments are not wanting to oppoſe the Conjectures of our learned Author; this being foreign to our Deſign, which is only to give an Account of the Evangeliſts. To come therefore to his Inſtances. — We cannot gather from *Hermas*'s Silence in the Matter, that the Goſpels were not then publiſhed and openly received in the Churches, for two Reaſons. One is, becauſe his Book treats of Viſions, and the Conferences of the Angels, which need no Places of Scripture to confirm them. The other is, becauſe he is as ſilent in reſpect of the Old Teſtament alſo; but No-body will infer from thence, that the Canon of the Old Teſtament was not yet eſtabliſhed. —— *Clemens,* indeed, cites no one of the Evangeliſts by Name; but twice quotes ſome Expreſſions of our Saviour, which he admoniſhes the *Corinthians* to be mindful of. Thus in his thirteenth Chapter; *Be ye mindful of the Words of the Lord* Jeſus. And in his forty-ſixth Chapter, *Remember the Words of our Lord* Jeſus. Which Words have a plain Reference to his written Sayings, which had been often read by the *Corinthians.* And indeed the firſt Paſſage is in [g] *Luke*; tho' not altogether in the very Words, yet in the very ſame Senſe; and the latter in [h] three of the Evangeliſts. We confeſs, he chiefly regards the Senſe: But the Apoſtles alſo, in many Places, thus quote the Old Teſtament, and collect various Paſſages into one Diſcourſe: Nor is it queſtioned whether they allude to the Sacred Writings which we yet have, and whoſe Authority was look'd on as divine. If any make a doubt of it, he may, for Satisfaction, conſult the Catalogue of Places cited from the Old Teſtament in the New, and compare them with the *Hebrew* Original, or the *Greek* Tranſlation of the Seventy. —— *Barnabas* produces no Authority of any Evangeliſt by Name; and no wonder, having poſſibly ſeen none but *Matthew*: For who can determine at what Time he wrote after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*? 'Tis certain he hath quoted this Goſpel twice; once in his third Chapter, after this Manner: *Take we heed, leſt, as it is written, we be found many called, but few choſen:* Where the Phraſe, *as it is written,* is very remarkable; as being in common Uſe among the Sacred and other *Jewiſh* Writers, when they cite any Paſſages out of the Old Teſtament: From which may be inferred, in what Eſteem *Barnabas* held *Matthew*'s Goſpel. And again, in his fifth Chapter, *Chriſt* is ſaid *To come not to call the Juſt, but Sinners, to Repentance:* Where he plainly alludes to [i] a Text of St. *Matthew.* — As for *Ignatius,* he frequently alludes to the Goſpels and Apoſtolical Epiſtles, and ſometimes quotes their expreſs Words, tho' without mentioning their Names. But no one will doubt whether the Goſpels were then publicly read, who remembers what we have already ſaid concerning the Goſpel of St. *John.* Why then, it may be aſked, does he not name the Goſpel? This we do not know, any more than why he has not produced more expreſs Teſtimonies from the Old Teſtament. Perhaps the Places did not occur. It may be he knew not how to make a dexterous Uſe of the Scripture. But what need is there of any Conjecture? As nothing can be inferr'd from his Silence againſt the Canon of the Old Teſtament, ſo neither againſt the public Reading of the New. One Author cites the Scripture frequently and openly, and another refers to it obliquely. The former Way is obſervable in *Irenæus*; the latter in *Juſtin*; both contemporary Writers, in whoſe Time the Books of the Evangeliſts were publicly read, without all Controverſy. All Men have not the ſame Method in writing, and No-body is obliged to account for the Variety of Diſpoſitions. —— Laſt of all, *Polycarp,* in the little Fragment of his Epiſtle, borrows ſome Expreſſions from *Paul*; and cites from *Matthew* and *Luke,* without naming them, theſe Words; *Which the Lord ſaid teaching.* And 'tis not always cuſtomary to name the Evangeliſt, whenever we produce a Saying of our Saviour, tho' taken out of the Goſpels. We have not taken notice, that they have in any Place expreſly quoted the Goſpels, or any Apocryphal Writings relating to the Hiſtory and Doctrine of *Chriſt,* except only one Place in *Ignatius,* which looks like a Citation from the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes,* but is rather taken from *Luke,* as we have ſaid already. And tho' there were Books falſely attributed to the Apoſtles in the very firſt Age, yet the vaſt Increaſe of fictitious Works is rather owing to the ſecond Century, when Heretics abounded more, and ſpurious Productions were fathered upon the Apoſtles and their Followers, long ſince dead, upon fairer Hopes of impoſing upon the World.

And ſometimes they make uſe of Apocryphal Expreſſions, continues Mr. *Dodwell, which are no where to be met with in the Goſpels that we have. And from hence it appears, the Church had not as yet made any certain Diſtinction between the Apocryphal and Canonical Books of the New Teſtament: And the rather, if we likewiſe conſider, that they fix no Cenſure upon what is Apocryphal, nor give the Reader any Sign whereby to conclude that they pay not the ſame Deference to the Apocryphal, as*

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[g] Luke vi. 36, 37. [h] Matth. xxvi. 24. Mark ix. 42. Luke xvii. 2. Matth. xviii. 6. [i] Matth. ix. 13.

to the genuine Goſpels. Wherefore we may reaſonably ſuſpect, that the Citations in them, agreeing with our Text, were collected with no determinate Deſign of confirming any dubious Point from canonical Scripture. So that 'tis poſſible that theſe Paſſages, ſo like to ſome yet extent in the Goſpel, might be taken notwithſtanding from others which we have not.—This learned Gentleman forgot himſelf, in ſaying that the apocryphal Citations in the fore-mentioned Authors are no where to be found in our Goſpels, if by apocryphal he underſtands, as in all Reaſon he ſhould, thoſe that refer to the Story of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles. We deny not that the Apocrypha of the Old Teſtament is often quoted both by *Barnabas* and *Clemens*: But they are ſo far from making to our Author's Purpoſe, that they overthrow his Concluſions from them: For if the Canon of the Old Teſtament was eſtabliſhed when thoſe Writers cited from the Apocrypha relating to it, why might not the ſame Thing happen when the Canon of the New Teſtament was determined? Why might they not then alſo have Quotations from ſome apocryphal Writings, relating to the Actions and Doctrine of our Saviour. *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes uſe of the apocryphal Books, as if they were the Works of the Apoſtles, in thoſe Ages when there was a known Diſtinction between them, and their Authority not the ſame. The Reaſon of their writing at this rate, is not owing to the doubtful Authority of the Scripture, but an unhappy Cuſtom of thoſe Times, and now and then to an ill Habit of the Authors themſelves. We cannot conceive why any one ſhould ſuſpect the Citations, correſponding with our Goſpels, to be taken from others, when there are no apocryphal Tracts now extant, in which they may be found; nor is there any Indication of it from thoſe very Authors; and eſpecially when they have ſeveral Quotations even from the apoſtolical Epiſtles. It is poſſible, indeed, they may be taken from ſome ſuch Apocrypha. We deny it not: But is there any Argument from a bare Poſſibility? What can there be of eſtabliſhed Credit in Antiquity, or what not reckoned a Forgery, if it be ſufficient to ſay, 'Tis poſſible it may be ſo? Very few Fables among the Legends can be rejected at this rate, if it be ſufficient to have them received, that they contain not any Thing impoſſible.—Nor can we conceive why the *Jews* might draw Proofs from their divine Books in Matters of Religion, and not the Fathers from the Goſpels, whoſe Authors were known, and the Truth of what thoſe Goſpels contain, unconteſted. Needed they ſo much Time to be ſatisfied that the Authority of *Chriſt* in the Goſpels, which were owned as genuine, was beyond the Authority of the whole World beſides?

But, continues this learned Author, *to inſtance no more in uncanonical Books, 'tis evident from thoſe that are canonical, of ſomewhat later Date, that the Goſpels were not made public to the Churches, nor in common Uſe with Eccleſiaſtical Writers. They have not adorn'd their Books with Quotations from the New Teſtament, as is cuſtomary among modern Writers, and as they were wont to do from the Scriptures, which they acknowledged. They cite very frequently from the Old Teſtament, and would undoubtedly from the New, if it had been owned as canonical, and ſo diſtinguiſhed from other Writings. St.* Paul *repeats the Words of the Lord,* [*] It is more bleſſed to give than to receive; *which granting he might have from ſome Book, yet certainly from none of the Goſpels that are now extant.*—To this we anſwer, that we have very few Writers remaining of the firſt Century, beſides the Compilers of the New Teſtament; and thoſe we have, as they are cited by Mr. *Dodwell*, are *Clemens*, *Barnabas*, *Hermas*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*.——*Clemens* indeed hath more Citations from the Old Teſtament, and alludes to it more frequently than to the New, from which he hath very few Texts. However, he hath two Quotations from thence, and refers to it pretty often. He names not his Author in the New, nor in the Old Teſtament: And ſhould we grant that *Clemens* had not ſeen all the Goſpels, it will conclude nothing againſt us, if he put out his Epiſtle ſome Time after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, as is the general Opinion; or preſently after the Publication of the Goſpels. Then poſſibly he might have ſeen only *Luke*'s, which is cited by him; tho' ſoon after the three former were publicly read in the Churches, and generally known.——*Barnabas* cites much more frequently from the Old Teſtament than the New: But almoſt throughout his whole Epiſtle he is diſputing with the *Jews*, againſt whom it were ridiculous to bring Allegations from the New Teſtament.——*Hermas* hath nothing from either Teſtament, being entirely buſied in relating his Viſions, and Doctrines revealed to him by the Angels.——*Ignatius* quotes both Teſtaments, and ſeems more frequently to have Reſpect to the New; we mean in his genuine Epiſtles, as was obſerved before; for we are not concerned in the ſpurious.——*Polycarp*, in above twenty Places, alludes to the New Teſtament, or gives the very Words; and ſcarce refers once to the Old. As for the Words repeated by *Paul*, they are ſhort, and as it were proverbial, and ſo might eaſily be remembred; which our Author does not deny.

The Goſpels, we are farther told, *were ſo buried from the World, by lying hid in certain Corners of it, in which they were written, that the Evangeliſts who followed after had not the leaſt Knowledge of the Compoſitions of thoſe that went before them; otherwiſe their Works had not been ſo full of ſeeming Contrarieties, which have ever ſince the firſt ſettling of the Canon employed the Diſquiſitions of ſo many learned Men. Certainly if* Luke *had ſeen our Lord's Genealogy in* Matthew, *he would never have given us another quite different from it, without mentioning the leaſt Reaſon of it: And in giving us in his Preface the Cauſe of his Undertaking,* That he was encouraged thereto by Aſſiſtance from the Declarations of thoſe that were Eye-witneſſes; *he plainly intimates, that the Writers of the*

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[*] Acts xx. 35.

Goſpels which he had ſeen had been deſtitute of thoſe Helps; that is, that they were not Eye-witneſſes themſelves, nor had carefully and diligently conſulted thoſe that were; that therefore their Authority was weak, and their Accounts of uncertain Credit. So that Luke *muſt needs have ſeen ſome other Evangeliſts, beſides thoſe whoſe Goſpels are yet extant.* —— Now to prevent the three Evangeliſts from a mutual Sight of their reſpective Works, it was ſufficient that they might be written at the ſame Time in remote Countries, and ſeverally publiſhed by each particular Evangeliſt before he had ſeen the Performance of the others, which might probably have happened before the Concluſion of *Nero*'s Reign. Certainly it is agreeable to the Lives of the Evangeliſts, who ſpent their Time in travelling and propagating the Goſpel thro' all Nations, to think that they would hardly leave Books ſo very neceſſary to Believers, hid in ſome ſecret Corners, but rather take them along with them, and order their Diſciples to tranſcribe them, that they might be diſpers'd further than they could go themſelves, and enlighten with the Evangelical Rays thoſe who could not come at the Authors. As for the Writers mentioned in *Luke*'s Preface, it is confeſs'd they were not Eye-witneſſes; but, if we attentively conſider the Words of this Evangeliſt, we ſhall find he only charges them with being ſomewhat negligent of Order, and for ſome Omiſſions. But he does not ſay, they conſulted not ocular Witneſſes, or writ not the Truth: He only ſays, that upon a careful Enquiry from ſuch Witneſſes, he himſelf had undertook to compoſe a more exact and fuller Hiſtory of our Saviour.

St. Matthew, ſays our learned Author, *who alone, of the Evangeliſts that are received, preceded St.* Luke, *was himſelf an Eye-witneſs, and therefore cannot be underſtood here. St.* John *wrote long after St.* Luke, *and even St.* Mark, *if St.* Luke *compoſed his Goſpel that Year he finiſh'd his Acts of the Apoſtles, as it ſeems to me very probable: For the Acts are the*[l] ſecond Treatiſe *of that Work, of which he calls his Goſpel the*[m] former Treatiſe. *His Goſpel was afterwards ſeparated from the Acts, and put with the other Evangeliſts in a Volume together, for the better and more ready comparing of Places. For which Reaſon I am of Opinion, ſince the Acts carry no Name prefix'd, that the Author was not diſputed: For being put to the former Treatiſe, he needed not be recited in the Front of the latter, being ſufficiently declared to be the Author of both before they were taken aſunder. Likewiſe* Luke *had finiſh'd his Goſpel in the ſecond Year of* Paul*'s Captivity: For ſo far he has continu'd his Hiſtory. Now* Mark *ſeems to have written his ſome Time after the Death of* Peter, *or not long before.* —— We do not think that *Matthew* was here deſigned by *Luke*: But that he was the more antient Writer, we never ſaw proved. What the *Greeks*, that came after, have invented of their own concerning the Time of the Goſpels, is altogether groundleſs. Mr. *Dodwell*'s Conjecture from the *Acts* is far from being abſurd, but is not too haſtily to be admitted. *Luke* indeed ſpeaks of himſelf, that he had finiſhed his former Treatiſe of our Saviour's Hiſtory; but it follows not that he means with reference to the very ſame Piece, of which the *Acts* muſt needs be the latter Part: For why might not the Piece St. *Luke* ſpeaks of be the firſt he had publiſh'd, and therefore ſo named, and not as the firſt Part of one Tract, of which the *Acts* were the ſecond? Nor is it neceſſary that this *latter Treatiſe* ſhould be finiſhed the ſame Year with the *former*, which might have come out apart ſome Time before, being an entire Work of itſelf: The ſeparating the *Acts* from the Goſpel being a pure Invention, for this only Reaſon, that the Author's Name is not prefix'd: Whereas that might be well enough omitted, ſeeing the Book was addreſs'd to *Theophilus*; which plainly ſhews the ſame Perſon to be the Author of that and the Goſpel. For the Time of *Mark*'s Writing, enough has been ſaid already.

But, Mr. Dodwell *ſubjoins, we may from hence ſuſpect that the other Evangeliſts had not ſeen one another's Writings, in that they all report what was done only in the firſt Year of the Miniſtry: The Acts of the following Years, and of the Paſſovers, being to be had in* John *alone: From whence one might be apt indeed to conclude, that they had been all read by* John, *and that he approved of them, and ſupplied what was wanting in their Goſpels.* —— 'Tis true indeed, that *John* has preſerv'd the Memory of the Paſſovers; but 'tis a Miſtake to think that he only has given an Account of the other Years of *Chriſt*'s Miniſtry, or that the other Evangeliſts took notice only of the firſt. Our Hiſtory is a manifeſt Confutation of this Miſtake, and leaves no Room for doubting in the Caſe.

Our Author's next Words are; *This perhaps may be reaſonably preſum'd of* John, *who wrote ſo late, when the Goſpels compos'd in certain Provinces of the* Roman *Empire, might be farther propagated. But I fear we have not ſo much Reaſon to imagine that he ſet out what Evangeliſts were to be canonical, and what not; and by his Approbation recommended them to Poſterity: For 'tis hardly credible that the Evangeliſts had been diſtinguiſhed when* Ignatius *flouriſhed, who ſeems to pay an equal Deference to the apocryphal and genuine Goſpels.* —— This laſt is not juſtly ſaid of *Ignatius*, as we have before ſhewn; and we ſee no Reaſon to diſtruſt *Euſebius*, when he ſays that the three former Evangeliſts had been approved and recommended by St. *John*. Nay more, we may reaſonably conclude, that only theſe were approved of by him: For 'tis not to be imagined that this Apoſtle, who had been witneſs to all the memorable Works and Sayings of *Chriſt*, ſhould be indifferent whether true or falſe Accounts of thoſe Matters were ſpread abroad, and generally believed by Chriſtians: And this is the more credible, for that preſently after his Time the four Goſpels we now have were only held to be genuine, and of unconteſted Credit, as this learned Gentleman ſhews us in the following Words.

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[l] δεύτερος λόγος.

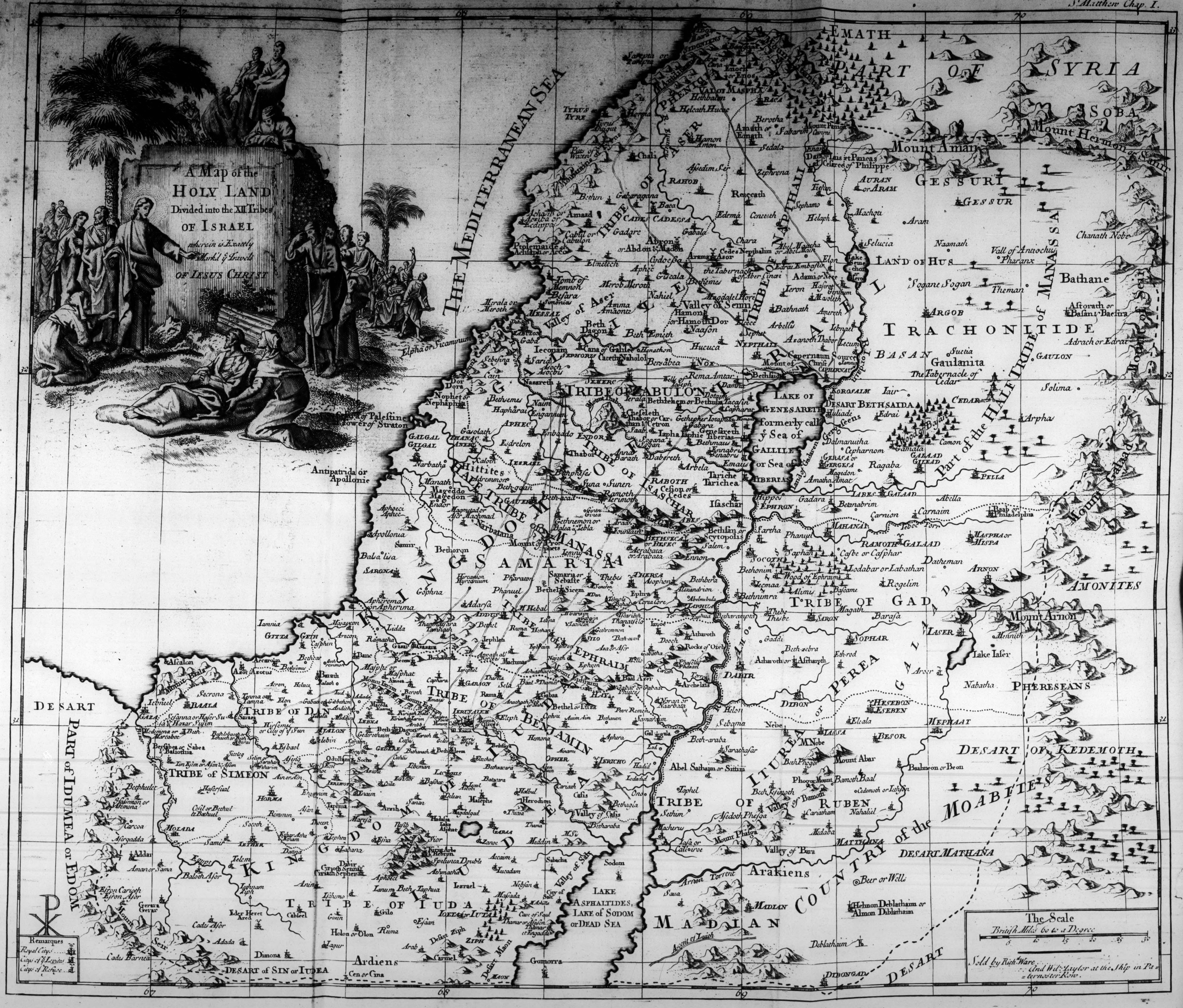
[m] πρῶτον λόγον.

Irenæus, *whom I am upon, took the firſt notice of the ſet Number of the four Goſpels already receiv'd and fix'd.* Juſtin, *that wrote before him, is not altogether ſo cloſe; he ſometimes calls them* the Memorials of the Apoſtles, *borrowing the Title from* Xenophon, *who made a Book of the Memorials of* Socrates *his Maſter.* The Apoſtles, ſays *Juſtin*, in the Memorials collected from them, which are called Goſpels. *Thus he attributes them to the Apoſtles, as containing their Doctrines and Senſe; but in a manner intimating, that others had a hand in the Collection, which were their Followers. Take his own Words;* In the Memoirs, which I was ſaying were made into a Book by the Apoſtles and their Followers. *And that it was uſual for theſe Goſpels to be read openly in the Churches in* Juſtin's *Time, we may learn from his own Teſtimony;* The Commentaries of the Apoſtles, or the Works of the Prophets, are read, as the Time will permit. *Now any body may ſee from hence, that theſe ſame Commentaries of the Apoſtles were held by the Chriſtians in equal Veneration with, if not ſuperior to, that which was ſhewn to the Books of the Prophets by the* Jews *in their Synagogues.* —— *Irenæus*, is indeed the firſt of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, that are not loſt, who took notice of the quaternary Number of the Goſpels; yet it does not therefore follow, but Somebody, in ſo great a Scarcity of old Records, might have made this Obſervation before him. There is not the leaſt Footſtep in *Juſtin* or *Irenæus*, that it was but of a late Inſtitution for the four Goſpels to be publicly read in their Aſſemblies.

But how ſhall we certainly know that theſe very Goſpels are meant by Juſtin? *Firſt, from* Irenæus *his Contemporary, who, to be ſure, was acquainted with them: And likewiſe from* Juſtin *himſelf, in his frequent Citations from our Goſpels, which are faithfully quoted, and have very few Apocryphal Mixtures. And indeed his own Words imply as much, thoroughly conſider'd: For, ſaying that theſe Commentaries were written, ſome by the Apoſtles themſelves, and ſome by their Followers, if he meant an equal Number of Apoſtles and their Followers, they will exactly agree with the Goſpels we now have: So that 'tis highly credible he meant the ſame; for two of ours were compoſ'd by the Apoſtles, and two by their Diſciples.* — It is true that *Irenæus*, in moſt of his Quotations, not only takes the very Words oftentimes from our four Goſpels, but ſpends the whole eleventh Chapter of his third Book in proving there are no more Goſpels than four, and that 'tis not poſſible there could be more: *'Tis certain that there are neither more nor fewer than theſe four Goſpels.* Afterwards, about the End of the Chapter, *That theſe only are true, and of unſhaken Credit, I have at large demonſtrated; and it cannot be that there ſhould be more or fewer than the above mentioned.* Theſe are not the Expreſſions of one that had learn'd of his Parents or Maſters, that a ſet Number of Goſpels had been lately appointed by the Catholic Church, and by their Authority eſtabliſh'd. Had there been more formerly, and held of equal Authority with theſe, the Heretics might have eaſily confuted *Irenæus*, by replying, that this Number was but of late Inſtitution, and that in Truth there had been more formerly. A little after our Author proceeds:

That about the End of Trajan's *Reign, the Goſpels were firſt collected into one Body, may be gather'd from a remarkable Place in* Euſebius: *For at that Time, when* Ignatius *ſuffer'd, when the Prophet* Quadratus *flouriſh'd, when* Papias *had ſeen the Daughters of* Philip *that propheſied, which mark out* Trajan's *Time, he tells us, there were a great many more Diſciples of the firſt Succeſſion, diligently employed in propagating the Goſpel all the World over: Some of which advanced upon the Foundations of the Churches laid by the Apoſtles; ſome diſtributed their Eſtates to the Poor, and quitting their Country, labour'd in the Office of Evangeliſts. Which was of a double Nature; one more antient, diſcharged by the very Apoſtolical Evangeliſts, in preaching the Word of Faith to thoſe that had not yet heard of* Chriſt; *another more recent, and perhaps peculiar to the Evangeliſts of the following Age, to give a written Account of the divine Goſpels. About this Time, therefore, were they written, and more than one put into Mens Hands to be the more divulg'd. And this, I take it, is the firſt and moſt primitive Mention of the Book of Goſpels being univerſally received in the Church: And that it was about the latter End of* Trajan, *or Beginning of* Adrian, *is exceeding credible; a Door being opened into the more Oriental Parts, and Regions formerly unknown, by* Trajan's *Conqueſts over the* Parthians.

Euſebius, in his Narrative of *Ignatius* his Martyrdom, and in his Account of *Quadratus* and the Daughters of *Philip*, informs us expreſly, that *in their Times there were known to be many more beſides them, Succeſſors to the Apoſtles, of the principal Rank;* that is, who were Diſciples of the Apoſtles, as well as *Ignatius*, *Quadratus*, and others as primitive as they: And theſe, we are to think, flouriſhed chiefly in the firſt Century, in which 'tis agreed all the Apoſtles died: *And being worthy Diſciples of ſuch extraordinary Men,* as *Euſebius* continues, *raiſed Superſtructures upon the Foundations of the Churches formerly laid by the Apoſtles in every Nation; improving the Miniſtry, and diffuſing the wholſome Seeds of Celeſtial Doctrine all the World over: For moſt of the Diſciples of that Time being inflam'd with an ardent Zeal for the Profeſſion, had already fulfilled our Saviour's Command, and divided their Poſſeſſions among the Poor.* From all which it is very plain, that his Diſcourſe is concerning the moſt primitive Diſciples, and not concerning we know not what Evangeliſts of later ſtanding, in the ſecond Century. And undoubtedly he alludes to the ſame in what follows. *Afterwards they diſcharged their Evangelical Miniſtry abroad, among thoſe to whom the Word of Faith had never been declar'd; making it their diligent Employment to preach* Chriſt, *and give a written Account of his divine Goſpel.* If this be ſo, then the Diſciples of the Apoſtles were active from the very firſt Age to propagate univerſally the Evangelical Books. Nor is this the firſt Mention of the public Reception of the Goſpels, as appears from the foregoing Allegations.


A Map of the
HOLY LAND
Divided into the XII Tribes
OF ISRAEL
wherein is Exactly
Mark'd ye Travels
OF IESUS CHRIST
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
EMATH
PART OF SYRIA
SOBA
Mount Hermon
Mount Aman
GESSURI
LAND OF HUS
TRACHONITIDE
Part of the HALF TRIBE of MANASSA
BASAN
Gaulanita
TRIBE OF ASER
TRIBE OF NEPHTALI
PHENICIA
TYRUS TYRE
TRIBE OF ZABULON
LAKE OF GENESARETH formerly call'd ye Sea of GALLILE or Sea of TIBERIAS
TRIBE OF ISASCHAR
HALF TRIBE OF MANASSA
SAMARIA
KINGDOM OF ISRAEL
TRIBE OF EPHRAIM
TRIBE OF BENJAMIN
TRIBE OF DAN
TRIBE OF GAD
PEREA
ITUREA
AMONITES
PHERESEANS
DESART OF KEDEMOTH
TRIBE OF RUBEN
COUNTRY of the MOABITES
DESART MATHANA
MADIAN
DESART
LAKE ASPHALTIDES, LAKE OF SODOM OR DEAD SEA
TRIBE OF IUDA
KINGDOM OF IUDEA
TRIBE of SIMEON
PART of IDUMEA or EDOM
DESART OF SIN OR IUDEA
Nazareth
Cana of Galilee
Capernaum
Bethsaida
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Iericho
Gaza
Ascalon
Ioppe
Caesarea of Palestine
Samaria or Sebaste
67
68
69
70
31
32
33
Remarques
Royal Citys
Citys of ye Levites
Citys of Refuge
The Scale
British Miles 60 to a Degree
5
10
15
20
25
30

Sold by Richd Ware
And Wil: Taylor at the Ship in Pa=
=ternoster Row.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF OUR
Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK I.

THE Birth, Life, and Sufferings of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, fill up that glorious Period of Time, to which the diſtant Views and Wiſhes of the Patriarchs and Prophets were directed, and in which all the Promiſes of God may be ſaid to center: In like Manner, the various and ſurprizing Revolutions and Occurrences that have ſince happen'd in the World, appear, to a true Chriſtian, but as ſo many Steps towards the Advancement of the ſpiritual Kingdom of the Meſſiah.

Now 'tis an acknowledg'd Truth, That every Hiſtory is more or leſs valuable, in proportion as we are more nearly or remotely concerned in the Facts it relates. For this Reaſon we are better pleaſed with tracing the Origin and Progreſs of our own Nation, than we can be with enquiring into the Annals of any other People; and hence it is that the Hiſtory of the Science which we profeſs, or the particular Perſon whom we ſhould chuſe to imitate, affords us a Pleaſure ſcarcely to be met with in the reading any other Memoirs whatſoever. But which of all theſe can affect us ſo nearly as the Hiſtory of our Redemption? The Foundation of the Church in the Blood of the Lamb, and the glorious Advances it made in ſpite of Oppoſition, are the Parts of general Hiſtory which a Chriſtian ſhould be beſt acquainted with: And if he ſeeks a noble Example to copy after, whom ſhall he prefer to the great *Captain of his Salvation?* [a] *One who being in the Form of God, thought it no Robbery to be equal with God; yet made himſelf of no Reputation, and became obedient unto Death, even the Death of the Croſs: Wherefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every Name.* In a word, the Life of the *Holy Jeſus*, beſides the Sanction of divine Inſpiration, has, in a Chriſtian Land, every Advantage that can be required, to make it the moſt valuable of all Hiſtories, whether general or particular.

I know it has been often objected, That tho' No-body diſputes the Truth of what is here advanced, yet an Attempt to publiſh the Life of *Chriſt* in a Language wherein the Four Goſpels (the only Books whence the principal Materials of ſuch a Work can be collected) are daily read, has ſomething in it a little odd and extravagant, and ſuppoſes a pretty deal of Vanity, not to ſay Preſumption, in its Author. To this it has been anſwered, That a little Acquaintance with Commentators will very ſoon remove ſuch a Prejudice. They will inform the Perſons who reaſon thus, That abundance of *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms, Offices, and Sects, are alluded to, or barely mention'd, by the Evangeliſts, which may be explain'd at large from other Authors, who wrote of the ſame Times: That the Evangeliſts themſelves will mutually give light to one another, by having their ſeveral Accounts reduced to one regular Hiſtory, wherein Chronology is ſtrictly obſerv'd: I will venture to ſay further, That ſome of our Lord's Diſcourſes, his prophetical ones eſpecially, which are recorded in the Goſpels, may be better underſtood by us, at this Diſtance of Time, than they could be when they were firſt deliver'd. This laſt Aſſertion may, I believe, be ſufficiently proved, by only comparing what our Lord ſays of his own Doctrine, with what we [b] read of his Diſciple's Ignorance in ſeveral Things which he predicted concerning himſelf, till they ſaw them actually fulfil'd. If they did not underſtand him when he ſpoke of his own Sufferings, and the Kingdom he was to erect on Earth, how ſhould they conceive the Meaning of thoſe Prophecies that were not accompliſhed till a long Time after, and were left only as ſo many Witneſſes to Poſterity that he was the true Meſſiah? I will inſtance particularly in what he denounced againſt *Jeruſalem*, which, to us, needs no other Comment than an Account of the Deſtruction of that glorious City and Temple.

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[a] Philip. ii. 6—9.

[b] Mark ix. 32. Luke ix. 45. John xii. 16. with many other Places.

But waving theſe Enquiries, the Reader will immediately ſee that this Work is deſign'd both for a Harmony of the Goſpels and a Commentary upon them: If there needed any thing more to be ſaid in defence of the Uſefulneſs of either, I might add the Examples of many of the moſt illuſtrious Ornaments of Chriſtianity, antient as well as modern. As to the Firſt, which is, I believe, the moſt likely to be diſputed, *Euſebius* [c] informs us, that one *Tatianus*, an Author of the firſt Century, who lived before *Irenæus*, compoſed a [d] *Catena, or Harmony, of the Goſpels*, which he named, [e] *The Goſpel gathered out of the Four Goſpels.* This antient Inſtance proves that the Neceſſity of ſuch a Work was very ſoon perceived in the Church; and the great Help that Books of this kind have afforded to all who ever made uſe of them, has been the Occaſion that ſo many judicious modern Divines have labour'd at bringing them to ſome Degree of Perfection.

Here another Objection may be ſtarted: If the Work has been ſo often and ſo well performed, what Occaſion have we for any new Attempt? We allow ſuch a Liſe of *Chriſt* as is argued for to be neceſſary, but can any Thing be added to all thoſe judicious Peformances which you have juſt now hinted at?

Without being ſuſpected of attempting to depreciate the Labours of ſo many worthy Perſons, I may venture to affirm, that every one of them, who writ after having ſeen what others had performed, was prompted to do ſo by ſome Defects or Redundances, or perhaps both, which he diſcover'd in the Works of his Predeceſſors; otherwiſe we muſt ſuppoſe him to have been guilty of a Fault, or at leaſt a Folly, greater than any Man of Senſe would willingly be accuſed of. Works of this kind are capable of almoſt a continual Improvement, eſpecially in ſuch an Age as this, when a Freedom of thinking and expreſſing our Sentiments has been ſo far indulged, that Men have even called in queſtion the Evidences of the Chriſtian Religion; and by ſo doing, have alarmed its Advocates, and given Occaſion for many fine Productions in defence of our Holy Faith, which otherwiſe we might never have ſeen; the principal Arguments of which will be ſo many additional Illuſtrations to this Account of the Life of the *Bleſſed Jeſus.* 'Tis always the Fate of an ill-grounded Oppoſition to make the Truth appear with exalted Luſtre; and if we only take the Advantages which the Patrons of Deiſm have given us by the Weakneſs of their Cavils, we ſhall have enough to confirm us in what we profeſs to believe. I ſhall endeavour to collect the Subſtance of all that has been ſaid for and againſt this modern Scheme of Infidelity; which alone will be doing Religion no little Service, and conſequently muſt be a ſufficient Excuſe for this new Undertaking.

But I ſhall give my Sentiments yet more freely of thoſe who have gone before in this Tract. All of them, for any Thing I know, may have executed what they propoſe very happily; at leaſt, 'tis not my Buſineſs to point out the Faults of any Particular: Yet I cannot think that any one of them in our Language has taken a proper Scope. The Harmoniſts have generally only connected the very Words of the Evangeliſts, or given us their Senſe in other Words, without explaining any Thing. Others have gone thro the Life of our Saviour in ſuch a Strain of Devotion, that they have omitted many principal Facts purely to make way for their pious Reflections, and given us nothing but what afforded an immediate Handle for ſome ſpiritual Application. Thoſe who have taken a middle, and more rational Method, have touch'd ſo lightly upon every Particular, and intermix'd ſo little of the Commentator, that they are very far from having exhauſted the Subject. The Uſe I would make of this brief Review, is only to point out to the Reader thoſe Rocks which I propoſe to avoid.

Having interſpers'd ſo much of my Deſign thro' what has been already ſaid, I have little more to add, than that I ſhall be very faithful in collecting Materials. References to other Books, which I find in the Writings I make uſe of, ſhall be carefully preſerved; and where I tranſcribe an Author's Words for any conſiderable Length, I ſhall mention him in the Margin; in other Caſes 'twould be endleſs to refer the Reader to Chapter and Page in a Book which I profeſs to collect entirely from other Writers. The Examination of ſuch Queſtions as have been Subjects of Diſpute or Enquiry will be referr'd to ſeparate Diſſertations, that ſo the Thread of the Hiſtory may not be interrupted. When a Quotation is made from any of the learned or foreign Languages, the Tranſlation only will be inſerted in the Text, and the Original put in the Margin; by which means, all thoſe Difficulties that might otherwiſe perplex an unlearned Reader, will be effectually obviated. Where I meet with different Opinions on any important Point, that have nearly an equal Share of Probability, I ſhall produce them all, without preſuming to decide the Queſtion. To conclude, I ſhall endeavour to improve the ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory to the Advantage of the well-diſpoſed Reader; by deducing from our Lord's Diſcourſes the moſt perfect Syſtem of Morality that ever was taught; by proving from his Miracles that he was the true Meſſiah; by ſhewing him as a Patern worthy of our Imitation in his obedient and exemplary Life, and in his painful Death and glorious Reſurrection, as the juſteſt Object of our ſincere Love and eternal Adoration.

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[c] Hiſt. Eccl. L. iv.

[d] Συνάφειαν τίνα ϗ συναγωγὴν των ὀυαγγελλίων.

[e] Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων.

CHAP. I.

I. Time of our Lord's Incarnation. II. Concurrence of Circumſtances at that Time. III. *John the Baptiſt* the Forerunner of Chriſt. IV. Character of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth.* V. Courſes of the *Jewiſh* Prieſthood. VI. Appearance of the Angel to *Zacharias.* VII. *Zacharias* ſtruck dumb. VIII. The Conception of *John the Baptiſt.* IX. The Angel ſalutes *Mary.* X. Tells her his Meſſage. XI. Explains it. XII. *Mary* viſits *Elizabeth.* XIII. Returns her Salutation. XIV. The Birth of *John the Baptiſt.* XV. *Zacharias* recovers his Speech and praiſes God. XVI. The Education of *John.*

I. *IN the Year from the Creation four Thouſand, after Mankind in general had continued above two thouſand Years under the Law of Nature, and the* Jews *almoſt two thouſand more under the typical Diſpenſation deliver'd by God to his Servant* Moſes, *when the Fulneſs of Time was come, and the Expectation of the Meſſiah founded upon repeated Promiſes and Prophecies was at the Height, it pleaſed the Eternal Father to ſend his only Son into the World, to take upon him our Likeneſs, with the Guilt and Puniſhment of our Sins, and to make known unto us the Way of everlaſting Salvation.*

II. *'Tis wonderful how all Circumſtances at this Time concurr'd, to verify the Predictions that were on record, (not only among the* Jews, *the diſtinguiſh'd People of God, but even the Gentiles, who were on that account left without Excuſe) and uſher into the World this glorious Deliverer, the Saviour of Mankind, the Reſtorer of human Nature, and the Founder of a Fifth and Spiritual Monarchy upon the Ruins of the four Preceding. The* [a] *Scepter was now departed from* Judah, *and the Lawgiver from between his Feet;* [b] *the ſeventy Weeks of* Daniel *were near being accompliſhed;* [c] *the laſt great Age of the* Cumean *Prophecy was come;* [d] *the Swords were turned into Plow-Shares and the Spears into Pruning-Hooks; and all this that the Prince of Peace might be born, whoſe Throne is eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs, and of whoſe Dominion there ſhall be no End.*

III. *Such a divine Perſon as this was not to be manifeſted in our Nature without a proper Notice to Mankind. 'Twas neceſſary they ſhould be informed of the extraordinary Benefits they were immediately to be made capable of partaking. God had long before declared by his Prophets,* [e] *That a Meſſenger ſhould go before his Face, to prepare his Way; that he ſhould turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to the Fathers.* [f] *This Meſſenger was further deſcribed under the Character of* Elijah *the Prophet, and in another Place he was call'd,* [g] *The Voice of him that crieth in the Wilderneſs, Prepare ye the Way of the Lord, and make ſtraight in the Deſart a Highway for our God. In accompliſhment of theſe Prophecies therefore, the Conception of* John the Baptiſt, *who was the Forerunner here deſcribed, did neceſſarily precede that of our Lord; and as every Thing that related to the Meſſiah was to be, according to his Name,* [h] *Wonderful, ſo this previous Conception of* John *had ſomething in it beyond the ordinary Courſe of Nature, as will appear from what follows.*

IV. [i] *The Divine Goodneſs had pitch'd upon two Perſons for the Father and Mother of this Child, who were not only remarkable for their Piety and diligent Obſervance of the ſacred Inſtitutions, but who had lived together in Matrimony, without Children, to an Age that is uſually paſt Procreation; demonſtrating thereby, that God can make uſe of what Means he pleaſes to bring about the Purpoſes of his Will, as well as that he ſometimes, even in this Life, rewards a ſteady Adherence to his Commands with extraordinary and unexpected Bleſſings. The Names of theſe Perſons were* Zacharias *and* Elizabeth: *The former a Prieſt, and the latter alſo of the Progeny of* Aaron. Elizabeth's *Barrenneſs had long made her a Subject of Reproach, as was always the Caſe among the* Jewiſh *Women; but ſhe was now to be not only a Mother, but the Mother of a Prophet, greater than any that had riſen in* Iſrael *from the Time of* Moſes *downwards.*

V. [k] *When* David *had appointed the Service of the Temple that was to be built, he divided the Prieſts into twenty four Courſes, who were to officiate by turns, every Courſe beginning on a Sabbath-Day, and continuing all the next Week. Only four of theſe Courſes return'd from the* Babyloniſh *Captivity; the reſt either tarried behind or were extinct. However, that the Number of Twenty-four might ſtill ſubſiſt, each of the remaining Four divided itſelf into Six; the new Courſes taking upon them the Names of thoſe that were wanting.* Zacharias *was of the Courſe of* Abia, *one of the new ones in this Subdiviſion, and the Eighth in order of the Twenty-four. Each of theſe Courſes being by this Time pretty numerous, it was uſual with them all, when it came to their Turn, to chuſe by Lot the Men who were to perform the ſeveral Parts of the Service of that Week: In this Manner* Zacharias *was choſen, and was attending the Duties of his Function in the Temple, when God revealed to him the ſudden Conception of his Wife* Elizabeth.

VI. [l] *He went into the Sanctuary to make the daily Oblations, while the People ſtaid praying in the Court without, according to Cuſtom. Here it was that he ſaw an Angel ſtanding on the Right*

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[a] Gen. xlix. 10.
[b] Dan. ix. 24.
[c] Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas. Virgil. Ecl. iv. ver. 4.
[d] Iſai ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3.
[e] Malac. iii. 1. & iv. 6.
[f] Malac. iv. 5.
[g] Iſai xl. 3.
[h] Ibid. ix. 6.
[i] Luke i. 5, 6, 7.
[k] Ibid. ver. 5.
[l] Ibid. ver. 8—17.

Side of the Altar of Incenſe, and was ſtruck with extraordinary Terror and Amazement at the heavenly Appearance; which, without doubt, was with a Luſtre and Beauty far exceeding any Thing which the good Man had ever ſeen before. The Angel perceived his Surprize, and immediately made his Addreſs in the following Manner: Fear not, Zacharias, *for God is propitious to thee, and has ſent me to tell thee, that thy fervent Prayers, which thou haſt ſo often poured out before him for a Child, and for the Redemption of* Iſrael, *are at laſt heard: Thy Wife* Elizabeth *ſhall bear a Son, and the Name by which thou ſhalt call him is* John, *for he will be* graciouſly given of God. *He ſhall be an Occaſion of great Joy unto thee, and unto many others of the People of God. He ſhall be in Favour with the Almighty himſelf, and ſet apart for an eſpecial Office: For which Reaſon he ſhall abſtain from Wine and ſtrong Drink, and live after the abſtemious Manner of the* Nazarites; *that ſo he may be a proper Habitation for the Holy-Ghoſt, with which he ſhall be filled even from his Birth. And as he is to be the Forerunner of the Meſſiah, who by the Appointment of God ſhall appear immediately after him, he ſhall be furniſhed with Inſtructions and Abilities like thoſe that were formerly committed to* Elias; *that he may convert the* Jews *from their preſent Irregularities, as* Elias *did from the Idolatry of* Baal, *to a conſcientious Worſhip of the true* God. *He ſhall reconcile Father and Son, who are at preſent divided about Religion; he ſhall engage the Obſtinate to receive the Sentiments of the Pious, and lead them all to one Maſter, the Meſſiah, who, when he comes, ſhall by this means find a People prepared to receive and obey his divine Precepts.*

VII. [m] *When* Zacharias *had heard all this, he reflected on the natural Probability of what was predicted; and conſidering the great Age both of himſelf and his Wife, he could not apprehend how ſuch a Thing ſhould ever come to paſs. This Doubt in his own Breaſt, made him demand a Sign of the Angel, whereby he might be aſcertained that his Wife* Elizabeth *ſhould really become a Mother. The Angel, who was permitted to reſolve all the Difficulties he might ſtart, but in ſuch a Manner that he might perceive how much God was offended at his Unbelief, began thus to reprove him: Thou doſt not well to call in queſtion the Truth of my Embaſſy; for I am* Gabriel, *an Angel of God, in whoſe Preſence I miniſter, and from whom I am commiſſioned to bring thee theſe happy Tidings. However, ſince thou haſt raſhly required a Token of my Veracity, as a Puniſhment for thy Want of Faith, thou ſhalt be deaf and dumb till the Things I have declared are punctually fulfil'd, which they ſhall certainly be in their proper Seaſon.*

VIII. [n] *The People, who were waiting all this Time in the Court of* Iſrael, *for the Return of* Zacharias, *wondered that he tarried longer in the Sanctuary than the Prieſt who offered Incenſe uſually did. At length he came out, and found himſelf deprived of Speech, according to the Words of the Angel; for when the People aſked him why he tarried within ſo much longer than was cuſtomary, he could anſwer them only with Signs: However, he made himſelf ſufficiently underſtood by theſe, for his Friends to perceive that he had ſeen a Viſion. When his Week of Miniſtration was expired,* Zacharias *returned to his own Houſe; not long after which* Elizabeth *found herſelf with Child, but made a Secret of her Conception for the firſt five Months, contenting herſelf with giving Thanks to God in private, that he had at laſt condeſcended to look graciouſly on her, and take away from her the Reproach of Barrenneſs.*

IX. [o] *Six Months after the Conception of* Elizabeth, *in the thirty-third Year of* Herod the Great, *King of* Judea, *and the twenty-ſixth after the Eſtabliſhment of* Auguſtus Cæſar *in the Imperial Dignity, the ſame Angel,* Gabriel, *who had foretold the Birth of* John the Baptiſt *to* Zacharias, *was ſent to* Nazareth, *a ſmall City of* Galilee, *about ſixty Miles almoſt North of* Jeruſalem. *His Buſineſs was to foretel the Nativity of* Jeſus Chriſt, *to the bleſſed* Mary, *who was choſen of God to be his Mother. She was a mean but holy Virgin, of the Family of* David, *eſpouſed to one* Joſeph, *a Man of the ſame Condition and Family, who probably, as well as the Virgin, was frequently praying to God for the Accompliſhment of his Promiſes in the Birth of the Meſſiah. The Angel appeared ſuddenly in the Room where* Mary *was, and thus ſaluted her: Hail! happy Virgin, favour'd of God, the Lord is with thee; on thee will he beſtow ſingular Bleſſings, and all Nations ſhall call thee Happieſt of Women.*

X. [p] *We may imagine the Mixture of holy Paſſions, that were raiſed in the Virgin's Soul at this unuſual Appearance. Tho' ſhe had been uſed to ſpiritual Converſe with God himſelf, this was the firſt Time ſhe had ſeen, with her bodily Eyes, a Creature ſo ſuperior in Dignity to Mankind. Her Admiration and Surprize withheld her from a Reply, while ſhe ſilently revolved in her Mind what could be the Meaning of ſuch a Salutation, having never heard of any Thing like it before. The Angel perceiving this, gently adviſed her not to be afraid, and proceeded to deliver his Commiſſion. Be aſſured, ſays he, that thou ſhalt conceive immediately, and bring forth a Son, whom thou ſhalt name* Jeſus. *He ſhall be called the Son of the Moſt High in a peculiar Manner, and the Lord God ſhall give him in Poſſeſſion the Throne of* David, *from whoſe Family he derives his Birth. He ſhall reign over the* Iſraelites, *as his Anceſtors have done, but there ſhall be no End of his Empire; whereas the Kingdom of* David *and his Succeſſors endured only for a few Ages, like the other Monarchies of the Earth.*

XI. [q] *The Holy Virgin thought herſelf a Perſon very unlikely to be a Mother; for tho' ſhe was contracted to* Joſeph, *there had been no Advances made towards the Conſummation of Matrimony, and it ſeems more than probable that ſhe had no Thoughts of altering her Manner of Life, at leaſt for ſome Time: 'Twas therefore with very good Reaſon that ſhe aſked the Angel, How this could be, ſeeing ſhe knew not a Man. But the ſacred Meſſenger now explained the Myſtery of what he had ſaid, by in-*

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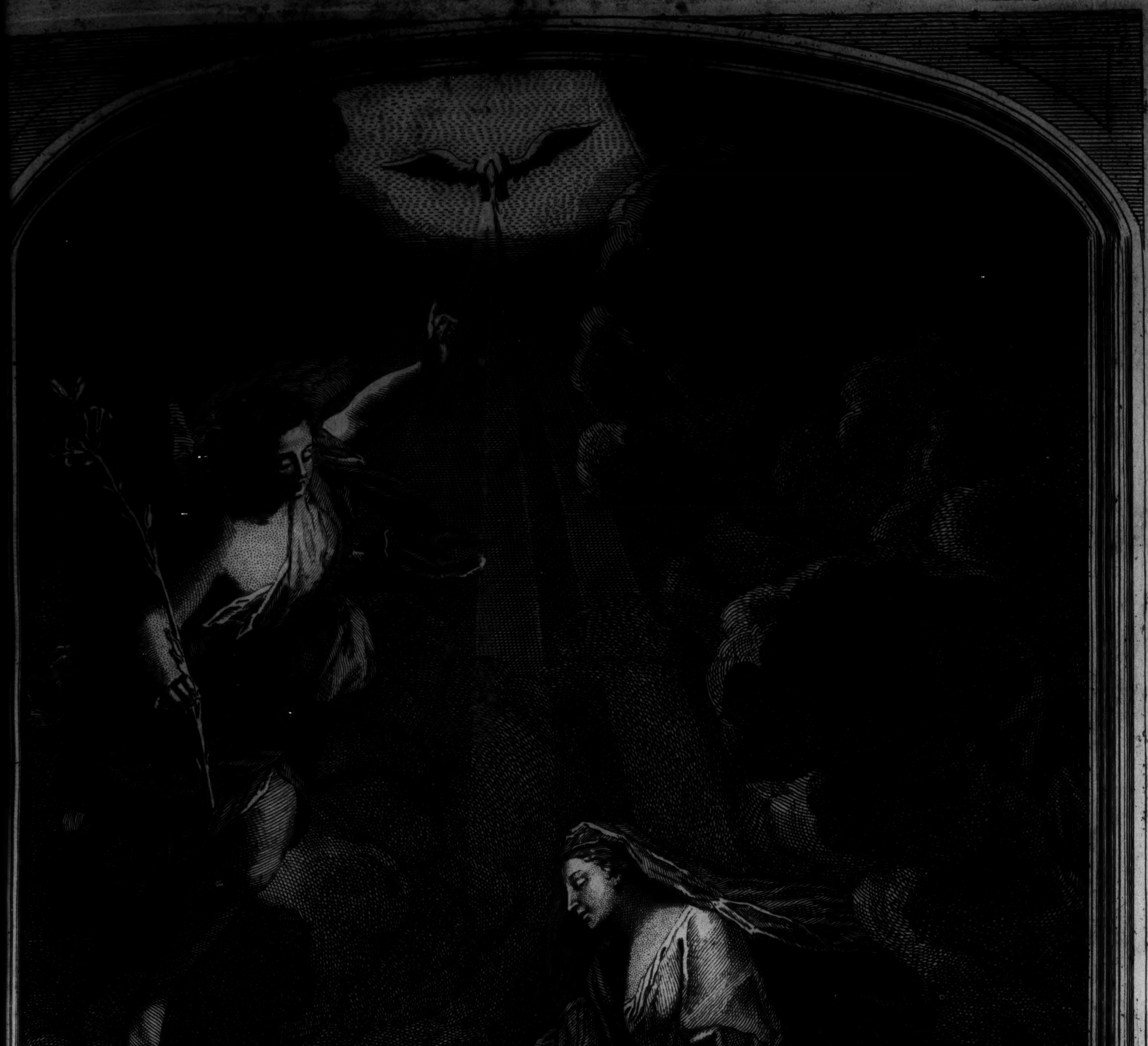
[m] Luke i. 18, 19, 20. [n] Ibid. 21—25. [o] Ibid. 26, 27, 28. [p] Ibid. 29—33. [q] Ibid. 34—38.

forming



THE SALUTATION

of the

Bleſsed Virgin Mary,

Luke Chap. I. ver. 26_38

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forming her, that ſhe ſhould be impregnated by the Divine Power, without the Concurrence of a Man. The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the Power of the Higheſt ſhall over-ſhadow thee; therefore alſo that holy Thing that ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God. And then, that ſhe might have no more Doubts concerning the Truth of his Predictions, he gave her an Inſtance of what God could do, by telling her what he had already done for Elizabeth. *And behold, thy Couſin* Elizabeth, *ſhe alſo hath conceived a Son in her old Age; and this is the ſixth Month with her who was called Barren: For with God nothing is impoſſible. When* Mary *had heard this, ſhe replied, That ſhe was ready to ſubmit to the Divine Pleaſure, whatever it might be, and that ſhe no longer doubted of the Accompliſhment of what God had commanded him to declare; whereupon the Angel diſappeared.*

XII. [r] *Soon after the Departure of the heavenly Miniſter,* Mary, *longing to communicate her Viſion to her Couſin* Elizabeth, *and hear from her own Mouth what ſhe had already ſufficient Authority to believe, took a Journey of about eighty Miles, from* Nazareth *to a City in the Hill-Country of* Judea, *where* Elizabeth *dwelt. She was no ſooner arrived than ſhe repaired to the Houſe of* Zacharias, *and ſaluted* Elizabeth *as ſhe enter'd; when the Child, with which* Elizabeth *was now big, began to ſpring in her Womb in an unuſual Manner: Whereupon the Mother, inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt of what had happened to* Mary, *and inſpired with Sentiments ſuitable to the Occaſion, delivered the Tranſports of her Soul in Words to this Effect: O thou bleſſed among Women! and O bleſſed Son, whom thou beareſt in thy Womb! But whence is this Favour to me, that the Mother of my Lord ſhould come firſt to viſit me, her Handmaid? For no ſooner did the Voice of thy Salutation ſtrike my Ears, but my Child leaped within me, as if he too had known that the Mother of the Meſſiah, big with that happy Burden, was preſent. Bleſſed art thou who haſt believed, for whatever has been foretold thee from the Lord, ſhall be accompliſhed; nor ſhalt thou ſuffer for thy Incredulity, as my Huſband doth, having been dumb from the Time of the Angel's Appearance.*

XIII. [s] *The Return which the Bleſſed Virgin made to theſe Gratulations, was a zealous and joyful Thankſgiving to God, expreſs'd in that admirable Hymn, called the* Magnificat. *My Soul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour; for he hath regarded the low Eſtate of his Handmaiden: For behold, from henceforth all Generations ſhall call me Bleſſed. She adds, That God ſometimes does great Things for the meaneſt of his Servants; that he loves to exalt the Humble and debaſe the Proud; and laſtly confeſſes, That he is faithful to the Promiſes which he had made to* Abraham *and his Seed, in making her the Mother of his Son, the promiſed and long-expected Meſſiah. In this Ode the Bleſſed Virgin diſcovers ſuch a Senſe of the divine Honours with which ſhe was favour'd, and at the ſame Time ſo fully teſtifies her Humility and Devotion, that it appears ſhe was indeed full of Grace, and had a Soul plentifully enriched with the Gifts of God's holy Spirit. The* Magnificat *was ſo eſteemed by the primitive Chriſtians, that they uſed it as a Part of their Devotions; and the Church of* England *retains it in her Service, as proper Language to expreſs the pious Affections of a devout Mind. Thus were their Joys on both Sides uttered, as fully as Words could expreſs: And* Mary *abode with her Couſin* Elizabeth *about three Months, and then returned to her own Habitation at* Nazareth, *being by that Time perfectly convinced of her Pregnancy.*

XIV. [t] *In a ſhort Time after the Bleſſed Virgin was departed from her,* Elizabeth's *full Time was come that ſhe ſhould be delivered; and ſhe brought forth a Son, as the Angel had promiſed. Her Neighbours and Relations, hearing how gracious God had been to her, came to pay their Viſits, and congratulate her on the Happineſs by which ſhe was now diſtinguiſh'd. On the Eighth Day after her Delivery, when the Child was to be circumciſed, and receive a Name, according to the Cuſtom of the* Jews, *the Relations unanimouſly agreed to call him* Zacharias, *after the Name of his Father: But his Mother, who had learned from her Huſband what Name was to be given him, withſtood their Propoſition, and ſteadily inſiſted on it, that he ſhould be called* John. *They replied, that none of his Family had ever been of that Name, and made Signs to* Zacharias, *who ſtill continued dumb, to know his Pleaſure concerning the Matter in debate.* Zacharias *immediately beckoned for a Writing-Table, and writ upon it, His Name is* John; *at which all the Company wondered; not becauſe* John *was an uncommon Name among the* Jews, *but becauſe it was cuſtomary to call Children after ſome one or other of their Anceſtors.* John, *or* Johanan, *ſignifies the Grace of our Lord, and therefore pertinently alluded to the Perſon who bore it, whoſe Office was to prepare the Way of the Lord, and uſher his Grace into the World.*

XV. [v] Zacharias *had no ſooner written the Name of his Son, but he recovered the former Uſe of his Ears and Tongue, and began to give Thanks to God with a very audible Voice, to the Surprize and Aſtoniſhment of all that were preſent, and the whole Neighbourhood and Country round about, as ſoon as it was rumour'd abroad. All the wonderful Accidents, which attended the Birth and Circumciſion of this Child, were taken particular notice of, and People conjectured from thence that he would prove an extraordinary Man. But* Zacharias, *receiving the Influence of the Holy Ghoſt together with the Recovery of his Speech, and now clearly apprehending the near Approach of the deſir'd Meſſiah, broke forth into prophetic Raptures, and bleſſed the Lord God of* Iſrael, *who had begun to viſit and redeem his People, by a mighty Saviour, ariſing out of the Family of* David; *as he before revealed him to* Adam, Abraham, *and all the holy Prophets, that had appeared from the Beginning of the World to that Time: That Mankind might be reſcued out of the Hands of their ſpiritual Enemies, and enabled to ſerve the Lord without Fear, by walking before him in Righteouſneſs*

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[r] Luke i. 39—45.

[s] Ibid 46—56.

[t] Ibid 57—63.

[v] Ibid 64—79.

and true Holineſs. And then, ſpeaking of his own Child, he gives him a Character agreeable to what we find in the Prophets: That he ſhould be eſteemed a Prophet of God; for he ſhould go before the Face of the Lord, to call the Jews *to Repentance, and ſo prepare them to receive his Doctrine at his Manifeſtation. All this he aſcribes to the free and fatherly Goodneſs of God, who cauſed this Sun of Righteouſneſs to ariſe on a benighted World, to give Light to them that ſit in Darkneſs, and in the Shadow of Death, and to guide their Feet into the Way of eternal Happineſs.*

XVI. [w] *Theſe Predictions concerning* John *were fully accompliſhed in proceſs of Time; and God ſo ordered the Education of this Child, that he was not expoſed to any Thing that might hinder the Practice of thoſe ſelf-denying Graces, which were neceſſary to qualify him for his Office. He improved in Wiſdom and Strength of Mind beyond what was common, and led a contemplative Life in Solitudes and Deſarts, till he received his Commiſſion to go and preach Repentance to his Countrymen, and appear in the moſt eminent Cities of the* Jewiſh *Nation. Thus much concerning the Son we have from undoubted Authority: Tradition informs us further, that* Elizabeth *being obliged to fly from the Rage of* Herod *with her Child, then eighteen Months old, ſhe died forty Days after in the Wilderneſs; and that much about the ſame Time* Zacharias *was killed in the Court of the Temple in the Week of his Miniſtration.* [x] *Thus* John *being left an Orphan, the Story adds, God deputed an Angel to be his Nouriſher and Guardian, as he had formerly done for* Iſhmael, *who dwelt in the Wilderneſs, and for* Elias, *when he fled from the Rage of* Ahab. *Whether or no the Fathers, who have left us theſe Particulars, may have Authority enough to ſupport them, every learned Reader has the Liberty to determine for himſelf.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Neceſſity, and gradual Revelations, of the Meſſiah; of the two great Diſpenſations which preceded the Miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt, the Patriarchal and *Moſaical*; the Alluſions under each to the Sacrifice of Chriſt, and the Chriſtian State; with a View of the moſt direct and circumſtantial Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, which relate to this laſt Diſpenſation.

I. *Teſtimony of the Scriptures ſufficient.* II. *Unreaſonableneſs of Scepticiſm.* III. *The Subſtance of this Diſſertation.*

I. THERE is no need of Arguments to prove that Man is fallen from his original State, to thoſe who believe the Doctrine of Redemption; ſince the latter of theſe Doctrines as naturally preſuppoſes the former, as an Acknowledgment of the Authority of the Bible includes a firm Belief of them both. To a Chriſtian therefore, the Account we have of our own Degeneracy from Revelation, is ſufficient to inform him of the Neceſſity there was of ſuch a Perſon as Jeſus Chriſt, to reſtore what Sin had ruined, to re-inſtate Mankind in the Divine Favour, and leave behind him an Example for thoſe to copy after who are willing to be juſt and holy in their Lives. Such an one bleſſes God for the glorious Proviſion he has made, by ſending his Son into the World, who has fully anſwer'd all theſe Purpoſes, and *on whom whoſoever believes ſhall not periſh, but obtain everlaſting Life*, as 'tis expreſs'd by the Son of God himſelf.

II. But we meet with ſome who call in queſtion every thing they cannot immediately comprehend, and had rather continually doubt of the moſt important Truths, than give themſelves the Trouble of accounting for them by a little cloſe Attention. I chuſe to mention Things in the ſofteſt Terms, otherwiſe I might have ſaid, There are many Perſons who act the Braves againſt God and Religion, and are reſolv'd, in ſpite of repeated Convictions, to perſiſt in the Denial of every thing they are unwilling to believe. Admitting that the Corruption of human Nature, and the Neceſſity of a propitiatory Sacrifice, cannot be proved by ſimple Reaſoning, are they not blameable for continuing indifferent in a Point about which ſo great a Part of Mankind are agreed? But if it can be proved that there are certain Signs in our Breaſts of the Degeneracy of our Nature, what will theſe People ſay to excuſe their neglecting to obſerve them? But I ſhall have frequent Opportunities of examining what has been ſaid againſt the ſeveral Parts of Revelation, in the Courſe of this Work: At preſent therefore, I would only leave theſe two Queſtions to be conſider'd cloſely, as they peculiarly relate to the Subject before us. If human Nature be not corrupted, why do we not enjoy that Happineſs and Perfection of which we can think and reaſon ſo clearly? If human Nature was never uncorrupted, whence have we thoſe Ideas of a remote Happineſs, which we are not able to reach, and which frequently give us ſo much Uneaſineſs? Every ingenuous thinking Man will allow, that his Reflections on a diſtant Good, which he cannot attain, cauſe him almoſt a perpetual Diſcontent; and who will aſſert, that the great Author of Nature deſign'd to make Man unhappy with what ſo nobly diſtinguiſhes him, his reaſoning Faculty?

III. Without entering formally into the Diſquiſition of a Point, which we had much better receive on the Authority of the Bible, and the Teſtimony of our own Minds, than endeavour to account for in an argumentative Way, let us only form to ourſelves this plain, and, as I think, rational Syſtem of Things: *That Man, by falling from his original Rectitude, was very early reduced to the Neceſſity of a third Perſon, to make his Peace with God, whom he had offended; and that God immediately found ſuch a Perſon, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom in due Time he determined to ſend into the World, revealing in the mean while his Purpoſe, and accepting the Attonement of this Mediator in the Behalf of all who believed on him, as well before his Manifeſtation as afterwards.*

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[w] Luke i. 80.

[x] St. Chryſoſt. Hom. de Nativ. S. Jo. Baptiſtæ.

This will lead us to enquire into the Nature and Progreſs of theſe Revelations, the religious Rites and Modes of Worſhip of thoſe Believers who lived before the Incarnation of Chriſt, how their Ceremonies alluded to this Meſſiah, and in what Manner God might be ſaid to accept their typical Sacrifices, and other religious Performances. That we may do this diſtinctly, 'twill be proper to conſider the Church from the Creation till this Time, as under a threefold OEconomy, Patriarchal, *Moſaical*, and Evangelical; the Reaſon of which Names will appear in the Sequel. The two former of theſe muſt be the Subject of this Diſſertation, they being previous to the Birth of Chriſt, and filling up the whole Time of the Fathers and Prophets. A ſhort View of them will be neceſſary in order to the better underſtanding of the Evangelical Diſpenſation, introduced by the Son of God, the Perfection towards which the others were but diſtant Steps, the Subſtance of which they were only Shadows. This Survey may be divided into two Sections, by the two Periods it comprehends.

SECT. I. Of the Patriarchal OEconomy.

I. *Patriarch, what it ſignifies.* II. *Religion of the Patriarchs.* III. *Moral Precepts of the Sons of* Noah. IV. *Poſitive Precept concerning eating of Blood.* V. *Of Circumciſion.* VI. *Other poſitive Precepts.* VII. *Worſhip of the Patriarchs.* VIII. *Their Sacrifices.* IX. *Places of Worſhip.* X. *Times of Worſhipping.* XI. *Their Prieſthood.* XII. *Their Morals, ſimple and natural.* XIII. *But inſufficient.* XIV. *They were accepted in the ſame Manner as Chriſtians.*

I. The Word *Patriarch* comes from the *Greek*, and ſignifies Head of a Family. It is uſually applied to the antient Fathers, who lived before *Moſes*, as *Adam*, *Lamech*, *Noah*, *Shem*, *Heber*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Judah*, and all the other Heads of the twelve Tribes. This Name has alſo been extended by the Chriſtians to the Biſhops of the firſt Churches in the Eaſt, as *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Conſtantinople*; and to the Founders of Religious Orders, as St. *Baſil*, St. *Benedict*, St. *Auſtin*, &c. But I muſt confine it in this Diſcourſe to the original and beſt known Senſe, the Fathers before *Moſes*, from whom the Patriarchal Age received its Denomination.

II. The Patriarchal Age commenced from the Beginning of the World, and continued till the Delivery of the Law upon Mount *Sinai*. Under this Diſpenſation the Laws which God gave for the Exerciſe of Religion were either natural or poſitive. Natural Laws are thoſe innate Notions and Principles, whether ſpeculative or practical, with which every Man is born into the World; thoſe common Sentiments of Virtue and Religion, thoſe Ideas of what is proper and right, that are naturally upon the Minds of Men, and obvious to our Reaſon at firſt Reflection; commanding what is juſt and honeſt, and forbidding what is evil and uncomely; and that not only in general, by intimating that what is good ought to be embraced, and what is evil to be avoided, but in the particular Inſtances of Duty, valuing Things by their Conformity or Repugnancy to natural Light, weighing the intrinſic and moral Nature of the Things themſelves, without regarding the Authority they may derive from any arbitrary Conſtitution whatſoever. Theſe Laws, being the Reſults and Dictates of right Reaſon, are, eſpecially as to their firſt and more immediate Emanations, the ſame in all Men in the World, and in all Times and Places. They are interwoven into Mens Nature, and inſerted into the Texture and Conſtitution of our Minds. We need take no Pains to prove that there are ſuch Principles in Mens Breaſts, ſince it is evident from the common Experience of the World; and theſe are what the Apoſtle calls [a] *the Law written in the Hearts, the Conſcience bearing witneſs, and the Thoughts that accuſe or excuſe.* By theſe Laws Mankind were principally governed in the firſt Ages of the World, there being for near two thouſand Years no other ſtanding Rule of Duty than the Dictates of Nature.

III. [b] The *Jews* frequently mention ſeven particular Commands, which they call the Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*. The ſix firſt of theſe are ſaid to be given to *Adam* and his Children, and contain the Subſtance of the Decalogue. The firſt is againſt the Worſhip of Idols, and ſtrange Gods. The ſecond againſt blaſpheming the Name of the true God. The third forbids the ſhedding of innocent Blood. The fourth prohibits Adultery, unlawful Marriages, and inceſtuous Mixtures. The fifth Precept is concerning Theft, and oppoſes invading another Man's Property, the Violation of Bargains, the falſifying a Man's Word, and all manner of Lying and Fraud. The ſixth reſpects the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that Judges and Magiſtrates ſhould be appointed in every Place, for the Order and Government of Civil Societies, and the Determination of Cauſes between Man and Man. Whether theſe Precepts were by any ſolemn external Act particularly deliver'd to the antediluvian Patriarchs or no, 'tis certain they contain a conſiderable Part of Nature's Statute Law, and compriſe the greater Strokes and Lineaments of thoſe natural Dictates that are imprinted on the Souls of Men: And ſo agreeable to Reaſon did they ſeem, that the *Jews*, the fondeſt People under Heaven of their legal Rites, received thoſe *Gentiles* who obſerved them as Proſelytes into their Church, tho' they did not ſubmit to Circumciſion, and the reſt of the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions.

IV. The ſeventh of theſe Precepts was of the poſitive kind, and deliver'd by God to *Noah*: [c] It prohibits eating of Fleſh *with the Blood, which is the Life thereof.* This Precept, as well as the reſt, was impoſed on the *Gentile* Converts by the

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[a] Rom. ii. 14, 15.

[b] Gem. Babyl. tit. Sanhed. Maimonides Tr. Melak, & alibi ap. Judæos.

[c] Gen. ix. 4.

Apoſtolical Synod at *Jeruſalem*, as a proper Expedient to heal the Differences between them and the *Jews*, by whom it had been before received as of equal Authority with the other ſix, and the Obſervance of it required of all Proſelytes. Theſe poſitive Precepts were communicated by God as Occaſion required, to ſupply the Exigencies of the Church. The Signification of this concerning Blood, as appears by [d] what follows the Command to *Noah*, was no other than that God would not have Men trained up to Arts of Cruelty, leſt Severity towards Beaſts ſhould degenerate into Fierceneſs towards Men. We commence inhuman by Degrees, and little Approaches render a Thing in itſelf abhorrent, not only familiar, but delightful. The *Romans*, who firſt entertain'd People in the Amphitheatre with wild Beaſts killing one another, came afterwards wantonly to ſport away the Lives of their Gladiators, and at laſt to caſt Perſons to be devoured by Bears and Lions, merely for the Diverſion of the People. This Law againſt eating Blood was renewed under the *Moſaic* Conſtitution, but with a peculiar Signification, which we ſhall there explain.

V. Another poſitive Precept was concerning Circumciſion, [e] given to *Abraham* at the Time that God enter'd into Covenant with him, to take his Poſterity for his peculiar People, and out of them to raiſe the promiſed Meſſiah. This was to be the diſcriminating Badge of *Abraham*'s Children, and the Seal of the Covenant, as all federal Compacts have ſome ſolemn external Rites of Ratification. It was alſo an Argument of *Abraham*'s hearty Compliance with the Terms of this Covenant, that he would ſubmit at his Years to ſo painful and dangerous an Ordinance. This Inſtitution alſo was afterwards incorporated with the Body of the *Jewiſh* Laws.

VI. We might enumerate ſeveral other Precepts that were occaſionally given for the Uſe of the Church; ſuch as that none of the [f] holy Line, or the Sons of *Seth*, ſhould intermarry with the idolatrous Nations, or *go in unto the Daughters of Men*: Thus we find [g] *Abraham* careful that *Iſaac* ſhould not take a Wife of the Daughters of the *Canaanites*. Such alſo was the Command, that the next Brother to him who died without Iſſue, ſhould marry the Wife of the Deceaſed [h], and raiſe up Seed to his Brother; the Contempt of which Inſtitution coſt *Onan* his Life. By their Obedience to theſe poſitive Laws were the People of God in thoſe Days diſtinguiſhed, when a Corruption of Manners, and the Worſhip of falſe Deities, were grown prevalent, thro' a Neglect of thoſe natural Principles above mention'd. Thus did God begin, even from the Fall itſelf, by a gradual Revelation of his Will, to repair thoſe Parts of his Image in the human Mind which were effaced by the Tranſgreſſion of his firſt Command: As the Degeneracy was greater, the Revelation was clearer and more particular, till the Sun of Righteouſneſs aroſe, with Healing under his Wings. But that we may not anticipate the Subject of the following Parts of this Diſſertation, let us now take a ſhort View of the Patriarchal Worſhip, by conſidering the Nature of it; the Places where, the Times when, and the Perſons by whom, it was adminiſter'd.

VII. Doubtleſs the firſt Care of thoſe holy Patriarchs, was to explain and improve the natural Laws written on the Mind, to all that were under their Charge; and to acquaint them with thoſe divine Traditions and poſitive Revelations, which they themſelves had received from God. Part of the Character of *Abraham*, given by God himſelf, is in theſe Words: [i] *I know him, that he will command his Children, and his Houſhold after him, and they ſhall keep the Way of the Lord, to do Juſtice and Judgment.* To this they joined Prayer and Invocation, than which no Duty is more natural and neceſſary: More natural, as it expreſſes our great Reverence of the Divine Majeſty, and the Propenſity there is in us to make known our Wants: More neceſſary, becauſe our whole Dependance being upon the conſtant Returns of the Divine Power and Goodneſs, 'tis but reaſonable that we ſhould make our daily Addreſſes to him, in whom we live, move, and have our Being. Nor were they wanting in Returns of Praiſe, both by entertaining venerable Thoughts of God, and by Actions ſuitable to thoſe honourable Sentiments. In theſe Acts of Worſhip they were careful to uſe Geſtures of the greateſt Submiſſion, the moſt common of which was Proſtration. [k] Abraham *bowed himſelf towards the Ground.* [l] The Iſraelites *bowed their Heads and worſhipped*, when God ſent them the happy News of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*. This Poſture has ever ſince been the uſual Mode of Adoration in all thoſe Eaſtern Countries.

VIII. But the moſt remarkable Part of the publick Worſhip of thoſe Times was their Sacrifices; a very early kind of Devotion, taking its Riſe in all probability from *Adam*'s Fall. They were either euchariſtical, expreſſing Thankfulneſs for Bleſſings received; or expiatory, offered for the Remiſſion of Sins. Whether theſe Sacrifices were firſt taken up at Mens arbitrary Pleaſure, or poſitively commanded by God, might admit of a very large Enquiry: But it ſeems more than probable, that euchariſtical Sacrifices, ſuch as Firſt-Fruits, and the like, might be ſuggeſted by Mens own Reaſon, as the natural Significations of a grateful Mind. And thus far might there be Sacrifices in the State of Innocence; for Man being created under ſuch excellent Circumſtances as he was in Paradiſe, could not but know that he owed all poſſible Gratitude and Subjection to God, and therefore was obliged to pay him ſome Teſtimony of his Acknowledgment. But when our firſt Father was ſunk under a State of Guilt, he was then to ſeek for a Way to pacify his angry Benefactor; and this was done by bloody and expiatory Sacrifices, which God accepted in the Sinner's ſtead. It ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe that theſe were founded upon as poſitive Inſtitution; for a Pardon of Sin was a Matter of pure Grace and Favour, God alone could appoint the Means by which it ſhould be ſignified and conveyed; which Means might be firſt revealed to *Adam*, and by him communicated to his Children. The Deity propitiated by theſe Attonements, or rather by their Reſpect to a future Redeemer, was wont to teſtify his Acceptance of them by ſome external viſible Sign. Thus *Cain* perceived that God [r] *had reſpect to* Abel's Sacrifice, which probably was diſcovered by ſending Fire from Heaven to deſtroy it, as the Paſſage [s] has formerly been render'd. This frequently happened to the Sacrifices of the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation; and in that famous Sacrifice of *Abraham*, we read, [t] *That a Lamp of Fire paſſed between the Parts of the Sacrifice.*

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[d] Gen. ix. 5, 6.
[e] Gen. xvii. 10.
[f] Gen. vi. 2, 3.
[g] Gen. xxiv. 3, 4.
[h] Gen xxxviii. 8, 9, 10.
[i] Gen. xviii. 19.
[k] Gen. xxviii. 2.
[l] Exod. iv. 31.

IX. 'Tis highly probable, that they had fixed and determinate Places for the Diſcharge of their religious Duties, thoſe eſpecially that were performed in common; for Nature, and the Reaſon of Things would put them upon it. Moſt have expounded the Phraſe, Cain *and* Abel *brought their Oblations,* [v] by adding, *to the Place ſet apart for divine Worſhip*; and 'tis like *Cain* deferred his murderous Intentions till he came into the Field, on account of the Solemnity of the Place, and the viſible Appearances of the Divine Majeſty. Altars, no doubt, were contemporary with Sacrifices themſelves, tho' we read not of them till after the Flood: That 'twas uſual to build them in Groves we have more than one Proof in the Old Teſtament. To inſtance only in *Abraham*, when he dwelt at *Beerſheba* in the Plains of *Mamre*, [w] *he planted a Grove there, and called upon the Name of the Lord the Everlaſting God.* There was an Oak ſtanding here which bore the Patriarch's Name till the Days of *Conſtantine*, who cauſed it to be cut down, and a Church erected in the Place, on account of its being prophaned, becauſe both *Jews* and Gentiles, as well as Chriſtians, uſed to viſit it, and do honour to the venerable Relict, according to the different Principles of their Religion. *Joſephus* [x] mentions the Place of this Oak, and ſays it was called *Ogyges*; whence 'tis conjectured that *Noah* might live there before, and either give Name to the Place, or receive his own Name from it, he being uſually called *Ogyges* by Pagan Writers. The Gentiles, and particularly the *Druids*, might probably derive their Oaks and Groves from this Practice of the Patriarchs, as they did their Name from the Place of their Worſhip, the Word *Deru* ſignifying an Oak both in *Celtic* and *Welſh*; and 'tis well known that the *Druids* were the Maſters of Religion and Learning among the antient *Gauls* and *Britons*.

X. As to the Times when thoſe Antients uſually paid their Devotions, ſince Order is more eſpecially neceſſary in Actions of Religion, we cannot think that the Patriarchs of the Church were left at an Uncertainty in a Matter of ſuch Importance, when we find the moſt unpoliſhed Heathens had Times ſet apart for the Worſhip of their Gods. When *Cain* is ſaid to bring his Oblation *in proceſs of Time*, the original Word ſignifies a determinate or appointed Time. But this is all we chuſe to ſay on this Head, the Argument for a weekly Sabbath, taken from the Place where 'tis ſaid, [y] *That God reſting on the Seventh Day from all his Works, bleſſed the Seventh Day and ſanctified it*, having but little Force; it being confeſſed by the *Jews*, and aſſerted by many of the antient Fathers, that there are no Footſteps of ſuch a Sabbath thro' all the Patriarchal Periods, till the Time of *Moſes*.

XI. We proceed to the Perſons by whom their public Worſhip was adminiſtered. The Prieſthood in thoſe Times was veſted in the Heads of Tribes and Firſt-born of every Family; to whom it belonged to bleſs the Family, to offer Sacrifices, to intercede for them by Prayer, and to miniſter in other Acts of Religion: And this Office hereditarily deſcended to the Firſt-born, who had the Power to diſcharge it during the Life of his Father. *Abraham* was a Prieſt, tho' *Sem*, the Head of the Family, ten Degrees removed from him in a direct Line, was yet alive. *Jacob*, who ſucceeded in his Brother's Right, offered Sacrifices in the Life-time of his Father *Iſaac*. This was not, however, ſo abſolute, but that the younger Brothers might in ſome Caſes exerciſe the ſacerdotal Function; for we know that neither *Abraham*, *Levi*, nor *Moſes*, was an eldeſt Son: But in general the Caſe was thus: The Patriarch of every Tribe was High-Prieſt over all the Families deſcended from him; the Firſt-born of every Branch, was ordinary Prieſt of his particular Family; the younger Brethren, when they left their Fathers Houſe, becoming Heads of Families, aſſumed alſo the ordinary Prieſthood, tho' the main Honour was reſerved for the elder Brother. This Right of the Prieſthood was ſo much eſteemed, that 'tis thought *Eſau* is called [z] *a prophane Perſon* for ſelling his Birth-right, becauſe he thereby made light of that ſacred Office.

XII. This brief Enquiry into the Worſhip of the Patriarchs, gives us the Idea of a Religion altogether natural, ſimple, unforced, and highly agreeable to the common Dictates of our Minds. They were not conducted by a Body of numerous written Laws, but following the Order of Nature and right Reaſon, they maintained a free and uninterrupted Courſe of Integrity and Devotion: So that having purged their Minds from Luſt and Paſſion, they had no other external Conſtitutions than thoſe which were immediately given them by God, as the Occaſion required, either as Preſervatives from the Pollutions among which they dwelt, or as Shadows of ſome future Good, on which they were taught to depend. Of this Religion were *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Sem*, *Lot*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and all that fill up the direct Line from *Seth* thro' many Generations; of the ſame Religion alſo were *Melchiſedek* and *Job*, tho' we have no particular Acount of their Families. The latter of theſe two ſeems to have particularly [a] clear'd himſelf of all Offences againſt the ſix moral Precepts that were mentioned at the Beginning of this Diſſertation, in different Parts of his Conference with his three Friends, as may be ſeen by the Places quoted in the Margin compar'd with the Precepts themſelves.

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[r] Gen. iv. 4, 5.

[s] By Theodotion.

[t] Gen. xv. 17.

[v] Vide P. Fag. in Gen. iv.

[w] Gen. xxi. 33.

[x] Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. c. 2.

[y] Gen. ii. 3.

[z] Heb. xii. 16.

XIII. But theſe holy Men had all need of ſomething more than this natural Worſhip: Even their expiatory Sacrifices were no otherways accepted of God than as they pointed out the great Sacrifice of his Son, who was in due Time to be offered once for all for the Sins of the World; and therefore St *Paul* [b] attributes the ſuperior Excellence of all the Patriarchs to their Confidence in the Promiſes of God. This Apoſtle, after having enumerated the particular Trials of their Faith that are recorded in the Old Teſtament, concludes with ſaying, that *theſe all having obtained a good Report thro' Faith, received not the Promiſes, God having reſerved ſome better Things for us, that they without us ſhould not be made perfect.* Now that by *the better Things reſerved for us*, ſhould be underſtood the Coming of *Chriſt*, and the clearer Revelation of the new Covenant, ſeems agreeable to the Apoſtle's Reaſoning thro' this and the next Chapter, and proves the Imperfection of the Diſpenſation under which the Patriarchs lived. And as he runs over the Names of the moſt remarkable Perſons for Piety under the Law, as well as before it, his Argument holds good with reſpect to that Diſpenſation alſo. If none of theſe extraordinary Perſons, who carried their Duty to the greateſt Length that ever any of the Sons of *Adam* have done, could be juſtified in the Sight of God any otherwiſe than by Faith alone; if the moſt ſurprizing Inſtances of their Humility, Steadfaſtneſs, and Obedience, were accepted only as ſo many Proofs of their Confidence in the Promiſes of God, with reſpect to the future Meſſiah; if theſe Particulars are true, how neceſſary was the Manifeſtation of this Meſſiah, on whoſe expected Satisfaction the moſt excellent of Humankind, who to the cleareſt Reaſon had the additional Advantage of occaſional Revelation, had ſo long before depended for all their Merit, and whom they beheld from afar as their Propitiation with the Father?

XIV. Thus, notwithſtanding the Difference of outward Forms and Cuſtoms, the Faith and Manners of the Patriarchs were one and the ſame with the Belief and Practice of Chriſtians; with this Advantage however on our Side, that we have a more certain Ground for our Faith, from the Evidence we have, that all the Promiſes on which they depended have been ſince actually accompliſh'd. [c] *Euſebius* not only aſſerts this, and makes it good in general, but deduces it from the particular Inſtances of *Enoch*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, and others before mention'd, whom he expreſly proves to have believed and lived [d] *altogether after the Manner of Chriſtians*: Nay, that they had the Name as well as the Thing, as he ſhews from the Words, [e] *Touch not my Chriſtians, my Anointed, and do my Prophets no Harm*; which he demonſtrates to be meant of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*. In a word, he maintains, That as they had the ſame common Religion, ſo they had the ſame common Reward and Benefit. That this was the direct Meaning of Heaven is alſo plain from the Meſſiah's being promiſed in the very Infancy of the World, as ſoon as ever Man found himſelf in a helpleſs Condition. The very Sentence paſt upon our firſt Parents was accompanied with an Aſſurance, [f] *That the Seed of the Woman ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's Head*; and the Command of Circumciſion given to *Abraham*, for himſelf and his Poſterity, was only the Seal of that Covenant, [g] *That in his Seed ſhould all the Nations of the Earth be bleſſed:* The Particulars of which Covenant were ſo well underſtood by *Jacob*, that he declared in the Spirit of Prophecy, which [h] of his Sons ſhould have Dominion over his Brethren till the Meſſiah actually appeared.

SECT. II. Of the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation.

I. Moſaical *Diſpenſation, what, and by whom introduced.* II. *Delivery of the Law.* III. *Subſtance of it.* IV. *Moral Laws of the* Jews. V. *Their Ceremonial Laws, of what they conſiſted, and for what Purpoſe introduced.* VI. *Prayer.* VII. *Sacrifices.* VIII. *Sacraments.* IX, X, XI, XII. *Where, when, and by whom, their ritual Inſtitutions were celebrated.* XIII. *End of the Ceremonial Law.* XIV. *Judicial Conſtitutions.* XV. *Methods of Revelation under the Law.* XVI. Urim *and* Thummim. XVII. *The Spirit of Prophecy.* XVIII. *The audible Voice.* XIX, XX, XXI, XXII. *Prophecies under the Law conſider'd, and applied.*

I. When the Church was multiply'd into a great Nation, God was pleaſed to renew that Covenant with the whole Body of the People, which he had before made with private Families, by giving them a Diſpenſation [i] *conſiſting of Meats and Drinks, and divers Waſhings, and carnal Ordinances, impoſed on them until the Time of Reformation.* The Miniſter of this Diſpenſation was *Moſes*, the Son of *Amram*, a Perſon of extraordinary Qualities, whoſe ſignal Preſervation, when but an Infant, preſag'd him to be born for great Undertakings. The Hiſtory of his Advancement, Wiſdom, Learning, and Humility, may be at large collected from the ſacred Writers and *Joſephus*; of his being call'd by God for the Leader of his People, of his Negotiations with *Pharaoh* for the Delivery of the *Iſraelites* out of Bondage, of the Miracles he wrought to confirm his Commiſſion, and how he at laſt prevail'd with the Tyrant, and led forth the People.

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[a] See Job. xxxi. 26, 27, 28. xxxi. 29. xxxi. 9, 10, 11. 5—7. xxiv. 2, 3, 4. xxxi. 11. 28.
[b] Hebrews xi. throughout.
[c] Demonſtratio Evangelica. Lib i. cap. 5 & 6.
[d] Ἄντικρυς χριστιανικῶς.
[e] Μὴ ἅπτεσθε τῶν χριστῶν μου. The Word *Chriſtos* ſignifies Anointed.
[f] Gen. iii. 15.
[g] Gen. xvii. 7, 8, 9, &c.
[h] Gen. xlix. 8, 9, 10.
[i] Heb. ix. 10.

II. The *Iſraelites* having paſs'd the *Red Sea*, and ſeen the Hoſt of the *Egyptians* drowned therein, when they came into the Wilderneſs of *Arabia*, they were ordered to ſanctify themſelves for three Days, that they might entertain the Divine Will with a pure Mind. *Moſes* was call'd up into Mount *Sinai*, where, being prepared by Faſting and Prayer, he converſed with Heaven, and received the Body of the *Jewiſh* Laws. On the third Day after the People had begun to purify themſelves, God deſcended from Heaven with great Appearances of Majeſty and Terror, with *Thunders* and *Lightnings*, with *black Clouds* and *Tempeſts*, with *Shouts* and the *loud Noiſe of a Trumpet*, with *Fire and Smoke on the Top of the Mount*, *aſcending up like the Smoke of a Furnace*; the *Mountain itſelf quaking*, the *People trembling* [k]; ſo terrible was the Sight, that *Moſes* himſelf said, *I exceedingly fear and quake*. Such Pomp and Magnificence did God make uſe of at this Time, to excite the more ſolemn Attention to his Laws, and beget the greater Reverence for them in the Minds of the People.

III. The Digeſt, or Code, of the Laws which God now gave to the *Jews*, as the Terms of the national Covenant which he made with them, conſiſted of three Sorts of Precepts; Moral, Eccleſiaſtical, and Political; which the *Jews* will have intimated by the *Laws*, *Statutes*, and *Judgments*, ſo often mention'd in the Writings of *Moſes*. By Laws they underſtand the Moral Law, or our natural Notions of Good and Evil: By Statutes, Ceremonial Precepts, given with peculiar Reference to the Church: By Judgments, political Laws, concerning Equity, and the Order of human Society. I ſhall briefly conſider them all, according to this Diviſion.

IV. The Moral Laws are contained in the Decalogue, or [l] *the ten Words* that were written upon two Tables of Stone. They are nothing but a Summary of the great Laws of Nature, the moſt material Parts of which were now conſign'd to Writing, and incorporated with the *Jewiſh* Inſtitutions. Thoſe, however, who take the Decalogue for a complete Syſtem of natural Laws, are greatly miſtaken, there being many Inſtances of Duty ſo far from being commanded in it, that they are not reducible to any Part of it, unleſs drawn thither by unnatural Inferences. Where do thoſe Commandments oblige us to do good to others? to love, aſſiſt, relieve our Enemies? Where do they command, or even intimate, the Duty of Gratitude to Benefactors? Not to inſtance in many other Particulars; from all which 'tis probable, that God reduced only ſo many of the Laws of Nature to Writing as were proper to the preſent State and Capacity of the People to whom they were given; adding ſome, and explaining others, by the Preaching and Miniſtry of the Prophets. Hence it is that our Lord, *who* [m] *came not to deſtroy the Law, but to fulfil it*, has explained the Obligations of Nature more fully and clearly, render'd our Duty more fix'd and certain, extended many Inſtances of Obedience to higher Meaſures, to greater Exactneſs and Perfection, than they were ever underſtood to have before. The Doctrine of univerſal Charity, [n] *That we ſhould love our Enemies, bleſs them that curſe us, do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe us and perſecute us*; the Doctrine of Self-denial, [o] *and taking up of the Croſs*; that of retrenching our irregular Appetites, expreſſed [p] *by cutting off a Right Hand, and plucking out a Right Eye*; theſe, and many more, are Evangelical Commands, yet agreeable to the great Standard of Nature. Add to this, that beſides the Duties omitted in the Decalogue, the Command concerning the Sabbath-Day had never been inſerted there, had God deſign'd to give a mere Summary therein of the Laws of Nature; that Command having nothing of an eternal Obligation in it more than this, That God ſhould be honour'd with public, as well as private, Worſhip, which he cannot be unleſs proper Portions of Time are ſet apart for that Purpoſe. The reſt of the Commandments did not derive their Authority from the Sanction which God gave them on Mount *Sinai*, but from their own moral and internal Goodneſs, being as immutable as God himſelf.

V. The Ceremonial Laws ſeem to have been given for two Purpoſes: For the more orderly Government of the Church, the more decent Adminiſtration of the Worſhip of God; and that they might be Types and Figures of the Evangelical State, [q] *Shadows of good Things to come*, viſible and ſymbolical Repreſentations of the Meſſiah, and the great Bleſſings which he was to introduce into the World. I ſhall reſpect them chiefly in the latter of theſe Lights; which doubtleſs was the principal End of their Inſtitution, and the Reaſon why God was ſo particular in the minuteſt Part of the Temple Miniſtration. The *Moſaical* Worſhip conſiſted chiefly in Prayer, Sacrifices, and Sacraments.

VI. Prayers were daily put up together with their Offerings; of which tho' we have few Conſtitutions, yet the particular Forms that are extant in the *Jewiſh* Writings and the conſtant Practice of that Church, are ſufficient Evidence.

VII. Sacrifices were the conſtant and moſt ſolemn Part of their Worſhip, they having their continual Burnt-Offering, a Lamb offer'd Morning and Evening, with a Meaſure of Flour, Oil, and Wine; the Charge whereof was defray'd out of the Treaſury of the Temple. The reſt of their Sacrifices, like thoſe of the Patriarchs, were either expiatory or euchariſtical. The expiatory Sacrifices were to pacify the divine Diſpleaſure, and procure the Pardon of Sin, which they did by virtue of their typical Relation to the great Sacrifice of the Son of God. They were either whole Burnt-Offerings for Sin in general, which were entirely conſum'd; or for the Redemption of particular Offences; of which latter there were two Sorts: The Sin-Offering, for involuntary Offences, either of the Prieſt, the Prince, the People, or any private Perſon; and the Treſpaſs-

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[k] Heb. xii. 21.

[l] So they are called in the *Hebrew*.

[m] Matth. v. 17.

[n] Ibid. 44.

[o] Matth. x. 38. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. Luke ix. 23.

[p] Matth. xviii. 8. Mark ix. 45.

[q] Heb. x. 1.

Offering, for ſtudied and premeditated Tranſgreſſions, which the Offenders could not pretend were the Effects of Chance or Surprize. Euchariſtical Sacrifices were Teſtimonies of Gratitude to God for Mercies received. They were of three Sorts. The *Meat-Offering*, in return for the daily Preſervation and Proviſions of Life, conſiſting only of the Fruits of the Ground. The *Peace-Offering*, from a Senſe of ſome Bleſſing received, or to perform the voluntary Obligation of ſome Vow: Here the Fat was conſumed, and the reſt divided between the Prieſt and the Offerer. The *Thankſgiving-Offering* was a mixed kind of Sacrifice, conſiſting of living Creatures, and the Fruits of the Earth, which they might offer at their own Will, but it muſt be eaten the ſame Day. All other occaſional Sacrifices are reducible to one or other of theſe Heads.

VIII. The third Part of their Worſhip was their two Sacraments, *Circumciſion* and the *Paſſover*. Of Circumciſion and the myſtical Reaſon of its Inſtitution I have ſpoken before, and will only add in this Place, that it was to be adminiſter'd the eighth Day, which the *Jews* underſtand incluſively, for ſix whole Days, and Part of two others, in like manner as we reckon three Days between our Saviour's Burial and his Reſurrection. The Paſſover was inſtituted as an annual Memorial of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*, and as a typical Repreſentation of our ſpiritual Redemption by Chriſt. It was to be celebrated with a Male Lamb without Blemiſh, taken out of the Flock; to [r] denote *the Lamb of God, that takes away the Sins of the World, who* [s] *was taken from among Men, a* [t] *Lamb without Blemiſh and without Spot, holy, harmleſs, undefiled, and ſeparate from Sinners.* None but the Clean and Circumciſed might eat of it, to ſhew that only true Believers can be Partakers of Chriſt, and the Merits of his Death. I might run this Parallel thro' the whole Ceremony, the Meaning of it all being ſo obvious, that No-body could accuſe me for ſo doing of an Over-fondneſs for Allegory: But I chuſe to conclude with one Inſtance more. The Paſchal Lamb was to be eaten with unleaven'd Bread, all manner of Leaven being at that Time to be carefully baniſh'd out of their Houſes, to repreſent to us what infinite Care we ſhould take to cleanſe and purify our Hearts, [u] *to purge out the old Leaven, that we may be a new Lump*; and that *ſince Chriſt our Paſſover was ſacrificed for us, therefore we ſhould keep the Feaſt* in commemoration of his Death *not with old Leaven, neither with the Leaven of Malice and Wickedneſs, but with the unleavened Bread of Sincerity and Truth.*

IX. To purſue the Method of the former Part of this Diſſertation, I ſhould now take notice of the Places where, the Times when, and the Perſons by whom, the ceremonial Worſhip of the *Jews* was performed. Each of theſe Particulars might be largely treated of, and to Advantage in the preſent Enquiry, they being all very ſignificant, and having a viſible Relation to the more glorious OEconomy of the Goſpel; but having already gone beyond my intended Length, I ſhall leave a great deal on every one of theſe Articles, as I have already done with reſpect to many of the foregoing Particulars, to be introduced in others Parts of this Work, where they may be ſeparately conſider'd at large as Occaſion offers, without ſuſpending my Reader's Attention too long at once from the Hiſtory itſelf.

X. In brief then, the Places of their public Worſhip were either the Tabernacle made in the Wilderneſs, or the Temple built by *Solomon*, between which there was no eſſential Difference, the former being as it were a moveable Temple, and the latter a ſtanding Tabernacle. They were divided into, *The Holieſt of all*, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, a Type of Heaven, whither none enter'd but the High-Prieſt, and that but once a Year; the *Holy-Place*, or *Sanctuary*, where the ordinary Prieſts performed their daily Miniſtrations; and the *Inner-Court*, whither the People came to offer their Prayers and Sacrifices. There was alſo added a Fourth Court, called the *Court of the Gentiles*, into which Strangers and *Jews* that were unclean might enter. This in the New Teſtament is ſometimes called the Temple, and here it was that the *Corban*, or Treaſury, was kept. The Golden Cenſer, the Ark of the Covenant, the Pot of Manna, *Aaron*'s Rod that budded, the two Tables, the Mercy-Seat, the Golden Candleſtic, the Shew-Bread, *&c.* are Types of the Meſſiah, and will hereafter ſeverally fall under our Conſideration.

XI. Their Times of Worſhip were daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly. Their daily Worſhip was the Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Their weekly Solemnity was the Sabbath, a Type of that Reſt that remains for the People of God. Their monthly Feſtivals were the New-Moons, obſerved with Sacrifices, Sound of Trumpets, and other Expreſſions of joy, in remembrance of the Bleſſings which had that Month been conferred on them. Their grand annual Feaſts were three, at which all the Males were to appear at *Jeruſalem*, and preſent themſelves before God. *Firſt*, The Paſſover, celebrated as before deſcribed, on the fourteenth Day of the firſt Month. *Secondly*, The Pentecoſt, fifty Days after the Paſſover, partly in memory of the Promulgation of the Law, partly as a Thankſgiving for the Gathering in of their Harveſt. *Thirdly*, The Feaſt of Tabernacles, beginning on the fifteenth Day of the ſeventh Month, and continuing ſeven Days ſuceſſively; at which Time they dwelt in Booths made of green Boughs, as a Memorial of their Sojourning in the Wilderneſs, and a Type of the tranſitory Duration of this Life. Beſides theſe were ſome of leſs Moment, ſuch as the Feaſt of Trumpets, and that of Expiation. Every Seventh was a Sabbatical Year, when the Ground was to lie fallow; and every fiftieth Year, which was the Return of ſeven times ſeven, was a Jubilee, when Servants were releaſed, Debts diſcharg'd, and mortgaged Eſtates reſtored to the proper Owners. How evidently did this ſhadow out the State of the

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[r] John i. 29, 36.

[s] 1 Pet. i. 19.

[t] Heb. 7. 26.

[u] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

Goſpel, and our Lord's coming to bring [y] *Good Tidings to the Meek, to bind up the Broken-hearted, to preach Liberty to the Captives, and the Opening of the Priſon to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable Year of the Lord, that they might lift up their Heads, becauſe their Redemption drew nigh?*

XII. For the Adminiſtration of public Worſhip were the High-Prieſt, the ordinary Prieſts, and the Levites; who all had their proper Offices. Of theſe the High-Prieſt was moſt eminently a Figure of the Meſſiah, [z] *the one Mediator between God and Man, who by the Sacrifice of himſelf, thro' the Veil of his own Fleſh, entered not into the holy Place made with Hands, but into Heaven itſelf, to appear in the Preſence of God for us*; in like Manner as the High-Prieſt only, once a Year, entered in the *Holieſt of all*, to make Attonement for the Sins of the People.

XIII. I have omitted the ritual Conſtitutions about Meats and Drinks, Creatures clean and unclean, ceremonial Pollutions, and other Proviſions concerning the ſeveral Parts of human Life; it being ſufficient to obſerve in general, That the whole ceremonial Law [a] *had only a Shadow of good Things to come, and not the very Image of the Things themſelves; the Body was Chriſt*: And therefore tho' [b] *the Law came by Moſes, yet Grace and the Truth* of all thoſe Types and Figures *came by Jeſus Chriſt*. Ceremonies were no longer of Uſe when once the Subſtance was at Hand; as the Stars diſappear at the Riſing of the Sun. *The* [c] *Meſſiah being cut off, cauſed the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe.* [d] Forty Years before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, [e] ſay the *Jews* themſelves, [f] *the Lot did no more go up into the Right-hand of the Prieſt,* [g] *nor did the ſcarlet Ribbon any more turn White, nor the Evening Lamp burn any longer; and the Gates of the Temple open'd of their own accord.* This laſt Particular at once confirms what the Goſpel reports of the Opening of the Temple by the Sciſſure of the Veil; as in the reſt they ſeem to confeſs, that their Sacrifices and Temple-Services began to ceaſe, or at leaſt to fail, about the Time of Chriſt. And how ſhould they do otherwiſe, when the Reaſon for which they were at firſt inſtituted was no longer in being?

XIV. The judicial and political Laws of the *Jews* were the municipal Laws of the Nation, enacted for the Good of the State. They were a kind of Appendage to the ſecond Table of the Decalogue, as the ceremonial Laws were to the firſt. As theſe Laws were peculiarly calculated for the *Jewiſh* State, they cannot reaſonably be impoſed on any other People, tho' enacted by the wiſeſt Legiſlator, unleſs ſuch People were under an equal Concurrence of Circumſtances with that of the *Iſraelites*, when theſe Precepts were given. Therefore they went off the Stage with the *Jewiſh* Polity; and if any Parts of them do ſtill remain obligatory, 'tis becauſe they are Branches of the Law of Nature, and conſequently immutable and eternal. The *Jews* have ſeveral trifling Conceits about the Numbers they find in the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions, which are of a Piece with many other of their childiſh Inventions, and therefore not worth tranſcribing.

XV. Before we part with this Account of the *Moſaical* Œconomy, it will be worth while to take Notice briefly of the principal Methods in which God communicated his Mind to that People, which were theſe two; the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the Spirit of Prophecy.

XVI. What the Urim and Thummim was the Scriptures have no where explained, any farther than to ſay, that it was ſomething which *Moſes* put into the Breaſt-Plate of the High-Prieſt. The learned Dr. *Prideaux*, after having given the ſeveral Opinions of Commentators, concerning it, concludes it to be only the divine Virtue and Power given to the Breaſt-Plate at its Conſecration, of obtaining an oraculous Anſwer from God; and that theſe Words, which literally ſignify Light and Perfection, mean no more than the Clearneſs and Truth which thoſe Anſwers carried with them. The ſame Author, with as good Reaſon, believes the Manner of asking Counſel by the Urim and Thummim to be this. The High-Prieſt, clothed with his Robes and Breaſt-Plate, preſented himſelf before the Ark of the Covenant, without the Veil of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*; the King, the Preſident of the Sanhedrim, or the General of the Army, ſtanding at ſome Diſtance behind him; for God would be conſulted this Way only in national Affairs. When the Matter was propoſed concerning which Counſel was deſired of the Lord, the Anſwer was given from the Mercy Seat within the Veil, by an audible Voice. The Form ſeems to have been much the ſame when the Breaſt-Plate was carried to the Camp, without the Ark of the Covenant; for a Tent was built, on which was placed a Coffer reſembling the Ark, which ſerved as the Repoſitory of the Breaſt-Plate and Ephod; before this the Prieſt who was *anointed for the Wars* in the room of the High-Prieſt, made his Addreſſes, and receiv'd an Anſwer from God on any Emergency, as directly as when the Ark was preſent.

XVII. But the moſt frequent and ſtanding Method of divine Revelation was the Spirit of Prophecy, when God communicated his Will by Dreams and Viſions, or immediate Inſpirations. The higheſt Pitch of this prophetic Revelation was that which God uſed to *Moſes*, when he [e] *ſpake to him Face to Face, as a Man ſpeaketh unto his Friend.* This is evidently diſtinguiſhed from the other Methods of Inſpiration, when God ſays, [f] *If there be a Prophet among you, I the Lord will make myſelf known unto him in a Viſion, and will ſpeak unto him in a Dream. My Servant* Moſes *is not ſo; with him I will ſpeak Mouth to Mouth, and not in dark Speeches, and the Similitude of the Lord ſhall be behold.* Beſides theſe Ways of ſpeaking by Dreams and Viſions, God ſometimes dealt immediately with the Underſtandings of Men, diſtinct from their Fancy and Senſes, which was the moſt ſerene and eaſy Way to the Prophet, he having his Powers active, his Mind calm and undiſturbed, while the Supreme Being imparted his Pleaſure. Theſe divine Communications were always ſo convey'd, and the Evidence they brought was ſo mighty and perſpicuous, that the inſpired Perſon had no Room to doubt their heavenly Original. 'Tis true, indeed, when the prophetic Spirit ſeized upon wicked Men, as in the Caſe of *Balaam* and *Caiaphas*, the Revelation paſſed through them, as a Sound through a Tube, without leaving any ſuitable Impreſſion on their Minds; but the true Prophets always knew the Spirit that acted them, and what was the Meaning of the Intelligence they receiv'd.

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[y] Iſai. lxi. 1, 2. Luke iv. 18. [z] 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ix. 26. x. 20. [a] Heb. x. 1. [b] John i. 17.

[c] Dan. ix. 26. [d] Which anſwers to the Time of our Lords Crucifixion.

[e] Jom cap. iv. fol. 39. ap. Buxtor. Recenſ. oper. Talm. p. 218.

[f] This refers to the Day of Expiation; when two Goats were brought to the High-Prieſt, and placed, one on his Right Side, the other on his Left; at the ſame Time that two Lots were put into an Urn, on one of which was written *for the Lord*, and on the other *for the Scape-Goat*. After the Urn had been ſhaken, the Prieſt put both his Hands into it, and took out the Lots; when if that *for the Lord* came up in his Right Hand, 'twas thought a propitious Omen. Till the Time of *Simon the Juſt*, this was always the Caſe; from *Simon*'s Time till now the Lot for the Lord came up ſometimes in the Right Hand, and ſometimes in the Left; but after our Lord's Death always in the Left.

[g] The Scarlet Ribbon was tied to the Forehead of the Scape-Goat, and its turning White was a Token that God accepted of the Attonement.

XVIII. The *Jews* mention another kind of Revelation, which, ſay they, was in uſe only during the Times of the ſecond Temple. This they call [g] *the Daughter of a Voice*, and pretend that it came from Heaven, ſometimes accompanied with Thunder, on many extraordinary Occaſions. But as we have this Account only from *Jewiſh* Writers, whoſe Faith is hardly to be truſted, there is little Reaſon to believe any Thing of the Matter; or we may reaſonably think at leaſt, [h] that if there ever were ſuch a Thing, 'twas only a diabolical Deluſion. We have, indeed, the Teſtimony of the Evangeliſts, that ſuch a Voice bore witneſs to our Lord at his Baptiſm, his Transfiguration, and at the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem*; and moſt of St. *John*'s Intelligences in his Book of Revelation, are uſher'd in with affirming that *he heard a Voice from Heaven.* But theſe Inſtances make nothing for the *Jews*, and rather prove that this Way of Revelation was reſerved for the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel.

XIX. What might be here ſaid of the *Jewiſh* Polity and Religion at the Time of the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, and the gradual Decays in both, from their Inſtitution till they were aboliſhed by the Goſpel, ſhall be referred to a ſubſequent Diſcourſe, when we ſhall extend our Enquiries to the other Nations alſo, whoſe Affairs were ſo intermixed with thoſe of the *Jews*, as to afford them a great deal of Light, and ought therefore to appear in the ſame Place.

XX. There needs not a very cloſe Reflection, to diſcover throughout both Parts of this Diſſertation, eſpecially the latter, many more Alluſions to the Meſſiah, and the evangelical State, than have been mention'd expreſly. It remains, however, to take notice of ſome of the moſt direct and poſitive Promiſes that were given to the *Jews* during the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation; theſe being leſs capable of Miſrepreſentation than the former, and conſequently affording us an unanſwerable Authority for believing that Jeſus of *Nazareth* was the Anointed of God, the Redeemer of Mankind. But in this I ſhall alſo be very brief at preſent.

XXI. We find *Moſes* foretelling one main Errand for which the Meſſiah was to come, which was to be the [i] *Great Prophet of the Church*; to whom all the People ſhould hearken as to an extraordinary Perſon, ſent from God to acquaint the World with the Laws and Counſels of Heaven. *David* was inform'd that he ſhould ſpring out of his Houſe and Family, [k] and ſpeaks very plainly of his Sufferings, and the particular Manner of his Death, *by piercing his Hands and his Feet*; of his powerful Reſurrection, *that God would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer his Holy One to ſee Corruption*; of his triumphant *Aſcenſion into Heaven*, and *glorious Seſſion at God's Right-Hand.* From the Prophet *Iſaiah* [l] we have an Account of the extraordinary and miraculous Manner of his Birth, that he *ſhould be born of a Virgin*, and his *Name be Immanuel*; of his incomparable Furniture with Gifts and Graces for the Execution of his Office, of the Entertainment he was to meet with in the World, and the Nature and Deſign of thoſe Sufferings which he was to undergo. The Place of his Birth was foretold by *Micah* to be [m] *Bethlehem Ephratah, the leaſt of the Cities of Judah*, but honoured above all the reſt with the Nativity of a Prince, *who was to be a Ruler in* Iſrael, *whoſe Goings forth had been from everlaſting.* To conclude, the Prophet *Daniel* fixes the particular Period of his Coming, expreſly affirming, [n] that the Meſſiah ſhould appear in the World, and be cut off as a Victim for the Sins of the People, at the Expiration of ſeventy prophetical Weeks, or four hundred and ninety Years, which accordingly came literally to paſs.

XXII. Moſt, if not all, of the Texts that have been recited, are underſtood by the *Jews* in the ſame Manner as by us Chriſtians, and are ſo interpreted in their [o] *Targums*, the principal of which were compoſed not long before the Birth of our Lord, when the Expectation of a great Deliverer was ſo prevalent among the *Jews.* Indeed there is no other Way of explaining theſe Paſſages that is reconcileable to common Senſe; and therefore they undeniably prove the Truths they are brought to maintain, That from the Fall of Man till the Fulneſs of Time for his Redemption was come, God at ſundry Times, and in divers Manners, frequently by explicit and circumſtantial Declarations, revealed the Meſſiah to the Fathers and Prophets; and that the Accompliſhment of theſe Revelations and Prophecies in the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, affords us a ſufficient Ground for our Faith and Confidence in him, as the Mediator of the new Covenant, in whom all the Promiſes of God are Yea and Amen.

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[e] Exod. xxxiii. 11.
[f] Numb. xii. 6, 7, 8.
[g] Bath. Col.
[h] Dr. *Lightfoot.* H. Hebr. in Matt. iii. 17.
[i] Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19.
[k] Pſalm xxii. 15. xvi. 10. lxviii. 18. cx. 1.
[l] Iſaiah vii. 14. lxi. 1, 2. liii. 1, 2, 3, &c.
[m] Mic. v. 8.
[n] Dan. ix. 25, 26.
[o] Paraphraſes on the Bible.

DISSER-

DISSERTATION II.

Chronological, Hiſtorical, and Critical.

I. *Time of Chriſt's Birth, and Remarks on an old* Jewiſh *Tradition.* II. *State of the* Roman *Empire at our Lord's Nativity.* III. *Current Year of the Reigns of* Auguſtus *and* Herod *at that Time.* IV. *Family of* Herod, *and Religion of the* Idumeans. V. *Proſelytes to* Judaiſm *deſcrib'd.* VI. Herod's *Deſcent according to* Nicolas *of* Damaſcus, *the Fathers, and* Joſephus. VII. *According to Father* Harduin. VIII. Virgil's Pollio *conſider'd.* IX. *Compared with ſome Paſſages of* Iſaiah's *Prophecy.* X. *A Prediction recorded by* Julius Marathus. XI. *Others taken from* Tacitus *and* Suetonius. XII. *Whence theſe Prophecies derived.* XIII. *What the Sibyls were.* XIV. *When the* Cumean *Sibyl lived.* XV. *Hiſtory of* Tarquin *and the Sibyl.* XVI. *The Sibylline Oracles renew'd.* XVII. *Occaſion and Hiſtory of their Deſtruction.* XVIII. *The Collection of Sibylline Oracles now extant.* XIX. *Conjecture concerning them.* XX. *The Story of* Tarquin *a Fraud.* XXI. *Theſe Predictions not immediately from God.* XXII. *Whence the Heathens received them.* XXIII. *The Hand of Providence in their Promulgation.*

I. THAT Chriſt was born in the Year of the World four thouſand, is according to the Computation of Archbiſhop *Uſher*, which is thought the moſt exact. 'Tis alſo worth Notice, that it falls in punctually with the Time where an old Tradition of the *Jews* places the Beginning of the Days of the Meſſiah. The Subſtance of this Tradition is, [a] That the World was to laſt ſix thouſand Years; of which two thouſand were before the Law, two thouſand under the Law, and the laſt two thouſand were to be under the Meſſiah. This Opinion is ſaid to be of great Antiquity, and is ſtill retained among the *Jews* as one of their moſt authentic Traditions: But its pretending to foretel when the World ſhall end, which the [b] Scriptures aſſure us God has reſerved as a Secret to himſelf, ſufficiently proves its Vanity. It may ſerve, however, to convict the *Jews* of groſs and moſt perverſe Infidelity, in that whereas Chriſt was born in the very Year wherein their Tradition fixes the Appearance of the Meſſiah, they have now ſuffer'd above ſeventeen hundred Years to paſs, and have not yet acknowledg'd him. In anſwer to this [c] they confeſs, That the Year Four thouſand was the exact Time pointed at by the Prophets for the Coming of the Meſſiah; but his Appearance has been delayed on account of their Iniquities. But this is contrary to another Doctrine generally received among them, which teaches, [d] that when God denounces Evil to come, he doth not always bring it to paſs, as in the Caſe of the repentant *Ninevites*; but when he foretels of good Things to come, he never fails of the Performance. And indeed this Doctrine is not without Reaſon; for Promiſes transfer a Right of Expectation to the Perſons to whom they are made, but Threats leave it in the Power of the Threatener to drop or abate what he has threatened, as he ſhall ſee Cauſe for ſo doing: Wherefore the [e] ſame People make it a certain Sign of a falſe Prophet, if the Good he foretels be not accompliſhed, but not ſo of the Evil.

II. The Application to the Time of our Lord's Nativity, which I have made of the Prophecy which mentions the turning of *Swords into Plough-Sheres, and Spears into Pruning-Hooks*, will be thought not improper, when the State of the *Roman* Empire at that Time is conſider'd. It was uſual to lay open the Gates of the Temple of *Janus* at *Rome* in Time of War, and ſhut them whenever the Republic was at Peace with her Neighbours. They had been ſhut only five Times from the firſt Building of *Rome*. The firſt Time [f] was in the Reign of *Numa*; the [g] ſecond after the End of the firſt *Punic* War; the [h] third after *Auguſtus* had vanquiſh'd *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and thereby reduced the whole *Roman* Empire into a quiet Submiſſion to himſelf; the [i] fourth Time on the ſaid Emperor's Return from the War which he had with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth Time in [k] the very Year wherein Chriſt was born, during the Reign of the ſame *Auguſtus*. There was at this laſt Time of ſhutting up the Temple of *Janus*, a general Peace all over the World, and it continued for twelve Years together; ſo that the Uſe I have made of the above recited Prophecy is at leaſt very natural, whatever might be the immediate Senſe of the inſpired Author.

III. The Year of the Reigns of *Auguſtus* and *Herod*, to which I have fixed the happy Æra of the Angel's appearing to *Mary*, is borrow'd from the [l] Chronology of Dr. *Prideaux*. This Author numbers the Years of *Auguſtus* from the Victory at *Actium*, when he became abſolute Maſter of the *Roman* Empire, thirteen Years after the Murder of *Julius Cæſar*, and twelve after the ſetting up of the Triumvirate, between himſelf, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*. The Reign of *Herod* begins with his taking *Jeruſalem*, about three Years after he was declared King of the *Jews* at *Rome*, when upon the Death of *Antigonus* he was ſettled in the full Poſſeſſion of *Judea*. This Computation makes the twenty ſixth Year of *Auguſtus* fall in with the thirty third of *Herod*, and the four thouſand ſeven hundred and ninth of the *Julian* Period, the exact Time of our Lord's Conception.

IV. This *Herod* was an *Idumean*, whoſe Family were Proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* Religion [m], as were all of that Nation, who ſince the Time of *John Hyrcanus* had inhabited among the *Jews*. For that Prince obliged all the *Idumeans*, who during the *Babyloniſh* Captivity had gotten Poſſeſſion of the *Jewiſh* Territories, either to retire within their former Limits, or embrace the Inſtitutions of *Moſes*; whereupon they conformed, were circumciſed, and became, as it were, one People with the *Jews*, both in their Polity and Religion, till at length the Name of *Edomites* or *Idumeans* was entirely ſwallow'd up in that of *Jews*. This happened about the End of the firſt Century after Chriſt, as may be gathered from theſe Names not being mentioned after that Time, except in the Writings of the Rabbies. They indeed have ſince made uſe of the Names *Cutheans*, *Epicureans*, and *Edomites* [n]; but they mean thereby the Chriſtians of the *Roman* Empire, whom they were afraid of offending by ſpeaking more plainly, their Nation being in ſubjection to the Chriſtians. [o] *Dion Caſſius* takes notice, that in his Time it was uſual for other Nations as well as the *Edomites* to take on them the Name of *Jews*, when they became Proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* Religion.

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[a] Talmud in Tract. Sanhed. cap. 11.
[b] Matth. xxiv. 36.
[c] Hulſius de Temp. Adventus Meſſiæ, L. 1. c. 1.
[d] Maimonides in Præfat. ad Seder Zeraim.
[e] Maimonides, ibid.
[f] Livius, lib. 1. & Plutarchus in Numa.
[g] Livius & Plutarchus, ibid. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 38. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 3.
[h] Velleius Paterculus, ibid. Dion Caſſius, lib. 51. Plutarchus in Numa. This happen'd in the Year before Chriſt 29.
[i] Oroſius, lib. 6. cap. 20. in the Year before Chriſt 25.
[k] Oroſius, lib. 6. cap. 22.
[l] See his Chronological Tables, at the End of Part 2. of his Connection.
[m] Joſephus Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 17. & lib. xv. cap. 11. Strabo, lib. xvi. Ammonius Grammaticus hæc habet. Judæi ſunt, qui a natura ita fuerunt ab initio, Idumæi autem non fuerunt Judæi ab initio, ſed Phœnices & Syri, a Judæis autem ſuperati, & ut circumciderentur, & in unam cum eis gentem coirent, & eiſdem legibus ſubderentur adacti, Judæi ſunt nominati.

V. Having uſed the Word Proſelyte, it may be proper in this Place to conſider what it ſignifies, eſpecially ſince we ſhall have further Occaſion to underſtand it hereafter. There [p] were two Sorts of People among the *Jews* who bore this Name, and they were diſtinguiſhed into *Proſelytes of the Gate*, and *Proſelytes of Juſtice*. The former were obliged only to renounce Idolatry, and worſhip God according to the Law of Nature [q], which they reduced to ſix moral Precepts, adding alſo a Seventh of the poſitive kind, which all together were called the ſeven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*. To theſe they held that all Mankind were obliged to conform, but not ſo to the Law of *Moſes*, which they juſtly look'd upon as made only for their own Nation. Thoſe Foreigners who conformed to theſe Precepts were permitted to live with them in their Land, and were thence ſometimes called *ſojourning Proſelytes*, as they had the Name of *Proſelytes of the Gate* from their being allowed to dwell within the Gates of the Sons of *Iſrael*. The Occaſion of this ſeems to be taken from theſe Words of the fourth Commandment, *and the Strangers that are within thy Gates*; which might as well be rendered, *thy Proſelytes which are within thy Gates*; that is, the Proſelytes of the Gate, who dwell with thee; no Strangers being ſuffered to dwell within their Gates, unleſs they had firſt renounced Idolatry. Proſelytes of this kind were admitted into the Temple to worſhip God; but they durſt not enter any farther than the outer Court, which was therefore called *the Court of the Gentiles*. *Naaman* the *Syrian*, *Nabuzaradan* General of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Army, the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, and *Cornelius* the Centurion, are held to be Worſhippers of this Degree. The other Sort of Proſelytes were ſuch as took upon them the Obſervance of the whole *Jewiſh* Law, and had a common Right with the Deſcendants of *Jacob*, after having been initiated by Baptiſm, Sacrifice, and Circumciſion, to all the *Moſaical* Ceremonies and Privileges, Intermarriages only excepted. From mixing their Blood with the natural *Jews*, ſome Nations were excluded forever, and others till after a certain Time, the *Edomites* in particular till the third Generation. The *Jews* were very fond of making theſe Proſelytes of Juſtice, and gladly received all who would thus profeſs their Religion, they being [r] remarked by our Saviour himſelf for their Sedulity on this Head. The *Idumeans*, who became Proſelytes at the Command of *Hyrcanus*, were all of this kind; and when they had thus taken on them the Religion of *Moſes*, they became united to the *Jews* ever after, till their original Name was loſt, and both People were accounted as one and the ſame Nation.

VI. To return to *Herod*: This Prince was born ſeventy-two Years before the vulgar Æra of our Lord's Nativity, in the ſeventh Year of *Alexandra* Queen of the *Jews*. In the twenty-fifth Year of his Age he was made Governor of *Galilee*, and by a Series of good Fortune he at laſt raiſed himſelf to the regal Dignity upon the Ruins of the *Aſmonean* Family. [ſ] His Father *Antipas* was a noble *Idumean*, and his Mother *Cyprus* of an illuſtrious Family among the *Arabians*. This *Antipas*, to bring his Name to the *Greek* Form, called himſelf *Antipater*, and by that Name he is moſt commonly known in Hiſtory. *Nicolas Damaſcenus* having publiſhed a general Hiſtory in the Life-time of *Herod*, including the Actions of that Prince, whoſe great Favourite he was, to flatter his Maſter and Benefactor, endeavoured to derive the Pedigree of *Antipater* from one of the principal *Jews* who returned from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity [t]. Others have pretended, in order to blaſt his Character, that *Antipater* was only the Son of one *Herod*, a Sexton of the Temple of *Apollo* at *Askalon*; and that being taken Priſoner while a Child by ſome Thieves of *Idumea*, and his Father not being able to redeem him, he was made a Slave in that Country, and ſo bred up in the *Jewiſh* Religion; from which mean Original, they tell us, he grew up to the Figure which he afterwards made in the World. But *Joſephus*, who beſt knew the Truth, and is the moſt likely to relate it without Diſguiſe on either Side, declares as above, That he was nobly born, and that his Father, who was alſo called *Antipas*, was Governor of *Idumea*, under King *Alexander Janneus* and *Alexandra* his Queen: So that *Herod* was an *Idumean* by Country, and a *Jew* by Religion. This Account of *Joſephus*, as it is in itſelf the moſt probable, ſo it proves the Accompliſhment of *Jacob*'s Prophecy, concerning the Departure of the Sceptre from *Judah* at the Time of *Shiloh*'s Appearance, altogether as well as what the Fathers have advanced ſo much to the Prejudice of *Herod*'s Family. But the Invention of *Damaſcenus* ought by no means to be received, if we underſtand this Prophecy of *Jacob* in a literal Senſe; for if *Herod* was deſcended from the *Jews* of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, it would be difficult to prove that the Sceptre in his Time was tranſlated from *Judah*, the People that returned by Permiſſion of the Kings of *Perſia* conſiſting chiefly of the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. There are, however, ſome unavoidable Difficulties, which attend ſuch a literal Interpretation of the Patriarch's Words, that are independant of *Herod* and his Family; and therefore I ſhall examine theſe Matters more particularly hereafter, when I come to trace the Progreſs and Changes of the ſupreme Power among the *Jews*, from the Beginning of their State till they became entirely ſubject to the *Romans*.

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[n] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 30, 31. [o] Lib. xxxxvi. [p] Prideaux's Connection, Part ii. 5.
[q] Hammond on Acts xv. 29. See alſo the preceding Diſcourſe on the Patriarchal Diſpenſation.
[r] Matth. xxiii. 15. [ſ] Joſephus Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 2. & De Bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.
[t] Africanus apud Euſebium in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. cap. 7. Ambroſius in Comment. ad Lucam. cap. 31
[v] Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. & de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 5.

VII. Father *Harduin*, the Jeſuit [q], has formed an entire new Syſtem concerning *Herod*'s Family, which ought not to be omitted. He believes that this Prince was an *Athenian*, becauſe on ſome Medals he is called a Benefactor to *Athens*, and it is certain that there was a *Herod* there in the Time of *Cæſar*. He maintains alſo, that the whole Hiſtory of *Joſephus* is ſpurious; and that *Herod* had only *Samaria* and *Judea* under his Juriſdiction, becauſe he built Fortreſſes in none of the other Provinces of which he is ſaid to have been Sovereign. But the Opinions of this Jeſuit are more admired for their Singularity, than relied on as Proofs; for they generally tend to deſtroy the Authority of antient Writings, which have been univerſally receiv'd, as the genuine Works of the Perſons to whom they are aſcribed.

☞ Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Harmony of the Evangeliſts, has made the Angel tell *Zacharias*, that he ſhould be deaf and dumb from that Hour till he had a Son born of his Wife *Elizabeth*: I have followed him in this Particular, tho' the Words of the Angel, as related by St. *Luke*, according to our Tranſlation, are only, *Thou ſhalt be dumb and not able to ſpeak, till the Day that theſe Things be performed.* The [r] original Word here render'd dumb, ſignifies both deaf and dumb, and is underſtood in either Senſe. Beſides, this Circumſtance is fully ſupplied in a [s] following Verſe of the ſame Chapter, where we are told, that the Friends of *Zacharias made Signs to him, how he would have his Son called:* For if *Zacharias* had not been deaf, there had been no need to aſk him by Signs, but they might have put the Queſtion to him in Words, and he have returned an Anſwer, as he did, in Writing. Mr. *Le Clerc* obſerves upon this, and other Paſſages of the ſame kind, *That a Circumſtance omitted in the Beginning of a Relation is often made out from what follows.* This Remark may be of uſe in the Reading of any Author, but will be more eſpecially ſo in ſtudying of the Scriptures, and we ſhall have Occaſion to repeat it, perhaps more than once, in the Progreſs of our Hiſtory.

VIII. In the ſecond Section of the preceding Chapter, I have mention'd Predictions of the Meſſiah that were on record among the Gentiles, as well as the *Jews*. We have the Prophecy [t] of *Balaam* in our Bibles, Part of which is, *There ſhall come a Star out of* Jacob, *and a Sceptre ſhall ariſe out of* Iſrael, *and ſhall* [v] *bear* Rule *over the Children of* Seth, or over all the Sons of Men, as Commentators with one Conſent underſtand it. But I have more immediately had reſpect to the *Sibylline Oracles* a few Lines further, where among other Characters of the Time when our Lord appeared, I have call'd it, *The laſt great Age of the* Cumean *Prophecy*, and referr'd the Reader to a Verſe of *Virgil*'s *Pollio* quoted in the Margin. I might have tranſcribed a great Part of that celebrated Eclogue, if I had given every Thing it contains, that can hardly be interpreted any other way than as it refers to the Nativity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. The [w] immediate Occaſion of *Virgil*'s writing was the Birth of a Son to his Friend and Patron, *Aſinius Pollio*, at that Time Conſul of *Rome*; and there is no Reaſon to think that the Poet underſtood the true Meaning of what he inſerted in his Piece, only as a Compliment to this Nobleman. There were extant in the *Sibylline Prophecies* very pompous Deſcriptions of the happy State that was to be reſtored on Earth by a future Prince, whoſe Birth was univerſally expected when *Virgil* wrote. For the *Jews*, who had ſo many clear Revelations concerning the Meſſiah, had ſpread this Opinion from what they diſcovered in their own Prophets; and the Oracles of the Heathens very ſoon began to run in the ſame Strain; for they caught the Notion of the *Jews*, tho' without having any diſtinct Ideas concerning the Character of this extraordinary Perſon, the Country where he was to be born, or the Family from which he ſhould deſcend. *Virgil* therefore, who knew better than any Man how to make his Advantage of ſuch a vulgar Opinion, apply'd to the Son of *Pollio* his Friend, what 'twas impoſſible he could underſtand in the true Senſe, without an Inſpiration far ſuperior to that of the Muſes; and every Body muſt allow that by ſo doing he paid one of the fineſt Compliments that ever was conceived. But 'twas ſoon found that young *Pollio* was not the Perſon intended in the Prophecy [x], for he died on the ninth Day after his Birth: It was near forty Years after this, before what was then foretold was actually fulfilled in the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, whoſe Kingdom would truly be all that this Eclogue deſcribes, would Men but obey the Laws thereof. Then might we indeed ſee the golden Age of the Poets reſtored, and the Kingdom of the Meſſiah in all that Splendor with which the Prophets of *Iſrael* have introduced it.

IX. I preſume 'twill be agreeable to the Reader, if I preſent him in this Place, with a Compariſon between ſeveral Paſſages of *Iſaiah*'s Prophecy, and a literal Tranſlation of ſome Parts of this and another Eclogue of *Virgil*. It was made by

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[q] De Nummis Herodiadum.

[r] Κωφὸς. See Hammond on Luke i. 20.

[s] Luke i. 62.

[t] Numb. xxvi. 17.

[v] So it ſhould be rendered. See Prideaux's Conn. Part II. Book viii.

[w] Servius in Notis ad quartam Eclogam Virgilii.

[x] Servius ibid.

Mr. *Pope*, and ſubjoin'd to that beautiful Poem of his called *Meſſiah*, which he writ in imitation of the *Roman* Poet, borrowing his Thoughts from the evangelical Prophet, as *Virgil* did his from the Books of the *Cumean Sibyl*. I ſhall give the Paſſages in the Order I find them.

VIRGIL.

[y] Now the Virgin returns, now the Kingdom of *Saturn* returns, now a new Progeny is ſent down from high Heaven. By means of thee, whatever Relics of our Crimes remain, ſhall be wiped away, and free the World from perpetual Fears. He ſhall govern the Earth in Peace, with the Virtues of his Father.

ISAIAH.

[z] Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son. [a] Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; — the Prince of Peace: Of the Increaſe of his Government, and of his Peace, there ſhall be no end.— Upon the Throne of *David*, and upon his Kingdom, to order and to ſtabliſh it, with Judgment and with Juſtice, for ever and ever.

VIRGIL.

[b] For Thee, O Child, ſhall the Earth, without being tilled, produce early Offerings; winding Ivy, with Baccar, and Colocaſia mixed with ſmiling Acanthus. Thy Cradle ſhall pour forth pleaſing Flowers about Thee.

ISAIAH.

[c] The Wilderneſs and the ſolitary Place ſhall be glad, and the Deſart ſhall rejoice and bloſſom as the Roſe. [d] The Glory of *Lebanon* ſhall come unto thee, the Fir-tree and the Box together, to beautify the Place of thy Sanctuary.

VIRGIL.

[e] O come and receive the mighty Honours! the Time draws near, O beloved Offspring of the Gods, O great Increaſe of *Jove!* The uncultivated Mountains ſend Shouts of Joy to the Stars; the very Rocks ſing in Verſe; the very Shrubs cry out, A God! a God!

ISAIAH.

[f] The Voice of him that crieth in the Wilderneſs, Prepare ye the Way of the Lord! make ſtrait in the Deſart a Highway for our God! Every Valley ſhall be exalted, and every Mountain and Hill ſhall be made low, and the crooked ſhall be made ſtrait, and the rough Places plain. [g] Break forth into ſinging, ye Mountains! O Foreſt, and every Tree therein! for the Lord hath redeemed *Iſrael*.

VIRGIL.

[h] The Field ſhall grow yellow with ripened Ears, and the red Grape ſhall hang upon the wild Brambles, and the hard Oak ſhall diſtil Honey like Dew.

ISAIAH.

[i] The parched Ground ſhall become a Pool, and the thirſty Land Springs of Water. In the Habitations where the Dragons lay, ſhall be Graſs, and Reeds, and Ruſhes. [k] Inſtead of the Thorn ſhall come up the Fir-tree, and inſtead of the Briar ſhall come up the Myrtle-tree.

VIRGIL.

[l] The Goats ſhall bear to the Fold their Udders diſtended with Milk; nor ſhall the Herds be afraid of the greateſt Lions. The Serpent ſhall die, and the Herb that conceals Poiſon ſhall die.

ISAIAH.

[m] The Wolf ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard ſhall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf and the Fatling together; and a little Child ſhall lead them: — And the Lion ſhall eat Straw like the Ox; and the ſucking Child ſhall play on the Hole of the Aſp, and the weaned Child ſhall put his Hand on the Den of the Cockatrice.

Here Mr. *Pope* concludes his Parallel, with telling us how much the Prophet has the Advantage of the Poet in many other of his Sentiments. Some of theſe Sentiments are to be found in the Eclogue of this ingenious Gentleman, who juſtly obſerves in them an Elevation not to be met with in any but an inſpired Author. But the few Compariſons he has made are ſufficient to prove, that what was written by the *Roman* can be apply'd only to the ſame Perſon with the Prophecies of the *Jew*, and that there is a remarkable Parity between many of the Thoughts of thoſe two Writers.

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[y] Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
Jam nova Progenies Cœlo demittitur alto.
Te Duce, ſi qua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri,
Irrita perpetua ſolvent formidine terras.
Pacatumque regit patriis virtutibus orbem. Ecl. iv. ver. 6, 7, 13, 14, 17.

[z] Chap. vii. 14.

[a] Chap. ix. 6, 7.

[b] At Tibi prima, Puer, nullo munuſcula cultu,
Errantes hedæras paſſim cum Baccare tellus,
Mixtaque ridenti Colocaſia fundet Acantho.
Ipſi Tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores. Ver. 18, 19, 20, 22.

[c] Chap. xxxv. 1.

[d] Chap. lx. 13.

[e] Aggredere O magnos, aderit jam tempus, honores,
Cara Deûm Soboles, magnum Jovis Incrementum. Ver. 48, 49.
Ipſi lætitia voces ad ſidera jactant
Intonſi montes, ipſa jam carmina rupes,
Ipſa ſonant arbuſta, Deus, Deus ille Menalca. Ecl. v. ver. 62, 63, 64.

[f] Chap. xl. 34.

[g] Chap. iv. 23.

[h] Molli paulatim flaveſcet campo ariſta,
Incultiſque rubens pendebit ſentibus uva,
Et duræ quercus ſudabunt roſcida mella. Ecl. iv. ver. 28, 29, 30.

[i] Chap. xxxv. 7.

[k] Chap. lv. 13.

[l] Ipſæ lacte domum referent diſtenta capellæ
Ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones.
Occidet & ſerpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet. Ver. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

[m] Chap. xi. 16, &c.

X. There was another Prophecy recorded by [n] *Julius Marathus*, a Freedman of *Auguſtus*, whoſe Life he wrote. 'Tis ſaid to have been delivered by the Oracle a few Months before the Birth of that great Emperor, and to import, [o] *That Nature was about to bring forth a Son, that ſhould be King of the* Romans; which Phraſe imports ſomething more than ordinary both in the Cauſe and Effect: For here Nature itſelf, that is the God of Nature, is made the immediate Cauſe of the Birth; and he muſt be more than an ordinary Perſon, who was to be produced by ſo extraordinary a Generation. According to the ſame Author, the Senate was ſo terrified by this Prediction, that they made a Decree for deſtroying all the male Children that ſhould be born that Year: But ſuch of the Senators as had then pregnant Wives, hoping each of them that the Oracle might be fulfillled in his own Family, took care that this Decree was never carried to the Treaſury; wherefore for want of being regiſter'd, and laid up among the public Records of the State, it became of no Effect. No doubt the Hiſtorian apply'd this Oracle to *Auguſtus*, in whom it was typically fulfill'd, but ultimately and really ſo only in the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſpiritual King of the whole World, whoſe Reign was then approaching.

XI. But this Prediction, as well as that in *Virgil*, ſpeaks of the Birth of the Meſſiah in general, without naming the People of whom he ſhould deſcend, or the Country where he ſhould be born, otherwiſe the Application could not have been made to *Auguſtus*: But we find both theſe determined by other Prophecies, recorded [p] by two eminent *Roman* Hiſtorians, who lived after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and wrote an Account thereof. Doubtleſs the *Romans* received this additional Information by being more converſant among the *Jews* afterwards, when *Judea* was reduced to a Province, than they were at the Time when *Virgil* and *Marathus* wrote. *Tacitus*, the firſt of theſe Hiſtorians, writes thus: [q] *A firm Perſuaſion had prevailed among a great many, that it was contained in the antient ſacerdotal Books, that about this Time it ſhould come to paſs, that the Eaſt ſhould prevail, and that thoſe who ſhould come out of* Judea *ſhould obtain the Empire of the World.* And *Suetonius*, the other of theſe Authors, ſpeaking of the ſame Time, has the following Words: [r] *There had prevailed all over the Eaſt an antient and conſtant Notion, that the Fates had decreed, that about that Time there ſhould come out of* Judea, *thoſe who ſhould obtain the Empire of the World.* Both theſe antient Writers refer the Completion of the Prophecies they record, to the Coming of *Veſpaſian* out of *Judea* to the Empire; which happened not many Years after the Death of *Chriſt*, and the Beginning of his Kingdom on Earth, to which they truly belonged; tho 'twas very natural for the Hiſtorians to give them the Turn they did.

XII. The *Sibylline Oracles* are ſuppoſed to be the Fountains of all theſe Prophecies: Theſe Books were of great Repute in the Heathen World, and were often appealed to by the antient Writers of the Chriſtian Church; it will therefore be proper to give ſuch [ſ] Account of them, and the Perſons by whom they were delivered, as may in ſome meaſure ſatisfy the Curioſity of our Readers.

XIII. The *Sibyls* were [t] Women of antient Times, ſaid to have been endued with a prophetic Spirit, and to have delivered Oracles foreſhewing the Deſtinies of Kingdoms and States. We have, in the [u] Writings of the Antients, mention made of ten of them, the eldeſt of whom being named *Sibylla* [w], all others of the ſame Sex, who afterwards pretended to the like fatidical Spirit, were from her called *Sibyls*. The moſt eminent among the ten above-mentioned, was by the *Romans* called *Sibylla* [x] *Cumæa*; and by others *Erythræa*: For being born at *Erythræ* in *Ionia*, ſhe removed from thence to *Cumæ* in *Italy*, and there delivered her Oracles in a ſubterraneous Vault, digged out of the main Rock. [y] *Juſtin Martyr* deſcribes this Cave, which he ſays he had ſeen, and informs us, that the *Sibyl* who lived in it was the Daughter of *Beroſus* the *Chaldaic* Hiſtorian. Here follows the Subſtance of his Deſcription: *'Tis a large Chapel, or Oratory, hewn out of the main Rock; a Work of ſurprizing Labour and Difficulty. In the middle of the Chapel the Inhabitants ſhew'd me three hollow Places, hewn out of the ſame Rock, in which, as they inform'd me from the Traditions of their Forefathers, the* Sibyl *uſed to waſh herſelf; and then ſhe retired into the innermoſt Cell of the Place, hewn alſo out of the ſame Rock, where having ſettled herſelf on an elevated Seat, ſhe from thence gave forth her Oracles.* Thus far *Juſtin Martyr*. [z] *Onuphrius* writes that it continued till deſtroy'd by an Earthquake in 1539, which ſhook all *Campania*; and adds, that being upon the Place in 1548, the Deſcription given him thereof by the Inhabitants agreed exactly with that of *Juſtin*, but there was nothing of it to be ſeen. Nevertheleſs Travellers [a] are ſtill ſhewn a Vault which they call the Grotto of the *Sibyl*, probably becauſe the Natives find their Account in the Fraud.

XIV. There are various Opinions of the Time when this *Sibyl* lived. *Juſtin Martyr*, by making her the Daughter of *Beroſus*, places her below *Alexander*, which proves that he miſtook her for *Athenais* the ſecond *Sibyl*, who was alſo [b] called the *Erythræan*, but never the *Cumæan*. *Virgil* makes her to have lived at *Cumæ* when *Æneas* came to *Italy*; but the Poet might probably bring her to the Time of his Hero, for the Ornament of his Piece, as he did the Queen of *Carthage*. There are others who place her in the Time of *Tarquin* the laſt King of *Rome*, and found their Opinion on the following Story:

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[n] Sueton. in Auguſto. cap. 79.
[o] Regem Populo Romano Naturam parturire.
[p] Tacitus & Suetonius.
[q] Tacit. Hiſtoriarum Lib. V. cap. 13.
[r] Suetonius in Veſpaſiano ca. 4.
[ſ] This Account is chiefly extracted from Dr. Prideaux, Part II. Book ix. of his Connection.
[t] Videas de eis Opſopæum, Salmaſium in exercitationibus ad Solinum, p. 75, 76, &c. Blondellum de Sibyllis, Montacutium, alioſque.
[u] Lactantius de falſa Religione. Lib. i. cap. 6.
[w] Salmaſius ibid. p. 10.
[x] This is the Sibyl Virgil alludes to.
[y] In Cohortatione ad Græcos.
[z] In Lib. de Sibyl. & Carm. Sibyllin.
[a] See Sandys, Laſſels, and others.
[b] Strabo Lib. xiii.

XV. [c] A certain Woman came to *Tarquin* from a foreign Country, with nine Books of *Sibylline Oracles*, which ſhe offered to ſell him for three hundred Pieces of Gold. But *Tarquin* refuſing to give ſo much, ſhe burnt Three of the Nine, and offered him the remaining Six at the ſame Price. *Tarquin*, now thinking her mad, began to treat her with Scorn; whereupon ſhe burnt three more of the Books, and perſiſted to demand the ſame large Sum for the three that were left. The King was ſtrangely moved at this odd Procedure, and ſent for his Augurs, to conſult them in the Affair; who, upon examining the Matter, found by certain Signs, that he had deſpiſed a divine Gift, and earneſtly adviſed him to give what the Woman asked for the three that remained. The Money being paid, the Woman charged him to keep them ſafely, as containing Oracles relating to the future State of *Rome*. After this ſhe diſappeared, and was no more ſeen. *Tarquin* hereupon put theſe Books into a Stone Coffer, and laid them in a Vault in the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, appointing two of the principal Nobility to keep them, with a Charge not to divulge their Contents, or ſuffer any but themſelves to have the Peruſal of them. This Injunction was ſo ſtrict, [d] that *Marcus Attilius* was ſown up in a Sack, and caſt into the River, a Puniſhment peculiar to Parricides, for permitting *Petronius Sabinus* to take a Copy of theſe Oracles. The Commonwealth after the Diſſolution of the Regal Power, continued the ſame Regard to theſe Books, and craftily made them an Engine of State, for quieting the People in all Diſturbances: For whenever any Misfortune befel them, or Prodigy frighten'd them, the Keepers of theſe Books upon conſulting them, brought forth ſuch an Anſwer as ſerved the Purpoſe of the State. Thus were theſe Oracles preſerved, with only augmenting the Number of their Keepers from Two to Ten, and afterwards from Ten to Fifteen, till they were deſtroy'd by Fire, together with the Capitol, in the Civil Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*.

XVI. This Accident happened about eighty three Years before *Chriſt*: But the Loſs was ſoon repair'd by the Commonwealth, which had ſo often experienced the Benefit of theſe Books. [e] Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Ærythræ*, where the *Sibyl* was born, to collect what they could of her Oracles from private Libraries; and they ſoon gathered together about a thouſand *Greek* Verſes, which they brought to *Rome*. Beſides theſe, great Numbers of the ſame kind were brought from ſeveral Cities of *Greece*, *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy*, which were all together laid up in the new Capitol; for that Edifice was rebuilt in ſeven Years after it was burnt. But whereas the old *Sibylline Oracles* were vulgarly known to Nobody, and were never ſeen by any but their Keepers, theſe latter were ſoon in Every-one's Hands, People being fond of getting Copies of what the *Roman* State ſeemed to value ſo highly. From ſome of theſe private Tranſcripts *Virgil* had his Prophecy of the Coming of *Chriſt*, and the Reſtoration of Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, and Bleſſedneſs to the World. But the Intent of the Commonwealth being much defeated by theſe Oracles being vulgarly known, a Law was ſhortly after made, that all who had Copies of them ſhould bring them to the *Prætor* of the City, under Pain of Death to the contrary. *Auguſtus*, upon taking on him the High-Prieſthood, not long before the Birth of *Chriſt*, revived this Law, which had hitherto been ineffectual; for People were rather the fonder of theſe Tranſcripts when they found them prohibited, and even added to them a multitude of Forgeries: And by virtue of this Decree that Emperor [f] procured a very great Number of theſe Books, which he ordered to be ſtrictly examined, burning thoſe that were diſapproved, and laying up the reſt for the Uſe of the State. [g] *Tiberius* had theſe examined over again, and burnt many more of them, preſerving only ſuch as might be ſerviceable to the End for which they were originally intended; and to theſe great Recourſe was had as long as *Rome* remained Heathen. [h] For all other Oracles ceaſing on the Coming of *Chriſt*, the great Oracle of Truth, theſe *Sibylline Prophecies*, the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, the *Sortes Preneſtinæ*, and ſome other idle Inventions, were the only Oracles they had to conſult.

XVII. In this Uſe the *Sibylline Oracles* continued till they were utterly deſtroy'd by the Emperor *Honorius*, in the Year 399, on the following Occaſion: [i] Not long before a Prophecy was given out by the Heathen *Romans*, ſaid to be taken from the Writings of the *Sibyls*, which imported, that *Peter* having founded the Chriſtian Religion by Magic for the Term of three hundred ſixty-five Years, it was to vaniſh at the End of that Term, and be no more profeſſed in the World. This Time expiring in the Year 398, which was juſt three hundred ſixty-five Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, *Honorius* took the Advantage hereof to convict theſe Writings of manifeſt Forgery and Impoſture; and the next Year, by virtue of a Decree from him, they were all burnt, and the Temple of *Apollo*, in which they were repoſited, utterly deſtroy'd. The ſame Year was alſo fatal to many other Heathen Temples in *Africa*, and elſewhere throughout the *Roman* Empire.

XVIII. There is ſtill preſerved in eight Books of *Greek* Verſe, a Collection of Oracles pretended to be the *Sibylline*. [k] *Baronius*, [l] Biſhop *Montague* of *Norwich*, and others, would have it to be genuine; but moſt learned Men look on it as the Production of ſome zealous Chriſtian, who compiled it for promoting the Intereſt of the Chriſtian Religion. Beſides an Abſtract of the Doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament, it contains the whole Myſtery of our Salvation by *Chriſt*, and every Thing that belongs to the Perſon and Kingdom of the Meſſiah, in more clear and explicit Expreſſions than are to be found in the undoubted Prophecies of the truly inſpired Writers: Which reduces the Caſe to what the Patrons of this Opinion would be loth to confeſs; that God revealed himſelf by heathen Prophets to heathen Nations, more fully than he did by his own Prophets to his choſen People: A Conſequence ſufficiently abſurd as well as unchriſtian. There are many other Arguments, more than are neceſſary to be rehearſed, which not only prove the Forgery of theſe pretended Oracles in general, but that it muſt have been executed between the Year of our Lord 138 and the Year 167. Among other Things, which make the Impoſture appear quite barefaced, the Author of this Collection gives a Succeſſion of all the *Roman* Emperors from *Julius Cæſar* down to *Antoninus Pius*. He alſo introduces the Notions of the *Millenarian* Heretics; and in one Place forgets himſelf ſo far as even [m] to declare he was a Chriſtian. But thoſe who are curious enough to examine further into the Particulars of a Diſpute that has divided the learned World, may ſee this Matter handled at large in the Works of Authors who have written profeſſedly on this Subject; among whom are ſome who deny all Manner of Inſpiration, good or bad, to the pretended Propheteſſes we are ſpeaking of, and affirm that the boaſted Oracles of the Heathens, were never any more than the Frauds of their Prieſts, who themſelves invented the Anſwers with which the People were deluded.

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[c] Dionyſius Halicarnaſ. Lib. iv. Aulus Gellius Lib. i. cap. 19. Lactantius de falſa Religione Lib. i. cap. 6. Servius ad Virgilium in Lib. vi. ver. 72.

[d] Dionyſ. Halicar. Lib. iv. Valer. Maximus. Lib. I. cap. i. Sect. 13.

[e] Lactantius, ubi ſup. Tacit. in Annal. Lib. vi. cap. 12. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. ubi ſup.

[f] Tacit. ibid. Sueton. in Octav. cap. 31.

[g] Dion Caſſ. Lib. lvii. Tacit. ibid.

[h] Plutarch. de Oraculorum defectu.

[i] Auguſtin. de Civ. Dei Lib. xviii. cap. 53, 54.

[k] In Pref. ad Annal.

[l] Acts and Monuments, &c.

XIX. The moſt probable Account of the Collection of *Sibylline Oracles* now extant, ſeems to be this. They [n] were digeſted by ſome Heathen, about the Time of our Saviour, or a little before, into a Book of *Greek* Verſes, and ſo many Prophecies concerning the Meſſiah being found therein, it operated very much to the Advantage of Chriſtianity in its earlieſt Times; the [o] Chriſtians, as appears from their Writings, often appealing to this Book for the Proof of what they profeſſed. In proceſs of Time, probably about the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* the *Roman* Emperor, this Collection was interpolated with many Additions by ſome Chriſtian, more pious than honeſt or wiſe; by which means he deſtroy'd the Authority of the whole, and did much harm to the Cauſe he intended to ſupport. This is the whole Charge [p] of *Celſus*, the greateſt Enemy of Chriſtianity among the Antients; and thus much muſt be allow'd by all judicious Perſons, who conſider the Matter with Impartiality.

XX. The Story of the Woman, and her three Books, might perhaps be better referr'd to the Reign of *Numa* than that of *Tarquin*, it being of a Piece with all the reſt which that Law-giver did for the Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* State; for he built entirely on Superſtition and Impoſture [q], pretending the Direction of the Goddeſs *Egeria* in his Inſtitutions, the better to make them go down with the People. Poſſibly an unknown old Woman, brought from ſome foreign Place, was bribed to act the Part above-mentioned, and burn ſix of the Books, that the remaining three might make the more Noiſe. And tho' this Artifice fully anſwered the End propoſed with the People in general, yet we find that the Fraud was ſeen thro' by wiſe Men, and *Cicero* [r] has argued againſt theſe Oracles with Reaſon and Judgment.

XXI. That the *Sibyls* were very antiently in great Repute none ever pretended to deny: For [ſ] *Plato* and [t] *Ariſtotle*, as well as *Varro*, *Livy*, and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus*, mention them with regard. Nor can it be queſtioned, after the Inſtances that have been produced, that there were many Predictions among their Oracles relating to *Chriſt*, which were vulgarly known before his Birth. The Thing to be conſidered then, is, How theſe Prophecies came there. If we allow that there really were ſuch Women as the *Sibyls* are repreſented to be, it muſt not be granted that their Gift of Prophecy was by divine Inſpiration: For moſt of the Oracles, that were produced from their Books, when conſulted by the *Romans*, directed to ſuch idolatrous and abominable Rites, as cannot, without Impiety, be ſaid to have come from God. They even ſometimes commanded the Sacrifice of a *Grecian* Man, a *Grecian* Woman, a *Gallic* Man, a *Gallic* Woman, by burying them alive in the *Bullock Market*; and moſt of their other Anſwers were no leſs impious. Whence then could proceed their Oracles concerning *Chriſt*? We find that diabolical Spirits had their Oracles in antient Times, which were moſtly delivered by Women; and God might compel theſe Spirits, before they left their Habitations, as they were obliged to do before the Birth of *Chriſt*, to proclaim the Saviour of Mankind, who was coming to take away their Dominion. Thus the [u] Devils in the New Teſtament acknowledged the Son of God, who caſt them out of the Perſons they had taken Poſſeſſion of.

XXII. But if we imagine the whole Story of the *Sibyls*, and all the heathen Oracles in general, to be no more than a political Contrivance, we ſhall be yet more to ſeek for the Origin of theſe extraordinary Predictions. There is ſome Ground for ſuch a Suſpicion as this, if we conſider how the *Sibylline* Books were managed: None were to inſpect them but the Members of the ſacred College, and they always brought forth ſuch Anſwers as were proper for the Occaſion on which they were conſulted. They had an [w] Oracle, which forbid the State to reſtore *Ptolomy Auletes* King of *Egypt*, after that Prince had given all the Money he could raiſe to procure ſuch a Favour. And when *Cæſar* had a Mind to be declared King, before he went againſt the *Parthians*[x], he dealt with theſe Keepers for an Oracle, *That the* Parthians *could not be overcome but by a King.* The only probable Means, admitting this Suppoſition, whereby the Prophecies of *Chriſt* came to have a Place originally among the Inventions of the Heathens, muſt have been the Diſperſion of the *Jews*, as was before intimated. Their Expectation of the promiſed Meſſiah, [y] atteſted by *Joſephus* of the whole Nation, as well as by [z] St. *Luke* in the particular Inſtances of *Simeon* and *Anna*, was doubtleſs one of the favourite Subjects of their Converſation, whereſoever they inhabited. The Prophecies of *Daniel* determined the very Time of his appearing, and for above eighty Years before it came, all the Children of *Iſrael* were big with the Thought. The Heathens got theſe Predictions from the *Jews*, and by Degrees received them into equal Reputation with their own Oracles, among which they were ingrafted before the Collection of *Sibylline Prophecies* was made after the Burning of the Capitol; which is as far back as 'tis neceſſary to trace them, becauſe as the Books that were burnt were never public, 'tis impoſſible to judge whether or no they contained Prophecies of the ſame Nature. If they did, a Correſpondence between the *Jews* and Heathens might be traced as far back as the oldeſt Heathen Author who mentions the *Sibyls*; and ſo all the Difficulty vaniſhes at once, and the Reader is at Liberty to embrace which Opinion he thinks proper.

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[m] Nos igitur Chriſti de ſtirpe creati.

[n] Prideaux Connect. Part II. Book ix.

[o] They were for this Reaſon call'd *Sibylliſts*.

[p] Origen contra Celſum. Lib. vii.

[q] Plutarchus in Numa.

[r] De Divinatione Lib. ii. cap. 54.

[ſ] In Phædro.

[t] De Admirandis.

[u] Matth. vii. 29, Mark v. 7. Luke viii. 28.

[w] Dion Caſſius Lib. xxxix. Plutarch. in Pompeio, Catone, Cicerone, & Antonio.

XXIII. But let us think what we pleaſe of the Manner in which theſe Prophecies were communicated to the Heathens, we ought to acknowledge the Goodneſs of Providence in that they were communicated to them at all. It certainly was not the Work of Chance, that the Writings of the Gentile Poets and Hiſtorians about this Time, had ſo much in them of the Language of the Prophets: But it was the Will of God, that his Son ſhould be proclaimed in the World for ſome Years before his Appearance, that ſo the Nations that had hitherto been afar off from his Covenant, might be made nigh; that *Jew* and Gentile might at once expect their Redemption, and become Partakers together of the ſame great and common Salvation.

DISSERTATION III.

A ſhort Deſcription of the *Holy Land*, as it was in the Days of our Saviour; with a more particular Account of *Nazareth* and the Hill-Country of *Judea*.

I. *The Reaſon of this Diſcourſe.* II. *The Land of* Iſrael *deſcribed.* III. *The Province of* Judea. IV. *Of* Idumea. V. *Of* Samaria. VI. *Of* Galilee. VII. *The Coaſts of* Tyre *and* Sidon. VIII. Abilene. IX. Iturea *and* Trachonitis. X. Perea. XI. Decapolis. XII. *Method to be purſued in the following Geographical Accounts.* XIII. *The antient and modern State of* Nazareth, *and the Country round it.* XIV. *The Chapel of the Annunciation.* XV. *The Mountain of Precipitation.* XVI. *An Account of the Chapel of our Lady of* Loretto. XVII. Hebron, *the ſuppoſed City of* Zacharias, *deſcribed.*

I. AS we propoſe in this Work, to give a Geographical and Hiſtorical Account of all the Places that are either mentioned or referr'd to in the Goſpels, 'twill be neceſſary, before we enter on any Particulars of this Kind, to take a general Survey of the *Land of Iſrael*, or, as we now call it, the *Holy Land*, and the ſeveral Diviſions it contained in the Time of our Lord, which will make all our ſubſequent Obſervations the more intelligible.

II. The *Land of Iſrael*, in the largeſt Acceptation of the Name, comprehended all that Tract of Ground, on each Side the River *Jordan*, which God gave for an Inheritance to the Children of *Iſrael* upon their coming out of *Egypt*. Within this Extent lay all the Provinces and Countries which our Lord honoured with his Preſence, excepting *Egypt* only, whither he was carried an Infant to avoid the Rage of *Herod*. This was certainly a great Honour to the Land, and a glorious Advantage to its Inhabitants, had they improved the Bleſſing; but they not only neglected, but even crucify'd, the Lord of Life; ſo that by the juſt Judgment of God [a] *the* Romans *came* upon them, *and took away both their Place and Nation.* 'Twas on account of this diſtinguiſhing Favour that the Country we are ſpeaking of was firſt called the *Holy Land*, which Name, as I juſt now obſerved, it ſtill bears among Chriſtians.

III. The Province of *Judea* was ſo called from *Judah*, the Fourth Son of *Jacob*, whoſe Offspring made up the moſt renowned of the twelve Tribes, not only their Race of temporal Kings deſcending from it, but our Saviour alſo, who was born in a direct Line from the former. Hence by the Children of *Judah* was originally underſtood only that particular Tribe, and by the *Land of Judah* that Portion of Land of which they were poſſeſs'd. But when ten of the twelve Tribes revolted, and erected themſelves into a diſtinct Kingdom, under the Title of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, the other two Tribes, *Judah* and *Benjamin*, who adher'd to the Houſe of *David*, began to be both comprehended under one common Name of the Kingdom of *Judah*; which Name extended as the People enlarged their Poſſeſſions; particularly upon the ten Tribes being carried into Captivity by the King of *Aſſyria*, when thoſe of *Judah* ſeem to have ſeiz'd the Lands of the two adjoining Tribes, *Simeon* and *Dan*, and impoſed the Name of *Judea* on all the Southern Tract of the Land of *Iſrael*. After the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, we ſometimes find this Name uſed to ſignify all [b] that we now call the *Holy*

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[x] Dion Caſſius, Lib. xliv. Plutarchus in Cæſare.

[y] De Bello Judaico, Lib. vii. cap. 5.

[z] Chap. ii. 25—38.

[a] John xi. 48.

[b] Luke xxiii. 5. He ſtirreth up the People, teaching throughout all Jewry; beginning from Galilee to this Place.

Land, at leaſt ſo much of it as was inhabited by the *Jews*, which Name became common to the People, as that of *Judea* to the Country. But whenever 'tis mentioned in conjunction with *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and the Country beyond *Jordan*, it is to be underſtood in the limited Senſe, for all the Southern Part of the *Holy Land*; except in [c] one Text, where *Idumea* is alſo mention'd, of which I ſhall now take notice.

IV. By *Idumea*, in the Place referr'd to, ſeems to be denoted the more Southern Part of the Province of *Judea*, which, during the Captivity of the *Jews* at *Babylon*, being left without Inhabitants, was poſſeſs'd by the neighbouring *Idumeans*, whoſe original Habitation, [d] Mount *Seir*, border'd on the Inheritance of *Judah* by the South of the *Dead Sea*; *Idumea* being no more than the *Greek* Name for *Edom*. Tho' theſe *Idumeans* were afterwards brought ſo low by the victorious *Maccabees*, as to be forced to comply with ſuch Terms as were offered them by the *Jews*, yet they ſtill kept their Poſſeſſions, chuſing rather to embrace *Judaiſm* than quit their new Habitations. By this Means they became incorporated into the *Jewiſh* Nation, and were reckon'd themſelves among the *Jews*: Nevertheleſs that Part of *Judea*, which they inhabited, did not immediately loſe the Name which they had impoſed on it; ſo that not only in the Times of the New Teſtament, but for about a Century after, this Tract was called *Idumea*, as appears from common Hiſtorians.

V. Above *Judea* Northwards lay the Province of *Samaria*, ſo call'd from the City of that Name, which was formerly the Capital of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*. It was founded by *Omri* King of *Iſrael*; [e] who *bought the Hill* Samaria *of* Shemer *for two Talents of Silver, and built thereon, and called the City which he built, after the Name of the Owner of the Hill*, Samaria. This Province, as well as *Judea*, ſtretch'd itſelf from the *Mediterranean Sea* Weſtward to the River *Jordan* Eaſtward, taking up the moſt conſiderable Part of what formerly pertained to the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and the half Tribe of *Manaſſeh* on the Weſt of *Jordan*; and lying exactly between *Judea* to the South and *Galilee* to the North; for which Reaſon when our Lord [f] *left* Judea *and departed into* Galilee, 'tis ſaid, *he muſt needs go thro'* Samaria.

VI. There is not enough ſaid in Scripture of *Galilee* to fix the Etymology of the Word on a well-grounded Conjecture: What is moſt worthy Notice of this Province, is, That it was honoured more than any other with our Saviour's Preſence. 'Twas [g] here that he was conceived; 'twas hither that *Joſeph* and *Mary* [h] brought him on their Return out of *Egypt*; 'twas here that he ſettled, and lived with his reputed Father, and the Bleſſed Virgin his Mother, till he [i] began to be about thirty Years of Age, and was baptiſed of *John*; 'twas hither that he [k] returned after his Baptiſm and Temptation by the Devil; and tho', after his Entry on his public Miniſtry, he frequently viſited other Provinces, yet here [l] was his Habitation. I may add, that 'twas here he [m] made his firſt Appearance to the Eleven Apoſtles after his Reſurrection; and that the moſt conſiderable Part, if not all, of the ſaid Apoſtles, were of this Country, whence they were all ſtiled by the Angels [n] Men of *Galilee*. We have only to obſerve further, that *Galilee* took up what was formerly poſſeſs'd by the Tribes of *Iſſachar*, *Zabulon*, and *Naphtali*, and the inland Part of the Tribe of *Aſher*. A more diſtinct Account of its Bounds will be found in our Deſcription of the circumjacent Countries, to which we proceed.

VII. On the Weſt and North of *Galilee* lay the Coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, two very conſiderable Cities, ſeated on the *Mediterranean Sea*, and celebrated for Merchandize in [o] ſacred as well as prophane Hiſtory. They both lay within the Land of *Canaan*, of which *Sidon* was the Northern Boundary; and upon the Diviſion of this Land among the twelve Tribes, they both, with other maritime Towns, fell to the Lot of the Tribe of *Aſher*. But [p] *Aſher not driving out the Inhabitants, dwelt among the* Canaanites, *the Natives of the Land*. The City of *Sidon* was ſo called from [q] *Sidon* the eldeſt Son of *Canaan*, who gave Name to the whole Country.

VIII. After what we have ſaid of *Samaria* and the Coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, there remains only the Eaſtern Boundary of *Galilee* to be ſpoken of; and this conſiſted of the Countries of *Abilene*, *Iturea*, and *Trachonitis*. *Abilene* was the moſt Northerly Province of the three, and is thought to have belonged to the Lot of *Nephtalim*, tho' never ſubdued by that Tribe. It was ſo call'd, according to ſome, from its chief Town, *Abila*: But in this Country [r] was to be ſeen, not long ſince, on the Top of a high Hill, an antient Structure, ſuppoſed by the Inhabitants to be the Tomb of *Abel*, and to have given Name to the adjacent Territories. The Tomb is thirty Yards long, and yet is affirmed by the Natives of the Country to have been but juſt proportioned to the Stature of the Perſon buried in it. It ſtands near a ſmall Village called *Simie*. The Reader may acquieſce in which Etymology he pleaſes; and believe juſt as much as he thinks proper concerning the Stature of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

IX. South of *Abilene*, on the Eaſt of *Jordan*, lay *Iturea*, thought to have taken its Name from [ſ] *Jetur*, one of the Sons of *Iſhmael*, who ſettled in theſe Parts, and whoſe Poſterity were afterwards ſubdued by thoſe *Amorites*, over whom in the Time of *Moſes* reigned *Og*, by the Title of King of *Baſhan*. *Iturea* therefore being much the ſame with *Baſhan*, it was a conſiderable Part of that Tract of Ground which *Moſes* gave to that half Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, which ſettled on the Eaſt of *Jordan*. And to the ſame half Tribe belonged the [t] *Region of Argob*, or the Country about Mount *Gilead*, which from its craggy rough Mountains was called by the *Greeks Trachonitis*, the *rough or mountainous Country*. *Trachonitis* lay Eaſtward of *Iturea*, and together with it made a [u] Tetrarchy in the Time of our Saviour. What a Tetrarchy was ſhall be explained in another Place.

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[c] Mark iii. 7, 8. [d] Deut. ii. 5. [e] 1 Kings xvi. 24. [f] John v. 34. [g] Luke i. 16.
[h] Matth. ii. 22. [i] Matth. iii. 13. Luke ii. 39, 51. and iii. 23. [k] Luke iv. 14. [l] Matth. iv. 13.
[m] Matth. xxviii. 16. [n] Acts i. 2. [o] Iſai. xxiii. [p] Judg. i. 31. [q] Gen. x. 15.
[r] Mr. Maundrell ſaw it in 1697, and in all probability 'tis ſtill in the ſame Condition. [ſ] Gen. xx. 25.

X. There is one Province more which lay within the Bounds of the Land of *Iſrael*, and that is *Perea*, or the Country beyond *Jordan*, lying on the South of *Iturea*, and to the Eaſt of *Judea* and *Samaria*; it was poſſeſs'd of old by the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*.

XI. *Decapolis* was only a Tract of Land ſo named from ten conſiderable Cities it contain'd, ſome of which lay without, but the greateſt Part within the Compaſs of the *Holy Land*, partly in *Iturea*, and partly in *Perea*.

XII. Having gone thro' the Provinces which were contained, either wholly or in part, in the Land of *Iſrael*, I ſhall leave the few other Countries and Towns occaſionally mentioned in the Goſpels, to be deſcribed in the Places where their Names occur; what I have already ſaid being a ſufficient Introduction to the Travels of our Lord, and of the Bleſſed Virgin before her Delivery. It remains to purſue their Journeyings throughout the whole Courſe of this Hiſtory, deſcribing every Place as fully as the Deſcription can be ſupported by good Anthority: And for the greater Variety, I ſhall add the modern State of every Town, Village, Temple, or other Monument of Antiquity, where any Thing remarkable can be collected from the Memoirs of Travellers on whoſe Veracity we may depend.

XIII. The firſt Place that we find mentioned by Name is the City of *Nazareth*, whither the Angel was ſent to inform the Virgin *Mary*, that ſhe was ſo highly favour'd as to be made choice of for the Mother of the Redeemer. This Town was ſituated in the South-Weſt Part of *Galilee*, not far from the Confines of *Samaria* to the South, and nearer to the Territories of *Tyre* and *Sidon* to the Weſt. We may gather from the ſacred Story [w], that it was a Place of no Reputation among the *Jews*, who often deſpiſed our Lord for being a *Galilean*, and coming out of *Nazareth*, from whence no good Thing, much leſs the Meſſiah, was ever expected. [x] *Nazareth* is at preſent only an inconſiderable Village, ſituate in a kind of round concave Valley, on the Top of a high Hill. There is a Convent built over what is ſaid to be the Place of the Annuciation, where a ſmall Number of *Latin* Fathers are immured, who live a Life truly mortified, being in perpetual Fear of the *Arabs*, who are abſolute Lords of all the Country.

XIV. The Church of *Nazareth*, or what they call the Sanctuary of that Place, is in a Cave, ſuppoſed to be the very Spot were the Bleſſed Virgin received the Meſſage of the Angel. [y] "This Church reſembles the Figure of a Croſs. That Part of it that ſtands for the Tree of the Croſs is fourteen Paces long and ſix over, and runs directly into the Grotto, having no other Arch over it at the Top, but that of the natural Rock. The traverſe Part of the Croſs is nine Paces long and four broad, and is built athwart the Mouth of the Grotto. Juſt at the Section of the Croſs are erected two Granate Pillars, each two Foot and one Inch Diameter, and about three Foot diſtant from each other. They are ſuppoſed to ſtand on the very Places, one where the Angel, the other where the Bleſſed Virgin, ſtood at the Time of the Annunciation. Of theſe Pillars, the innermoſt, being that of the Bleſſed Virgin, has been broke away by the *Turks*, in Expectation of finding Treaſure under it, ſo that eighteen Inches Length of it is clean gone, between the Pillar and the Pedeſtal. Neverthleſs it remains erect, tho' by what Art it is ſuſtained cannot be diſcerned. It touches the Roof above, and is probably hang'd upon that; unleſs you had rather take the Friars Account of it, that it is ſupported by a Miracle." Here is alſo ſhewn the Houſe of *Joſeph*, being the ſame, as the Friars relate [z], in which the Son of God lived, for near thirty Years, in Subjection to his reputed Father.

XV. Not far diſtant from hence they ſhew the Synagogue [a], wherein our bleſſed Lord preached that Sermon, which ſo exaſperated his Countrymen, *that they roſe up and thruſt him out of the City, and led him to the Brow of the Hill whereon the City was built, that they might caſt him down headlong*. This ſame Precipice they now call *The Mountain of Precipitation*: 'Tis about half a League Southward from *Nazareth*, and in going to it you croſs firſt over the Vale where *Nazareth* ſtands. There is a great Stone on the Brink of the Precipice, and in the Stone ſeveral little Holes repreſenting the Prints of Fingers, which, they affirm, were made by our Lord, while he reſiſted the Violence of his enraged Neighbours. Two or three Ciſterns for ſaving Water, and a few other Ruins, are all the preſent Remains of a religious Building founded here by the Empreſs *Helena*, Mother of *Conſtantine the Great*. The ſame Fate has attended the Churches ſhe built by the Houſe of *Joſeph*, and the Synagogue abovementioned; theſe Monuments of her Piety being now likewiſe in Ruins.

XVI. It may be worth while, in order to expoſe the unreaſonable Bigotry of ſome People, to obſerve, that in how mean a Condition ſoever *Nazareth* may be at preſent, the Chamber in which the Bleſſed Virgin was ſitting when ſhe received the angelic Salutation, has had better Luck than the reſt of the City, even at no leſs Expence than of a downright Miracle, if we may believe the Popiſh Legends. This Chamber being had in great Veneration by the Chriſtians, and remaining in *Nazareth* till the *Holy Land* was [b] ſubdued by the *Turks* and *Saracens*, it was then, it ſeems, moſt miraculouſly tranſported into *Sclavonia*. But that Conntry being unworthy of the Virgin's Preſence, it was by the Angels carried over into *Italy*, and at length ſettled at *Loretto*, then a Village, or, according to ſome, only a Farm, in the Eccleſiaſtical State, belonging to a Lady named *Lauretta*. His Holineſs's Territories, without doubt, were the moſt worthy Receptacle of ſuch an holy Apartment. No ſooner was the wonderful Arrival of ſo extraordinary a Relic noiſed abroad, but People of all Ranks came to pay it reverence, and even the Popes themſelves ſhew'd it a more than common Reſpect. One of the holy Fathers built a magnificent Church over this Chamber, which, by the Preſents that have been made to the Lady of it, is now become the richeſt in the World. Another of them erected the Village of *Loretto* into a City and Biſhop's See, out of pure Veneration to the Bleſſed Virgin. So that *Nazareth* and *Loretto* have exactly changed Conditions; *Nazareth* from a City and Biſhop's See, being reduced to a State as contemptible as that from which *Loretto* was advanced to the Dignity it now enjoys.

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[t] Deut. iii. 13.

[u] Luke iii. 1.

[w] John i. 46. and vii. 41, 52.

[x] Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo, &c.

[y] Ibid.

[z] Luke xxi. 51.

[a] Luke iv. 16, 28, 29.

[b] In the Year 1291.

XVII. The City of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, in the *Hill-Country* of *Judea*, to which the Bleſſed Virgin went from *Nazareth* to viſit her Couſin, is probably enough ſuppoſed to be *Hebron*, that being [c] one of the Cities given to the Prieſts in the Tribe of *Judah*, and expreſly ſaid to lie in [d] the Mountains or Hills; which running a-croſs the Middle of *Judea* from South to North, gave the Name of the Hill-Country to the Tract of Land they paſſed through. *Hebron* was the Seat of *David* before he took *Jeruſalem* from the *Jebuſites*; it was utterly ruined, when viſited by Mr. *Sandys*, about one hundred and twenty Years ago. But hard by it there was a little Village with a handſome Temple, built by the Empreſs *Helena*, in the Field of *Machpelah*, over the Burying-Vault of the Patriarchs, a Place formerly much viſited by Pilgrims, till the Structure was converted into a Moſque for the Mahometans.

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[c] Joſh. xxi. 10, 13.

[d] Joſh. ii. 21. and xv. 48, 54.

CHAP. II.

I. *Joſeph* diſcovers the Pregnancy of *Mary*. II. Law of the *Jews* in ſuch a Caſe; *Joſeph* propoſes to put her away, but is ſatisfy'd in a Dream. III. The Decree of *Auguſtus*, and Journey of *Joſeph* and *Mary* to *Bethlehem*. IV. The Nativity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. V. Appearance of the Angels to the Shepherds. VI. Who repair to *Bethlehem*, and pay their Adoration to the Infant. VII. The Circumciſion of *Chriſt*, and Appearance of the Star in the Eaſt. VIII. The wiſe Men come to *Jeruſalem*, and are queſtioned by *Herod*. IX. They go to *Bethlehem*, worſhip the Meſſiah, and preſent to him Myrrh, Gold, and Frankincenſe.

I. AS [a] *the eternal Son of God was to take our Nature and Subſtance of a pure unſpotted Virgin, that he might ſecure the Reputation of his Birth among thoſe who could not apprehend the Myſtery of it, 'twas neceſſary that this Virgin ſhould be eſpouſed at the Time of her Conception to ſome pious and holy Man, to whom the Secret of ſuch a ſtupendious Miracle might properly be communicated. Such a Perſon was* Joſeph, *who conſequently was at firſt exceedingly ſhock'd when he perceived the Condition of* Mary, *whoſe Chaſtity he had never yet in the leaſt ſuſpected: For how could he avoid being diſſatisfied at this Diſcovery, ſince he was conſcious that her Pregnancy was not from him? But Heaven did not long ſuffer him to entertain diſhonourable Thoughts of the Perſon whom it had favour'd beyond all her Sex; and who, no doubt, was altogether as uneaſy as* Joſeph *himſelf, when ſhe obſerved how his Countenance was changed towards her. The Reaſon of this Alteration ſhe could not chuſe but divine, being now very ſenſible of her own Condition, and the bleſſed Occaſion thereof; but how was it poſſible to convince her Husband under ſuch Circumſtances, that ſhe had preſerv'd her Honour, and that her Conception was immediately from Heaven?*

II. *The Law of the* Jews *in ſuch a Caſe as* Mary's *appeared to be, was,* [b] *That ſhe ſhould be carried back from her Huſband's Habitation, to the Door of her Father's Houſe, and* there be ſtoned to Death. [c] *Now* Joſeph *being naturally of a mild and merciful Diſpoſition, after he had conſidered what he could not but look upon as her Crime, and alſo the Puniſhment that would be inflicted on her if the Affair came to be known, he ſo far pitied her Condition, as to reſolve within himſelf to diſſolve the Marriage Contract in a private Manner, and ſo diſmiſs her with as little Infamy as poſſible. But while he was actuating theſe Matters in his Mind, an Angel of the Lord appeared to him in a Dream, and aſſured him, that he need not ſcruple to take home his Wife, for ſhe was not with Child by any unlawful Act, or in the ordinary Way of Production, but by a ſupernatural Operation of the Divine Power. He added, that the Child of which* Mary *was to be delivered, ſhould be called* Jeſus, *which ſignifies* a Saviour; *becauſe he ſhould ſave the People of* Judea, *not from their Bondage to the* Romans, *which they expected would be the Office of the Meſſiah, but from their Iniquities and ſpiritual Miſeries, which was a Matter of much greater Concern.* [d] Joſeph, *upon this heavenly Notice, was entirely ſatisfy'd, eſpecially when* Mary, *upon his Inquiry,*

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[a] Matth. i. 18.

[b] Deut. xxii. 21, 24.

[c] Matth. i. 19, 20, 21, 24, 25.

[d] The Evangeliſt Matthew refers the Accompliſhment of Iſaiah's Prophecy, *Behold a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son*, &c. to this Place; explaining the Word *Emmanuel*, by *God with us*, Chap. i. 22, 23.

related the Hiſtory of her Conception in the ſame Manner as he had heard it from the Angel: So, without any farther delay, he took her to his Houſe, and lived with her in perfect Chaſtity till ſhe had brought forth her firſt-born Son, as the Evangeliſt teſtifies. The Fathers generally hold that Mary *continued a Virgin all her Life-time, and find a way to account for the Brethren of our Lord, which are mentioned in the Goſpels: But this is only Conjecture, and perhaps not of ſo much Conſequence that we need ſpend any Time to ſupport it, ſince 'tis enough that ſhe was a Virgin at the Time of our Lord's Nativity.*

III. [e] *Juſt about this Time, and as we may ſuppoſe by the ſpecial Direction of God, a Decree of* Auguſtus Cæſar, *which was publiſhed all over the* Roman *Empire, came into* Judea, *ordaining that all Perſons, with their Eſtates and Conditions, ſhould be regiſter'd at certain Places, according to their reſpective Provinces, Cities, and Families.* * *The Deſign of* Auguſtus *was to learn the Strength and Riches of his Dominions, and know how to proportion a general Tax, whenever he ſhould ſee fit to raiſe one; which he did in* Judea *after it was reduced to a Province, upon the Baniſhment of* Archelaus. *For this Purpoſe, as 'tis generally ſuppoſed,* Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, *called by St.* Luke Cyrenius, *was ſent with extraordinary Power into* Syria, *which included the Dominions of* Herod, *to enrol that Part of the Empire. In Obedience to the imperial Decree,* Joſeph *with his eſpouſed Wife, being both of the Tribe of* Judah *and Family of* David, *took a Journey from* Nazareth, *the Place of their Habitation, to* Bethlehem, *a ſmall City in the Territories of their own Tribe, where* David *himſelf was born long before, and where the Prophet* Micah *had expreſly fixed the Birth of the Meſſiah, the great Antitype of* David, *that they might give in their Names at the Office appointed for that Purpoſe.*

IV. [f] *The general and great Reſort of People on this public Occaſion had ſo filled the little Town of* Bethlehem, *that when our holy Travellers went to ſeek for Lodging at an Inn, they could not be entertained in any better Place than a Stable: And* Mary's *Travel coming upon her juſt at that Time, they were obliged to put up with ſuch Room as they could get, and retire together into what was deſigned only as a Receptacle for Beaſts. In this mean Place the Bleſſed Virgin was delivered of her heavenly Burthen, as we may ſuppoſe without Pain, ſince it was conceived without Sin. She herſelf performed the Offices of Midwife and Nurſe, bound the Infant in ſwaddling Clothes, and laid it to reſt in a Manger, which was the moſt commodious Situation that her preſent Circumſtances would admit of. After this low Manner was the Son of God pleaſed to enter into the World, to teach haughty Man the noble Virtue debaſing of himſelf; and that as Pride was the Occaſion of our Fall, ſo Humility might lay the Foundation of our Riſing again. How well did this agree with the Character which the bleſſed* Jeſus *afterwards gave of himſelf, when he perſuaded his Followers* [g] *to learn of him, for he was meek and lowly, and aſſured them* [h] *that the Son of Man came not to be miniſter'd unto, but to miniſter.*

V. [i] *The ſame Night that the Saviour of the World was born, while the reſt of Mankind were aſleep, certain Shepherds happened to be watching over their Flocks, in the very Plains where* David *himſelf had often exerciſed the ſame Charge. To theſe was made the firſt Publication of our Lord's Birth, by the viſible Appearance of an Angel, who came upon them, while the Glory of the Lord ſhone round about them, with ſuch a ſudden Flaſh of Light, that it put them at firſt into a great Conſternation. But the heavenly Meſſenger ſoon relieved them from their Fears, and ſaid unto them with an audible Voice, Fear not; for I bring joyful Tidings, to you, and to all Mankind: The great Saviour and King, the Meſſiah whom you have ſo long expected, is born this Night at* Bethlehem; *and the Token you ſhall know him by, if you go thither, ſhall be your finding him in a Stable, wrapp'd up in ſwaddling Clothes, and lying in a Manger. No ſooner had the Angel delivered his Meſſage, than there appeared with him an innumerable Multitude of bleſſed Spirits, praiſing God and ſaying, Glory to God in the higheſt, and on Earth Peace; good Will towards Men. Thus we may ſee it was the Pleaſure of God, that as* [k] *the Angels ſung at the Creation of the World, ſo they ſhould at the Redemption of Mankind: Nor need we doubt but that the whole heavenly Hoſt paid their Adoration to the Babe in the Manger, at the ſame Time that a Part of them were heard by the Shepherds; for the Father had ordered,* [l] *that when he brought his Firſt-born into the World, all the Angels of God ſhould worſhip him; and St.* Peter *aſſures us further,* [m] *that theſe celeſtial Beings even long'd to look into the Myſtery of the Incarnation.*

VI. [n] *When the heavenly Quire had concluded their Anthem, and were returned into the immediate Preſence of God, the wondring Shepherds haſtened to* Bethlehem, *where they found* Joſeph, Mary, *and the Infant, in their homely Lodging, agreeably to the Information of the Angel. Here they did homage to Meſſiah the King in this humble Situation, repreſenting in their Worſhip the whole Nation of the* Jews; *as the wiſe Men of the Eaſt were, if we may be allow'd ſuch a Manner of expreſſing ourſelves, the Deputies of all the Gentile World, when they came afterwards with their Offerings. When the Shepherds had been Eye Witneſſes of the Humility of the Son of God, and had informed* Joſeph *and* Mary *of the Revelation that had been communicated to them in the Field, they returned again to their Flocks, praiſing and magnifying God for having bleſs'd them with a Sight of the Meſſiah, and publiſhing what they had ſeen and heard concerning this Child, to the Admiration and Aſtoniſhment of all that heard them ſpeak. But* Mary *was very reſerved amidſt all theſe Oc-*

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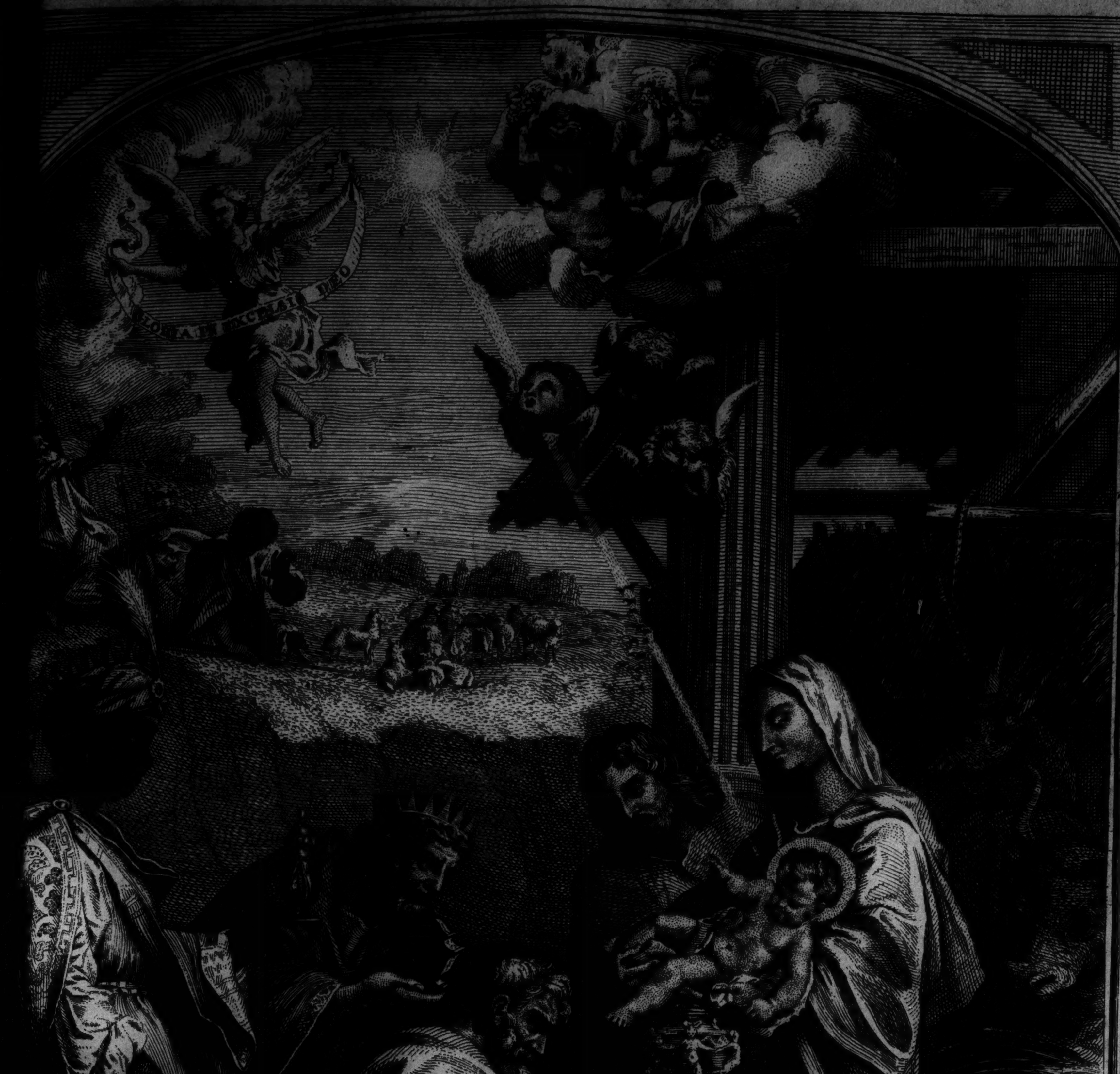
[e] Luke ii. 1,—5.

* We ſhall give ſeveral other Conjectures about this Affair, in the Diſſertation immediately following.

[f] Luke ii. 6, 7.   [g] Matth. xi. 29.   [h] Matth. xx. 28.   [i] Luke i. 8,—14.   [k] Job xxxviii. 7.

[l] Pſalm xcvii. 7. Heb. i. 6.   [m] 1 Pet i. 121.   [n] Luke i. 15,—20.

currences,


GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO

G.Bickham jun.r delin et Sculp.

The Nativity of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST. Luke.II.6,7.
An Angel appears to the Shepherds. —— Ibid.ver.8, 20.
The adoration of the MAGI, or Wise Men. Matth.II.1,15.

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currences, and tho' ſhe took particular notice of every thing that paſt, ſhe yet continued modeſt and ſilent in her Deportment, contenting herſelf with pondering over in her own Mind the Obſervations which ſhe ſecretly made; giving thereby an Example worthy the Imitation of her Sex, none of whom can ever have an equal Occaſion of glorying in their own Happineſs.

[o] VII. *Eight Days after his Birth, the holy Babe was circumciſed, and called* Jeſus, *according to the Command of God by his Angel; it being neceſſary that our Redeemer ſhould fulfil the whole Law, by yielding Obedience to every Part of its Inſtitutions. And while theſe Things were doing at* Bethlehem, *a new Star appeared in the Heavens, probably of an extraordinary Brightneſs and Magnitude, which was taken notice of by the Eaſtern Nations, who were much given to Aſtrology. The wiſeſt of thoſe People, we may ſuppoſe, were very earneſt in their Addreſſes to God, that he would let them know for what Purpoſe he had ſent this ſurpriſing Phænomenon. Whereupon, probably by ſome Revelation, like that which they afterwards received in* Judea *concerning their Return, three of the greateſt and devouteſt among them, were aſſur'd of the Birth of the Meſſiah, a great King, to whom all the World ſhould become ſubject; of which Prince they could not but have heard or read ſomething before, at a Time when the* Jews *were in ſo general an Expectation of his Appearance.*

[p] VIII. *After a Journey of ſix or ſeven Days, as 'tis commonly computed, theſe* Magi, *or, as they are called in our Tranſlation, wiſe Men, arrived at* Jeruſalem, *and enquired publicly where they might find the new-born King of the* Jews; *affirming that they had ſeen an unuſual Star in their own Country, by which they underſtood that a Prince was juſt born in* Judea, *who was worthy to receive the higheſt Honours, and that therefore they were come to worſhip him, as they were in Duty bound to do. The Report of theſe Men quickly reached the Ears of* Herod, *who being a bloody and ambitious Prince, and conſequently jealous and timorous, began to fear that ſome Seeds of Sedition might be ſcatter'd among the People by ſuch Rumours; the more, becauſe he perceived that the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem *were very much alarm'd by this Declaration of the* Magi. *He therefore ſummon'd together ſuch as were deſcended of the Chief Prieſts, or had themſelves diſcharg'd that Function, or were at that Time Heads of the Sacerdotal Claſſes, and ſuch of the* [q] Sanhedrim *as were moſt famous for Learning, and enquired of them in what Part of* Judea *the Meſſiah was to be born, according to the Predictions of the Prophets: And being inform'd that the Town of* Bethlehem *was mention'd by Name in the Prophecy of* Micah, *he reſolved to take this Opportunity of finding out the holy Infant, and deſtroying him. For this Purpoſe, he ſent for the Travellers, and aſked them ſeveral Queſtions; particularly how long it was ago that they firſt diſcovered the Star; that ſo by finding out the Child's Age, he might be enabled to put him to death without making any Tumult. When they had inform'd him of what they knew, he diſmiſſed them with great Appearance of Goodwill, both to them and their Errand, enjoining them to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to find out this young Prince, and bring him word of their Succeſs, that he alſo might go and pay his Devotions, in a becoming Manner, to the future King of* Judea.

[r] IX. *The wiſe Men, as ſoon as they were diſcharged by* Herod, *purſued their Journey towards* Bethlehem; *and as they were on their Way, the ſame Star that had conducted them to* Jeruſalem, *appeared to them again, and moved on before them directly to the Place where* Jeſus *was. When they ſaw their Guide a ſecond Time, they were tranſported with Joy, and followed it, till they arriv'd at the Lodging of* Mary *and her Son, over which the heavenly Light made a full Stand. By this Token they enter'd, and finding the Child with his Mother, they inſtantly fell down and worſhipp'd him: After which they offered to him the Preſents they had brought, which were* [ſ] *Gold, Frankincenſe, and Myrrh, the moſt valuable Product of their Country; it being the Cuſtom of the Oriental People never to approach their Princes without a Gift. When they had in this Manner performed the Buſineſs of their Journey, and were purpoſing to return again by the Way of* Jeruſalem, *that they might acquaint* Herod *where the bleſſed Infant was to be ſeen, God, who knew the bloody Intention of that cruel Tyrant, prevented them by a Viſion, and directed them to repair into their own Country by ſome other Way, which they accordingly did, and ſo evaded any further Enquiry.*

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[o] Luke ii. 21. Matth. ii. 1.

[p] Matth. ii. 1——8.

[q] The great Council of the Jews.

[r] Matth. ii. 9, 10, 11, 12.

[ſ] Some have found a particular Significancy in theſe Gifts of the Magi, to deſcribe the Object of their Adoration. Myrrh, they tell us, was offer'd as to a Man, who was to be delivered to Death and the Grave for our Salvation; Gold, as to a King, whoſe Kingdom ſhall have no End; and Incenſe as to a God: According to theſe Verſes of Claudian:

> Dant tibi Chaldæi prænuntia munera reges;
>   Myrrham homo, rex aurum, ſuſcipe thura Deus.

> *On thee Chaldean Kings their Gifts beſtow'd:*
> *As Man accept their Myrrh, - - - - - -*
> *As King their Gold receive, their Incenſe as a God.*

DISSERTATION I.

Chronological, Critical, and Topographical.

I. *Æra and Epocha, what they ſignify.* II. *Æras among the Heathens.* III. *Among the* Jews *and Chriſtians.* IV. *Correction of the vulgar Chriſtian Æra.* V. *Reaſon of the Miſtake therein.* VI. *Month and Day of our Lord's Nativity uncertain.* VII. *Diſputes about them to no Purpoſe.* VIII. *'Tis proper to keep ſome Day.* IX. *Conjectures on the Decree of* Auguſtus. X. *Deſcriptions of the* Roman *Empire during the Reign of* Auguſtus. XI. *How long that Survey mention'd by St.* Luke *was in executing; and a Compariſon of it with the Dome's-Day Book in* England. XII. *Dependant Kingdoms ſurvey'd but not taxed, and why.* XIII. *Review of three preceding Paragraphs, and an Interpretation of two Verſes of St.* Luke's *Goſpel.* XIV. *Account of the* Jewiſh *Shepherds, and their Watches by Night.* XV. *A Deſcription of* Bethlehem. XVI. *Of the Cave of the Nativity.* XVII. *Convents, Chapel of the Manger, and Grotto of the Bleſſed Virgin.* XVIII. *Chapels of St.* Joſeph, *St.* Jerom, *St.* Paula *and* Euſtochium; *the Field of the Shepherds,* &c. XIX. *Particulars remarkable in the Road between* Jeruſalem *and* Bethlehem. XX. Solomon's *Pools, Gardens, and Fountains.* XXI. *Objections againſt the Prophecy of* Micah *conſider'd.*

I. WE ſhall confine ourſelves as much as may be, throughout this whole Work, to ſuch Expreſſions as may eaſily be underſtood by all our Readers; nevertheleſs it will be impoſſible, on ſome Occaſions, to avoid a few Terms of Art, which may need a little Explanation. Whenever this happens, if we are ſenſible of it, ſuch Interpretations ſhall be given as may appear to be neceſſary, tho' we ſhall never enter into any tedious Enquiries about the Derivation of Words. We make this Remark once for all; and it is introduced here as properly as it could have been in any other Place. To apply it therefore: The Words *Æra* and *Epocha*, which we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to uſe, are taken indifferently for a fixed and certain Point of Time, from which Chronologers compute their Years, and determine how long any one remarkable Action, Perſon, Occurrence, *&c.* was diſtant from another, either before or after. [a] Æra is compoſed of the initial Letters of [b] four *Latin* Words, which ſignify *the Year of Auguſtus's Reign*; it being uſual for the *Romans* to compute their Years from the Eſtabliſhment of that Prince in the Imperial Dignity, after the Conqueſt of *Egypt*. Epocha properly ſignifies an Interval, becauſe all Records, *&c.* from one of theſe particular Points, till it is ſupplanted by ſome other, are referred thereunto. But in their preſent Uſe, as I juſt now obſerved, theſe Words are not diſtinguiſhed one from the other.

II. The moſt remarkable Æras among the Heathens were theſe five: 1. The Foundation of the *Aſſyrian* Empire by *Belus*, in the Year of the World 2737; before Chriſt 1263 Years. 2. That of *Nabonaſſar*, beginning at the Death of *Sardanapalus*, the laſt *Aſſyrian* Monarch, and the Foundation of the Empires of *Babylon* and the *Medes*, in the Year of the World 3257; before Chriſt 743. 3. The Reign of *Cyrus* at *Babylon*, and Beginning of the *Perſian* Monarchy, in the Year 3468 from the Creation, and before *Jeſus Chriſt* 532. 4. The Conqueſt of the *Perſians* by *Alexander the Great*, and the Foundation of the *Grecian* Monarchy, before Chriſt 326 Years, and after the Creation 3674. 5. The Beginning of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, in the Year of the World 3960, forty Years before the true Time of our bleſſed Saviour's Nativity.

III. Sacred Chronology has generally been referr'd to ſome of theſe eight particular Points of Time. 1. The Creation of the World, by which all the other Epochas, both ſacred and prophane, are regulated. 2. The Deluge, in the Year of the World 1656, before Chriſt 2344. 3. The Building of *Babel*, and Confuſion of Tongues, about the Year of the World 1800, before Chriſt 2200. 4. The ſecond Calling of *Abraham* from the City of *Haran*, in the Year of the World 2083, before Chriſt 1917. 5. The Departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, in the Year of the World 2517, before Chriſt 1483. 6. The Dedication of the Temple, in the Year 3001 from the Creation, before Chriſt 999 Years. 7. The End of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, in 3468, before Chriſt 532. 8. The Nativity of our bleſſed Lord, in the Year of the World 4000, or rather 4004, according to the eſtabliſh'd, tho' erroneous, Method of computing.

IV. Having kept to what we call the true Time of our Lord's Nativity in the Articles of all the preceding Æras, and afterwards brought down the Nativity itſelf four Years lower, to make it agree with our preſent Date, which in this Beginning of the eighth Year of King *George* II. is 1734, 'tis neceſſary we ſhould give the unlearned Reader our Reaſon for ſo doing, and where this Miſtake of four Years in the Computations of all the Chriſtian World had its Riſe. For the firſt of theſe Purpoſes let theſe two Things be obſerv'd: 1. That learned Men in general are agreed that there is an Error in this Particular, tho' they do not all grant this Error to be of ſo much as four Years; otherwiſe they could not reconcile ſome Particulars of the Evangelical Story with prophane Hiſtory of the ſame Times: And ſecondly, that far the greateſt Part of the beſt and moſt modern Chronologers allow the full Term of four Years to this Miſtake, and by ſo doing are enabled to reſolve more Difficulties than thoſe who embrace any other Syſtem. Theſe two Conſiderations, I believe, are ſufficient to ſupport the Chronology I have followed: For if an Error be allow'd, it may as well conſiſt of four Years as of leſs; and where there is Room for different Opinions, that is always to be preferr'd which accounts for the greateſt Number of Difficulties.

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[a] Hammond on Luke ii. 1.

[b] Annus erat regni Auguſti.

V. But then in the ſecond Place we are to trace the Origin of this Miſtake: And here we have good Authority to prove, that Chriſtians did not begin to compute by the Æra of the Nativity of Chriſt till the five hundred and twenty ſeventh Year of that Æra; a Time when the State of Learning was far from being in a flouriſhing Condition; and then this Computation was introduced by [c] *Dionyſius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by Birth, at that Time a *Roman* Abbot. Our Countryman *Bede*, taking it from *Dionyſius*, uſed it in all his Writings; and the great Reputation of this Monk recommended it to the general Uſe of Chriſtians, eſpecially in theſe Weſtern Parts. Thus is this whole Matter eaſily accounted for to any reaſonable Perſon: For had the Church from the Beginning of Chriſtianity calculated the Times by this Epocha, there could then have been no Miſtake therein; but at a Diſtance of five hundred and twenty ſeven Years, and in an Age when ſo few Helps to the clearing up a Chronological Difficulty could be procur'd, we may rather wonder that the Error was no greater, than that the true Year was miſtaken at all.

VI. We are far more to ſeek for the true Month and Day of our Lord's Nativity, than we are for the Year of it. Some very antient Traditions direct us to the Twenty-fifth of *December*, which Day is accordingly kept as one of the great annual Feſtivals of the Weſtern Chriſtians. But Mr. *Mede*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, and others, have given very probable Reaſons for fixing it to the Month of *September*, and particularly to the *Jewiſh* Feaſt of Tabernacles. [d] M. *Le Clerc*, after having found out the Year of *Herod*'s Death, in order to gain ſome Light in the ſacred Chronology, goes on to this Effect: It appears from St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, that *Jeſus* was born ſix Months after *John the Baptiſt*; but ſince 'tis undetermined in what Month *John* was born, nothing of any Certainty can be inferr'd from this. Some learned Men, indeed, have pretended to find out the Week in which the Claſs of *Abias*, to which *Zacharias* belong'd, executed the Prieſt's Office in the Temple: But what they ſay is built upon ſuch weak Foundations, that in ſo ſerious an Affair 'tis much better to leave Matters juſt as we find them, than go on to heap Conjecture upon Conjecture.

VII. 'Tis very well known, that while it was the general Opinion of the Weſtern Churches that Chriſt was born on the Twenty-fifth of *December*, the Churches of the Eaſt contended as ſtrongly for the Sixth of *January*; alledging, that they muſt needs have a better Inſight into this Affair than the Occidental Chriſtians, who were at ſo much a greater Diſtance from the Place of his Birth than themſelves. *Voſſius* [e] has indeed collected a great many Teſtimonies of the Antients upon this Head; but whoever diligently examines the Matter, and conſiders moreover, that in the moſt primitive Times of Chriſtianity neither of theſe Days was particularly conſecrated as the Anniverſary of our Lord's Nativity, will be eaſily convinced, that there are no certain Grounds for determining on either Side. This Difficulty is obvious to every Man of Letters; and therefore M. *Le Clerc* tells us, that having, as he imagines, found out the true Year, he will not affirm or deny that Chriſt was born in this or that Month, but rather chuſes to leave the Proſecution of ſuch a doubtful Enquiry.

VIII. But tho' we are ſtill in the dark with reſpect to the preciſe Time of the Nativity of Chriſt, yet the Diſputes that have been carried on between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Chriſtians, on this Head, are ſufficient Teſtimony, that in the Opinion of the univerſal Church, the keeping of ſome Day, in memory of this great Event, is very becoming, and even neceſſary. This is enough to be ſaid in a Work where we would not chuſe to repeat thoſe Arguments which better become the Pulpit; from whence they are inculcated as often as they are called for by the Returns of that Seaſon of the Year, which our Church has directed us to ſolemniſe on this happy Occaſion.

IX. The Decree of *Auguſtus* mention'd by St. *Luke*, was not that all the World, or the whole *Roman* Empire, which is what the Evangeliſt means, ſhould be immediately taxed, as our Tranſlation ſeems to import, but that Perſons of all Ranks, Ages, and Conditions, ſhould be [f] enrolled, according to their reſpective Families and Eſtates. Several Reaſons are given for this Procedure of the Emperor. One Author informs [g] us, that it was becauſe the Taxes ſhould be paid by an equal and moderate Proportion; thoſe who were in Power before *Auguſtus* having taken from their Subjects according to their arbitrary Pleaſure. Another tells [h] us, that it was partly that Mens Properties and Eſtates, which were become uncertain and confuſed by the Civil Wars, ſhould be made ſecure to them; and that therefore it was neceſſary for them to make out their Deſcent and Families. Some have affirm'd [i], that this Enrolment was only an Effect of the Emperor's Curioſity, without any View either to the enriching of his Treaſury, or reforming the Exceſſes of thoſe who had gone before him. If this laſt Opinion be true, it ſufficiently confirms what we have ſuppoſed in our Paraphraſe, that he was over-ruled herein by the ſpecial Providence of God, who took this Method of bringing to paſs what he had before declared by his Prophet *Micah*, and thus made it neceſſary for the Virgin *Mary* to go to *Bethlehem*, in order to her being there deliver'd of her heavenly Burthen. But let the Cauſe of this imperial Decree have been what it will, we have the concurrent Teſtimony of the

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[c] See Scaliger, Calviſius, and other Chronologers, in thoſe Parts of their Works where they write of the vulgar Æra of Chriſt. See alſo Du Pin's Hiſtory of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, Cent. 6. p. 42. and Dr. Cave's Hiſtoria Literaria, p. 405. Prideaux.

[d] Diſſertation concerning the Years of Chriſt's Life, printed at the End of his Harmony of the Evangeliſts.

[e] In his Diſſertation concerning the Time of Chriſt's Nativity.

[f] This is all the Greek Word imports, which our Tranſlators have render'd by *taxed*, as Dr. Hammond has learnedly proved from ſeveral Authors in his Note on this Paſſage.

[g] Suidas. [h] Caſſiodorus. [i] Caſaubon and others.

Authors of that Time, that ſuch a Survey of the *Roman* Subjects was actually made. I have alſo the Authority of the greateſt Number of Commentators and Paraphraſts to ſupport what I have ſaid concerning *Publius Sulpicius Quirinus*, that he was ſent into *Syria* with a ſpecial Commiſſion on this Occaſion: Nevertheleſs, as this is not univerſally agreed to, and may not perhaps, after all, be the moſt rational Manner in underſtanding the Evangeliſt, I ſhall now give my Readers a Syſtem of this whole Affair, extracted from the learned and ingenious [k] Dean of *Norwich*, whoſe Deciſions I have already acquieſced in oftner than in any other I have met with; his Opinion on thoſe Subjects of Criticiſm which he has entered into, being, I believe, as much to be relied on, as thoſe of any other Author whomſoever.

X. *Auguſtus* having iſſued out a Decree for taking a Deſcription, or Survey, of the whole *Roman* Empire, ſuch as ſhould contain an Account of all the Perſons, Poſſeſſions, and Eſtates therein, and the Taxes iſſuable from them, it was in this Year wherein *Chriſt* was born executed in *Judea*, in the Manner as St. *Luke* in his Goſpel relates. Such an Account uſed to be taken of the Citizens of *Rome* every fifth Year, and they had Officers appointed for that Purpoſe, called Cenſors. Their Buſineſs was [l] to make a Regiſtration of all the *Roman* Citizens, their Wives and Children, with their Age, Qualities, Trades, Offices, and Eſtates real and perſonal. *Auguſtus* firſt extended this to the Provinces, and [m] three Times during his Reign he cauſed the like Deſcription to be made throughout all the *Roman* Empire. The firſt was in the Year when he himſelf was the ſixth Time, and *M. Agrippa* the ſecond Time, Conſuls, twenty-eight Years before the Chriſtian Æra. The ſecond Time was in the Conſulſhip of *C. Martius Cenſorinus* and *C. Aſinius Gallus*, before the Chriſtian Æra eight Years. And the laſt Time in the Conſulſhip of *Sextus Pompeius Nepos* and *Sextus Apuleius Nepos*, in the Year of the Chriſtian Æra Fourteen. In [n] the firſt and laſt Time he executed this with the Aſſiſtacne of a Collegue: But in the ſecond Time, which is the Deſcription St. *Luke* refers to, he did it by himſelf alone.

XI. The eighth Year before the vulgar Æra, in which this Decree was iſſued out, was only [o] three whole Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, according to the Correction of that Æra, taken notice of above: And ſo long was this Deſcription carrying on thro' *Syria*, *Cæleſyria*, *Phænicia*, and *Judea*, before it came to *Bethlehem*. When it came thither, *Joſeph* and *Mary* were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the Place of their Habitation, to this antient City of *David*, to which they originally belonged, that their Circumſtances might be deſcribed and regiſter'd among the reſt of the ſame Family: And while they tarried here, *Mary* was delivered of the promiſed Seed; by whom the World was to be ſaved, in the Manner as related in the Goſpels. That we allow three Years for the Execution of this Decree can give no juſt Reaſon for Exception: For ſuppoſing the Execution of it in every Province of the *Roman* Empire to have been committed to the Governor of it, (and that it was ſo in *Syria* is atteſted by *Tertullian* [p]) three Years Time was little enough for the carrying it through *Syria*, *Cæleſyria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, which all together made up the *Roman* Province of *Syria*. *Joab* was [q] nine Months in taking an Account of only [r] ten of the Tribes of *Iſrael*, and of no more in them [ſ] than of the Men that were able to bear Arms. Whereas the Account taken by the Decree of *Auguſtus*, at the Time of our Saviour's Birth, extended to all Manner of Perſons, and alſo to their Poſſeſſions, Eſtates, Qualities, and other Circumſtances. And when a Deſcription of this latter kind was taken in *England*, by the Command of *William the Conqueror*, (we mean that which was called the *Dome's-Day Book*) it was [t] ſix Years in making, tho' the whole Kingdom of *England* be not near half ſo big as the *Roman* Province of *Syria*.

XII. But tho' this Survey of *Judea* was made at the Time we have mentioned, and every Man's Eſtate there eſtimated according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans* when they levied Taxes, yet no Payment of any Taxes was made by the *Jews* till the twelfth Year after. Till then *Herod*, and after him *Archelaus* his Son, reigning in *Judea*, the Taxes of that Country were paid to thoſe Princes only. But when *Archelaus* was depoſed, and *Judea* put under the Government of a *Roman* Procurator, then firſt were Taxes paid for that Country to the *Romans*, *Publius Sulpicius Quirinus*, who in *Greek* is called *Cyrenius*, being at that Time Preſident of *Syria*. If it be asked for what Reaſon this Deſcription was made, if no Taxes were to be paid immediately upon it? The Anſwer is, *Auguſtus* was then at work upon the Compoſure of a Book, containing ſuch a Survey of the *Roman* Empire, as that which our *Dome's-Day Book* doth for *England*. [u] *Tacitus*, [w] *Suetonius*, and

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[k] Dr. Prideaux, Part II. Book ix. of his Connection.

[l] Cenſoris Officium erat omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque, diſcrimina in tabulas referre. Florus Lib. i. cap. 6. Cenſores populi ævitates, ſoboles, familias, pecuniaſque cenſento. Cic. de Legib. Lib. iii.

[m] Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 27. Monumentum Ancyranum, quod extat in notis Caſauboni ad Suetonium; in Grutero, & in Leunclavii pandectis Turcicis.

[n] Suetonius ibid.

[o] Reckoning theſe Years incluſively, as they are meant in this Place, without enquiring for the particular Seaſon either of the Decree or the Nativity.

[p] Adverſ. Marcionem, Lib. iv. cap. 19.

[q] 2 Sam. xxiv. 8.

[r] For Levi and Benjamin were not numbered, 1 Chron. xxiv. 9.

[ſ] 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

[t] It was begun in the fourteenth Year of William the Conqueror, and not finiſhed till the twentieth. See Spelman's Gloſſary, under the Word *Domeſdei*.

[u] Hiſt. Lib i. cap. 11. ubi dicit. Opes publicæ continebantur, quantum civium, ſociorumque in armis, quot claſſes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, & neceſſitates & largitiones.

[w] In Octavio cap. 101, ubi hæc habet. Auguſtus de tribus voluminibus poſt ſe relictis tertio complexus eſt breviarium totius imperii, quantum militum ſub ſignis ubique eſſet, quantum pecuniæ in ærario, & fiſcis, & vectigalium reſiduis.

[x] *Dion Caſſius*, make mention of this Book, and deſcribe it in the ſame Manner in which we here repreſent it. Now in order to his making this Work thoroughly complete, his Decree for the Survey was made to extend to the depending Kingdoms, as well as the Provinces of the Empire, tho' the Taxes of theſe Kingdoms were always paid to their proper Sovereigns, and only thoſe of the Provinces to the *Romans*. What Revenues the Emperors had from the dependant Kingdoms, were from the Princes of them, and not the People: For the People paid the Taxes to their Princes, and the Princes their Tribute to the *Roman* Emperors: Nevertheleſs this Dependancy put it into the Power of the Emperors to take ſuch a Deſcription as we are now treating of.

XIII. Putting all this together, the Sum and Series of the Matter appears to be as followeth. *Auguſtus*, three Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, iſſued out a Decree for this Deſcription of the whole *Roman* Empire, including the dependant States, Kingdoms, &c. and committed the Execution of it to the Governor of each Province, both for his own proper Diſtrict, and the States, Kingdoms, and Dominions, that by their neighbouring Situation were more immediately dependant thereon. By this Means the Survey of *Judea* came into the Charge of *Sentius Saturninus*, at that Time Preſident of *Syria*, who having gone thro' the other Parts of his Diviſion, executed his Commiſſion at *Bethlehem* at the Time when Chriſt was born. But notwithſtanding this, no Tax was here levied till the Depoſing of *Archelaus* abovementioned, in the twelfth Year after, when *Cyrenius*, or *Quirinus*, was Governor of *Syria*. So that St. *Luke* ſpeaks of two diſtinct particular Actions, performed at very different Times, when he mentions the Decree of *Auguſtus*, and the Taxing under *Cyrenius*. What is ſaid in his firſt Verſe of the ſecond Chapter, where, as we have before obſerved, the Word *enrolled* ought to have been in the room of *taxed*, is to be underſtood only of the Survey or Deſcription under *Saturninus*, whereof we have been ſpeaking. But in the ſecond Verſe, where *Cyrenius* is mentioned, we are to underſtand a real Taxation that was laid upon the *Jews* after the Depoſition of *Archelaus*. This reconciles the Evangeliſt with *Joſephus*, from whom it is manifeſt [y] that *Cyrenius* was not the Governor of *Syria*, neither was there any Tax levied in *Judea*, till after *Archealus* was depoſed, and his Dominions put under a *Roman* Procurator. Thus a different Manner of rendring only two Verſes of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, at once removes all the Difficulties that have been ſtated concerning his Chronology: And this Interpretation which we argue for is not leſs natural than what is at preſent received; for it leaves the ſecond Verſe in a Parentheſis, as it now ſtands in our Bibles, and the Alteration it makes is chiefly in one Word, which we have already proved to be not accurately tranſlated. Thus have I done with this Affair, and at the ſame Time with my Extract from Dr. *Prideaux*, whom I have rather abridged than tranſcribed: I have alſo taken the Liberty in one or two Places to tranſpoſe the Order of his Obſervations, and to add an occaſional Remark or two which I found elſewhere, or which ſeemed to ariſe from the Subject.

XIV. The firſt Notice of our Lord's Nativity was to *Shepherds watching over their Flocks by Night*. For the better underſtanding of this, we we may obſerve, that Night was divided into four Watches, which were, the Evening Watch, the Midnight Watch, the Cock-crowing, and the Morning. Theſe are all mentioned by Name in [z] different Parts of the Bible. The firſt of them ended at nine at Night, the ſecond at twelve, the third at three in the Morning, and the fourth at ſix. Theſe were ſo diſtributed among the Shepherds of the Country, that ſuch a Number of them might always be in the Field; every Party by Night taking their Turns, ſo that when one Watch was ended, the ſame Number of freſh Men ſucceeded to the Charge. The Reaſon of this Care was to preſerve their Sheep from Thieves and wild Beaſts, and they had little Cottages erected for that Purpoſe. We may here take notice, that the Word Shepherd is very honourable in the Bible: *Abel* was a Keeper of Sheep according to *Moſes*, and the greateſt Part of the antient Patriarchs were of the ſame Profeſſion. The Meſſiah is often mentioned in the Character of a Shepherd, and our Lord applies the Title of a Good Shepherd to himſelf, [a] *becauſe he lays down his Life for the Sheep*. But not to inſiſt on theſe Teſtimonies, we may ſuppoſe, that the Shepherds among the *Jews*, at the Time of our Lord's Birth, were, as they have generally been repreſented in all Ages, a ſimple, honeſt-hearted ſort of People, who were therefore proper Perſons to receive this happy Tidings, as they were free from thoſe Prejudices which would almoſt unavoidably have riſen in the Minds of politer People, at their being informed, that the Saviour of the World was born in a Stable, and to be ſeen lying in a Manger.

XV. We made a ſeparate Diſſertation of the Geography of the firſt Chapter, becauſe we therein took a general View of the whole Land of *Iſreal:* But we have only *Bethlehem*, the Place of our Lord's Nativity, to deſcribe at preſent; and as this Diſcourſe is not yet extended to any great Length, notwithſtanding the different Subjects herein treated of, we ſhall here introduce ſuch Obſervations on that antient Town, ſo highly honoured above all the Cities of *Judah*, as are neceſſary for our purſuing the Method as firſt propoſed. The Word *Bethleem*, *Bethlehem*, or *Bethlechem*, ſignifies *the Houſe of Bread*. It was a City in the Tribe of *Judah*, generally called *Bethlehem* of *Judah*, to diſtinguiſh it from another of the ſame [b] Name in the Tribe of *Zebulun*. It was likewiſe called *Ephratah*, [c] and its Inhabitants *Ephrateans*. This City was not at all conſiderable for its Extent or Riches, but was infinitely ſo on Account of the Meſſiah's Birth, which has made it honoured by all Nations. Its Situation is upon the Declivity of a Hill, [d] about ſix Miles, or two Hours Travel, to the South Weſt from *Jeruſalem*. *Joſephus* [e] ſeems to place it at the Diſtance only of thirty Furlongs, or three Miles and ſeven hundred and fifty Paces from *Jeruſalem*; and *Juſtin Martyr* [f] at thirty five Furlongs, or four Miles three hundred and ſeventy five Paces: But it is very probable, that the Cyphers in both theſe Authors have been changed, becauſe they could not be ignorant in this Particular, and all other Writers prove their Accounts as they now ſtand to be very faulty. Of this Place was [g] *Elimelech*, the Father-in-Law of *Ruth*, that illuſtrious *Moabitiſh* Woman, who retired hither with her Mother-in-Law *Naomi*, when they were both become Widows; and here it was that *Boaz* took that celebrated Proſelyte to Wife, from which Union deſcended *David*, King of *Iſrael*, who was alſo [h] born in this City.

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[x] Lib. lvi. p. 591. Hæc ſunt ejus verba. Tertius liber ſummam militum, redituum, impendiorum publicorum, pecuniæ in theſauris, aliaque id genus ad principatum pertinentia indicabit.

[y] Joſephus Antiq. Lib. xviii cap. 1.

[z] Lam. ii. 19. Luke xii. 38. Matth. xiv. 25. Exod. xiv. 24.

[a] John x. 11.

[b] Joſh. xix. 15.

XVI. The Cave where our Saviour is ſaid to be born is not exactly in the Town of *Bethlehem*. St. [i] *Jerom* ſays, it lies on the South Side; *Juſtin* [k] *Martyr* and [l] *Euſebius*, that it is without the City, and in the Fields. The Inn whither the Virgin *Mary* and *Joſeph* retired was probably a *Caravanſerah*, or Public Houſe, where Gueſts were receiv'd *gratis*, but had no more allowed them than barely Shelter: And as the Croud was very great when the Holy Couple arrived at this Place, they were therefore obliged to take up their Lodging in this Cave, which the Evangeliſt calls a Stable, it ſerving for that Purpoſe to the *Caravanſerah*. It is certain that the [m] Antients mention the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt* to have happened in a Cave; and Travellers tell us, that this Place is about forty Foot deep, and twelve wide, growing narrower towards the Roof. St. *Jerom* [n] ſays, That the Emperor *Adrian*, in order to obliterate the Memory of the Place where our Saviour was born, planted over the Cave a Grove of tall Trees, in honour of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*; [o] ſo that when the Feſtival of that infamous Deity was celebrated, the holy Grot was heard to echo back the Lamentations, which were made in commemoration of the Lover of *Venus*.

XVII. [p] Modern Travellers inform us, that *Bethlehem* is ſtill viſited by Pilgrims, and that to this very Day there are three Convents remaining there; one of *Latins*, another of *Greeks*, and a third of *Armenians*; the two latter being contiguous to the former, and each having their ſeveral Doors opening into the *Chapel of the Holy Manger*, which ſtands, as the Friars believe, upon the Spot where our Lord was born; and here that very Manger in which he was lain is ſtill to be ſeen. At about the Diſtance of thirty or forty Yards from one of theſe Convents is ſhewn the Grotto of the Bleſſed Virgin, which is reverenced on account of a Tradition, that the Bleſſed Virgin hid herſelf and her divine Babe therein from the Rage and Malice of *Herod*, for ſome Time before their Departure into *Egypt*. The Grotto is hollowed into a chalky Rock; but they will not allow the Whiteneſs of the Place to be natural, but to have been occaſioned by ſome miraculous Drops of the Bleſſed Virgin's Milk, which fell from her Breaſt while ſhe was ſuckling the holy Infant. And ſo much are they poſſeſs'd with this Opinion, that they believe the Chalk of this Grotto has a miraculous Virtue for the increaſing of Women's Milk; and it is frequently taken by the Women hereabouts, as well *Turks* and *Arabs* as Chriſtians, for that purpoſe. 'Tis added too, that the Effect, on theſe Occaſions, is often anſwerable to their Perſuaſion; which may be eaſily believed by thoſe who allow a great deal to the Operation of Fancy.

XVIII. Here are alſo ſhewn the Chapel of St. *Joſeph*, the ſuppoſed Father of our Bleſſed Saviour; the Chapel of the Holy Innocents, and thoſe of St. *Jerom*, St. *Paula* and *Euſtochium*. St *Jerom* was a celebrated Writer in the latter End of the Fourth Century, and his Works are often referr'd to in our Notes. *Paula* the Mother, and *Euſtochium* [q] the Daughter, were two *Roman* Ladies, inſtructed in Learning and Piety by St. *Jerom*, with whom they afterwards retired to *Bethlehem*, where is likewiſe ſhewn the School of that learned and pious Father. What is further worth notice at *Bethlehem*, is, that about half a Mile out of the Town Eaſtwards, Pilgrims may entertain their Piety in the Field where, according to Tradition, the Shepherds were watching their Flocks, when they received from Heaven the glad Tidings of the Birth of the Meſſiah; and not far from the Field is the Village where they are ſuppoſed to have dwelt; near which, on the Right Hand, is an old deſolate Nunnery, built by St. *Paula*, and made the more memorable by her dying therein.

XIX. There are ſeveral Things remarkable in the Way between *Jeruſalem* and *Bethlehem*, which have been taken notice of by [r] Travellers. The Country through which the Road lies, [s] is the Valley of *Rephaim* [t], ſo famous for being the Theatre of *David*'s Victories over the *Philiſtines*. On the Right Hand, at the South of a ſquare Seraglio, is a Fountain, reported to be that wherein [u] *Bathſheba* bathed herſelf. About two

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[c] Gen. xxxv. 19. xlviii. 7.

[d] According to Euſebius, Jerom, Sulpitius Severus, Phocas, and other Antients, as well as all the modern Travellers in general.

[e] Antiq. lib. v. cap. 2.

[f] Apolog. ii.

[g] See the whole Hiſtory of this Affair in the Book of Ruth.

[h] 1 Sam. xvii. 12.

[i] Epiſt. 24. ad Marcell.

[k] Dialog. cum Tryphone.

[l] Demonſt. Evang. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[m] Orig. lib. i. contra Celſum. Hieron. ſæpe. Epiphan. hæreſ. lib. i. Nyſſen. Orat. de Chriſti nativitate. Athanaſ. Theodoret. &c.

[n] Hieron. Epiſt. ad Paulinum.

[o] Ubi quondam Chriſtus parvulus vagiit, Veneris Amaſius plangitur.

[p] Particularly Mr. Maundrell, from whom a great Part of the following Account is taken.

[q] Mr. Sandys calls the Child Euſtochius, and ſays it was the Son of Paula.

[r] Sandys and Maundrell, among others.

[s] This may be gather'd from Joſephus, Ant. lib. iv. cap. 10.

[t] 2 Sam. v. 23.

[u] 2 Sam. xi. 2.

Miles from *Jeruſalem* is the famous Turpentine Tree, in the Shade of which the bleſſed Virgin is ſaid to have repoſed herſelf, when ſhe was carrying *Chriſt* in her Arms, to preſent him before the Lord. At about the ſame Diſtance, on a little Hill, ſtands an antient Tower, which is thought to have been the Houſe of *Simeon*, that venerable Prophet, who taking our bleſſed Lord in his Arms, ſung that celebrated Hymn in the Temple, [w] called *Nunc Dimittis* from the two firſt Words of it in *Latin*. A Mile beyond the Turpentine Tree, in the midſt of the Way, ſtands a Ciſtern, or Well, where we are told the Star firſt appeared again to the Wiſe Men, after they had left *Herod* to go to *Bethlehem*, and from thence it went before them to the Place of the Nativity. And not above half a Mile further, there is a Convent, dedicated to St. *Elias*, in which the *Greek* Monks pretend to ſhew the Impreſſion of that Holy Man's Body, on a hard Stone, which was wont to ſerve him for a Bed. Further yet they ſhew a Sepulchre, which they call *Rachel*'s Tomb; and it may probably ſtand in the true Place of her Interment, according to the [x] Bible; but the preſent Monument cannot be that which *Jacob* erected, for it appears plainly to be a modern *Turkiſh* Structure. Near this Edifice is a little Piece of Ground, in which are pick'd up a Sort of ſmall round Stones, exactly reſembling Peaſe; concerning which they have a Tradition here, that they were once really what they appear to be, but that the Bleſſed Virgin petrify'd them by a Miracle, as a Puniſhment to a ſurly Ruſtick, who deny'd her the ſmall Charity of a Handful of them to relieve her Hunger. In the Neighbourhood of *Bethlehem* alſo lies *Rama*, where the Prophecy of *Jeremy* is ſaid to have been fulfill'd upon the Murder of the Holy Innocents; but we ſhall ſpeak more particularly of this Place when we come to treat of that inhuman Maſſacre, perpetrated by the Order of *Herod*.

XX. Mr. *Maundrell*, in the [y] Account he gives of this Country, mentions his viſiting thoſe famous Pools, Fountains, and Gardens, which are ſaid to have been the Contrivance and Delight of King *Solomon*. To theſe Places of Pleaſure he is thought to have alluded, when amongſt other Inſtances of his Magnificence, he reckons up his [z] Gardens, Vineyards, and Pools. As to the Pools, the ingenious Gentleman above-mentioned obſerves, that 'tis probable enough they may really have been *Solomon*'s according to the Tradition, there not being the like Quantity of excellent Spring Water to be met with any where elſe, throughout all *Paleſtine*; but for the Gardens, he ſays, one may ſafely affirm, that if *Solomon* made them in the rocky Ground which is now aſſign'd for them, he demonſtrated greater Power and Wealth in finiſhing his Deſign, than he did Wiſdom in chuſing the Place for it. The Pools are three in Number, lying in a Row above each other; ſo that the Waters of the Uppermoſt may deſcend into the Second, and thoſe of the Second into the Third. Their Figure is Quadrangular; the Breadth being the ſame in all, amounting to about ninety Paces; but in their Length there is ſome Difference; the Firſt being about a hundred and ſixty Paces long, the Second two hundred, the Third two hundred and twenty. They are all lined with Wall and plaiſter'd, and contain a great Depth of Water. Cloſe by the Pools is a pleaſant Caſtle of modern Structure; and at about one hundred and forty Paces from them, the Fountain from which they principally derive their Waters. But I ſhall not trouble the Reader with a longer Detail of theſe Particulars, which may ſeem too much like a Digreſſion.

XXI. The Fulfilling of that Prophecy of *Micah*, which mentions the *Coming out of* Bethlehem *He, who was to be a Ruler over* Iſrael, has been referr'd by St. *Matthew*, as well as by other Chriſtian Writers in general, to the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt* in that Place. Some, who are unwilling to allow ſuch a plain Teſtimony of our Lord's being the Meſſiah, have taken Occaſion from hence to inſinuate, that the Prophet only alluded to *David*, who was alſo born there, as we before obſerved. But let it only be conſider'd how unlikely 'tis that the inſpired Author ſhould expreſs himſelf in this Manner concerning a Prince who was dead ſo many Years before, and then I believe this Objection will be thought very unnatural, and not worthy any further Anſwer. There has alſo been another Difficulty ſtarted from the different Readings of this Prophecy [a], in the Old Teſtament, [b] and in the Quotation of it by St. *Mathew*: But this being founded only on a trifling Criticiſm about Words, which on neither Side proves any thing with regard to the Subſtance of this Diſpute [c], to inſiſt on it here would be tiring the Reader without inſtructing him at all. If any Thing material has been offered againſt the Authority of this Oracle, 'tis what the *Jews* ſay, when they allow that the Meſſiah is to be born at *Bethlehem*, but deny that *Jeſus* is the Meſſiah, and that this Prophecy has any Regard either to *Jeſus* or the Meſſiah. They found their Objection of *Micah*'s calling the Perſon he ſpeaks of, A Ruler over *Iſrael*, and on theſe other Words of the ſame Prophet, which follow thoſe laſt referr'd to, [d] *The Remnant of his Brethren ſhall be converted, and reunited with the Children of* Iſrael. Upon which they argue, That *Jeſus* never reigned over *Iſrael*; and if he be God, can have no Brethren: Beſides, ſay they, to confine the Kingdom of the Meſſiah to *Iſrael* would be too much a Limitation of it. The Anſwer to all this is, That *Jeſus*, as God, had no Brethren, tho' as the Son of *Mary* he might: That the Prophet has diſtinguiſhed between his temporal Birth at *Bethlehem* and his eternal Birth, when he ſays, *His Goings forth have been from old, from everlaſting:* And laſtly, that it is no more contrary to the Greatneſs of the Meſſiah, to ſay, he will reign over *Iſrael*, than it is for God to call himſelf the God of *Iſrael*, as he does in many Places; for this does not exclude the Dominion either of the one or the other, over the reſt of Mankind, and over all the Creation in general.

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[w] Luke ii. 29, &c.

[x] Gen. xxxv. 19.

[y] Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 87, 88, Edit. of 1703.

[z] Eccleſ. ii. 5, 6.

[a] Micah v. 2.

[b] Matth. ii. 6.

[c] The learned may ſee this Difficulty cleared by Dr. Hammond in his Notes on the Verſe of Matthew laſt quoted.

[d] Micah v. 3.

DISSERTATION II.

The Doctrine of the Trinity aſſerted, and more particularly the Divinity of the Second Perſon.

I. *The Trinity what; Scripture Proofs of it.* II. *Knowledge of it among the Heathens diſputed.* III. *A ſhort Syſtem of the Tradition of this Doctrine.* IV. Plato*'s Trinity agreeable to that of the Chriſtians.* V. *Underſtood ſo by the Fathers.* VI. *Scripture Proofs cannot be excepted againſt.* VII. *More of them.* VIII. *The immediate Occaſion of this Diſcourſe.* IX. *Account of St.* John*'s Goſpel, with a Quotation of ſome Verſes of it, and a Paraphraſe on them.* X. *The Apoſtle's Aim.* XI. *The Eternity of* The Word. XII. *His Co-exiſtence with the Father.* XIII. *His Divinity aſſerted.* XIV. *The Creator of the World.* XV. *The Giver of eternal Life.* XVI. *His Incarnation.* XVII. Logos *and* Memra, *what they ſignify.* XVIII. *What the* Jews *ſay of our Lord's Divinity.* XIX. The Word *appeared to the Patriarchs.* XX. *The Prophets aſſerted his Divinity.* XXI. *He is God as the Object of our Faith.* XXII. *Teſtimonies from the Apocrypha valid on this Occaſion.* XXIII. *Quotations from* Eccleſiaſticus. XXIV. *From the Book of* Wiſdom. XXV. *The* Targums, *what they were.* XXVI. *Occaſion of their being made.* XXVII. *Their Uſe extended.* XXVIII. *Number of them, and Characters of the two Chiefs.* XXIX. *They aſcribe to* The Word *all the Actions of the Deity.* XXX. *Quotations from them.* XXXI. *Objections againſt the* Targums *conſidered.* XXXII. Philo*'s Character.* XXXIII. *His Notion concerning* The Word. XXXIV. *M.* Le Clerc*'s Objections.* XXXV. *Anſwer'd.* XXXVI. *Whence St.* John *derived his Language.* XXXVII. Plato, Zeno, Amelius, *&c. their Opinions.* XXXVIII. *Concluſion, a Defence of what precedes.*

I. THE Word Trinity is made uſe of by all true Chriſtians, to expreſs the greateſt Myſtery in our Religion; That one only God is diſtinguiſh'd into three Perſons; Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. This Diſtinction is very plain in the Scriptures, and the Character of theſe three divine Perſons are there very ſtrongly and expreſly drawn, tho' the Word itſelf, by which their Co-exiſtence is expreſs'd, be not any where to be found throughout the ſacred Books. The Father is frequently known by his Name *Jehovah*, and by other *Hebrew* Names, which ſignify, [e] *The ſtrong God*, a Being that is *Self-ſufficient*, *The Moſt High*, *The God of Hoſts*. He always appears at the Head of this Divine Union, wherever the three Perſons of the Trinity are to be underſtood; yet ſo as not to be ſuperior in Glory to the Son and the Holy Ghoſt. The Son is expreſſed throughout the whole Scripture by the Names of [f] *The Word*, *the Wiſdom*, *The Anointed*, *The Saviour*, *The Deliverer*. The Holy Ghoſt, which inſpired the Prophets, is called, in the New Teſtament, [g] *The Comforter*. The Father and the Son are repreſented by the Pſalmiſt in theſe Words, [h] *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou at my Right Hand.* In the New Teſtament the three Perſons are diſtinctly expreſs'd in many Places: For Example, [i] *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* And when *Jeſus Chriſt* came out of the Water after his Baptiſm, the Heavens were opened, and the Spirit of God was ſeen to deſcend upon him in the Form of a Dove, while a Voice was heard from Heaven, which ſaid, [k] *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* What can be more plainly diſtinguiſh'd than the three Perſons of the Trinity are in both theſe Paſſages, not to mention others?

II. It has been imagined, with great Appearance of Reaſon, that the Doctrine of the Trinity was not unknown to the antient Philoſophers, more eſpecially to *Plato* and his Diſciples. But then, on the other Hand, 'tis agreed, that the Knowledge of this Myſtery could never have been attain'd by Nature and Reflection. For this Reaſon, thoſe who have Recourſe to the Writings of the Heathens in this Diſpute [l], are required to prove a conſtant Tradition of the Trinity among the *Jews*, and to ſhew the Channels thro' which it ran from *Adam* to *Noah*, from *Noah* to *Abraham*, from *Abraham* to *Moſes*; and how it was preſerved pure, and convey'd from *Moſes* down to *Plato*. We ſhall not enter into a long Detail of this Controverſy, which has been managed with much Learning on both Sides, but content ourſelves with introducing a ſhort View of the *Platonic* Syſtem of the Trinity, according to Dr. *Cudworth* [m], from whoſe Writings it was extracted. Here will alſo be found ſome Conjectures on the Succeſſion of this Tenet: But we beg leave to obſerve, that if the Thing itſelf has been prov'd to be the real Doctrine of *Plato*, (a Point we muſt not pretend to determine, tho' we cannot help believing it has,) there has been as much proved as can reaſonably be required, notwithſtanding that we ſhould never learn by what Means that Philoſopher came by his Notion.

III. [n] The Doctrine of the Trinity was at firſt revealed by God to the Patriarchs, and they ſpread it wherever they dwelt, but eſpecially in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, whither they went often. Some Footſteps of this Doctrine are diſcovered in the *Perſian* Myſteries, which they celebrate in honour of *Mithra* [o]. It was convey'd by a Canal of divine Tradition from the *Jews* to the Pagan Philoſophers, and from them to their Diſciples. The *Egyp-*

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[e] El, Shaddai, Elion, Elchſebaoth, &c.

[f] Memra, Logos, Chahema, Meſſiah, Chriſtos, Jeſus, &c.

[g] Paracletos.

[h] Pſalm cx. 1.

[i] Matth. xxviii. 19.

[k] Mark i. 10, 11.

[l] Baſnage.

[m] His Intellectual Syſtem of the Univerſe.

[n] Cudworth.

[o] The Sun.

tians received it from *Jacob* and his Poſterity; and the *Samothracians* adored a certain Number of Gods under a *Hebrew* Name, which ſignifies [p] *Almighty.* *Orpheus* was the Father of the *Greek* Theology, and he taught a Trinity, under the Names of *Phanus*, *Uranus*, and *Cronus*, which have ſince been transform'd into three Gods. *Pythagoras* drew his Principles from *Orpheus*; and *Plato*, who read them both, copy'd their Opinions over again. That the Trinity was one of the great Myſteries of the School of *Pythagoras*, cannot be doubted: For *Moderatus* aſſures us, that the Philoſophers, his Succeſſors, admitted a *Firſt Unity*, which they ſaid was above all Beings whatſoever; that they alſo own'd a *Second Unity*, which was *intelligent*, and *the Idea of all Things*; and that they acknowledg'd beſides a *Third Unity*, which was *the Soul* of every thing, and participated alike of the firſt and ſecond Unity. Here is a firſt Perſon above all Beings, an Underſtanding or eternal Wiſdom, and a Soul or Spirit; what can be more plain? This is what *Plato* took from *Parmenides*, one of the Sect of *Pythagoras*, which proves it to have been a Tenet of that Sect: And *Plato* confeſs'd, when he firſt taught this Doctrine, that it was not new, but an old Opinion which he would further explain.

IV. Accordingly *Plato* has handled this Subject more fully than all the Philoſophers that went before him had done, and for that Reaſon is look'd upon as the Father of the Tenet. This antient Moraliſt, as well as the *Pythagoreans*, diſtinguiſh'd the Gods into two Sorts: Some were eternal and intelligible, above the World; others were begotten, ſenſible, and ſpread abroad in the World. In the firſt Order were three Hypoſtaſes, *The Being*, *The Word*, and *The Spirit*, or *Soul*: This is his Trinity, which agrees with that of the orthodox Chriſtians in ſeveral Things. To inſtance in a few: He keeps a juſt Medium between the Error of *Sabellius* and that of *Arius*. *Sabellius* acknowledg'd only a Trinity of Names, apply'd to the ſame Perſon; and *Arius* maintain'd that the ſecond Perſon was drawn from nothing, and that there had been a Time when it had no Being: But *Plato* aſcribed to the *Underſtanding*, or *Word*, an eternal Generation; he diſtinguiſh'd between the Perſons, and not the Names only; and aſſerted that they did all neceſſarily exiſt. *Plato* maintain'd alſo, That theſe three Hypoſtaſes were *eternal*, *univerſal*, *infinite*, and *omnipotent* Beings: The Firſt begot the Second, and the Second the Third; and they were all of the ſame Nature. He even aſſerted that they were all Three but one God: For tho' it cannot be deny'd, that the *Platoniſts* often call'd theſe three Principles, *three Natures*, *three Cauſes*, *three Agents*, *three Gods*, yet theſe were only their Ways of ſpeaking, for they acknowledg'd only one God in reality.

V. The Fathers of the Church were ſo ſenſible of what *Plato* had done, that they have commended him as one of thoſe Maſters who had explain'd the great Myſtery of the Trinity in Unity. *Amelius* the Philoſopher, on the other Side, tranſcribed into his Writings ſome Verſes of St. *John*, with a few Alterations, and got ſeveral Admirers in the Church for ſo doing. *Juſtin Martyr* affirms that *Plato* gave the ſecond Place to the *Word*, and the Third to the *Spirit that was ſpread over the Waters*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* found the Trinity in a Letter which *Plato* wrote to *Dionyſius* [q], where the ſecond Principle is the Son, and the Third the Holy Ghoſt. [r] *Origen* quoted *Plato* againſt *Celſus*, and defied that virulent Heathen to explain what his Maſter had ſaid of the Creator and Governor of the Univerſe, whom he look'd upon as the Son of God. *Euſebius* affirms [s], that the *Platoniſts* in this Opinion followed the Oracles of the *Hebrews*. All theſe Quotations from the antient Fathers tend to eſtabliſh the Sentiments of Dr. *Cudworth*, and prove that the three Principles of *Plato* were interpreted by the primitive Chriſtians in the ſame Manner as by our learned Modern.

VI. But there are ſome ingenious Authors, who have given an Interpretation to the whole Syſtem of *Platonic* Philoſophy, very different from this of Dr. *Cudworth* and the Fathers. If after all, therefore, the Expreſſions of thoſe Heathens ſhould not be admitted as Proofs, we muſt ſeek for more unexceptionable Evidence elſewhere. This will be no difficult Task; for we cannot take from the *Jews* thoſe Footſteps of the Trinity, which the Holy Spirit has left in the Scriptures. 'Twas there that God prepared the Mind to receive that incomprehenſible Myſtery. Thoſe are diſintereſſed Judges who pronounce againſt the Anti-trinitarians, by proving a Succeſſion of the Doctrine of the Trinity among the *Jews*, long before there were any Thoughts of diſputing about this Matter. This Work has been attempted, and performed with a great deal of Learning: And tho' ſome of the Proofs produced on this Occaſion have been alſo conteſted, yet ſuch Evidence as this muſt remain good forever. *Moſes* ſays, [t] that the *Gods created Heaven and Earth*; the original Word *Elohim*, there tranſlated God, being in the plural Number. It was the Intereſt of that great Legiſlator to bring back a People, who had been uſed to worſhip a Plurality, to the Unity of one God: Wherefore then did he expreſs himſelf in ſuch a Manner as might eſtabliſh a Number of Gods, if he did not mean to inſinuate that there were ſeveral Perſons in one ſole Eſſence? *Joſhua* praiſes [u] *the holy Gods*: *Jeremiah* ſpeaks of *the* [w] *living Gods*: And *David* ſings [x] *of the righteous Gods*, or *Judges of the Earth.* To what purpoſe did theſe Prophets, who had no Affection for the Polytheiſm of the Heathens, ſo often mention the Gods, if it were not becauſe they knew there was a Plurality of Perſons? A great [y] *Jewiſh* Doctor has made no Scruple to confeſs that this was the Senſe of the inſpired Authors; *Come and ſee*, ſays he, *the My-*

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[p] Cabirm.

[q] Strom. lib. v. p. 598.

[r] Orig. cont. Celſum, lib. vi. p. 3.

[s] Prepar. Evan. lib. xi. cap. 20.

[t] Gen. i. 1.

[u] Joſh. xxiv. 19.

[w] Jerem. x. 10.

[x] Pſalm lviii. 12.

[y] R. Simeon Jochaides, in Zohar in Levit. Fol. 29. apud Majum p. 31.

ſtery of the Name Elohim! *there are three Degrees, and each Degree ſubſiſts by itſelf; and yet they are all but one God.*

VII. *Moſes* alſo introduces God as ſaying, [z] *Let us make Man after our own Image.* And again, [a] *Let us go down*, ſaid God, when he was reſolved to make out his Proceſs againſt the *Sodomites.* All theſe Terms, couched in the plural Number, denote the Intention of *Moſes* to ſhew a Plurality of Perſons in the Deity. An Expreſſion of the ſame kind is to be found in the Book of [b] *Tobit*; when *Tobiah* introduces God as ſaying, *Let us make unto* Adam *an Aid like to himſelf.* Nor were the *Jews* ſatisfied with acknowledging a Plurality only, for they enter'd into a particular Detail. The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* indicates a God the Father: [c] *I called*, ſays he, *upon the Lord, the Father of my Lord, that he would not leave me in the Days of my Trouble. David* ſpeaks not more elegantly, when he ſays, *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord*, in the Paſſage before quoted; which *Jeſus Chriſt* [d] made uſe of to prove to the *Jews* his Divinity, and how he was diſtinguiſh'd from the Father. *Judith* in her Song of Thankſgiving, which ſhe makes to be reſounded to the Glory of God, who had delivered her Nation, very plainly ſhews us the Holy Spirit: [e] *O God*, ſhe cries, *let all the Creatures ſerve thee; for thou ſpakeſt, and they were made; thou didſt ſend forth thy Spirit, and it created them.* Theſe Apocryphal Paſſages prove a continuance of Tradition, as well as the Books of inſpired Authors.

VIII. The whole Goſpel of St. *John*, eſpecially his firſt Chapter, marks diſtinctly the Father, the *Word*, or Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; to which latter St. *John the Baptiſt* gives his Teſtimony [f], that he ſaw him deſcend upon *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Form of a Dove. 'Tis needleſs to heap together a greater Multitude of Texts, which prove the Doctrine of the Trinity in general: For the Quotations we have made are only as a neceſſary Introduction to the more particular Proofs of the Divinity of *Chriſt.* Of theſe we have alſo plenty both in the Old and New Teſtament, beſides what may be collected from the *Jewiſh* Doctors, the Heathen Moraliſts, and many other Sources. The Apoſtle *John*, above all others, in his Goſpel, his firſt Epiſtle, and his Revelations, has perfectly cleared up to us the Nature of the divine *Word.* From him the Orthodox Councils have fix'd the Language of the Church on this important Point; and the Church by thoſe Deciſions has reſtrain'd the Temerity of ſuch as have attack'd its Doctrine, by denying the Conſubſtantiality of *The Word*, his Nature, his Unity, and the Divinity of his Perſon. We ought not to paſs over, in writing a Hiſtory of our Bleſſed Saviour, any thing that the Evangeliſts, who were dictated by the Holy Spirit, have thought proper to introduce in their Accounts of his Life. St. *John* has taught us the Neceſſity of believing the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, by making it a ſort of prefatory Leſſon to his Goſpel. And we cannot better improve the noble Hint he has given us, and the excellent Arguments he has furniſh'd us with, than by diſcourſing ſomewhat largely on that Subject, which he has conſidered as worthy of our firſt and moſt peculiar Notice.

IX. The Goſpel of St. *John* is thought to have been writtten not only after the reſt of the Goſpels, but the laſt of all the Works of that excellent Apoſtle, who lived longer than any other of the Twelve. Several Hereſies were crept into the Church in his Time, particularly thoſe of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who began to deny the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that he had any Exiſtence before his Incarnation. To obviate this growing Evil, at the Requeſt of ſeveral *Aſian* Biſhops and other Chriſtians, the holy Man undertook his Hiſtory; which he very properly begins with aſſerting the Divinity of his Lord and Maſter, in a Manner worthy of that Diſciple whom *Jeſus* peculiarly lov'd. [g] *In the Beginning*, ſays he, *was the* Word, *and the* Word *was with God, and the* Word *was God.— All Things were made by him; and without him was not any Thing made that was made. In him was Life, and the Life was the Light of Men.— And the Word was made Fleſh, and dwelt among us; and we beheld his Glory, the Glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of Grace and Truth.* A natural Paraphraſe on theſe Words, as they here ſtand together, would be ſomething like what follows: [h] In the Beginning of the World, before all Time, before any Thing was created, the Son of God, the *Logos*, or *Word*, exiſted with the Father, of whom he was begotten from all Eternity. So that this divine Perſon neither began to be when he was born into the World, nor when the World and all Things in it were made; for he then was God, of the ſame Nature with the Father, but diſtinguiſh'd from him in Perſon: All Things were created by him, [i] whether it be in Heaven or in Earth, viſible or inviſible. In him was Life eternal [k], which he promiſed to thoſe that believe in him [l], for whom he purchaſed it by his Death; and the Doctrine which he taught, inſtructed Men in the Knowledge thereof. And that we all might attain this Life, the *Word* aſſumed our Nature, was made Fleſh, and dwelt among us as in a Tabernacle; and we beheld his Glory, which was ſuch as was not competible with any one but the only-begotten, coequal Son of God, full of Grace to procure that Pardon and Juſtification which the Law could not give, and having in him the Truth of all thoſe [m] Types and Shadows which were delivered to our Forefathers.

X. The ſeveral Things here affirm'd of the *Word* very plainly ſhew the Intention of the Apoſtle; that it was to deſcribe the eternal Exiſtence, the divine Nature, and almighty Power of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was the *Word* that dwelt with us, and of whom all the other Characters are ſo plain and expreſs, that they cannot be apply'd elſewhere. He was in the Beginning; he was with God; he was God; all Things were made by him; he was in the World, was made Fleſh, and dwelt with us. We ſhall now extract a few of the many Remarks which have been made on each of theſe Propoſitions, in order to prove that they mutually explain and confirm one another, and all together exclude any other Senſe of this whole Paſſage than what has here been given. After this, we ſhall endeavour to prove from ſeveral Inſtances, that the Prophets of the Old Teſtament, the *Jewiſh* Doctors down to the Time of our Lord, and even many Philoſophers among the Heathens, diſtinguiſh'd the *Logos* or Word in the ſame Manner, and apply'd to him the ſame divine Attributes, as the Evangeliſt has done in this Chapter.

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[z] Gen. i. 26. [a] Gen. xviii. 21. in the Original. [b] Tob. viii. 6. [c] Ecclus. li. 10.
[d] Matth. xxii. 43, 44. [e] Judith xvi. 14. [f] John i. 33. [g] John i. 1, 3, 4, 14.
[h] For what follows to the End of this Paragraph, conſult particularly the Paraphraſes of Hammond and Whitby.
[i] Coloſſ. i. 6. [k] John vi. 40. [l] Rom. v. 21. [m] Heb. x. i.

XI. That by the Phraſe *In the Beginning* is meant from *before the Creation of the World*, and not *from the Beginning of the Goſpel*, as ſome have explain'd it, is the Doctrine of *Grotius* himſelf, who ſays that this Expreſſion ſignifies in the *Hebrew* a Being from Eternity; and 'tis fully confirm'd by what follows, which aſcribes the Creation of all Things to this Word which was in the Beginning. This Interpretation is alſo ſupported by other Texts of Scripture, which ſpeak [n] *of a Glory* which this Word had *with the Father before the Foundation of the World*, and repreſent him as *one begotten before all Things*, and as [o] *framing the Heavens and the Earth*, even *thoſe Heavens* and *that Earth* which ſhall *decay and periſh*. St. *John* likewiſe gives *Jeſus Chriſt* the ſame Name [p] of the *Word* of God when he ſpeaks of him in Heaven, after the Execution of his Prophetic Office was over. Theſe Inſtances ſhew the Abſurdity of their Opinion, who, in order to deprive our Lord of his Divinity, pretend that this Name was given him of God only during the Execution of his Miniſtry, or prophetic Office on Earth.

XII. The Sentence which in our Tranſlation is render'd *the Word was with God*, is underſtood quite otherways by Mr. *Le Clerc*, and made to ſignify only, that *Reaſon was in God*.[q] But there is no Inſtance in all the New Teſtament, where the *Greek* Prepoſition here uſed can bear this Interpretation; whereas there are [r] many Paſſages which ſupport the Senſe which our Tranſlators have given it. Nor can this Paſſage be reaſonably ſuppoſed to mean what the *Socinians* would have it, That Chriſt before he enter'd upon his prophetic Office was taken up into Heaven, to be inſtructed in the Mind and Will of God, as *Moſes* was into the Mount, and upon that Account is here ſaid to have been with God. There appears a very great Difference betwixt the Aſcent of *Moſes* into the Mount, and the pretended one of Chriſt into Heaven: For when *Moſes* went up into the Mount, the People had publick Notice of his being call'd thither,[s] and he took with him *Aaron* and his Sons, and the ſeventy Elders, who all beheld the Glory of God; and after forty Days the People ſaw him come *down* [t] *with his Face ſhining*: But we have no Witneſſes at all of Chriſt's being taken up into Heaven, no Appearances of his Glory on that Occaſion, to ſatisfy Mankind. And yet when he was tranſfigured on the Mount, he took with him *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*; which Circumſtance is carefully mention'd by three of the Evangeliſts, and gloried in by [u] *Peter* himſelf, who was one of the Witneſſes. If we conſider this Inſtance, can we imagine that our Lord would neglect the having Witneſſes to an Affair of greater Moment than his Tranſfiguration, even no leſs than his Aſcenſion into Heaven to be inſtructed in his Embaſſy? And if Witneſſes were preſent, where is their Teſtimony? Why is the whole Account of this Affair left to be found in one doubtful Expreſſion? It cannot be that the Evangeliſt, by telling us that the Word was in the Beginning, and the Word was with God, ſhould mean any thing elſe than that he exiſted with the Father from before the Creation.

XIII. The Apoſtle proceeds to tell us abſolutely, That *the Word was God*. Now there can be no Inſtance ſhewn in all the Scripture, where any thing is abſolutely, and in the ſingular Number, called God, for any other Reaſon than that the divine Nature was imparted to it. 'Tis univerſally granted, that when the Apoſtle ſays the Word was with God, the God there ſignifies him who properly is ſo; and can we think that an inſpired Writer would leave all Chriſtians liable to ſo dangerous a Miſtake, as naturally muſt be the Conſequence of his uſing the ſame Word in the ſame Verſe to denote a Perſon that is not the ſame in Eſſence? The Word God in the ſingular Number, and the proper Senſe, is uſed eleven Times in this Chapter; and 'tis ſtrange that amidſt all theſe it ſhould once only be uſed in a Senſe that can be applied to it in no other Place. The Objection, That God cannot be ſaid properly to be with God, that is with himſelf, and therefore the Word God muſt have two Meanings in this Verſe, has been anſwer'd with what was the conſtant Notion of the primitive Fathers. They frequently ſay that the *Word* was ſtrictly, and from all Eternity, in God the Father, and yet that before the Creation of the World there was an Efflux of this Word from the Father, which came forth ſo as not to be ſeparated from him. Even the [w] ancient Heretics agreed with the Orthodox in this, that the *Word* was God, that it was before all Ages, and that the World was made by it, which is what our Evangeliſt aſſerts in the next Verſe; whereby he proves that the *Word* muſt be truly and properly God, ſince he who made the World, and all Things therein, cannot poſſibly be a Creature.

XIV. But the *Socinian* Comment reſtrains the Senſe of the Words, *All Things were made by*

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[n] Coloſſ. i. 15, 16, 17.

[o] Heb. i. 10, 11.

[p] Rev. xix. 13.

[q] Whitby's Note on the Place.

[r] Matth. xiii. 56. xxvi. 18. Mark ix. 19. xiv. 49. 1 Cor. ii. 3. xvi. 6. 1 John i. 2. iii. 21. v. 14.

[s] Exod. xxiv. 10.

[t] Exod. xxxiv. 30.

[u] 2 Pet. i. 16, 17, 18.

[w] Sandius Enucl. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. p. 117.

him, to all Things belonging to the Goſpel, which are ſaid to be made by him, becauſe *Believers are made new Creatures by his Doctrine.* This, however, is ſufficiently refuted by our having prov'd the Eternity of the Word, and by the parallel Texts already quoted, which mention his having laid the Foundations of the Earth, and that the Heavens were the Work of his Hands, [x] with abundance more to the ſame Purpoſe. Add to all theſe the further Teſtimony of St. *John,* in the very Chapter of which we are treating, where in the tenth Verſe he tells us, that *he,* the Word of whom he had been ſpeaking, *was in the World, and the World was made by him.* Here the Senſe is plainly confined to the material World, that World *into which he came;* [y] and *where his own People received him not.*

XV. The *Life* which is ſaid by the Evangeliſt to *have been in the Word,* is to be underſtood of that eternal Life which *Jeſus Chriſt* revealed to the World; that Life [a] *to which he taught the Way,* [b] *which he promiſed to Believers,* [c] *which he purchas'd for them,* [d] *which he is appointed to give them,* [e] *and to which he will raiſe them up.* This may be argued from other Expreſſions of the like Nature: [f] *This is the Promiſe that God has given us, eternal Life, and that Life is in his Son.* He is alſo called [g] *the true God and eternal Life;* [h] *the Reſurrection and the Life;* [i] *the Way, the Truth, and the Life.* And this Life that was in Chriſt, the Word, is the Light of Men, as it gives them the ſaving Knowledge of itſelf, and directs them in the Way of their Duty.

XVI. *The Word was made Fleſh* ſignifies that it was made Man, according to the uſual Senſe of the Word Fleſh in Scripture. This imports that *Jeſus Chriſt* really took upon him our Nature, which was inſeparably united to his Divinity; and not barely that he was born a mortal Man, frail, infirm, and ſubject to Death; which Interpretation puts a Diſtinction between his Humanity and the Divinity of his Office: For who can imagine that the Evangeliſt, after having called him God, the Maker of the World, ſhould directly tell us that he was ſubject to fleſhly Infirmities? and then again immediately ſubjoin concerning this frail Being, ſuch Expreſſions as theſe: *We have ſeen his Glory, the Glory as of the only-begotten Son of God; — and of his Fulneſs have we all received Grace for Grace?* This Interpretation which we here give is certainly agreeable to the true Meaning of the Author to the *Hebrews,* who, after having [k] proved that the Son was God, adds, that *he was* [l] *alſo made Partaker of Fleſh and Blood;* which manifeſtly ſignifies, that he abſolutely took the human Nature upon him. And the Expoſitions of the ancient Fathers are the very ſame. *Ignatius* tells us, [m] *That he was a Phyſician fleſhly and ſpiritual, being God in the Fleſh. Juſtin Martyr* ſays, [n] *That he was the Son and the Word, who by his Incarnation was made Man. Irenæus* abſolutely, [o] *That God was made Man;* and *Tertullian, that Chriſt,* [p] *putting on the Manhood, remained God. Origen* has expreſſed himſelf more myſtically upon this Subject, but to the ſame Effect: For he ſays, [q] *That Chriſt, being in the Form of God, and a Son of the* Jeruſalem *which is above, left his Father and Mother for his Church, for whom he was made Fleſh.*

XVII. The *Greek* Term by which the Evangeliſt expreſſes the divine Nature of *Jeſus Chriſt* in this Chapter, is *Logos,* which in our Bibles is tranſlated *The Word.* The ſame Apellative is often to be met with in the Writings of the antient Philoſophers, who ſignify thereby a *Divine Principle, ever exiſting, by whom all Things were made.* They give the Epithet of *Eternal* to this Being; and *Philo,* a very learned *Jew,* who wrote in *Greek,* ſtiles it, *the moſt antient of all Beings. Memra* is a *Chaldee* Word of the ſame Signification with *Logos,* and often uſed in the *Targums,* as a Tranſlation of the *Hebrew Jehovah.* We ſhall have Occaſion to repeat theſe Words in the remaining Part of this Diſcourſe, in which we are to prove that this Idea of the *Logos,* or Word, which we have taken from St. *John,* may alſo be collected from the Writings of the Prophets, Philoſophers, and Rabbies. We ſhall alſo enquire, whether or no the *Jews* by their *Memra* underſtood the promiſed Meſſiah, at the Time when their *Targums* were compos'd.

XVIII. The modern *Jews* are ſo ſcandaliſed at this Doctrine of the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt,* that they ſay, [r] *We might as well conceive a Hyppocentaur, as acknowledge a Man to be God.* We grant that the Union of the Deity with human Nature, in the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt,* is one of the moſt incomprehenſible Myſteries of Chriſtianity: But we obſerve in the Writings of the Prophets the following Particulars concerning this Matter.

XIX. *Firſt,* That God prepared Men to the Belief of this Incarnation by the frequent Apparitions of his Son in a human Form. This is what may be underſtood by our Lord's Words, when he ſays to the *Jews,* [s] *Your Father* Abraham *rejoiced to ſee my Day, and he ſaw it, and was glad.* This Father of the Faithful ſaw three Angels, but he adored only one of them: And why was this Difference? No Angel hath a particular Right to our Adoration; and *Abraham* was no Idolater. He whom he worſhipp'd therefore, muſt be God, who had for that Time taken a human Shape upon him. *Jacob* found the Lord of Hoſts in *Bethel.* [t] He wreſtled with him for one whole Night; and therefore he ſaid that he *had ſeen God Face to Face.* Had he only ſtruggled with an Angel, he would not have asked of him his Bleſſing, with that Confidence which is due to God alone; neither would *Hoſea* [u], relating this

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[x] Heb. i. 2. [y] Verſe 11. [a] John xiv. 6. [b] John x. 28. [c] John vi. 51. [d] John xvii. 2. [e] John v. 29. [f] 1 John v. 11. [g] 1 John v. 20. [h] John xi. 25. [i] John xiv. 6. [k] Chap. i. throughout. [l] Chap. ii. 14. [m] Ep. ad Eph. § 7. [n] Apol. ii. p. 74. [o] Lib. 3. cap. 23. [p] De Carne Chriſti, cap. 5. [q] In Matth. Tom. i. Ed. Huet p. 357. [r] Judæi Luſitani Quæſtiones 23 ad Chriſtianos, Qu. 1, 2, 3. [s] John viii. 56. [t] Gen. xxxii. 24, 30. [u] Hoſea xii. 5, 6.

Combat, have given him the Title of *Jehovah*, which belongs only to the Supreme Being. [u] Now if the Deity could, for the ſake of the Patriarchs, be united to the Nature of Angels, or Men, and appear to them in a ſenſible Body, it cannot be ſaid that the Incarnation of God is impoſſible, and contrary to Reaſon.

XX. But, *Secondly*, we alſo find the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt* aſſerted by the Prophets in expreſs Words. *He that is born to us*, is called by *Iſaiah*, [w] *The Mighty God*, *The Everlaſting Father*, *the Prince of Peace. The Lord of Hoſts is his Name. This Redeemer is the holy One of* Iſrael, *and he ſhall be called the God of the whole Earth*. Can theſe Titles be given to a Creature? Can an Angel be called the Prince and Father of Eternity, the Lord and the Almighty God? Let the Oppoſers of this Doctrine ſhew us any one Creature, that has deſerved theſe Appellations, and to whom they were ever given. *Micah*, as has been before obſerved, at the ſame Time that he fixes the Place of his Birth, ſays, [x] *That his Goings forth have been from old*, *from everlaſting*. How can theſe Words be explained, but by the eternal Generation of the Son of God, who is at the ſame Time the Ruler and Lord of Kings? *Jeremiah* affirms, that the Meſſiah ſhall be called, [y] *The Lord our Righteouſneſs*. The *Chaldee* Paraphraſts, *Kimchi*, and ſeveral other Rabbies, underſtand the Meſſiah in this Place, and therefore 'tis with good Grounds that all Chriſtians do the ſame. The original Word, which is tranſlated *The Lord*, is *Jehovah*, that ineffable Name, which can be given to none but the Supreme God; the Meſſiah therefore is *Jehovah*. This may be further proved from his being called *our Righteouſneſs*. The Law of *Moſes* could juſtify No-body; on the contrary, it diſcovered both the Sin and Puniſhment: But the Meſſiah is he who juſtifies Sinners, and is therefore called *The Lord our Righteouſneſs*. *Jeſus Chriſt*, who hath made a Propitiation for Sin, and is the Righteouſneſs of all thoſe who believe in him, cannot be more naturally deſcribed; nor can it be more clearly expreſs'd, That the Meſſiah is God, bleſſed for evermore.

XXI. In the third Place, it is alſo with reſpect to this Divinity of the Meſſiah, that the Prophets require us to put our Truſt and Confidence in him alone. [z] *Look unto me*, *and be ye ſaved*, *all the Ends of the Earth*; *for I am God*, *and there is none elſe*. The Prophet here will have Men to put their Confidence in the Meſſiah; and he ſhews the good Effect of ſuch their Truſt: *They ſhall be ſaved*. He then ſets down the Motive, which ſhould engage us to this Dependance: *For he is God*. In another Part of the ſame Prophecy we have theſe Words: *Say unto them that are of a fearful Heart*, [a] *Be ſtrong*, *fear not*; *behold your God will come with Vengeance*, *even God with a Recompence*; *he will come and ſave you*. The Meſſiah therefore is God: In him we ſhould put our Truſt; we [b] *ſhould look unto him whom they have pierced*, *and believe*; and by that means we ſhall be ſaved. Can any thing be ſaid more expreſly of the Deity, of him who is able to ſave unto the Uttermoſt? The Proofs we have introduced under theſe three Heads, are more than ſufficient for our preſent Purpoſe, which is not to collect all the Characters that the Prophets have given of the Meſſiah, which were viſible in the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but only to ſupport the Teſtimony of St. *John* concerning his Divinity.

XXII. The Fathers of the Chriſtian Church have often quoted the Apocrypha, and drawn from thence Proofs of the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And indeed it is no Matter in this Caſe, whether thoſe Books were written by ordinary Men, or by ſuch as were divinely inſpired. For without allowing them the ſame Authority with thoſe of the Prophets, their Evidence cannot here be ſuſpected, ſince they wrote long before it could be conjectured that *Jeſus Chriſt* would profeſs himſelf to be God, and that his Diſciples would teach a Trinity of Perſons in one ſingle Eſſence. The Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* lived under *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, two hundred and eighty Years before *Chriſt*: And the Book of *Wiſdom* is older yet. Theſe Authors have ſpoken ſo clearly of the Divinity of the Meſſiah, that the Chriſtians have been ſuſpected of inſerting their Tenets into thoſe Writings: But ſuch Suſpicions are ſcandalous and ill-grounded. The *Jews* have had more Juſtice than the Chriſtian Authors of this Calumny; for they never complained of the Adulteration of theſe Books.

XXIII. *Who*, ſays the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus*, [e] *can find out the Wiſdom of God*, *which precedes all Things? Wiſdom has been created before all Things*, *and the Underſtanding of Prudence from everlaſting. The Word of God moſt high is the Fountain of Wiſdom*. This is in the ſame Strain with what *Wiſdom* ſays of herſelf in the Book of *Proverbs* [f]. *I was ſet up from everlaſting*, *from the Beginning*, *or ever the Earth was*. It has been diſputed indeed, whether the *Wiſdom* ſpoken of by the Son of *Sirach*, and that of *Solomon*, ſhould be underſtood as the ſame; and ſome have imagined that the Holy Ghoſt was meant by the Apocryphal Writer. The *Arians* have alſo triumph'd in the Expreſſion, *Wiſdom was created*. But it has been proved, however [g], that *Solomon* hath clearly expreſs'd the eternal Generation of the Son, becauſe ſome of the Words of *Wiſdom* in the *Proverbs* ſhould be tranſlated, [h] *The Lord hath begot me before all Things*; the ſame *Greek* Verb being there uſed by the Septuagint, as in the Text where *Eve* ſays, *I have gotten*, or, *I have brought forth*, *a Son from the Lord*. The original *Hebrew*, and our own Verſion, will alſo ſupport this Interpretation: For *Wiſdom* ſays in our *Engliſh* Bibles, *The Lord poſſeſs'd me in the Beginning of his Way*, *before his Works of old*: Which Expreſſion is very ſtrong, and much to the Purpoſe.

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[u] Baſnage Hiſt. of the Jews, Book IV. Chap. xxiii. Sect. 3.

[w] Iſai. ix. 6.

[x] Mic. v. 2.

[y] Jerem. xxiii. 6.

[z] Iſai. xlv. 22.

[a] Iſai. xxxv. 4.

[b] Zach. xii. 10. John xix. 37, 38.

[e] Ecclus i. 3, 4.

[f] Chap. viii. 23.

[g] Le Moine.

[h] Verſe 22.

XXIV. The Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* is yet more plain, when he makes God ſay, *That his* [i] *Almighty Word leap'd down from Heaven, out of his Royal Throne, as a fierce Man of War into the midſt of the Land.* What is this Almighty Word? Not the Reaſon of God, as ſome pretend; for how can they unite the Ideas of this Reaſon and leaping down from a Throne? Let it be fairly acknowledged, that ſuch an Interpretation is too much forced and ſtrained. Add to this, that it cannot be juſtly ſaid, that the Reaſon of God appears in the midſt of a Land, as an able and valiant Man of War. Neither can an Angel be here ſubſtituted in the Room of the *Almighty Word*: For the Power of Angels is circumſcrib'd, and they are but the Miniſters of a ſuperior God. The Author of this Apocryphal Book alſo aſcribes to the ſame *Word* the Apparitions ſhewn to the Patriarchs, the Paſſage of the *Red Sea*, and the Conferences with *Moſes*, which the Scripture ſays were from God; all which proves that he look'd upon the *Word* as a Divine Being diſtinct from the Father.

XXV. [k] The *Chaldee* Paraphraſes are Tranſlations of the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, made directly from the *Hebrew* Text into the Language of the *Chaldeans*, which Language was antiently uſed through all *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and is ſtill the Language of the Churches of the *Neſtorian* and *Maronite* Chriſtians in thoſe Eaſtern Parts, in the ſame Manner as the *Latin* is the Language of the Popiſh Churches here in the Weſt. And therefore thoſe Paraphraſes are called *Targums*: For the Word [l] *Targum* ſignifies in *Chaldee* an Interpretation or Verſion of one Language into another, and may properly be ſaid of any ſuch Verſion or Tranſlation; but it is commonly appropriated by the *Jews* to theſe *Chaldee* Paraphraſes, which being the chief Works of that Kind among them, they therefore had this Name more peculiarly given them by way of Eminency.

XXVI. Theſe *Targums* were made for the Uſe and Inſtruction of the vulgar *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity: For tho' many of the better ſort ſtill retained the Uſe of the *Hebrew* Language during the Captivity, and taught it to their Children; and the Holy Scriptures, [m] except ſome Parts of *Daniel* and *Ezra*, and one Verſe in *Jeremiah*, are all written therein; yet the common People by having ſo long converſed with the *Babylonians*, learned their Language, and forgot their own. For this Reaſon, when *Ezra* read the Law to the People he had ſeveral Perſons ſtanding by him, well ſkill'd both in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Language, who interpreted to the People in the latter what he firſt read in the former. This Method was afterwards continued, when the Law was divided into fifty four Sections, which were to be read alternately, every Week in the Year one: For an Interpreter render'd every Verſe into *Chaldee* as ſoon as it was read in *Hebrew*. And this firſt gave occaſion for the making of theſe *Chaldee* Verſions, for the help of the Interpreters. They were alſo neceſſary for private Families, that they might have the Scriptures for their private reading in a Language which they underſtood.

XXVII. The *Targums* were made at firſt upon the Law only, becauſe till the Perſecution under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, no other Books were read in their Synagogues. But after that they began to read Leſſons out of the Prophets, and then *Chaldee* Paraphraſes were made upon thoſe Scriptures alſo. They were likewiſe neceſſary, as we have juſt now obſerved, for the Uſe of the People in private. For when God gave his Law unto *Iſrael*, he enjoined [n] that they ſhould have his Commandments, Statutes, and Judgments, always in their Hearts; that they ſhould meditate on them Day and Night, teach them to their Children, and talk of them when they ſate in their Houſes, when they walked by the Way, when they lay down, and when they roſe up. That all People might be the better enabled to perform this, it was ordained by the Elders, [o] that every Man ſhould have by him at Home a Copy of the Holy Scriptures fairly written: But to what Purpoſe would this have been, if thoſe Scriptures had been continued only in a Language which they did not underſtand? Indeed the Letter of the Precept we have mentioned extends no further than the five Books of *Moſes*, for no other of the Scriptures were written when that Law was delivered: But the Reaſon of the Thing reaches to the whole Word of God. For ſince it was all given for our Inſtruction, we are equally obliged to be acquainted with every Part thereof: And the Senſe which the *Jewiſh* Doctors had of this, was the Occaſion that at length the whole Old Teſtament was tranſlated out of the *Hebrew* Language into the *Chaldee*, for the Service of the unlearned People.

XXVIII. This Work having been attempted by divers Perſons at different Times, it neceſſarily happened that there were antiently many of theſe *Targums*. Whether there were ever any of them on the whole Scripture by the ſame Hand is no where ſaid: But thoſe that are now remaining were compoſed by different Men on different Parts of the Bible. They are in all to the Number of eight; but of theſe there are only two of any great Antiquity, and therefore we ſhall take notice of no more. The firſt is that of *Onkelos* on the five Books of *Moſes*; the other that of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* on *Joſhua*, *Judges*, the two Books of *Samuel*, the two Books of *Kings*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve Minor Prophets, which all together the *Jews* call the Prophets. Theſe Authors were Contemporaries during ſome Part of their Lives, but *Onkelos* was [p] the oldeſt by many Years, and the firſt that made his Paraphraſe. *Jonathan* was one of the prime Scholars of *Hillel*, who died about the Time when our Saviour was born; which Circumſtance places them both at a Diſtance, where their Teſtimony cannot be ſuſpected in the preſent Queſtion, concerning the Divinity of the *Word:* We need not therefore enter into a more particular Enquiry with reſpect to the preciſe Number of Years ſooner or later to which the Publication of their Paraphraſes ſhould be fixed, or any other Diſputes about the Similitude of Names, which have perplexed the Accounts of theſe Men that have been given by the Learned: It is enough that the Differences of good Authors on thoſe Particulars are but trifling; and the great Eſteem which the *Jews* retain for theſe two *Targums*, after the Uſe that has been made of them by the Chriſtians, is a manifeſt Proof of their Authority. As to the Performances themſelves, that of *Onkelos* is rather a Verſion than a Paraphraſe: For he has generally render'd the *Hebrew* Text Word for Word; tho' not ſo cloſely neither, [q] but that he has explained ſome Places, which ſeemed to him obſcure, as the ſeventy Interpreters have alſo done. *Jonathan* has freely taken on him the Liberty of a Paraphraſt, and explained the *Hebrew* by Enlargements and Additions; ſo that his *Targum* is very different from that of *Onkelos* in the Nature of it. The *Jews* have an extreme Value for this *Jonathan:* For they not only give him the firſt Place among all the Diſciples of *Hillel*, who is ſaid to have bred up a thouſand, of whom eighty were very eminent, but they make him equal even to *Moſes* himſelf.

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[i] Wiſd. xviii. 15. [k] Prideaux Conn. Part. II. B. 8. [l] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabinicum, Col. 2644.

[m] The Book of Daniel is in Chaldee from the 4th Verſe of the 2d Chapter to the End of the 7th; Ezra from the 8th Verſe of the 4th Chapter to the 27th Verſe of the 7th, and Jeremiah has only the 11th Verſe of the 10th Chapter. [n] Deut. vi. 6, 9.

[o] Maimonid. in Tephil. c. 7.

[p] Zacutus in Juchaſin, Gedaliah in Shalſheleth Haccabbala, David Ganz in Zemach David, aliique.

XXIX. After this long Digreſſion it is time we ſhould remember the Occaſion of it, and inform the Reader that many Proofs of the Divinity of the Meſſiah are drawn from the *Targums.* It is obſervable, that in moſt Places, where the Name of *Jehovah* is found in the Original, the Authors of theſe Books have ſubſtituted in the Room of it *Memra* or the *Word*, to which they have aſcrib'd all the Actions of a Supreme Deity. It was the *Memra* that created the World: This Agent therefore muſt be a Perſon endued with infinite Power. *Grotius*, in order to elude this Proof of the Divinity of the Meſſiah from the Authority of the *Targums*, has introduced a ſubaltern Being or ſecondary Deity, whom God made uſe of as his Inſtrument in the Creation of the World; which he tells us is according to the Notion of the *Jews*. But certainly that great Man muſt have forgot himſelf, elſe he would have reflected that no leſs than an infinite Being could have commanded the World out of Nothing. He that creates muſt of Neceſſity be God, ſince God alone can have that Power; and this the *Targums* aſcribe to the *Memra*. The *Jews* never ſuppoſed the Angels inveſted with ſuch a Power, and therefore they muſt have meant a Divine Perſon, like him whom St. *John* calls the *Logos*.

XXX. It was the ſame *Word* [r] which appear'd upon Mount *Sinai*, and called up *Moſes* thither to give him the Law. The *Word* ſpoke Face to Face to that Deliverer, and told him, that it was he who brought his People out of the Land of *Egypt*. It was the ſame *Word* that walked at the Head of the Children of *Iſrael*, that made them overcome their Enemies, and wrought that vaſt Number of Miracles with which their Hiſtory is full. It was the *Word* alſo that appeared to *Abraham* in the Plains of *Mamre:* To him *Jacob* made a Vow; [ſ] and owned him to be God *If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in this Way that I go, ſo that I may come again to my Father's Houſe in Peace; then ſhall the Lord be my God.* It was the *Word* that the ſame Patriarch took for a Witneſs and Judge in his Diſpute with *Laban: The Word ſhall judge between us.* We ſhould ſet down a great Part of thoſe Texts of the Old Teſtament that ſpeak of God, if we were to quote all that relates to the *Word:* For the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts aſcribe to him almoſt all the great Events of the antient Oeconomy, and the *Memra* is continually to be met with in the Room of *Jehovah*. It is the *Word* that puniſhes thoſe who tranſgreſs the Laws, that becomes a conſuming Fire, and, in ſhort, that performs every Thing which is attributed to the Deity. It is alſo worthy Remark, that the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts have [t] another Word to ſignify Diſcourſe, which they do not confound with *Memra*; and this is an additional Proof that the *Memra* was a Divine Perſon, whom they diſtinguiſhed by that Name. This was the common Opinion of the *Hebrews* at the Time when their *Targums* were compoſed.

XXXI. It is ſaid, in Anſwer to all this, that the Paraphraſts writing at a Time when the *Jews* made a Scruple of pronouncing the Name *Jehovah*, wherever that ineffable Name occurr'd, the *Memra* was ſubſtituted in its Place, that the Reader might not be ſtopp'd by a Chaſm, and the Hearer interrupted in his Attention. But this does not ſolve the Difficulty: For the Paraphraſts alſo ſpeak of the *Word* or *Memra* of *Jehovah*. *The Word of the Lord*, ſay they in *Deuteronomy, has made himſelf King over you.* It cannot be denied, indeed, that by proving too much, theſe Authors have proved leſs than they would otherwiſe have done. They often find the Meſſiah where he is not, and aſcribe to him Actions which do not belong to him at all. We muſt not ſay that they know him better than the Chriſtians: How comes it then that they have unravell'd more concerning him in the Old Teſtament, than thoſe whoſe Intereſt it is to find him every where? The Father is ſo buried in the Perſon and Actions of his Son, that we have ſcarce any Knowledge of him at all in the Works of theſe Paraphraſts; and ſometimes too the Character of the *Memra* is not clearly enough diſtinguiſhed. But allowing all this, and ſuppoſing that by the *Word* we are ſometimes to underſtand no more than the efficacious Will of God, does it follow therefore that we are to renounce all thoſe undeniable Teſtimonies of the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that are to be found in the *Targums*, where the Senſe is not in the leaſt equivocal? Many of theſe Paſſages ſtill remain as irrefragable Arguments of the Sentiments of the

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[q] Baſnage.

[r] Exod. xix. 20. and xx. 20.

[ſ] Gen. xxviii. 20.

[t] Pitgama.

Jewiſh Nation concerning the Meſſiah. They believed, he was to be immortal; for they ſaid, at the Time of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *That their Law had taught them, that this Prince ſhould coutinue for ever.* They were aſtoniſhed when they heard *Jeſus Chriſt*, who pretended to be the Meſſiah, telling them of his approaching Death while he was yet in the Flower of his Age; and the Difficulty they found in reconciling this Declaration with their own Notions of that eternal Duration which they found in the Prophets, appears to have been one great Cauſe of their Unbelief.

XXXII. *Philo* opens a new Spring of Proofs for the Divinity of the Meſſiah; and he deſerves our Reflection ſo much the more, becauſe ſome are perſuaded that St. *John* borrow'd from him *the Word*, wherewith he begins his Goſpel. This famous *Jew* of *Alexandria* was contemporary with our Saviour; but as it was in his Youth that he apply'd himſelf to Study, he had put out his Work before *Jeſus Chriſt* began to teach; and proceeding afterwards to Politics, and the Affairs of his Nation, he had no Time to meditate and write as he had done before. Thoſe that queſtion his Works, do it only becauſe they find in them ſome ſtrong Proofs againſt their own Opinions: For it is paſt all paradventure that he was the Author of thoſe Books which are now to be quoted, and that thoſe Books were publiſh'd before the Chriſtians ſpoke of *the Word*, and even before the Miniſtry of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Nor moſt this *Jewiſh* Philoſopher be accuſed of having borrowed his Notions from *Plato*, of whom he had ſo little Knowledge, that he has aſcrib'd to *Ariſtotle* ſome Opinions of that old Maſter. *Philo* was one of the Sect of *Polemon*, who taught his Diſciples to follow thoſe Opinions which they preferred, among the many Syſtems of his Predeceſſors. They are ſtill more in the Wrong who pretend that *Philo* had his Opinion from a long Conference with St. *Peter* at *Rome*, when he alſo became a Chriſtian: For we have already obſerv'd that he wrote concerning the *Word* before *Peter* was called to be an Apoſtle, and conſequently long before his Embaſſy to *Rome*, which was in the Reign of *Caligula*. So that we may conclude, that neither the Chriſtians nor Philoſophers ſupplied him with his Notions of the *Logos*, but that he drew them from the Religion of his Fathers; and therefore he may ſupport the Concluſions we have drawn from the Writings of the Paraphraſts his Contemporaries, at the ſame Time that he is himſelf a Judge in the preſent Controverſy.

XXXIII. *Philo* ſpeaks plainly, when he makes the *Word* a Perſon that acts, and yet diſtinct from the Father; and he uſes on this Occaſion the very ſame Expreſſions as St. *John* does to eſtabliſh the Divinity of the Son in a more exact Manner. He maintains, that God had [u] *begotten the Word*; and therefore, admitting that he did not underſtand the Myſtery of eternal Generation, the Chriſtians are in the Right for concluding from this Expreſſion that he did not mean either the Reaſon or Wiſdom of God, ſince Generation cannot at all belong to them. He with the reſt of his Nation aſcribes the Creation of the World to the *Word*; which ſuppoſes that he did not look upon the *Word* as an Angel or Principle inferior to the Deity, becauſe no ſuch Being can create. Thirdly, he makes the *Word* preſide over all the Empires of the Earth: And is not this to look upon him as God, to make him the Director of all Events, and to entruſt him with the Government of the Univerſe? Fourthly, he makes him ſpeak to the Patriarchs in all the Books of the Old Teſtament; and, in brief conſiders him as the Mediator between God and Man. What ſhall we conclude from all this? Muſt not this *Word*, begotten of God, who creates and governs the World, who comes down from Heaven to converſe with the Saints, who carries up their Prayers to God, muſt he not of Neceſſity be a Divine Perſon? Is he not clearly enough diſtinguiſhed?

XXXIV. M. *Le Clerc* [w] aſſerts, againſt this Argument, that *Philo* does not look upon the *Word* as a diſtinct Perſon of the Divinity, but makes an Angel of it, and a Principle inferior to the Deity; and that St. *John* wrote the Beginning of his Goſpel to rectify the Expreſſions of this *Jew*; which he did by uſing the ſame Term *Logos*, and teaching that it was not a Principle inferior to the Deity, but the Reaſon of God, which really was God. To ſupport his Opinion, two Arguments are produced: The Firſt, that *Philo* ſometimes calls an Angel *Word* in the ſingular Number, and does not ſeem to have referr'd any peculiar Eminence to that Term in thoſe Places where 'tis apply'd to the Son. Secondly, That this *Jew*, in writing the Hiſtory of the Creation, [x] *affirms God to be the Cauſe of it, the four Elements the Matter, the* Word *the Inſtrument, and God's Goodneſs the final Cauſe:* So that he conſider'd the *Word* as inferior to God in the Production of the Univerſe.

XXXV. We have already made ſome Remarks on M. *Le Clerc*'s interpreting the *Logos* of St. *John* by the Reaſon of God, and therefore ſhall not take any further Notice of it in this Place. For the reſt, we need not wonder that *Philo* ſometimes comes ſhort of true Accuracy, in ſpeaking of a Subject ſo ſublime and abſtruſe as this of the *Word* muſt have been to him. 'Tis enough that he has ſpoke once of the *Word* after ſuch a Manner as cannot ſuit either with the Reaſon of God, with Providence, with an Angel, or with any Principle whatſoever inferior to the Deity. This proves that he had high and exalted Notions of the *Word*, and that the *Jews*, whoſe Opinions he only copy'd, had in his Time the ſame Sentiments as are to be found in his Writings. To theſe Remarks, we believe, may be added another, which we have not any where met with before. That as *Philo* wrote in *Greek*, his Writings are not liable to all the Objections that have been made againſt the *Targums*. The *Jews*, 'tis pretended, made ſo much ſcruple of pronouncing the Word *Jehovah*, that the Paraphraſts ſubſtituted their *Memra* in its Room, merely to prevent a Chaſm, without deſigning to diſtinguiſh the ſecond Perſon of the Trinity. But *Philo* might have uſed the common *Greek* Name of God, without Offence either to himſelf or any one elſe, and had no Reaſon at all to put the *Word* in its Place. 'Twill be ſaid in anſwer to this, that God and the *Word* are not confounded by *Philo*, but the latter is alſo diſtinguiſh'd in his Character, and made an inferior Principle. But if this be true, it proves at leaſt that the *Jews* in *Philo*'s Time really made ſuch a Diſtinction between God and the *Word*, and therefore that *Memra* is not uſed by the Paraphraſts merely for the Reaſon above mentioned. If *Logos* and *Memra* ſignify the ſame Thing, as I believe 'tis agreed they do, and if it be manifeſt that one of theſe Words is ſometimes uſed by a *Jew* to denote ſuch a divine Being as we are ſpeaking of, why may we not properly conclude the ſame of the other?

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[u] Philo de Opific. p. 3. Alleg. 11. p. 76. Liber. quod Deus ſit Imm. p. 248. Lib. Quis Rer. Divin. Hær. p. 393.

[w] Diſſert. in Johan. I.

[x] De Cherub. p. 100.

XXXVI. Beſides, 'tis more natural to ſuppoſe that St. *John* took his Name of the *Word* from the *Targums*, than that he borrow'd it from *Philo*, in order to correct the Notions of that Author. Was it worth the while of an Apoſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt*, conſtantly employ'd in preaching the Doctrine of his Maſter, to begin his Goſpel in ſo ſublime a Manner, only to refute a private Perſon? Add to this, that 'tis not likely *Philo*'s Works ſhould have been commonly known at *Judea*, or at *Epheſus*, in the Time of St. *John*; for the beſt Books were then ſcarce, and the Commerce of the Republic of Letters very difficult. Neither was the Evangeliſt a Scholar and a Critic, as *Philo* was, that he ſhould take upon him to correct the Stile and Expreſſion of another. Let us rather conclude, that the Language of the Beginning of St. *John*'s Goſpel was intelligible to the *Jews* of his Time, and that he added little more to their Notion of the *Word*, than to inform them that *Jeſus Chriſt* was that *Word*, to whom all the Characters of Divinity found in their Prophets and Doctors, were juſtly applicable.

XXXVII. In explaining the *Platonic* Notion of the Trinity, at the Beginning of this Diſcourſe, we took notice of what the Philoſophers of that Sect attributed to the ſecond Perſon. *Plato* and his Diſciples, in diſtinguiſhing this Principle, made uſe of the ſame Word as *Philo* and St. *John*. For this Reaſon, as it has been thought that the Evangeliſt copy'd *Philo*, ſo has it alſo that *Philo* was oblig'd to *Plato* in the ſame Manner. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs one's ſelf in ſtronger Terms on this Subject, than both the *Jew* and the *Heathen* have done, in ſome of the Paſſages which we have quoted. *Zeno*, another celebrated Philoſopher, the Father of the Stoics, aſcribed as much to the *Word* as *Plato*, calling him the Efficient of the World, as *Plato* had named him the Cauſe of it: And ſome of the Fathers have obſerved, that even in their common Language *Logos* ſignified *The Maker of the World*. *Amelius*, of whoſe Quotation from St. *John* we ſpoke before, could not forbear making this Reflection on what he had tranſcrib'd: [y] *The Barbarian*, ſays he, meaning the Evangeliſt, *by ſaying that this* Logos *was with God, that he was God, and that all Things were made by him, proves himſelf of the ſame Opinion with* Heraclitus *and* Plato, *who made him an eternal Principle.* Here we have the Sentiments of the antient Philoſophers, deliver'd by one of themſelves, and applied directly to our Purpoſe. Can any thing be more convincing? We ſhould never have done making Quotations, were we to take all that ſeems to favour their Opinion, who maintain, that the Character and Attributes of the *Logos* or *Word* were known to the Heathens.

XXXVIII. Whether the Evangeliſt took from the *Jews* or the Heathens his Manner of ſpeaking, it appears from this whole Diſcourſe that he has ſpoken of the *Logos* in the received Senſe of both: For we cannot ſuppoſe that the inſpired Author, who wrote after moſt of the others that have been quoted, and could not but be acquainted with the Writings of ſome of them, would have uſed the ſame Stile, and the ſame principal Word, if he had not intended to expreſs the ſame Thing: At leaſt he would not have done thus, without giving a neceſſary Caution to his Readers, to prevent their underſtanding him in the common Way. He knew that by the *Word* they underſtood a Being that was for ever, and one that created the whole Univerſe; and therefore if by *In the Beginning* he meant only in the Beginning of the Goſpel, and if by *All Things were made by him*, he would teach no more than that all Perſons who were reform'd by Faith in him were made new Creatures, he ought to have ſaid ſo in plain Terms, and there is no Reaſon to doubt but he would have done it. But inſtead of this, he has only treated of the *Word* in Language of which the Meaning had been fix'd long before, by Men of great Reputation, and affirmed the very ſame Things concerning this *Word*, without any farther Interpretation or Addition, except only the particular Application of the Whole to *Jeſus Chriſt*, the *Word* incarnate. We conclude with obſerving, [z] that all the primitive Chriſtians, *Gentiles* as well *Jews*, of what Nation ſoever they were, explain'd the Meaning of St. *John* by what was taught concerning the *Word* in the Theology of their reſpective Countries, to which they could ſeverally appeal for their Interpretations; and notwithſtanding this, they all agreed in the Doctrine of the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. This proves ſuch a Continuance of Tradition among both *Jews* and *Heathens*, as we have argued for, at the ſame Time that it juſtifies our receiving that Senſe of the Evangeliſt's Words, that has been handed down to us from the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity.

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[y] Euſeb. Prep. Evang. lib. ii. c. 19.

[z] Whitby.

DISSERTATION III.

The Genealogy of *Jeſus Chriſt.*

I. *His Deſcent from* David *a Character of the Meſſiah.* II. *Genealogy, what it ſignifies, with a Proof of St.* Matthew*'s Deſign.* III. *Genealogies among the* Jews *exactly kept.* IV. *Why St.* Mark *and St.* John *did not write any.* V. *Difficulties in the Evangelical Genealogies.* VI. *What is certain concerning them.* VII, VIII, and IX. *The Genealogy of* Matthew *and* Luke *in a Table, with ſome explanatory Remarks.* X. *Whether St.* Luke*'s Geneology belongs to* Joſeph. XI. *Whether ſufficient with reſpect to* Jeſus Chriſt. XII. *The Virgin* Mary*'s Line included in that of* Joſeph. XIII. *Another Proof of it.* XIV, XV. Joſeph *the Son both of* Jacob *and* Heli, *and how; with ſome Remarks on St.* Matthew. XVI. *The natural Father of* Joſeph, *whether* Jacob *or* Heli. XVII. *That Point determin'd, with a Conjecture on the Relation between* Joſeph *and* Mary. XVIII. *Other Remarks on St.* Matthew*'s Diviſion of his Genealogy.* XIX. Cainan, *and other Names in St.* Luke*'s Catalogue, rejected, and why.*

I. HAVING attempted, in the laſt Diſcourſe, to prove the Divinity of *the Word*, and that he was the Son of God by eternal Generation, it follows that we ſhould now take ſome notice of his Deſcent according to the Fleſh, and how, as a Man, he was the Son of *Abraham* and *David*, to both of whom the Promiſe [a], that he ſhould be born in their Family, had been reſpectively made. That the Meſſiah was to be born of the Seed of *David*, was one of his Characters, which was received by the *Jews* at the Time of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and founded upon the aforeſaid Promiſe. This is plain from the Queſtion put by *Jeſus* to the *Phariſees*, when they gather'd together, in order to examine him, and the Anſwer which he receiv'd from them: [b] *He asked them, ſaying, What think ye of* Chriſt? *whoſe Son is he? And they ſaid unto him,* David's. 'Tis true indeed, That the Lineal Deſcent of *Jeſus* from *David*, which had been ſo poſitively determined in the Old Teſtament, was far from being itſelf a ſufficient Proof that he was the Meſſiah. For this Character had always ſubſiſted as really and manifeſtly, in the elder Branch at leaſt of the regal Stock, from *Solomon* quite down to *Joſeph*, as it could do in the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf. But then this Deſcent from *David* was ſo much a neceſſary Part of this Proof, that all the other Characters of the Meſſiah which were viſibly united in *Jeſus Chriſt*, could never have amounted to ſuch a Proof without it. There were other Children born in *Bethlehem* of *Judah* in the ſame Year with our Lord; but he alone could be the direct Heir of *David*'s Family, who was born in the Town prefixed by *Micah*, at that very Time when the Prophecy of *Daniel* made the Birth of the Meſſiah become neceſſary. Add to this alſo, That our Lord was born of a Virgin, and you have in one View four of the principal of thoſe Characters, which the Prophets had given of the Meſſiah: But this laſt could not ſo well have been inſiſted on to the *Jews*, who were not at all inclined to believe our Lord's Pretenſions, as the other Three, which were all of them capable of Demonſtration.

II. The Evangeliſts *Matthew* and *Luke* have each of them, in his reſpective Goſpel, given us a Catalogue of the Anceſtors of *Jeſus Chriſt*: The former of them up to *Abraham*, and the latter quite back to *Adam*. Theſe Works are called *Genealogies*, or *Liſts of our Foreſathers*, from a [c] *Greek* Word of the ſame Signification. The [d] *Hebrew* Expreſſion for the ſame Thing ſignifies *a Book of Generation.* And for this Reaſon, as it it is conjectur'd, St. *Matthew*, who has uſed ſeveral *Hebraiſms* in his Goſpel, calls his Genealogy [e] *The Book of the Generation of* Jeſus Chriſt, *the Son of* David, *the Son of* Abraham: Where we may obſerve, moreover, the Alluſion of the Evangeliſt to the Promiſes above referr'd to, and from thence collect what was the chief Reaſon of his putting this Catalogue of Names at the Head of his Goſpel. For if he had not intended to prove that *Jeſus Chriſt* was the Meſſiah by deducing his Lineage from *Abraham* and *David*, to whom the Promiſe was made and confirmed, what could be the Motive of his calling him the Son of that Patriarch and that Monarch, in ſuch an emphatical Manner, when he was ſo many Generations from both? The Word Son, indeed, is frequently uſed in Scripture for a Grandſon, a remote Deſcendant, or even an Heir, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more particularly by and by; but then 'tis always with ſome Deſign like what we here aſcribe to St. *Matthew*; and therefore this proves no more than that the Evangeliſt ſpoke in the ſame Manner as others had done before him, upon the like Occaſions.

III. The antient *Jews* were remarkably careful in preſerving their Genealogies; ſo that perhaps there never was any Nation in the World more exact in this Point than they. St. *Paul* ſeems to cenſure his Countrymen for carrying their Affectation of this Knowledge to an Exceſs, when he bids them [f] *avoid fooliſh Queſtions, and Genealogies, and Contentions, and Strivings about the Law; for they are unprofitable and vain.* A conſiderable Share of this Knowledge, however, was neceſſary among them, and eſpecially among the Prieſts: For 'tis obſerved in *Ezra*, that ſuch Prieſts as were not able to produce the Genealogies of their Families, were not permitted to exerciſe their Function. *Joſephus* ſays, that down to his Time they had in their Nation an uninterrupted Succeſſion of Prieſts for two thouſand Years. He adds, that not only in *Judea*, but alſo in *Babylonia* and *Egypt*, and wherever they were diſperſed, the Prieſts never married below themſelves, but kept exact Genealogical Tables of their Families, which were taken from authentic Monuments kept at *Jeruſalem*, to which they alſo had recourſe upon Occaſion. In all their Wars, Perſecutions, and public Calamities, ſays the ſame Author, they were particularly diligent in ſecuring theſe Monuments, and renewing them from Time to Time. This proves, and 'tis the Obſervation of *Joſephus*, that the Prieſts were peculiarly diligent on this Head, with reſpect to themſelves: And we cannot doubt but that the whole Nation was altogether as careful to preſerve the Knowledge of the Royal Line of *David*, from whom they expected the Meſſiah to deſcend, as the Sons of *Levi* could be in their own Particular. 'Tis certain then, that the Evangeliſts muſt have had proper Materials, which were commonly known in *Judea*, for performing what they undertook in a juſt Manner: And we need not wonder that two of theſe inſpired Writers have given us the Genealogy of *Chriſt* according to the Fleſh, if we reflect, that beſides the Neceſſity they were under of proving him the Deſcendant of *David* in a direct Line, the Genealogy of any Perſon, whoſe Tranſactions were committed to Writing, was look'd upon among the *Jews* as an eſſential Part of his Hiſtory. Of this we need no other Proofs than what are extant in the Books [g] of the Old Teſtament, where we have Genealogies carried on for above three thouſand five hundred Years; containing in them not only the lineal Deſcent of ſuch Perſons, whoſe Names make a Figure in the Hiſtories of their reſpective Times, but alſo the nearer collateral Branches of their Families, many of the Names in which are never mentioned upon any other Occaſion.

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[a] Gen. xii. 3. xxii. 18. 2 Sam. vii. 16. Pſalm lxxxix. 4.

[b] Matth. xxii. 42.

[c] Γενεαλογία.

[d] Sepher Toledoth.

[e] Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, &c.

[f] Titus iii. 9.

IV. It may be demanded, Why the other two Evangeliſts, *Mark* and *John*, did not alſo inſert the Lineage of *Jeſus Chriſt* into their Goſpels, if ſuch an eſſential Part of the Evidence that he was the true Meſſiah could be deduced from an Account of his Family, and if, moreover, the Cuſtom of writing Genealogies was ſo common among the *Jews* as is here repreſented? The Anſwer to this need be only, That *Mark* and *John* might have ſeen, and been ſatisfied with, what was before done by their Predeceſſors in the Province of writing the Hiſtory of *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Matthew*, 'tis univerſally agreed, was the Firſt of the Four who committed the Actions of his Lord and Maſter to Writing, and *John* the laſt: 'Tis alſo conjectured by a great many, that *Luke* preceded *Mark* in the Compoſition of his Goſpel; and as there is no Proof that makes againſt this Opinion, *Mark*'s omitting the Genealogy ſeems to me a very conſiderable one for it. *Luke* might have had Reaſon for compoſing a Liſt of our Lord's Anceſtors after what was done by *Matthew*; nay we are pretty ſure he had ſome ſuch Reaſon, becauſe his Performance differs ſo ſuch from that of *Matthew*, that 'tis plain he intended ſome other Thing; but this Reaſon, whatever it was, ſubſiſted no longer after *Luke* had publiſh'd his Goſpel; and therefore if *Mark* or *John* had attempted to write a Genealogy, 'tis likely they muſt have been obliged to have copy'd either the one or the other of thoſe Liſts that were made before, which would have been altogether a needleſs Labour; whereas *John* found a new Subject for the Introduction of his Goſpel, which was altogether as neceſſary, and more noble, than the other; I mean the eternal Exiſtence of the *Word*, of which we have treated in the laſt Diſcourſe.

V. The Difference between the Genealogies of *Matthew* and *Luke* has been triumphed in by ſome, as a Difficulty never to be got over; and it has even been confeſs'd on the other Side, that a great Part of what the moſt learned Commentators have offered upon this Head, amounts to little more than well grounded Conjecture. *Grotius* has taken a great deal of Pains to reconcile theſe Accounts, and he is thought to have ſucceeded better than any Commentator who went before him. Dr. *Hammond* has [h] expreſly declined entering into any Part of this Diſpute; partly out of Deference to what *Grotius* had performed, and partly becauſe the Difficulties that attended the Subject, were, in his Opinion, ſuperior to any Advantages he could expect to reap from the niceſt Examination of it. But Dr. *Whitby* [i] among our *Engliſh* Authors has ventured to examine and determine two very important Queſtions in this Controverſy, after what *Grotius* had done, and after *Hammond* had paſſed over the whole Affair for the Reaſons juſt now mentioned. A great many others, both before and ſince Dr. *Whitby*, have taken Pains with this Subject: I ſhall ſelect the beſt of thoſe Obſervations which I have met with, and inſert them in the Remarks that follow the Table: And tho' perhaps there may be ſome Particulars relating to theſe two Genealogies, which can never be cleared any other way than that above propoſed, by well grounded Conjecture, yet even this may be prov'd ſufficient in an Affair where the principal Points may be determined, by Arguments which amount to a Demonſtration.

VI. This laſt Aſſertion may ſoon be eſtabliſh'd beyond all Diſpute: We may be certain, for Inſtance, that the Evangeliſts did not intend to contradict one another; becauſe they were both dictated by the ſame Spirit; or, if that be thought a trifling Pretence, becauſe they were both engaged in the ſame Cauſe; for Intereſt is allow'd by all to be a ſtanding Argument. We may be alſo ſure, that in the Times wherein they publiſhed their Goſpels, when the Records from which they collected their Genealogies were extant, and conſequently their reſpective Deſigns were well known, no accidental Contradiction could be proved between their two Accounts; for this would have deſtroy'd the Credit of them both, and have been an Objection in the Hands of the Enemies of that Revelation which theſe Evangeliſts made known, greater than the primitive Chriſtians could ever have got over. Hence 'tis apparent, that from the ſeeming Difficulty which remains, inſtead of a reaſonable Objection, there accrues a noble Teſtimony to the artleſs Integrity of the Evangeliſts, and the antient Fathers of the Church. The Evangeliſts were not conſcious of having made any Miſtakes in their Accounts of our Lord's Genealogy, and therefore took no Precautions againſt any trifling future Cavils that might be ſtarted, which could proceed only from an Ignorance of their reſpective Deſigns and Methods. And the antient Fathers, thoſe of them that firſt perceived this Difficulty, choſe rather to let it remain, and truſt the Succeſs of their Miniſtry to the Evidence of the Doctrine they taught, than to obviate the Objection, by making ſuch Alterations, or Comments, as would have render'd them liable to an Imputation of Forgery. This is reaſoning according to the preſent Temper of Mankind, which inclines them to require a formal Argument on every Occaſion, tho' perhaps the Subject needs it not.

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[g] Particularly in the Books of Geneſis and Chronicles.

[h] See his Note on Matth. i. 13.

[i] In the firſt Preface to his Commentary on the Goſpels.

VII. Thus far have we diſcourſed in general concerning theſe two Genealogies, without giving an Account of either, or enquiring into the reſpective Deſigns of their Authors. Before we proceed to theſe, or any other Obſervations of the like Nature, it will be proper to give a View of the Genealogies themſelves. The Form of the ſubſequent Table is taken in a great meaſure from *M. Le Clerc*, who ſeems to have apply'd the moſt valuable Remarks of *Grotius*, and other curious Enquirers, particularly himſelf, to the Advantage of his Scheme. This ought to be ſaid of ſo great a Man, tho' his religious Sentiments muſt not always be approved.

VIII. The GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

[a] St. Matthew.	St. Luke.	
	1 God	
	2 Adam	1
	3 Seth	2
	4 Enos	3
	5 Cainan	4
	6 Maleleel	5
	7 Jared	6
	8 Enoch	7
	9 Mathuſala	8
	10 Lamech	9
	11 Noe	10
	12 Sem	11
	13 Arphaxad	12
	14 *Cainan*	
	15 Sala	13
	16 Heber	14
	17 Phaleg	15
	18 Ragau	16
	19 Saruch	17
	20 Nachor	18
	21 Thara	19
The firſt Series of St. Matthew, the ſame as in St. Luke.		
1 Abraham		20
2 Iſaac		21
3 Jacob		22
4 Judah		23
5 Phares, the Son of Thamar, and Brother of Zara,		24
6 Eſrom		25
7 Aram		26
8 Aminadab		27
9 Naaſſon		28
10 Salmon		29
11 Booz, the [b] Son of Rachab, a Woman of Jericho, and the Husband of Ruth, [c] after the Death of the Son of Elimelech,		30
12 Obed		31
13 Jeſſe		32
14 David, who had [d] two of his Sons (Solomon and Nathan) by Bathſheba, formerly the Wife of Uriah,		33
The Legal Line.	The Natural Line.	
1 Solomon	1 Nathan	34
2 Roboam	2 Mattatha	35
3 Abia	3 Menan	36
4 Aſa	4 Melea	37
5 Joſaphat	5 Eliakim	38
6 Joram	6 Jonan	39
* *Achaſia*	7 Joſeph	40
* *Joas*	8 Judah	41
* *Amaſia*	9 Simeon	42
7 Ozias	10 Levi	43
8 Joatham	11 Matthat	44
9 Achaz	12 Jorim	45
10 Ezechias	13 Eliezer	46
11 Manaſſes	14 Joſe	47
12 Amon	15 Er	48
13 Joſias	16 Elmodam	49
14 Jechonias	17 Coſam	50
* *Jechonias*, another of that Name, who died without Children.	18 Addi	51
* *Zedechias*, Uncle by the Father's Side, and Heir, to the younger Jechonias.	19 Melchi	52
* *Aſſir*, Heir to Jechonias after Zedechias.	20 Neri	53
The Lines United.		
1 Salathiel, the Son of Neri, Heir to Aſſir and Jechonias.		54
Pedaiah		
2 Zorobabel, Heir to Salathiel.		55

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[a] The Evangeliſt *Matthew* being a *Jew*, and writing to the *Jews*, contents himſelf with repreſenting Chriſt as the Son of *David* and *Abraham*, from whom it was promiſed he ſhould lineally deſcend; but St. *Luke*, who was a Gentile, traces our Lord's Genealogy up to *Adam*, probably to repreſent him as the Mediator of all Mankind, and that Seed of the Woman, who ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's Head.

[b] Matt. i. 5.

[c] See the Book of *Ruth*.

[d] 1 Chron. iii. 5. Mat. i. 6.

St. Matthew.	St. Luke.	
The Legal Line.	The Natural Line.	
3 Abiud	23 Rheſa	56
4 Eliakim	24 Joanna	57
5 Abner	25 Juda	58
6 Azor	26 Joſeph	59
7 Sadoc	27 Semei	60
8 Achim	28 Mattathias	61
9 Eliud	29 Maath	62
10 Eleazar	30 Nagge	63
*	31 Eſli	64
*	32 Naum	65
*	33 Amos	66
*	34 Mattathias	67
*	35 Joſeph	68
*	36 Janna	69
11 Matthan, who died without Children.	37 Melchi, natural Father of Jacob, and Father of Heli-Levi.	70
12 Jacob, the natural Son of Melchi, by the Relict of Matthan, whoſe legal Son Jacob was therefore accounted, according to the [d] Law of the Jews in ſuch Caſes.	38 *Levi*	
	39 *Matthat*	
	40 Heli, or Heli-Levi, the Son of Melchi, half Brother of Jacob, and natural Brother of Joſeph.	71

13 Joſeph, the Son of Heli, or Heli-Levi, and Heir of Jacob. 72

14 JESUS CHRIST, the ſuppoſed Son and legal Heir of Joſeph, who, by the Intermarriages of his Predeceſſors, was Heir to the two Branches of David's Family, deſcended from Solomon and Nathan. Jeſus Chriſt therefore, according to theſe Accounts, was ſtrictly and legally King of the Jews, and Succeſſor of David, which was one of the Characters of the Meſſiah, given long before by the Prophets.

IX. The Reader will pleaſe to take notice of the Names that are put in *Italic* Characters: There are ſeven of them in St. *Matthew*'s Genealogy, and three in St. *Luke*'s, beſides *Pedaiah*, who comes between *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*, where the Lines are united. The *Stars* before ſix of of thoſe in St. *Matthew*'s Liſt are put to denote their being inſerted from the Genealogies of the Old Teſtament, and that they really belong to the Places here aſſigned them. *Cainan*, *Levi*, and *Matthat*, in St. *Luke*'s Genealogy, are rejected by many learned Men, for Reaſons which will be given in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe. Why *Pedaiah* and *Abner* are diſtinguiſh'd, will alſo be ſeen in due Place; and a Reaſon will likewiſe be found for putting *The Legal Line*, and *The Natural Line*, at the Tops of the Columns. What remains to be done with regard to theſe Genealogies, is, to examine thoſe Particulars in them which have been look'd upon as Difficulties by the Learned, and for that Reaſon thought worthy of their niceſt Diſquiſition. This would indeed be a bold Undertaking, after the Subject has been almoſt given up by ſome great Men, if we propoſed any more in it, than juſt to copy the Arguments of others, or, at moſt, to reaſon upon Facts which others have alledged, and thrown, as it were, directly into our Way.

X. In determining the Queſtion, *Whether St.* Luke *gives us the Genealogy of* Joſeph *from* Nathan *the Son of* David, *as* Matthew *had given it from his Brother* Solomon, *or rather the Genealogy of* Mary *from her Father* Heli, we ought to obſerve this Rule: [f] That an Interpretation founded upon the plain Senſe of an Author's Words, ought in all Reſpects to be preferr'd to another Interpretation, that puts a manifeſt Force upon the ſame Words. Now, if we make St. *Luke*'s Genealogy to belong not to *Joſeph*, but to the Virgin *Mary* only, we certainly put ſuch a manifeſt Force upon what he ſays; for inſtead of *Being, as was ſuppoſed, the Son of* Heli, we muſt then read, *Being, as was ſuppoſed, the Son of* Joſeph, *but in reality the Son of* Mary *only, who was the Daughter of* Heli, and ſo on. If St. *Luke*, who was an exact *Grecian*, had intended to ſignify all this to his Readers, can we think he would have done it ſo obſcurely, that the general Conſent of Antiquity ſhould appear for the contrary Opinion, [g] as we are aſſured it does? Add to this, that the *Greek* Words, [h] which are tranſlated, *Being, as was ſuppoſed*, might very well have been rendered, *Being, as the Law allows*, or, *in the Senſe of the Law, the Son of* Joſeph. Now, by the Laws of all Nations the Son of a married Woman ſhould be called the Son of her Huſband; and in this Senſe Jeſus was undoubtedly the Son of *Joſeph*, as *Joſeph* was the Huſband of *Mary*; therefore there was no Impropriety in his being called ſo by the Evangeliſt St. *Luke*. To the ſame Effect, and doubtleſs with the ſame View, St. *Matthew* after having brought down his Catalogue to *Joſeph*, tells us, [i] *That* Joſeph *was the Huſband of* Mary, *of whom was born Jeſus, who is called Chriſt.* They neither of them ſay, that *Jeſus* was the Son of *Joſeph*, but both of them prove, that in the Senſe of the Law, he ought to be reputed ſo. We may venture to affirm, indeed, that it would have been improper, either in *Matthew* or *Luke*, to have given us any other Genealogy than that of *Joſeph* in this Caſe; for it was taken for granted by all the *Jews*, that *Joſeph* was the Father of *Chriſt* as truly as that *Mary* was his Mother: And what could be more to the Purpoſe of the ſacred Penmen, than to prove to the *Jews*, that according to their own Apprehenſions of *Chriſt*, he muſt be the Son of *David*, since they could demonſtrate that *Joſeph*, his reputed Father, really was ſo? No other Method was ſo likely to ſucceed as this: For the Evangeliſts knew that the *Jews*, in order to invalidate this Argument, would never aſſert that *Jeſus* was miraculouſly born of a Virgin, becauſe that muſt at once have proved

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[e] Deut. xxv. 5, 6.
[f] Whitby.
[g] By Maldonate, on Matth. i. 16.
[h] Ὢν ὡς ἐνομίζετο. This is proved by Dr. Whitby in a Note on the Word ἐνομίζετο, which in Acts xvi. 13. is tranſlated *Was wont*.
[i] Matth. i. 16.

him the Son of God, and by undeniable Conſequence their Meſſiah.

XI. But here it will be ſaid, that tho' this Argument might be ſufficient with the *Jews*, and what they durſt not contradict, yet to us Chriſtians, who believe that *Jeſus* was born of *Mary* without the Concurrence of a Man, it proves nothing at all. One of the Evangeliſts, at leaſt, ought to have given us the Genealogy of *Mary* up to *David*, that ſo the Deſcent of our Lord from that Monarch, and the Character of his Meſſiahſhip ariſing from that Deſcent, might have been clear and intelligible, without our being obliged to have Recourſe to ſuch an Expedient as *the Senſe of the Law*, in order to fix that Deſcent and that Character upon him. This muſt be acknowledged a very plauſible Objection, and it has appeared with ſo much Force to ſome, that they have taken Pains to convince themſelves and others, that theſe Genealogies were never deſigned to prove that *Jeſus Chriſt* was deſcended from *David* according to the Fleſh. But I can ſee no Reaſon for giving up this Point; on the contrary, it appears to me very manifeſt, that this Proof was the principal End for which theſe Genealogies were compoſed. St. *Matthew* ſeems to have been very full of this Deſign, as was before obſerved, when in the very Title as it were of his Genealogy, he tells us that *Chriſt was the Son of David*. Beſides, what great Advantage could the Evangeliſts, eſpecially St. *Luke*, expect from theſe Catalogues of Names, if they did not intend by them to fix ſome particular Character of the Meſſiah upon *Jeſus Chriſt*, that might be acknowledged as ſuch by the Nations to whom they wrote? Now St. *Luke*, it is agreed, wrote his Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, who were taught at the ſame Time, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was the Son of *David*, and that he was born of a Virgin: There is no room therefore to doubt but his Genealogy enabled them to unite theſe two Characters of the Meſſiah, in the Idea which it gave them of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

XII. But ſtill this Queſtion remains, How could the Deſcent of *Mary* be learned from Genealogies in which ſhe is never mention'd, and which have, both of them, been already allow'd to belong to *Joſeph* her Husband? To anſwer this, we muſt conclude, and we may do it with very good Reaſon, that the Genealogy of *Joſeph* contained in it that of *Mary* alſo. That *Mary* was of the Family of *David* we have certain Proof in the New Teſtament; for when the Angel told her, [k] *That ſhe ſhould bear a Son, and call his Name* Jeſus, he added, *That the Lord ſhould give him the Throne of his Father* David. If *David* could in any Senſe at all be call'd the Father of her Son, 'tis plain that ſhe muſt be a Daughter of *David*'s Family. The Hymn of *Zacharias* alſo declares, that God, by giving his Nation this Son of *Mary*, [l] *had raiſed up for them a Horn of Salvation in the Houſe of his Servant* David. Moreover, [m] all the Fathers with one Conſent aſſure us, that *Joſeph* and *Mary* were of the ſame Tribe and Family; and the *Jews* of that Time never contradicted this Aſſertion, which made ſo much againſt them, tho' they muſt, by their Genealogical Tables, be certain of either the Truth or Falſhood of it. The *Jews* would have been glad to have convicted the Chriſtians of an Error in this important Point; and therefore their Silence in what ſo nearly concern'd them, ſufficiently proves that the Fathers were right in what they advanced, and conſequently that the Genealogy of *Mary* is included in that of *Joſeph*. Now this being granted, nothing farther could be wanting, when the Evangeliſts had ſhewn that *Joſeph* was deſcended from *David*, to prove that our Lord alſo was the Son of the ſame *David* according to the Fleſh: Nor is it to be wonder'd at, that the inſpired Writers ſhould give us the Genealogy of Chriſt in the Name of *Joſeph*, rather than of *Mary*, if either way they proved the ſame Thing; becauſe Genealogies among the *Jews* were never made from the Women, but always from the Men.

XIII. There might be other Conſiderations urg'd, to prove that *Joſeph* and *Mary* were of the ſame Family, if thoſe above were not ſufficient for that Purpoſe: For the Daughters of *Iſrael* who poſſeſs'd any Inheritance, [n] were forbidden by *Moſes* to marry out of the Family of their Fathers; and 'tis more than probable that this might be the Caſe of *Mary*: For *Epiphanius*, one of the moſt learned of the Fathers, poſitively aſſerts, [o] That *Mary* was given to *Joſeph* in Marriage, becauſe the Rights of Inheritance which ſhe poſſeſs'd oblig'd her to this Union. Nor was this Law peculiar to the *Jews*; for the *Athenians* and the Inhabitants of other *Grecian* Cities, were not permitted to marry with Foreigners, as may be learned from *Demoſthenes* and *Diodorus Siculus*.

XIV. The allowing that *Luke* as well as *Matthew* has given us the Genealogy of *Joſeph*, and not that of *Mary* in Diſtinction from his, is attended with another Difficulty, which may ſeem at firſt a greater than that which it removes. One Evangeliſt tells us, that Jacob *begat* Joſeph, *the Huſband of* Mary; and the other calls the ſame Joſeph *the Son of* Heli. Beſides this, their whole Catalogues quite up to *David* are altogether different, except in the two Names of *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*: And even theſe two Names are thought by many not to ſignify the ſame Perſons in both Genealogies. How can theſe Things be reconciled? Could *Joſeph* be deſcended from *David* both by *Nathan* and *Solomon*? Could he be the immediate Son both of *Heli* and *Jacob*? We ſhall endeavour to prove that there is no Inconſiſtency in what we have advanced on this Head; that *Joſeph* might derive his Birth from the two Branches of *David*'s Family above mentioned; that he was the natural Son either of *Jacob* or *Heli*, and might properly be call'd the *Son* of the other alſo, as he was his immediate Heir and Succeſſor. Here we muſt proceed upon rational Suppoſitions, founded on the Cuſtoms of the *Jewiſh* Nation; and it ought be admitted as a Maxim in ſuch Enquiries, That where no certain Proof can be procured in a particular Caſe, we ſhould form our Opinions, and draw natural Concluſions, from what was uſual on the like Occaſions.

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[k] Luke i. 31, 32. [l] Luke i. 69. [m] Maldonat. in loc. ſupra citat.

[n] See the laſt Chapter of Numbers. [o] Contra Antidicomaritanos.

XV. It was mention'd before, that one Perſon is frequently called the Son of another in the Bible, who is very far from being ſtrictly ſo; ſometimes a Great Grandſon, a remote Deſcendant, or only an Heir ſprung from ſome collateral Branch of the ſame Family: In like Manner a Perſon is ſaid to beget his Grandſon, or even his Heir, tho' in a diſtant Degree of Conſanguinity. [s] We have two particular Caſes of this kind in St. *Matthew*'s Genealogy now before us. The Evangeliſt tells us, *That* Joram *begat* Ozias; whereas 'tis plain [t] from the Old Teſtament, That *Joram* begat [u] *Achaſias*, that *Achaſias* begat *Joas*, that *Joas* begat *Amaſias*, and that *Amaſias* begat *Ozias* [w]; ſo that here is an Omiſſion of no leſs than three Generations. Again, Joſias *begat* Jechonias *and his Brethren, about the Time that they were carried away into* Babylon: *And after they were brought to* Babylon Jechonias *begat* Salathiel, *and* Salathiel *begat* Zorobabel. But [x] it appears that between *Jechonias* [y] the Son of *Joſias*, [z] and *Salathiel*, there was another *Jechonias* the Son of the former; and this younger *Jechonias* being pronounced Childleſs by the Lord, he was ſucceeded by his Uncle *Zedechias*, whoſe next Heir was *Aſſir*. *Salathiel* ſeems not to have been the natural Son of either of theſe; but of *Neri*, whoſe Son he is called by St. *Luke*; and this *Salathiel* ſucceeding to the Royal Iſſue, upon the Death of the Relations of *Jechonias*, in him the two Branches of *Solomon* and *Nathan* were united. *Zerubbabel*, called in the New Teſtament *Zorobabel*, is ſaid in the [a] *Chronicles* to be the Son of *Pedaiah*, one of the Brothers of *Salathiel*, tho' *Pedaiah* be not mentioned by either of the Evangeliſts. Now in the ſame Manner as ſeveral of theſe Perſons are called the Sons of their immediate Predeceſſors in the Catalogue, was *Joſeph* the Son either of *Jacob* or of *Heli*, that is, of one or the other of them; for which was his natural Father has been much diſputed.

XVI. 'Tis plain therefore that *Joſeph*, in a proper Senſe, was the Son of both theſe Perſons; of one of them naturally and of the other legally. Which was his natural Father is next to be enquired. *Africanus*, whom the others have copy'd in this particular, [b] *Euſebius*, [c] *Epiphanius*, [d] and *Jerom*, were all of Opinion, that *Jacob* was the real Father of *Joſeph*, and *Heli* his Father only in Conſtruction of Law. A great many Moderns are of the ſame Opinion, and will have it that our Lord neceſſarily deſcended not only from *David*, but from *Solomon*. They deny that the Line of *Solomon* ever fail'd, and therefore are obliged to make the *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel* in St. *Luke*'s Genealogy to have been different Perſons from thoſe mention'd by St. *Matthew*. This Opinion is grounded upon the Promiſe made to *David*: [e] *When thou ſhult ſleep with thy Fathers*, ſaid God by his Prophet, *I will ſet up thy Seed after thee.* — *He ſhall build a Houſe for my Name, and I will ſtabliſh the Throne of his Kingdom forever.* But Prophecies are often to be interpreted with more Latitude than is really contain'd in the Expreſſion of them. *Nathan* was *Solomon*'s Brother by the Mother as well as the Father, and there ſeems to have been continual Intermarriages between theſe two Branches of *David*'s Family. Thoſe therefore, who believe that *Joſeph* was the natural Son of *Heli*, cannot be ſaid to put a greater Force upon the Promiſe made to *David*, than the Patrons of the contrary Opinion put upon the Names of *Salathiel* and *Zorobabel*, and upon the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* concerning *Jechonias*, which ſays expreſly, *Write this Man Childleſs.* The Houſe of *Solomon* never wanted Heirs, becauſe of its cloſe Alliance with the Houſe of *Nathan*: For theſe two Branches of *David*'s Family, [f] according to *Africanus*, were ſo blended together, partly by ſecond Marriages, and partly by raiſing up the Name of the Deceaſed, as commanded by the [g] Law, that the ſame Perſons might properly enough be called Brethren of both Houſes. That this Union continued quite down to the Time of *Chriſt* is plain; for otherwiſe *Joſeph* could not have been introduced as the Son, or Heir, of both *Jacob* and *Heli*: And that he might be properly introduced as ſuch, upon the Suppoſition of this Alliance, has, I think, been made apparent.

XVII. From theſe Conſiderations, it ſeems the moſt proper Way to make St. *Luke*'s Genealogy the natural Line of *Joſeph*, as *Grotius* and others have made it before; and thus we have put it in the Table: For if *Salathiel*, the Son of *Neri*, became Heir to *Jechonias*, there muſt have been an Interruption in the Line of *Solomon*, which does not appear in that of *Nathan*; tho' theſe two Branches, on account of their Intermarriages, might be accounted but as one. Several Schemes of the latter Intermarriages betwen theſe two Houſes have been drawn up, in which the Authors have each of them follow'd his own particular Fancy, as they had no certain Grounds upon which to proceed. That which we have given in the foregoing Table is as plain as any we have met with, and therefore we ſhall not trouble the Reader with any thing elſe of the ſame kind. If it has been prov'd that the Evangeliſts may be eaſily reconcil'd by ſuppoſing a long Succeſſion of theſe Intermarriages, and that they cannot be reconcil'd ſo eaſily any other Way, there has been as much done as could reaſonably be expected on this difficult Subject; and 'tis not material after this to know in what Manner, and between what Perſons, theſe Intermarriages were made. We ſhould be glad, we confeſs, to ſay ſomething particular, if we could do it upon certain Grounds, concerning the Relation between *Joſeph* and the Bleſſed Virgin; but we can only produce the common Opinion of the Learned, which is, that they were Couſin-Germans. Indeed there is more than a mere Probability to ſupport this Notion, if it be true what *Epiphanius* ſays in the Place above quoted, That the Virgin was oblig'd by the Rights of Inheritance to marry *Joſeph*; for in that Caſe he muſt have been the neareſt of all her Male Relations. And we may depend very much upon the Authority of *Epiphanius* in this Point, who had many Opportunities of knowing the Truth, (which muſt be wanting to all the Moderns,) both by living near the Time, and in the Land of *Judea*.

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[s] Matth. i. 8, 11, 12.

[t] 1 Chron. iii. 11, 12.

[u] Or Ahaziah.

[w] Or Azariah.

[x] 1 Chron. iii. 15, 16, 17, compared with Jerem. xxii. 24. to the End.

[y] Or Jehoiakim.

[z] This is the Syſtem of the learned Grotius.

[a] Ubi ſupra.

[b] Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. i. cap. 7.

[c] Hær. 30 Sect. 29.

[d] In Matth. i.

[e] 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13.

[f] Apud Euſebium.

[g] Deut. xxv. 5, 6.

XVIII. We ſhall touch but lightly upon the other Difficulties that are found in theſe Genealogies, as they are of much leſs Moment than thoſe already conſider'd. St. *Matthew* has divided his whole Liſt of Names into three Claſſes, in each of which are ſaid to be fourteen Generations. To preſerve the Number Fourteen, this Evangeliſt has taken the Liberty to paſs over ſeveral Names, of which we gave two remarkable Inſtances above. There ſeems, however, ſtill to be a Defect in his Numbers; for from the Coming out of *Babylon* to *Chriſt* we read but thirteen Names, beginning with *Salathiel* and including *Chriſt*. This is rectify'd by an antient *Hebrew* Copy of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, in which the Name of *Abner* is found between *Eliakim* and *Azor*, as we have placed it in the Table. *Robert Stephens* ſupply'd this Defect another Way, by putting *Jachim* between *Joſias* and *Jechonias*, which agrees very well with the Old Teſtament; for he means by *Jachim* the elder *Jechonias*, who, as was before noted, is called *Jehoiakim*. Either of theſe Corrections is ſufficient to the Purpoſe; but the latter makes *Jechonias* the Firſt of the laſt Fourteen, which Place ſeems moſt proper for *Salathiel*.

XIX. The ſecond *Cainan*, who appears between *Arphaxad* and *Sala* in St. *Luke*'s Genealogy, is rejected by the beſt Critics as an Addition to the Text of that Evangeliſt. The Grounds on which they proceed, are theſe among others. [h] There is no ſuch Name in the *Hebrew* Bibles, nor in thoſe antient Authors who follow the Septuagint Tranſlation into *Greek*; ſuch as *Philo*, *Joſephus*, and *Euſebius*; tho' they all give an Account of the Patriarchs. They mention *Arphaxad* as the Father of *Sala*, and call *Abraham* the Tenth from *Noah*; neither of which Particulars can be true if *Cainan* be admitted. This Name, indeed, is now found in the Septuagint, but it muſt have been inſerted there ſince the Time of the Authors above-mention'd, or at leaſt it was not in the beſt Copies in their Time, for if it had it would have been in their Works alſo. 'Tis not in any *Greek* Verſion beſides the Septuagint, neither is it in the *Targums*: In the *Samaritan*, the Vulgate, the *Syriac*, and the *Arabic*, 'tis wholly wanting. Some of the Fathers, who wrote expreſly on the Subject, prove in their Works that they did not own this *Cainan*, and yet they take no notice of his being mention'd in St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, which proves that they never ſaw him there. Add to this, that the Fathers make mention but of ſeventy-two Generations in St. *Luke*'s Genealogy; which gives room for rejecting not only *Cainan*, but alſo *Matthat* and *Levi*, as we have done in our Table after very learned Authors. Other Difficulties in theſe Genealogies, if any ſhould be found, may be reſolved upon the ſame Principles with thoſe we have mentioned. We conclude therefore, with obſerving that theſe Miſtakes, committed by ignorant Tranſcribers, in copying over a Liſt of Names, cannot leſſen the Authority of other Parts of the New Teſtament, which were not liable to ſuch Alterations.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of the *Magi*, or Wiſe Men, who came to worſhip *Jeſus Chriſt*.

I. *Who the* Magi *were.* II. *Two Sorts of Idolatry among the Antients.* III. *That of the* Sabians. IV. *That of the* Magians. V. *The Uſurpation of* Smerdis. VI. Zoroaſter, *when he lived.* VII. *His Character, Nation, and Deſign.* VIII. *His Retirement and Cave, compared with thoſe of* Mahomet *and* Pythagoras. IX. *He goes into* Bactria *and* India. X. *He removes to* Suſa, *brings over the King, returns to* Balch, *and is kill'd.* XI. *His great Reputation,* &c. XII. *He taught a Supreme Being.* XIII. *Cauſed Fire-Temples to be erected.* XIV. *The Form of his Church Government, and Orders of the* Magian *Clergy.* XV. *An Account of* Zoroaſter's *Book.* XVI. *Its Agreement with the Old Teſtament.* XVII. *Some Account of the modern* Gaurs. XVIII. *How many of the* Magi *came to* Bethlehem. XIX. *From what Country, and in how long Time.* XX. *Motives of their Coming;* Zoroaſter's *and* Balaam's *Prophecies, and the Diſperſion of the* Jews. XXI. *Enquiries concerning the Star, with the Teſtimonies of* Chalcidius *and others.* XXII. *Revelations made to the* Magi, *with other general Remarks.*

I. MANY [a] Queſtions have been ſtarted concerning the *Magi*, or Wiſe Men, who came to *Bethlehem* to adore *Jeſus Chriſt* ſoon after he was born. 'Tis asked who they were? How many there were of them? Whence they came? What was the Motive of their Coming? How long it was after the Birth of *Chriſt* when they arrived at *Jeruſalem*? What was the Star that appeared to them? We ſhall purſue the beſt Light that can be obtain'd in this Affair, and conſider theſe Particulars in Order. Several of the Fathers have expreſly ſaid they were [b] Kings, and others who have taken up their Opinion have contended very ſtrongly for it; but 'tis now commonly thought that they were Philoſophers of the *Magian* Sect, whoſe chief Study was Aſtronomy. The Word [c] *Magi*, by which they were diſtinguiſh'd, very ſtrongly ſupports this laſt Conjecture: For tho' *Magus* was at that Time a ſort of common Name for a learned and wiſe Man, yet as the Sect to whom it properly belonged was then very populous in the Eaſt, and the Perſons mentioned by the Evangeliſt are ſaid to come from that Quarter, I ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould not underſtand it in the original Senſe. This Opinion is at leaſt as well grounded as any other; I may ſay much better, becauſe it puts the moſt obvious Interpretation upon the Words of the Evangeliſt. Let us therefore ſee what were the principal Tenets and Characteriſtics of the *Magians*, or *Magi*, of the Eaſt, before we proceed to the other Queſtions above propoſed; and this Enquiry will make the moſt conſiderable Part of the following Diſcourſe.

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[h] The following Particulars are extracted from Dr. Whitby.

[a] Kippingi Auctaria in J. Pappi Epitomen Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ, Calmet, &c.

[b] This Opinion is founded chiefly on Pſalm lxxii. 10. which Text is better apply'd to Solomon.

II. All the Idolaters in the World were antiently divided into two Sects; the Worſhippers of Images, and the Worſhippers of Fire: The Firſt of theſe were called *Sabians*, and the latter *Magians*. It does not appear, indeed, that theſe Names were altogether ſo antient as the Sects to which they belonged; nay, the contrary is evident concerning the *Magians*, and that they had at firſt ſome other Name; but as we have at this Time no other Way of diſtinguiſhing thoſe People, we ſhall call them *Magians* from the Original of their Separation. The true Religion, taught by *Noah* to his Poſterity, and practis'd by *Abraham*, conſiſted in worſhipping one only God, the Creator and Governor of all Things, with Hopes in his Mercy thro' a Mediator. What Notions the Patriarchs had of this Mediator in the Perſon of the *Word*, has been already conſider'd. But they were not the only Men who ſaw the Neceſſity of ſuch a Mediator. Mankind in general were very early convinc'd of that important Truth; and it was from this Conviction that all the Idolatry in the World had its Riſe. For being conſcious of their own Meanneſs and Impurity, they could not conceive how it was poſſible for them of themſelves to have acceſs to an All-holy, All-glorious Being, whom they conſidered as too high and too pure for ſuch a Converſe. They therefore concluded that there muſt be a Mediator, by whoſe Means alone they could make their Addreſſes, and by whoſe Interceſſion only they could hope to be accepted. But no clear Revelation being then made of the Mediator whom God had appointed, becauſe he had not as yet been manifeſted, except to particular Perſons, the Multitude took upon them to make their Addreſſes by Mediators of their own chuſing. Now their Notions of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, being, that they were the Habitations of Intelligences, which animated theſe Orbs, as the Soul of Man animates his Body, and alſo that theſe Intelligences were of a middle Nature between God and Man, they thought theſe the propereſt Beings to be inveſted with the mediatorial Character. And the Planets being the neareſt to them of all the heavenly Bodies, and thought to have the greateſt Influence on this Earth, they made choice of them in the firſt Place for the Objects of divine Worſhip, that they by their Mediation might procure from God the Mercies and Favours for which they were apply'd to. This was the Beginning of all the falſe Religion, which has ever ſince been practis'd in the World.

III. The Diviſion of this Religion into the two general Branches already mention'd, follow'd ſoon after the true Worſhip of God was left. The Orbs of the Planets being look'd upon as the Tabernacles of the ſacred Intelligences, when they worſhipp'd any one of theſe Intelligences, they turned themſelves towards the Planet in which they ſuppos'd him to dwell. But theſe Orbs being as much under the Horizon as above it, they were at a Loſs how to addreſs to them in their Abſence. To remedy this, Part of theſe Idolaters had recourſe to the Invention of Images, in which, after their Conſecration, they thought the Intelligences to be as much preſent by their Influence as in the Planets themſelves, and that their Addreſſes might be made as effectually before the one as before the other. Here was the Original of Image Worſhip: And as the Names of the Planets they repreſented were given to theſe Images, hence it is that we find *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, [d] *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and [e] *Diana*, to be firſt rank'd in the Polytheiſm of the Antients. After this a Notion prevailing, that good Men departed had alſo a Power to intercede with God, they deified many whom they thought to be ſuch; and from this aroſe their *Bacchus*, their *Hercules*, their *Mercury*, and an infinite Number more. The *Chaldeans* Knowledge in Aſtronomy was the Occaſion that this falſe Religion firſt obtained among them; and from them it paſſed into the Eaſt, where the Profeſſors of it had the Name of *Sabians*; which Name ſtill ſubſiſts, together with the Religion, in thoſe Countries, and is there pretended to have had its Original from *Sabius*, a Son of *Seth*. From the *Chaldeans* Polytheiſm paſſed alſo into *Egypt*, and from thence to the *Grecians*, who propagated it all over the Weſtern Part of the World. It was from this that *Abraham* ſeparated himſelf, when he came out of *Chaldea*; and the Averſion of that Patriarch to the Worſhip of Images ſeems to have been copied by the oppoſite Sect, of whom we are now to ſpeak.

IV. This oppoſite Sect was that of the *Magians*, who had their Original in the ſame Eaſtern Parts, firſt in *Perſia*, and afterwards in *India*, in both which Countries they remain at the preſent Time. Theſe [f] abominating all Images, worſhipp'd God only by Fire, which they thought the trueſt Symbol of his Majeſty.

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[c] Μάγοι.

[d] The Sun.

[e] The Moon.

[f] Pocockii Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabicæ, p. 146, 147, &c. & Hiſtoria veter. Perſarum, per Th. Hyde.

Their chief Doctrine was, That [g] there were two Principles, one the Cauſe of all Evil, the other of all Good; that is to ſay, God and the Devil. The latter of theſe was repreſented by Darkneſs, as the former by Light and Fire; and of the Compoſition of Light and Darkneſs they held that all the World was made. The good [h] God they named *Yazdan* and alſo *Ormuzd*, and the evil God *Ahraman*. Concerning theſe two Gods, ſome of them held that they were both from all Eternity, and others, that the good God only was eternal and the other created: But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual Oppoſition between theſe two till the End of the World; and then the good God having overcome the evil one, they thenceforwards ſhall each have his World to himſelf, the good God with all good Men, and the evil God with all evil Men. Agreeably to theſe Notions they always worſhipped the good God before Fire, as being the Cauſe of Light, and eſpecially before the Sun, which being the perfecteſt Fire cauſed the perfecteſt Light. They had Fires perpetually burning on Altars in all their Temples; and before theſe they offered up all their public Devotions, as they did their private Devotions before the Fires in their own Houſes. Darkneſs they always hated, as being the Emblem of the evil God, whom they had in ſo much Deteſtation, that whenever they had Occaſion to mention his Name in their Writings, they wrote it backwards and inverſed, as thus, N∀W∀ꓤH∀. Theſe were the original Tenets of the Sect which were afterwards call'd *Magians*, tho' they did not receive that Name till they fell into Diſgrace, upon the following Occaſion.

V. *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia*, the Son of *Cyrus*, had a Brother whoſe Name was *Smerdis*; and dreaming one Night, while he was in *Egypt*, that this Brother had uſurped the Government, he ſent one of his Confidents to put him privately to Death. There was another *Smerdis*, one of the Sect of the *Magians*, who much reſembled the King's Brother, and is thought to have had his Name from that Likeneſs. This Man, taking Advantage of the Abſence of *Cambyſes*, and the Death of his Royal Name-ſake, which was not commonly known, got himſelf proclaim'd King of *Perſia* by the Name of the murder'd Prince. *Cambyſes* heard of the Rebellion, and being inform'd that his Brother was actually dead, was haſtening to *Perſia* with his Army, in order to quell the Uſurper; but as he mounted his Horſe for the March, he receiv'd a Wound in the Thigh from his own Sword, of which he dy'd within a few Days. Through this Accident, the Uſurpation continued, till the falſe *Smerdis* render'd himſelf ſuſpected by his Reſervedneſs, and the other Steps which he took for his Security: and then the whole Secret was diſcovered by one of his Wives to her Father. This Uſurper's Ears having been formerly cut off by *Cyrus* for ſome Crime, and *Phedyma*, the Wife we ſpeak of, telling that her Bed-fellow had no Ears, her Father, knowing from that Sign that he muſt be *Smerdis* the *Magian*, took an Opportunity with ſix more of the Nobility to enter the Palace, and murder him, together with a Brother of his who had contrived the Plot. The Rage of the People, when they were informed of this Affair, fell upon the whole Sect of this Profeſſion, and they ſlew all of them that they met with for one whole Day. This Day was afterwards called *Magophonia*, or the *Slaughter-Day of the* Magians [h], a Name which ſignifies *The Cropt-ear'd*, and which from this Time became the Nick-name of the whole Sect. Thus from the Impoſture of one of their Ringleaders, the whole Sect fell into Contempt, under which it muſt utterly have ſunk, if it had not been reviv'd again a few Years after by *Zoroaſter*, under the Name of a Reformation.

VI. *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who was elected King of *Perſia* after the Death of *Smerdis*, took upon him the Profeſſion of *Sabianiſm*, together with his whole Court, and the *Magians* had no Hopes of ever recovering what they had loſt; but juſt as they were upon the Brink of Ruin ſtarted up the Impoſtor we have mentioned, whom the *Perſians* call *Zerduſht*, or *Zaratuſh*, and the *Greeks Zoroaſtres*. The *Greek* and *Latin* Writers [i] differ much in their Accounts of this Man, [k] and ſome of them make two of the Name, who lived many Ages apart: But the [l] Oriental Writers all agree that there was but one *Zerduſht*, and that he flouriſh'd in the Reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. We ſhall therefore place him in that Reign, after the ingenious Dr. *Prideaux* [m], who has proved that the Accounts of him cannot ſuit with any other Time. To this Author we are chiefly oblig'd for what we have ſaid, or ſhall further ſay, both concerning the Sect of the *Magians* in general, or concerning *Zoroaſter* himſelf.

VII. He was the greateſt Impoſtor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the World, and had all the Craft and enterpriſing Boldneſs of that *Arab*, but much more Knowledge: For he was excellently ſkill'd in all the Learning of the Eaſt, that was in his Time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly verſed in the *Jewiſh* Religion, and in the ſacred Writings of the Old Teſtament that were then extant, which makes it moſt likely, that he was as to his Origin a *Jew*. And it is generally ſaid of him, that he was a Servant and Diſciple of one of the Prophets of *Iſrael*, which is a farther Proof that he was of that People, it not being likely that a Prophet of *Iſrael* ſhould entertain and inſtruct a Perſon who was not of the ſame Nation and Religion, eſpecially ſince it was the Uſage of the *Jews* to ſeparate themſelves as much as poſſible from all others. He is alſo ſaid to have been a [n] Native of *Paleſtine*: And all this together amounts to a Proof, that he was at firſt a *Jew* both by Birth and Religion. The Prophet to whom he was Servant muſt have been [o] *Ezekiel* or *Daniel*, tho' there is [p] Variety of Opinions on that Head: But all the other Prophets who are mentioned are ſuch as lived either too early or too late. Of theſe two *Daniel* is the moſt likely to have been his Maſter; for he was younger than *Ezekiel*, and in all probability lived many Years after him, for we have no Account of *Ezekiel* after the twenty ſeventh Year of *Jehoiachin*'s Captivity. *Daniel* by being a true Prophet of God, arrived to an extraordinary Height and Dignity in the Empire; and there is no doubt but *Zoroaſter*'s obſerving the Succeſs of that great, good, and wiſe Man, was what ſet him upon the Deſign of being a falſe Prophet, in hopes that by well acting that Part he might obtain the ſame Advancement; and it muſt be ſaid, that by his Craft and Dexterity in managing this Pretence, he wonderfully ſucceeded in what he aim'd at.

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[g] This was the Opinion of the Manichees, founded by the Heretic Manes, who received it from the Perſians.

[h] Mige-Guſh in the Language of the Country then in uſe.

[i] Juſtin, Lib. i. cap. 1. Diog. Laertius in Proœmio. Plin. Lib. xxx. cap. 1.

[k] Plin. Lib. xxx. cap. 1. See alſo Stanley of the Chaldaic Philoſophy, Chap. 2.

[l] Abulfaragius, Iſhmael Albufeda, Shareſtani, &c. V. etiam Agathiam, Lib. ii. Et Hyde de Relig. veter. Perſarum, cap. 24.

[m] Connect. Part I. Book iv.

[n] Hyde Relig. veter. Perſarum, cap. 24.

VIII. He did not found a new Religion as *Mahomet* afterwards did, but only took upon him to [q] revive and reform that of the *Magians*, which had been for many Ages paſt the national Religion of the *Medes* as well as the *Perſians*. For this Purpoſe he artfully [r] made his firſt Appearance in *Media*, where this Sect had the beſt Footing, the Diſgrace which *Smerdis* had brought on it not having been ſo fatal there as in *Perſia*. Here it was, that in order to gain the greater Reputation to his Pretenſions, [ſ] he retired into a Cave, where he lived a long Time as a Recluſe, pretending to be abſtracted from all worldly Conſiderations, and given wholly to Prayer and Meditation: And the more to amuſe the People, he dreſſed up his Cave with ſeveral myſtical Figures, repreſenting *Mithra*, and other Myſteries of that Religion, from whence it became a Cuſtom afterwards among the *Magians* to chuſe ſuch Caves for their Devotions, which being dreſſed up in the ſame Manner, were call'd *Mithratic Caves*. While he was in this Retirement he compoſed the Book wherein his pretended Revelations are contained, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Mahomet* exactly copied his Example in theſe Things: For he retired to a Cave before he broach'd his Impoſtures, and there, by the Help of his Accomplices, form'd the *Coran*. *Pythagoras* likewiſe had his Cave at [t] *Samos*, after his Return from *Babylon*, where he converſed with *Zoroaſter*; and the End of his Retirement was the ſame with that of his Maſter, merely to get himſelf the greater Veneration from the People; for this *Greek* Philoſopher built upon Impoſture as well as the *Perſian* Prophet. By the way, we need only compare the Behaviour of theſe three Men, who were the moſt ſucceſsful Impoſtors that ever lived, with that of our Lord and his Diſciples, in order to convince ourſelves how much the Truth was on the Side of theſe latter.

IX. When *Zoroaſter* had continued in *Media* long enough to ſettle all Things there according to his Mind, he [u] removed into *Bactria*, the moſt Eaſtern Province of *Perſia*, where under the Protection of the Father of *Darius*, who ſtill adhered to the *Magian* Religion, he ſpread his Impoſture throughout that Province alſo. The common People in general had an Affection for the Religion of their Anceſtors, tho' ſo much diſcountenanced by the Court: *Zoroaſter* therefore ſaw from the firſt that the Revival of this was the beſt Game of Impoſture he could play; and the Scheme he thereupon formed, anſwered his Expectation whereſoever he came. [w] From *Bactria* he went in Perſon into *India*, and learning Aſtronomy, Mathematics, and natural Philoſophy, of the *Brachmans*, he brought it back and taught it to the *Magians*, who continued for many Years after above all others skilful in thoſe Sciences, whence a *learned Man* and a *Magian* became equivalent Terms, as we remark'd in the Beginning. And the Name of a *Magian* or *Magician*, has been ever ſince preſerved in all the Nations of the *Weſt*, and apply'd indifferently by the Vulgar, who cannot diſtinguiſh theſe Matters, both to ſuch as practiſed diabolical Arts, and to ſuch as were only learned beyond their Comprehenſion. Hence we have the Stories of Friar *Bacon*, Dr. *Fauſtus*, and *Cornelius Agrippa*, who were all of them great Men, but have always been look'd upon by the common People as Conjurers, or Perſons actuated by a ſupernatural Power.

X. This extraordinary Learning was of great Service to *Zoroaſter*, whoſe Reputation increaſed to that Degree, that he ventured at laſt to go from the City of *Balch* in *Bactria*, which he had conſtituted the Place of his Reſidence, [x] to the Royal Court of *Suſa*; where he managed his Pretenſions with ſo much Craft and Addreſs, that he ſoon got within *Darius* himſelf, and made him a Proſelyte to his new Reformation. The Example of the King drew after it the Courtiers, Nobility, and all the great Men of the Kingdom; ſo that in ſpite of all the Oppoſition of the *Sabians*, which were the contrary Party, *Magianiſm*, as it was reform'd by *Zoroaſter*, became again the national Religion of *Perſia*, and continued ſo for many Ages after, till this Impoſture was ſupplanted by that of *Mahomet*. And there is ſtill a Remnant of the *Magians* in *Perſia* and *India*, who to this Day obſerve their old Religion, and retain the ſame Veneration for *Zoroaſter*, and his Book (of which we are to ſpeak a little further) as the *Turks* do for their *Mahomet* and their *Coran*. As for *Zoroaſter* himſelf, he returned to *Balch* [y] after this wonderful Succeſs at Court, and there reſided as *Archimagus*, or Head of his Religion, reigning in Spirituals with the ſame Authority as the King in Temporals, till he was ſlain by *Argaſp*, King of the *Oriental Scythians*, againſt whom he made an Enterpriſe, in order to draw him over to his Religion. This happened in the thirty fifth Year of *Darius*, who ſoon revenged himſelf upon the *Scythian*, by making a terrible Slaughter of his Army, which was advanced even to *Balch*, and had there deſtroy'd the patriarchal Temple of *Zoroaſter* among many others. All theſe *Darius* rebuilt, and continued to propagate the new Religion with an Ardor equal to that which the Founder of it had ſhewn before, taking on himſelf the Stile of *Archimagus*, and ordering it to be engraven among his other Titles upon his Funeral Monument, as [z] *Porphyry* teſtifies. After this the Kings of *Perſia* were ever look'd upon to be of the ſacerdotal Tribe of the *Magians*, and were always initiated into that Order before they took upon them the Government of the Kingdom.

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[o] Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita Hiſtorico Arabe. Relig. Vet. Perſ. c. 4.

[p] Abulfaraglus ſays it was Elias: Abu Mohammed Muſtapha, that it was Ezra.

[q] Vide Pocockium & Hyde.

[r] Bundari, Abu Japhar Tabarita, Hyde, Golii notæ in Alphraganum, p. 207, & 227.

[ſ] Porphyrius in libro de Nympharum Antro.

[t] Porphyrius & Jamblicus.

[u] Abu Japhar Tabarita, Bundari, Hyde.

[w] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

[x] Hyde, c. 24.

[y] Hyde, ubi ſup.

XI. Dr. *Prideaux* has produced a large Number of antient Teſtimonies, which prove the great Learning of *Zoroaſter*, and his prodigious Reputation among both the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They make him a Maſter of all Knowledge both human and divine; and *Pliny* [a] relates ſome Preſages of his future Learning, which were taken notice of at his Birth. All the *Eaſterns* at this Day, even thoſe who are moſt averſe to his Sect, retain the ſame Eſteem for this Impoſtor: For both Mahometans and Heathens call him a Wiſe and Learned Philoſopher, and [b] it has been proved from their Writings that they reckon him as the moſt eminent of all the antient Aſtronomers. *Pythagoras* is found to have been a Diſciple of [c] *Zoroaſter*, and to have learned from him, moſt of that Knowledge which afterwards rendered him ſo famous over all the *Weſt*. The placing *Zoroaſter* in the Reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, agrees very well with the Time of *Pythagoras*; and the Doctrine of this *Grecian* may be a further Proof to confirm what the Antients have ſaid of his being inſtructed by *Zoroaſter* at *Babylon*: For *Pythagoras* was the firſt of all the *Greeks* who taught the Immortality of the Soul; and that *Zoroaſter* taught the ſame Doctrine is what we have upon Record. But *Pythagoras* did not carry this Tenet into *Greece* with that Purity in which he received it from his Maſter; for having corrupted it with a Mixture of the *Indian* Philoſophy, he made his Immortality to conſiſt in an eternal Traſmigration of the Soul out of one Body into another; whereas *Zoroaſter* taught a Reſurrection of the Dead, and an immortal State to follow, as he had received it from *Daniel*.

XII. We ſhould now take notice in what the Reformation conſiſted which *Zoroaſter* made, the Form in which he eſtabliſh'd it, and what was the Book which he compoſed. The [d] chief Alteration he made was in the firſt Principle of the *Magian* Religion: For whereas before they held the Being of two firſt Cauſes, the good and the evil God, or Light and Darkneſs, and that of the Mixture of theſe Two, as they were in a continual Struggle with each other, all Things were made, he introduced a Principle ſuperior to them both, one ſupreme God, who created both Light and Darkneſs, and out of theſe Two, according to the Pleaſure of his own Will, made all Things elſe that are. *Zoroaſter* ſeems to have taken the Hint of mending this great Abſurdity in their Theology from the Words of God to *Cyrus*, which certainly have a Reference to the antient Opinion of the *Magians*, of whoſe Religion *Cyrus* was a Profeſſor. [e] *I am the Lord*, ſays God, *and there is none elſe; there is no God beſides me; I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me, that they may know, from the Riſing of the Sun, and from the Weſt, that there is none beſides me. I am the Lord, and there is none elſe. I form the Light and create Darkneſs; I make Peace and create Evil. I the Lord do all theſe Things.* Agreeable to this Leſſon of God to *Cyrus*, *Zoroaſter* taught the Doctrine of one Supreme Being; and to avoid making him the Author of Evil [f], he pretended that God originally created only Light or Good, but that Darkneſs, or Evil, follow'd it by Conſequence, as the Shadow does the Perſon. In ſum, he taught that the Supreme Being [g] was independent, and ſelf-exiſting from all Eternity: [h] That under him were two Angels; one of Light, the Author and Director of all Good; and the other of Darkneſs, the Author and Director of all Evil; and that theſe two, out of the Mixture of Light and Darkneſs, made all Things: That they are in a perpetual Struggle with each other, and ſhall be ſo to the End of the World, when there ſhall be [i] a general Reſurrection and a [k] Day of Judgment: That afterwards the [l] Angel of Darkneſs and his Diſciples ſhall go into a World of their own, and there ſuffer in everlaſting Darkneſs the Puniſhment of their evil Deeds; and the Angel of Light and his Diſciples ſhall go alſo into a World of their own, where, in everlaſting Light, they ſhall receive the Reward due to them for their good Deeds. From this it appears, that he aſcribed the ſame to theſe two Principles that all the Sect had done before him, and that he only made them ſubordinate Beings, whereas they were before look'd upon as having nothing above them. Theſe Particulars are believed, without any Variation, by all the preſent Remainder of that Sect; and how conſonant they are to the Truth is plain enough without a Comment.

XIII. The *Magians* before this Reformation, erected their Altars, on which they kept their ſacred Fire, upon the Tops of Hills, and other high Places in the open Air, where the Fires were often extinguiſh'd by Rains and Storms: To remedy this *Zoroaſter* built [m] Fire-Temples wherever he came, over the antient Altars where he found any ſuch, and in other convenient

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[z] De Abſtinentia, Lib. iv.

[a] Lib. xxx. cap. 1. Lib. vii. cap. 16.

[b] By Hyde.

[c] See what Prideaux has quoted on this Head.

[d] Abul Feda, Ebn Shakna, Pocockii Specimen, Hyde Relig. vet. Perſarum.

[e] Iſai. xlv. 5, 6, 7.

[f] Shariſtani, V. Hyde.

[g] Shahriſtani, Abulfedi, V. Hyde.

[h] Vide Hyde & Pocockium.

[i] Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Plutarchus in Iſide & Oſiride, Shahriſtani. Hyde.

[k] Hyde, Relig. &c. ut ſupra.

[l] Shahriſtani, Plutarchus, Hyde, &c.

[m] Hyde Relig. vet. Perſ.

Places. The *Magians* did not worſhip the Fire when they paid their Devotions before it, but God in the Fire; and *Zoroaſter* heighten'd their Veneration for that Element, by feigning [n], that when he was taken up into Heaven, to receive his Inſtitutions, he did not ſee God there, as *Mahomet* afterwards pretended he did, but only heard him ſpeak out of the midſt of a great and very bright Flame of Fire, from which he inſinuated that Fire was the trueſt Reſidence of the divine Preſence. He alſo pretended, that [o] he brought from Heaven ſome of that very Fire out of which he heard the Voice of God, and placed it on the Altar of the firſt Temple [p] which he erected, from whence they ſay, it was propagated to all the reſt. They are ſo careful in keeping up this Fire, that the Prieſts watch it [q] Day and Night, and never ſuffer it to go out. They feed it only with Wood ſtripped of its Bark, and of that Sort which is thought moſt clean; and they never blow it, either with their Mouths or Bellows, for fear of polluting it; the Puniſhment of which was no leſs than Death, ſo long as *Magianiſm* was the eſtabliſh'd Religion in *Perſia*, which from *Zoroaſter* to the Death of *Yazdegerd*, the laſt King of that Sect, was about one thouſand one hundred and fifty Years. This Superſtition went ſo far, that the Prieſts themſelves never [r] approached the ſacred Fire without a Cloth over their Mouths, to prevent their breathing thereon: So that when they read their Liturgies before it, they rather mumbled over their Prayers than ſpoke them. Tho' indeed, if they were to read them ever ſo clearly at this Day, they would not be the better underſtood; for all the public Prayers of the modern *Magians* are in the old *Perſian* Language, in which *Zoroaſter* firſt compoſed them about two thouſand two hundred Years ago. In which Abſurdity the *Romaniſts* and they are much alike; for the *Latin* was the vulgar Tongue when the *Roman* Liturgy was firſt made, as the old *Perſian* was in the Time of *Zoroaſter*, but that either of theſe Services ſhould be continued in a Tongue which is no more uſed, is certainly the Effect only of a ſuperſtitious Folly. Let us add to this Account of *Zoroaſter*'s Regard for Fire, that he alſo ordered them ſtill to direct their principal Worſhip towards the Sun, as they did before; and that, in Reverence to that Planet, they ſhould always approach their Fires on the Weſt Side, ſo as to have their Faces towards the Eaſt, according to their antient Uſage. This *Perſian* Cuſtom was juſt contrary to the Practice of the *Jews*, who enter'd their Temple at the Eaſt, and worſhipped towards the Weſt: In Alluſion to which Difference, the Prophet *Ezekiel*, (who wrote before *Zoroaſter*'s Reformation) when he ſaw the Abominations of *Jeruſalem* in a Viſion, was ſhewn [s] *about five and twenty Men ſtanding between the Porch and the Altar, with their Backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their Faces towards the Eaſt, and they worſhipped the Sun.* The Meaning of this Paſſage is, that they had left the true Worſhip of God, and were gone over to that of the *Magians*. We may obſerve here, that when *Zoroaſter* differed in any Particular from the *Jews*, 'twas purely out of reſpect to ſome antient Cuſtom of the *Perſians*; for otherwiſe there is abundant Proof in all his Inſtitutions that he followed the *Jewiſh* Platform, and copy'd as much as poſſible from the ſacred Writings. His Voice of God out of the Fire is directly the Burning-Buſh of *Moſes*, and the Voice which the Children of *Iſrael* heard on Mount *Sinai*. The *Jews* had a ſacred Fire which came down from Heaven, and *Nadab* and *Abihu* were puniſhed with Death for offering Incenſe with other Fire: This is plainly the Original of what *Zoroaſter* pretended and enjoin'd concerning the Fire of the *Magians*. We need not produce any more Inſtances; for whoſoever compares the Accounts of *Zoroaſter*'s Reformation with the Old Teſtament, will ſcarce think it probable that he ſhould write after the *Jews* in ſo many Particulars, if he had not copy'd them with Deſign, and if he had not been originally of that Nation and Religion.

XIV. The *Magian* Clergy were divided by *Zoroaſter* into [t] three Orders; and the Diſtricts they had Charge of, the Revenues they poſſeſs'd, the Dignity of the Temples in which they ordinarily officiated, and the Shares they had in the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, were all proportion'd to their ſeveral Degrees, in like Manner as at this Day among the Chriſtians. The inferior Clergy performed all the common Offices of their divine Worſhip, in what we may call Parochial Oratories, for they were of the ſame Nature with our Pariſh Churches: Theſe had in them no Fire-Altars, but the Liturgy and other Parts of their ſacred Writings were read before a Lamp, which was there kept continually burning. The Fire-Temples, in which Fire was conſtantly maintain'd upon a ſacred Altar, were ſomewhat like our Cathedrals, and belong'd to their Clergy of the ſecond Order, who were Superintendants over the inferior Clergy, as Biſhops are with us. In theſe Fire-Temples were entertained alſo many of the inferior Clegy, who took care of the ſacred Fire, and performed divine Service under the Superintendant; and their Dignity was equal to that of our Choral Vicars. Over all was the *Archimagus*, or Arch-Prieſt, who was Head of the whole Religion, in the ſame Manner as the Pope among the *Romaniſts*, the Mufti among the *Turks*, and the High-Prieſt among the *Jews*. The Fire-Temple where the *Archimagus* reſided, was held in the ſame Veneration by the *Magians*, as the Temple of *Mecca* is by the Mahometans; and like theſe they thought themſelves oblig'd to make a Pilgrimage thither once in their Lives. *Zoroaſter* ſettled this Metropolitan Church at *Balch*, where he himſelf uſually reſided: But when the Mahometans overran *Perſia*, in the ſeventh Century after *Chriſt*, the *Archimagus* was forced to remove it into

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[n] Hyde, Relig. &c.

[o] Hyde, ubi ſupra.

[p] At Xiz in Media, Golii notæ ad Alfraganum.

[q] Strabo, Lib. xv. Am. Marcellinus, Lib. xxiii. Agathias, Lib. ii. Hyde, &c.

[r] Strabo, Lib. xv. Hyde.

[s] Ezekiel viii. 16.

[t] Hyde.

Kerman, a Province on the Southern Ocean towards *India*, where it continues to this Day; and the ſame Veneration is now paid to it as was formerly to that at *Balch*. This and all the other Fire-Temples, had large Revenues in Hand; but the Parochial Clergy depended ſolely on the Tythes and Offerings of the People, which were given in the ſame Proportion as by the *Jews*, from whoſe Uſage the Inſtitution itſelf was taken.

XV. The Book which we have already mentioned was [u] compoſed by this Impoſtor while he lived in his Retirement in the Cave, and therein are contained all his pretended Revelations. When he preſented it to *Darius* it was bound up in twelve Volumes, whereof each conſiſted of an hundred Skins of Vellum: For it was the Cuſtom of the [x] *Perſians* at that Time to write all on Skins. This Book is called [y] *Zendaveſta*, and by Contraction *Zend*; which originally ſignifies a *Fire-Kindler*, ſuch as a Tinder-Box is with us. The Impoſtor gave it this fantaſtical Name, becauſe, as he pretended, all who would read therein, and meditate on what they read, might from thence, as from a Fire-Kindler, kindle in their Hearts the Fire of true Love for God, and his holy Religion. We may remark here, that the way of kindling a Fire in the Eaſtern Countries, is by rubbing two Pieces of Cane one againſt another till one of them takes fire; and it was to this Method that *Zoroaſter* more peculiarly alluded in the Name of his Book. The firſt Part of this Work contains their Liturgy, which is ſtill uſed in all their Oratories and Fire-Temples; and the reſt treats of all the other Parts of their Religion. They reckon their Actions to be good or evil, as they agree or diſagree with the *Zend*; whence in their Language a righteous Action is called, [z] *What the Book* Zend *allows*, and an evil Action, [a] *What the Book* Zend *diſallows*. *Zoroaſter* pretended to have [b] received this Book from Heaven: It is all of it preſerved to this Day in the old *Perſian* Language and Character, (as we before obſerved concerning the Liturgy in particular) and there is a Copy of it kept in every Oratory [c] and Fire-Temple, in the ſame Manner as we have Bibles in all our Pariſh-Churches, out of which they read Portions to the People on ſtated Times. Dr. *Hyde*, [d] late Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* Tongues at *Oxford*, being well ſkill'd in the old *Perſic* as well as the modern, offered to have publiſhed this whole Work with a *Latin* Tranſlation, could he have been ſupported in the Expences of the Edition: But for want of proper Encouragement the Deſign died with him, to the great Damage of the learned World; which muſt neceſſarily receive great Advantage from a Writing of ſuch Antiquity, whenſoever it ſhall be made public in *Europe*.

XVI. In this Book are a great many Things [e] taken out of the Old Teſtament, which, being added to the Proofs already alledged, will put it beyond Diſpute, that the Author was a *Jew*. He has therein inſerted a great Part of the Pſalms of *David*; he makes *Adam* and *Eve* to be the firſt Parents of Mankind; and his Hiſtory of the Creation and Deluge [f] has Reſemblance enough to that of *Moſes*, to prove that he borrow'd it from the ſacred Text. He ſpeaks alſo of *Abraham*, *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, and *Solomon*, in the ſame Manner as the Scriptures ſpeak of them: And out of a particular Veneration [g] for *Abraham*, he called his Book the Book of *Abraham*, and his Religion the Religion of *Abraham*; for he pretended that the Reformation he introduced was only to bring the Religion of the *Perſians* to that original Purity in which *Abraham* practiſed it, by purging it from thoſe Innovations which were introduced by the Corruption of After-Times: And to all this *Mahomet* afterwards pretended for his Religion; as the Author of the *Sabian* Sect, whoever he was, had alſo done for his. For the Name of *Abraham* for many Ages paſt has been had in great Veneration all over the *Eaſt*; the *Jews*, the *Magians*, the *Mahometans*, the *Sabians*, and even the [h] *Indians*, all challenge him to themſelves, as the great Patriarch and Founder of their reſpective Sects, pretending that their Religion is the ſame which *Abraham* profeſſed. This high Veneration proceeds from the great Fame of his Piety, which was ſpread in thoſe Parts by the *Iſraelites*, in their Diſperſions over the *Eaſt* on the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Captivities. *Zoroaſter* moreover commands in his Book the ſame Obſervances about Beaſts clean and unclean as *Moſes* doth, the ſame Laws concerning Tythes, the ſame Rules for avoiding all Pollutions, and for cleanſing and purifying the Polluted. The Prieſthood, according to him, muſt always be in one Tribe, and one High-Prieſt muſt be ordained over all; and in many other Inſtitutions he perfectly agrees with *Moſes*. The reſt of *Zoroaſter*'s Book contains an Account of his own Life, Actions, and Prophecies, the ſeveral Branches of his reformed Superſtition, with Rules and Exhortations to Morality, in which he is very preſſing and ſufficiently exact, except only in the Particular of Inceſt: For he [i] allows a Man to marry not only his Siſter or his Daughter, but even his Mother; and among the Prieſts of his Sect, he that was born of this laſt and worſt kind of Inceſt, was looked on as beſt qualified for the ſacerdotal Function. This vile Indulgence is thought to have been deſign'd as a Piece of Flattery to the *Perſian* Kings, who were exceedingly given to inceſtuous Marriages: But *Alexander*, [k] when he conquered *Perſia*, put an end to this Abomination, and forbid all ſuch unnatural Copulations for the future.

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[u] Hyde, [x] Ibid.

[y] The Vulgar pronounce it Zundaveſtow and Zund. Others ſay they have three Books, the Names of which are Zend, Pazend, and Abeſta; that Abeſta is a Commentary upon the other two; and that they aſcribe them all three to Abraham. V. Calmet, who quotes the Bibl. Orient. p. 11.

[z] Zend-aver. [a] Na-Zend-aver. [b] Mahomet had the ſame Pretence concerning his Coran.

[c] Theſe Fire Temples are called Ateſch kanah, or Ateſch-kade.

[d] Vide eundem de Relig. veter. Perſarum, cap. 1. p. 25. [e] Pocockius & Hyde.

[f] Inſtead of ſix Days he makes the Creation to take up one whole Year, divided into ſix Times, or Parts.

[g] We are told that the Magians confound Abraham with Zoroaſter: Probably Zoroaſter's calling the Zend the Book of Abraham might be the Original of this Miſtake, and that the Zend is now thought to have been written by that Patriarch.

[h] They call him Brahama.

[i] Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio, Strabo Lib. xiii. Philo Judæus de ſpecialibus Legibus, Tertullian in Apologetico, Clement. Alexandrinus in Pædagogo 1. Strom. 3.

XVII. Thoſe of the *Magian* Sect who are ſtill remaining in *Perſia* [l], have there the Name of *Gaurs*, which in *Arabic* ſignifies *Infidels*, and is therefore apply'd to theſe People by way of Eminency, as if they were the Greateſt of all Infidels: So that whoſoever ſpeaks of a *Gaur* in *Perſia*, he never means any other Perſon thereby than a *Magian*, it being become as it were the national Name of that People. They have a Suburb at *Iſpahan*, the Capital of *Perſia*, which is called, [m] *The Town of the* Gaurs, where they are employ'd in the meaneſt Drudgeries. Others of them are ſcatter'd abroad over the Country, and made uſe of in the like Services: But the greateſt Bulk of them is in *Kerman*, which being the barreneſt Province of all *Perſia*, and where others care not to inhabit, the Mahometans permit them to live there with ſome Freedom, and the full Exerciſe of their Religion: Every where elſe they are treated like Dogs; and they bear this Oppreſſion with a wonderful Conſtancy. Some Ages ago ſeveral of them fled into *India*, and ſettled in the Country about *Surat*, where their Poſterity are ſtill remaining: And there is a Colony of them at *Bombay*, [n] where the *Engliſh* allow them the free Exerciſe of their Worſhip without Moleſtation. They are a poor harmleſs ſort of People, zealous in their Superſtition, rigorous in their Morals, and exact in their Dealings, profeſſing the Worſhip of one only God, and holding all the other Tenets which we have deſcribed in this Account of their Sect. As for *Zoroaſter*, they ſtill have him in the ſame Degree of Veneration that their Anceſtors ever had, looking upon him to be the great Prophet of God, and, in a Word, applying to him much the ſame Characters as the *Jews* do to *Moſes*. Some Authors have pretended that this Impoſtor was a perfect Idolater, and that the Doctrine of the modern *Gaurs*, concerning the Supreme Being, and the future State, is owing to their Converſation with the Mahometans and Chriſtians. Thoſe who argue thus ſupport their Opinions with ſome Traditions of theſe *Gaurs*, which they tell us are evidently borrow'd from one of the two Religions above-mention'd: And they accuſe Dr. *Hyde*, from whom [o] the foregoing Syſtem appears to have been originally taken [p], with not having ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd Things in what he has advanced. But we ſhall avoid this Diſpute, as we did that concerning the true Time wherein *Zoroaſter* lived, becauſe the Nature of theſe Controverſies is ſuch, that a particular Examination of them could be neither agreeable or inſtructive, ſince it muſt [q] conſiſt chiefly of Quotations, which for the moſt Part contradict one another from firſt to laſt, and at leaſt all of them vary in ſome particular Circumſtances. Whenever this happens to be the Caſe, if we eſpouſe any one Opinion, it always has been, and always ſhall be, becauſe ſuch Opinion ſeems to be more rational than that which we reject, and this is the beſt way we know of.

XVIII. What was mentioned in a preceding Paragraph, concerning the Knowledge and Learning of the *Magians*, is not to be underſtood of the whole Sect, as if they were all thus learned, but only of their Prieſts, who were called *Magians* by way of Eminency: For they, as the *Jews* [r], confining the Prieſthood to one Tribe, their Learning was by that Means appropriated to the ſacred Order, who tranſmitted it from Father to Son, ſeldom communicating it to any other, unleſs to thoſe of the Royal Family, [ſ] whom they were bound to inſtruct, in order to fit them for the Government; for which Reaſon it might be that the Kings of *Perſia* are ſaid to have been always reckon'd of the ſacerdotal Tribe. Some have thought that the *Magians*, who came to *Bethlehem* at the Time of our Lord's Birth, were Courtiers, of the ſacerdotal Order, employ'd as Preceptors, Counſellors, or in ſome other great Offices; and this is the more probable, as there were always many of theſe Perſons about the Palace of the *Perſian* Kings. That they were learned Men we need not queſtion, and conſequently that they were of the Prieſtly Tribe, and that they are called *Magi* in the Goſpel by way of Eminency, agreeably to what was juſt now obſerv'd. We may alſo ſuppoſe the Sciences they were skill'd in to be ſuch as were lawful, and not diabolical Acts of Divination, judicial Aſtrology, and Enchantments, as ſome of the [t] Fathers have pretended: For in general theſe People were the great Mathematicians, Philoſophers, and Divines, of the Ages in which they lived, and had no other Knowledge than what they acquired by aſſiduous Study. This is all we ſhall venture to ſay about their Profeſſion: As to their Number, the general Vogue for many Ages paſt has fixed them to Three and no more, tho' this cannot be determined by the Scripture any better than the Article we have laſt parted with. Some of the antient eccleſiaſtical Writers are very poſitive in this Particular; and later Ages have gone ſo far as to give them the Names [u] of *Gaſpar*, *Melchior*, and *Baltaſar*; but nothing of the whole ſeems to have any better Foundation than the three kinds of Preſents which they offered to *Jeſus Chriſt*. In a Book printed [w] among the Works of *Bede*, tho' ſuppoſed to be of a more modern Author, their Number is not only aſcertain'd, but their Perſons and Garments are particularly deſcribed, it being natural for People, who indulge to their Imaginations, to run very great Lengths before they ſtop. *Jerome Oſorius*, a *Portugeſe* Biſhop, tells a Story alſo of theſe Men, from a pretended *Indian* Tradition; he makes one of them to be a King in *Calecut*, ſays that being upon a Journey to expiate the Crime of Inceſt, he met the other two, with whom he went into *Judea* to worſhip *Jeſus*, for which Purpoſe they were already ſet out, and when he came home built a Church in honour of the Bleſſed Virgin. This is too much like many other Stories of the Father Miſſionaries, who love to find out the Traces of the Chriſtian Religion in every Country where they come. *Oſorius* likewiſe gives the Pictures of his *Magi*, as he pretends, according to the *Indian* Manner of painting them, in which he differs ſomewhat from the ſpurious *Bede*. Tho' neither of theſe Deſcriptions are worth being inſerted, we may juſt remark, that they have been generally follow'd by Painters and Engravers, and are indeed as good Standards for them as any they could have had, unleſs ſupported by more undoubted Authority. In a Word, ſome Authors have mention'd twelve of theſe Men, and others only an uncertain Number; but we thought it as good a way as any to follow the moſt commonly received Opinion in an Affair of ſo little Moment. The learned Reader will not wonder that we omit ſeveral other Traditions concerning them, particularly concerning the Place of their Interment; in all which they are ſaid to be Kings, and neither more nor leſs than three; their Royalty having been rejected at the Beginning of this Diſſertation, and a determinate Number being here received only as a a Matter of Indifferency, and perfect Uncertainty.

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[k] Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri.

[l] Thevenot's Travels, Sanſon's Preſent State of Perſia, Tavernier, &c.

[m] Gaurabad.

[n] Ovington's Travels.

[o] See the References, which are moſtly tranſcribed.

[p] See Calmet, under the Word Zoroaſter.

[q] See what Prideaux and Calmet have collected on theſe Points.

[r] Hyde. Theodoret. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. v. cap. 38.

[ſ] Plato in Alcibiade 1. Stobæus. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogo 1.

[t] Ignatius, Juſtin Martyr, Origen, Ambroſe, Tertullian, Jerom.

[u] The Greek Names for them are Apellius, Amerus, and Damaſcus; the Hebrew ones, Magalat, Galgalat, Saraim; all of much the ſame Authority.

[w] 'Tis called, Extracts from the Fathers.

XIX. We have a little more Authority for gueſſing at the Country of the Wiſe Men, tho' indeed what the Evangeliſt has expreſs'd is only that they came from the *Eaſt*; but even that is enough to confine the Curious to much narrower Limits than they would otherwiſe have ſet themſelves in ſuch an Enquiry. In the Time of *Lucian*[x] the Nations who profeſſed the *Magian* Religion were the *Parthians*, the *Perſians*, the *Bactrians*, the *Chowareſmians*, the *Arians*, the *Sacans*, and the *Medes*; and tho' there is no room to queſtion but that the Diſciples of *Zoroaſter* were as numerous, and prevail'd in as many Countries, at the Time of our Lord's Nativity as afterwards when *Lucian* wrote, yet the Text of St. *Matthew* obliges us to bring theſe Wiſe Men from ſome Place which might juſtly be ſaid to be Eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*. This cannot be *Meſopotamia*, as a [y] great many have conjectured, becauſe *Meſopotamia* lies rather to the Northward than the Eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*. Dr. *Whitby* maintains alſo, that it cannot be *Chaldea*, and his Reaſon for it is that *Chaldea* is called the North[z] in the Old Teſtament, when the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the People of that Country is foretold; whereas *Tacitus*[a] tells us that *Arabia* is the Eaſtern Boundary of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Arabians* are called the Men of the Eaſt[b] in Scripture. But all our Maps contradict the Conſequence of the Doctor's Aſſertion, which is, that *Chaldea* cannot be directly Eaſtward from *Jeruſalem*; for tho' *Arabia* be the immediate Eaſtern Boundary of *Judea*, that does not hinder *Chaldea*, which lies beyond *Arabia*, from being as properly and directly in the Eaſt as *Arabia* itſelf. This does not deny that *Arabia* might be the Country of theſe Men, for from what Part of the Eaſt ſoever they came, there was a Neceſſity of their croſſing Part of *Arabia*; but only makes an equal Probability on their Side, who argue for their coming from *Chaldea* or *Perſia*. Some have thought it neceſſary to make the Wiſe Men the Deſcendants of *Abraham*, and on that Score have contended for their being *Arabians* or *Idumeans*; but we can ſee little Force in this Argument. There is more to be proved from the Offerings which theſe Wiſe Men brought: And if it be true that ſome of theſe were the Product of *Arabia* only, as has been aſſerted, that alone gives room for a ſtrong Suppoſition that they came from thence. But then, on the other Side, there is no doubt but theſe precious Odours were purchaſed and uſed in other Countries than thoſe where they grew; and if ſo we need not wonder that the *Magians*, who are repreſented as Perſons of the firſt Rank, ſhould be poſſeſs'd of ſuch Things, eſpecially on ſo extraordinary an Occaſion. After all, we find the Learned too much divided on this Head, for us to give our Judgment in a poſitive Manner. *Perſia* was indeed the Country where the *Magian* Religion was firſt eſtabliſh'd, and there, and in *Chaldea*, it ſeems to have flouriſh'd more than any where elſe: But then *Pliny* tells us, '*That thro' many Ages the* Magians *prevailed in moſt Countries, and in the Eaſt even ruled over Kings.* And *Ptolemy* calls *Arabia* in particular [d] *The Receptacle of the* Magi. Thus the Honour of ſending theſe firſt Ambaſſadors of the Gentiles to worſhip the King of Peace, ſeems to be divided between *Perſia*, *Chaldea*, and *Arabia*, which all of them lie to the Eaſtward of *Judea*: And this Uncertainty produces another as great concerning the Time ſpent in their Journey. If they came from the fartheſt of theſe Countries, and did not ſet out till immediately upon the Birth of Chriſt, they could hardly arrive ſo ſoon as on the thirteenth Day after, which our Church ſuppoſes them to have done; and from ſome Parts of *Arabia* they might have come in leſs than ſix or ſeven Days, the Time we expreſs'd in the Chapter, as a Kind of Medium. Other Opinions there are, which we ſhall here omit; for ſeveral Things relating to this Queſtion will fall in our Way hereafter.

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[x] Lucianus de Longævis,

[y] Among the Antients Tertullian, Juſtin Martyr, and Epiphanius; among the Moderns Toſtatus, Mariana, Barradius, Grotius, Cornelius a Lapide, and Calmet, who quotes all the others.

[z] He quotes Jer. i. 14, 15, vi. 22. Joel ii. 20.

[a] Hiſt. Lib. v.

[b] Judges vi. 3. Job i. 3. are the Texts referr'd to.

[c] Lib. xxx. cap. 1.

[d] Magorum ſinus, as quoted by Grotius.

XX. The next Thing to be enquired, is, How theſe Men could gueſs at the Birth of our Lord, from the Appearance of a Star? *Abul-Pharagius*, an *Arabian* Chriſtian, tells us, that [e] *Zerduſht*, or *Zoroaſter*, foretold to his *Magians* the Coming of Chriſt, and that at the Time of his Birth there ſhould appear a wonderful Star, which ſhould ſhine by Day as well as by Night; and therefore left it in Command with them, that when that Star ſhould appear, they ſhould follow the Direction of it, and go to the Place where he ſhould be born, and there offer Gifts, and pay their Adoration unto him: In Obedience to which Command, the three Wiſe Men came from the Eaſt, that is from *Perſia*, to worſhip Chriſt at *Bethlehem*. And ſo far *Shariſtani*, a Mahometan Writer, agrees with *Abul-Pharagius*, as that he tells us, [f] that *Zoroaſter* foretold the Coming of a wonderful Perſon in the latter Times, who ſhould reform the World both in Religion and Righteouſneſs; that Kings and Princes ſhould be obedient to him, and give him their Aſſiſtance in promoting the true Religion, and all the Works thereof. But what theſe aſcribe to *Zoroaſter*, [g] others attribute to this Prophecy of *Balaam*: [h] *There ſhall come a Star out of* Jacob, *and a Scepter ſhall ariſe out of* Iſrael, *and ſhall ſmite through the Princes of* Moab, *and deſtroy*, or bear Rule over, *all the Children of* Seth; *and* Edom *ſhall be a Poſſeſſion to him.* Neither of theſe Opinions are thought to be well founded: For *Zoroaſter* was certainly a grand Impoſtor, and therefore 'tis unlikely that he ſhould be ſo well acquainted with the Divine Will, as to propheſy of the Coming of Chriſt in ſuch clear Terms, and mention a Token of it that is not to be met with in the Writings of the true Prophets: 'Tis therefore ſuſpected, that the *Arabian* Authors took their Account out of the Legendary Writings of the Eaſtern Chriſtians. And if the *Magians* had received their Information from *Balaam*'s Prophecy, they might as well have expected to ſee a Scepter as a Star; for he affirms the ſame Thing of them both: Beſides, we know of no Record wherein this Prophecy was preſerved but the Books of *Moſes*, which were not believed by the *Magians*; and if it had been elſewhere preſerved, yet, as what *Balaam* there propheſies has ſo plain a Relation to ſome future Prince, rather than a real Star, 'tis not likely that any Body ſhould have underſtood him in this Manner, till after the Birth of Chriſt, and the Appearance of that extraordinary Phænomenon, had given ſome Colour for ſuch an Interpretation. Others, who attribute this Knowledge of the *Magians* to ſome Prophecy of *Daniel*'s when he was among them, ſeem at firſt View to have more Reaſon on their Side, eſpecially if *Zoroaſter* himſelf was a Diſciple of that Prophet, as we have on very good Grounds ſuppoſed him to be. But we have no Prophecy of *Daniel* now extant, which could have given them this particular Information; and 'tis not probable, that ſuch a Prediction was ever deliver'd, and made ſo public as to be taken notice of by other Nations, which yet was not preſerved by the *Jews* among their ſacred Writings. Thoſe who contend for the *Magians* being Natives of *Arabia*, think it moſt natural to believe, that they received their Information by the ſame Means as the *Romans* got many of their *Sybilline* Prophecies; that is, by Converſing with the *Jews*, who were continually diſcourſing about the Meſſiah's Appearance. [i] Having thus learned to expect the great King of the *Jews*, they, being much given to Aſtrology, imagin'd he would not appear without ſome extraordinary Sign in the Heavens; and perceiving this preternatural Star or Light, either hovering over, or pointing to, the Land of *Judea*, they immediately took this for a Token of the Completion of the *Jewiſh* Prophecies, and the Birth of their mighty Deliverer. That they ſhould have learned from the *Jews* to expect the Coming of Chriſt, from what Country ſoever they came, is indeed natural enough; but we cannot conceive how they ſhould be ſo certain of his Birth, as to take a long Journey in order to worſhip him, merely from their own Obſervations of a preternatural Phænomenon, and without any ſuperiour Impulſe.

XXI. *Chalcidius*, [k] a *Platonic* Philoſopher, who wrote a Commentary upon *Plato*'s *Timæus*, mentions the Star of the *Magi*; but he appears to have taken his Account of it out of the Goſpel itſelf, which he calls *a* [l] *more holy Hiſtory, and more worthy of Veneration. It tells us*, ſays he, *of the Appearance of a Star, which foretold neither Diſeaſes nor Mortality, but the Deſcent of God upon Earth, to live among Men, and to heap his Favours on them. Wiſe Men of* Chaldea, *ſkilful in Aſtronomy, having perceived this Star in the Night, betook themſelves to find out the new-born God; and having found him, they worſhipped him, and offered him Preſents ſuitable to ſo high a Majeſty.* What this Star was has been much enquired: For it is evident that it could not be one of the Heavenly Orbs, becauſe it was deſign'd to ſhew the Place of Chriſt's Nativity, and did actually point out the very Houſe of his Abode; whereas no real Star can be ſaid to hang over any one Country more than another, and much leſs over a particular Spot of Ground. Some [m] have imagined that it was a kind of Comet, which appeared in the Air after an extraordinary Manner. Others [n] believe it to have been an Angel, cloathed with a luminous Body, in the Likeneſs of a Star, who by his Motion towards *Judea*, excited in the *Magians* a Curioſity to follow him. [o] *Lightfoot* and [p] *Whitby* conjecture, that it was the ſame Light that appeared to the Shepherds in the Field, which being exceeding clear and bright, look'd at a great Diſtance like a Star; or being lifted up into the Air, after it had appeared to the Shepherds, was formed into that Likeneſs, and ſo obſerved by the *Magians*, who from its Situation, took it to ſignify the Birth of the expected Meſſiah. *Whitby* [q] ſays, that after they ſaw it the ſecond Time, it moved before them in the Air, till coming to *Bethlehem*, it ſunk ſo low as to point out the Houſe where the Babe lay. This Part of his Conjecture is very natural; for whether we ſuppoſe it to be the ſame Light that appeared to the Shepherds, or any other inflamed Meteor in the Middle Region of the Air, or whatever elſe we may imagine concerning the Nature of it, the Motion of it at laſt muſt have been ſuch as is here deſcribed, becauſe otherwiſe it could never have anſwer'd the Purpoſe for which it was deſign'd. And indeed we are apt to believe that it moved before them in the ſame Manner from their own Country to *Jeruſalem*, where they loſt the Sight of it, juſt as the Pillar of Clouds did before the *Iſraelites* in the Deſart, without being ſeen by other People, though the Wiſe Men might think that all the neighbouring Nations beheld it as well as themſelves: And indeed ſo they muſt have done, if 'twere ſo large a Body of pure Light as to be conſpicuous in a remote Country, while it was center'd over *Judea*. But that they did ſo is very improbable, conſidering that we have no other Accounts of this Star than what are taken from St. *Matthew*. We might introduce many other Conceits about the Nature and Form of this Star, the Time when it firſt appeared to the *Magians*, how often it was ſeen by them, and the like: But none of them would ſerve to any better Purpoſe than juſt to amuſe the Reader.

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[e] Hiſtoria Dynaſtiarum, p. 54.
[f] Relig. veter. Perſarum, per Hyde, cap. 31.
[g] *Theodorus Tarſenſis.* Many of the Fathers, particularly *Origen*, *Ambroſe*, *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, were of this Opinion.
[h] Numb. xxiv. 17.
[i] *Whitby.*
[k] 'Tis not well known, when this Philoſopher lived; but it ſeems as if he was a Chriſtian.
[l] Eſt quoque alia venerabilior & ſanctior hiſtoria, quæ, &c.
[m] *Origen*, *Maldonat*, *Grotius.*
[n] *Chryſoſtom*, *Theophylact*, Auctor Evang. Infantiæ, Auctor De mirab. ſacr. ſcript.

XXII. To conclude, we cannot help repeating it as our Opinion, that it ſeems neceſſary that the *Magians* ſhould have had ſome other Notice of the Intent of this Star, than what they could collect from the extraordinary Manner of its Appearance; for from that alone they would rather have predicted the Fate of ſome Empire, agreeable to the Cuſtom of Aſtrologers, than the Incarnation of a God. Some will have this Notice to have been given them [r] by inward Inſpiration, the Light of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Sollicitations of Grace. But we ſee no Reaſon to deny them an extraordinary Revelation on this Occaſion, (either by an Angel, or in a Dream, like that which afterwards warned them to avoid the Wrath of *Herod*,) as Dr. *Whitby* has done in his Annotations. His only Reaſon for it is, that they did not mention any ſuch Revelation when they enquired at *Jeruſalem* for the new-born King of the *Jews*, but only declared as the Motive of their Coming, that they had ſeen his Star in the Eaſt. But if we conſider the Evangeliſt's Account, we ſhall find, that this was enough for them to declare: The Star was to them the Sign of our Lord's Nativity, and their Guide to the Place of it; and having at *Jeruſalem* loſt the Sight of this Star, they ſuppoſed themſelves at the End of their Journey, and thereupon began openly to enquire for the new-born King, of whom they imagined every one muſt have heard; and to ſpeak of the Star, as of a Thing commonly known, not queſtioning but it had been publickly ſeen, and the Occaſion of its Appearance been underſtood by all the *Jews*. Theſe being their Sentiments, as it appears they were, they could ſee no Neceſſity of telling the *Jews* by what Means they were informed of the Deſign of this Star, ſince they imagin'd ſuch a preternatural Information to have been neceſſary only to themſelves, or at leaſt not to the *Jews*, who knew the State of the whole Affair. This is all we ſhall here ſay concerning theſe *Magians*; in ſpeaking of whom the Reader muſt have obſerved, that we have all along ſuppoſed them to to be Perſons, to whom the Name of *Magians* properly belonged on Account of their Religion, and not merely that they were learned Men, Students in Aſtronomy, and the like, to whom that Name was in Proceſs of Time without Diſtinction given. This has been the general Fault of Commentators, proceeding from the Want of a clear Knowledge of the People who originally bore this Name: And 'tis owing to our late Diſcoveries and Commerce, together with the Induſtry of ſome curious Gentlemen to improve theſe Advantages, that we have a better Account of them, their Founder, and their religious Principles, than any of the Ancients, or Moderns who copied from them only, could ever obtain.

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[o] Hor. Talmud. & in Harman.

[p] Annotations on St. *Matthew*, cap. ii.

[q] Ubi ſupra.

[r] *Calmet*, in the Word *Magi*.

CHAP.

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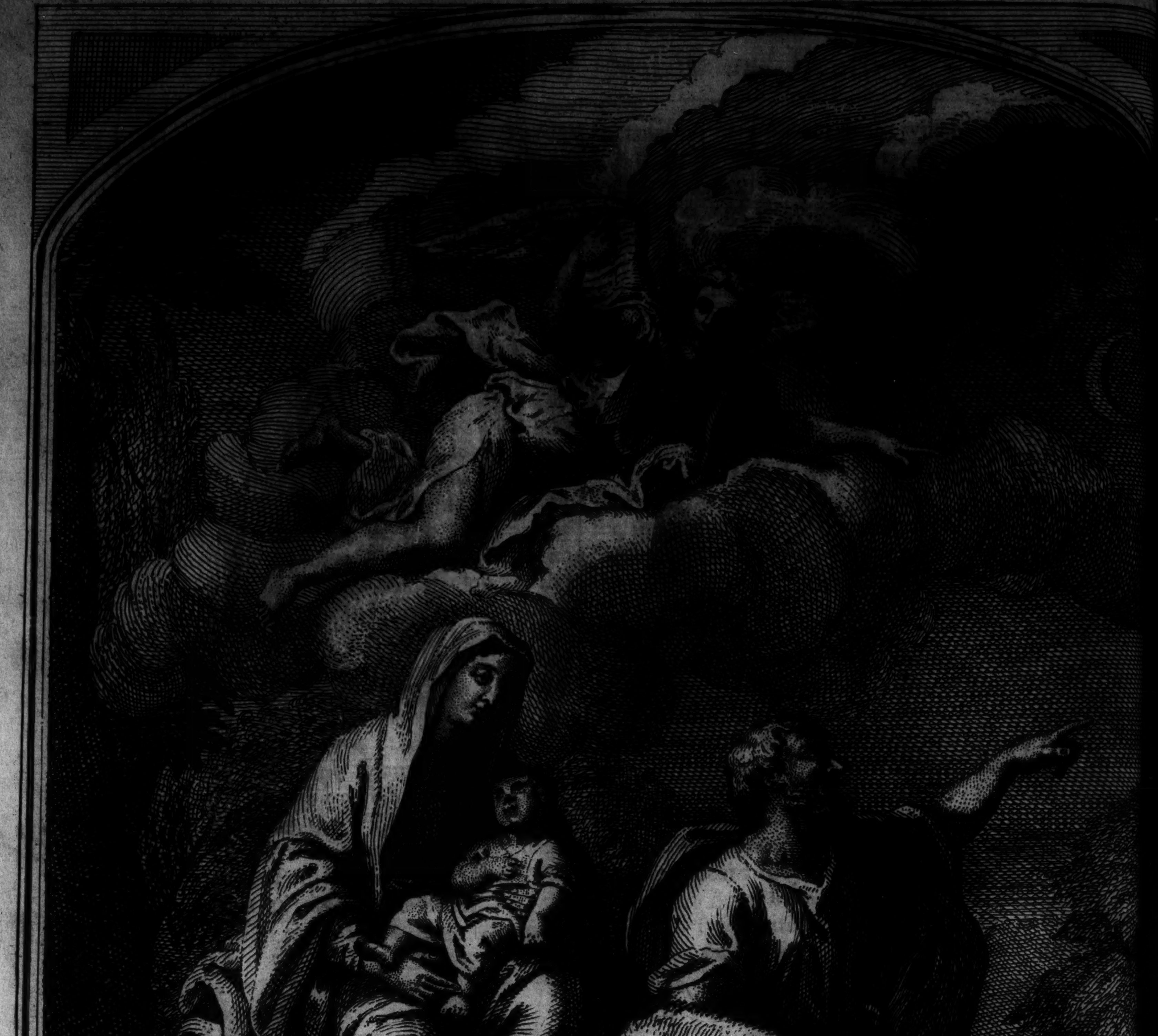

The Flight into Egypt

Matthew. II. 14.

CHAP. III.

I. Laws concerning the Preſentation of the Firſt-Born, and the Purification of Women. II. *Joſeph* and *Mary* go to *Jeruſalem*, where *Mary* performs the cuſtomary Ceremonies. III. The Character of *Simeon*; he embraces *Jeſus*, and praiſes God. IV. He Prophecies. V. The Character and Hiſtory of *Anna* the Propheteſs. VI. *Joſeph* is warned by an Angel, and departs with *Mary* and her Child into *Egypt*. VII. *Herod* deſtroys the Children in and about *Bethlehem*. VIII. *Joſeph*, upon the Death of *Herod*, returns out of *Egypt*, and ſettles at *Nazareth*.

I. THE [a] *Behaviour of* Joſeph *and the bleſſed Virgin during the Infancy of our Lord, is a continual Leſſon of Humility, and Obedience to the Divine Commandments. The Circumciſion of the Holy Babe according to the Law, was performed at the appointed Time, tho' as he was without Sin, he might juſtly have pleaded an Exemption in a Matter of Pain and Diſhonour; and no leſs Exactneſs was afterwards obſerved with reſpect to two other Inſtitutions of the ſame Law, the one concerning Mothers, and the other concerning their Firſt-Born Children. It was ordained* [b] *that all* Jewiſh *Women, upon the Birth of a Male Child, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the public Congregation forty Days, and at the End of that Term go into the Temple to be purified: And by another Law,* [c] *that every Male, which firſt opened the Womb, whether of Man or Beaſt, ſhould be holy to the Lord; that is, the Firſtlings of clean Beaſts for the Service of the Altar, and the Firſt-Born of Men for the Service of the Tabernacle. The Firſt-Born Sons* [d] *had been the only Prieſts, till the* Levites [e] *were ſubſtituted in their Stead by God's particular Direction; for which Reaſon, that the Footſteps of this antient Law might remain, they were ſtill preſented to the Lord; but* [f] *were to be reſtored to their Parents upon the Payment of a certain Sum for their Redemption. Now, tho' there was no Impurity in the Birth of our bleſſed Lord, no Defilement contracted by his holy Mother, yet inaſmuch as for our Sakes he was born under the Law, and ſhe imagined to be in the Condition of all other Women, it was therefore reaſonable that they ſhould comply with all the Cuſtoms which were obſerved by others under the ſame Circumſtances. The Mother, upon theſe Occaſions, when ſhe preſented her Son, was to pay* [g] *five Shekels for his Ranſom to the Prieſt; and offer at the ſame Time, for her own* [h] *Purification, a Lamb of the firſt Year for a Burnt-Offering, and for a Sin-Offering a young Pigeon or Turtle-Dove; but in caſe of Poverty, the whole Oblation conſiſted only of a Pair of Turtle-Doves, or two young Pigeons.*

II. [i] *In Obedience to thoſe Inſtitutions therefore, and at the End of the appointed Time, the holy Virgin, accompanied by her Husband, went from* Bethlehem, *where they had hitherto reſided ſince her Delivery, to* Jeruſalem, *propoſing to go from thence to* Nazareth, *the Place of their Habitation, after the Ceremony was over. Being arrived, the Virgin went up to the Temple at the Time of the Morning Sacrifice, carrying her new-born Son into his Father's Houſe, and there humbly waited in the Outer-Court till the two Turtle-Doves or Pigeons, which according to her mean Condition ſhe had brought for that Purpoſe, were offered to God by the Prieſt who at that Time officiated. For it was not neceſſary that ſhe, who brought in her Arms the Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World, ſhould offer the cuſtomary Sacrifice of a Lamb on this Occaſion, in order to make her other Oblations the more acceptable. When the firſt Part of the Ceremony was over, ſhe was admitted into the ſecond Court of the holy Congregation, where the Prieſt received the bleſſed Infant from the Arms of his Mother, and preſented him to the Lord, at, or over, the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, according to the uſual Form. And now began to be fulfilled the Prophecies of* Haggai *and* Malachi, *wherein it was promiſed* [k], *That the Deſire of all Nations, the Meſſiah of the New Covenant, ſhould come to his Temple; and by that Means ſhould make the Glory of the latter Houſe greater than that of the former.*

III. [l] *There was at that Time in* Jeruſalem *a venerable and religious old Man, whoſe Name was* Simeon, *ſuppoſed by ſome to be the Son of* Hillel, *a famous Doctor of the* Sanhedrim. *This Man had long waited and earneſtly pray'd for the Redemption of* Iſrael, *had received an expreſs Revelation from the Holy Ghoſt, that, notwithſtanding his very great Age, he ſhould not go down to the Grave before he had ſeen the Lord's* Anointed, *the promiſed Redeemer. And while* Joſeph *and* Mary *were in the Temple performing the Inſtitutions of the Law, the ſame Holy Spirit came upon him, and directed him to repair immediately to the Houſe of God, where he had ſo often attended, and there he ſhould receive the Accompliſhment of the Divine Promiſe, by beholding a ſmall Infant in the Arms of a poor Virgin. The good Man was obedient to the heavenly Inſtruction; and immediately upon Sight of the bleſſed Infant, he took him in his Arms, before all the Company then preſent, and began to bleſs and glorify the Name of the Lord in the following Expreſſions: Lord, now letteſt thou thy Servant depart in Peace, according to thy Word; for mine Eyes have ſeen thy Salvation, which thou haſt prepared before the Face of all People, a Light to enlighten the* Gentiles, *and the Glory of thy People* Iſrael.

IV. [m] *While* Joſeph *and* Mary *were wondering at the great Things which he ſpoke concerning* Jeſus, *the holy Prophet, foreſeeing alſo the future Sufferings of our Lord, and the Oppoſition which his Goſpel*

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[a] Luke ii. 23, 24. [b] Levit. xii. 2, 15, 19. [c] Exod. xiii. 2, 12, 13, 15. [d] Such were the Patriarchs. [e] Numb. viii. 6. to the End of the Chapter. [f] Numb. xviii. 15, 16. [g] About ten Shillings. [h] Levit. xii. [i] Luke ii. 22. [k] Haggai ii. 7, 9. Malachi iii. 1. [l] Luke ii. 25, 32. [m] Luke ii. 33, 34, 35.

would meet with in the World, turned himſelf towards them, and bleſſed them; and then directing his Diſcourſe to Mary, *he told her, that her Child was born for the Happineſs or Deſtruction of many, according as they ſhould obey or diſobey the Revelation he would introduce; and that he ſhould be ſet a Mark among Mankind, at which the obdurate and diſobedient ſhould level all the Darts of their Malice and Fury. The Reaſon why* Simeon *ſpoke this in particular to* Mary, *was becauſe ſhe ſhould live to ſee the perſecuted Life and painful Death of her Son, and be herſelf preſent at his Crucifixion; which is imply'd in this Part of his Prophecy: Yea a Sword ſhall pierce thro' thine own Soul alſo; intimating that the Sorrow and Anguiſh which ſhe would feel at that Time, would be equal to the moſt grievous Tortures that could be inflicted on her own Perſon. When* Simeon *had ended his Benediction and Prophecy, and received in his own Mind all the Satisfaction he wiſh'd for in this Life, he retired joyfully, to wait for his approaching Diſſolution, which we may reaſonably ſuppoſe came upon him a little while after.*

V. [n] *At the ſame Time there dwelt alſo in* Jeruſalem *a Woman who was endued with a prophetic Spirit: Her Name was* Anna, *the Daughter of one* Phanuel, *of the Tribe of* Aſſer. *She was eighty four Years of Age, and had been a long Time a Widow; having never been marry'd but once, and then living only ſeven Years with her Huſband: She was remarkable for her conſtant Attendance on the Service of the Temple, from which the Evangeliſt tells us ſhe departed not, but ſerved God with Faſtings and Prayers Day and Night. What Perſon could be properer for a ſecond Witneſs to this firſt glorious Appearance of* Jeſus Chriſt *in public? That ſhe might be ſo, and that the Teſtimony of both Sexes might be ſecured, it was communicated to her by the ſame Inſpiration that had before dealt with* Simeon, *that the Saviour of Mankind was preſent in the Temple: And thereupon coming in where* Mary *and her Child were, at the very Inſtant when the good old Man had finiſh'd his Diſcourſe, ſhe immediately acknowledg'd* Jeſus *to be the Meſſiah, and gave Thanks likewiſe to God. Nor did ſhe this in private only, or before the Company then preſent, but to all the religious Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *who expected the Salvation of* Iſrael; *aſſuring them that ſhe had actually ſeen the great Deliverer of their Nation.*

VI. [o] *When* Joſeph *and* Mary, *with the Child* Jeſus, *had performed all Things according to the Law of the Lord, tho' they purpoſed to return to their former Place of Abode at* Nazareth, *and in reality did ſo after they came out of* Egypt, *they yet ſeem to have gone back to* Bethlehem *for the preſent, either for the taking ſome little Repoſe, or the ordering ſuch Affairs as they had engaged in during their ſhort Stay in that City. But they had not been long returned, before an Angel of the Lord appeared to* Joſeph *in a Dream, commanding him without Delay to take the young Child and his Mother, and flee into* Egypt, *and there continue till he received further Notice, becauſe* Herod *was plotting againſt the Life of* Jeſus, *who he imagined might hereafter deprive his Poſterity of the Kingdom.* Joſeph *inſtantly obey'd the divine Mandate; and that his Departure might not alarm any Body, and ſo occaſion a Purſuit, he left his Habitation by Night; and after a Journey of about two hundred Miles, they arrived in* Egypt, *where they continued till they were recalled by the Angel after the Death of* Herod; *to which the Evangeliſt* Matthew *very aptly applies theſe Words of God concerning the* Hebrew *Nation, which are recorded by* Hoſea; [p] *Out of* Egypt *have I called my Son. The Name of the City in which the holy Family are thought to have reſided, was* Hermopolis, *where when* Jeſus *was carried into a Temple* [q], *all the Statues of the Idols are ſaid to have fallen down, to the great Reproach and Confuſion of their Worſhippers; agreeable to the Prophecy of* Iſaiah, *which ſays,* [r] *Behold the Lord ſhall come into* Egypt, *and the Idols of* Egypt *ſhall be moved at his Preſence. 'Tis reported* [ſ], *that* Jeremiah *threaten'd the* Egyptian *Prieſts with ſuch a Deſtruction to their Idols, when a holy Virgin with her Child ſhould come into their Country; and ſome have imagined, that this was the Reaſon why the* Egyptians *worſhipped an Infant in her Manger, and a Virgin in her Bed.*

VII. [t] *Tho'* Herod *had now expected the Return of the* Magi *for a conſiderable Time, yet probably he might not hitherto have been ſo uneaſy at their Delay as to put himſelf into a violent Rage; for he might imagine, either that they were gone further to ſee the Country, or that having been baulk'd in their Expectation, they were withdrawn ſecretly to avoid the popular Deriſion: But the public Declarations of* Simeon *and* Anna, *in the Temple and elſewhere, had now fill'd him with the utmoſt Impatience, on Account of the new-born Child, of whom theſe great Things were ſpoken. And when he ſaw that he was mocked of the Wiſe Men, he was exceeding wrath: For being diſappointed by this Means in his Deſign of privately deſtroying the Child, his Apprehenſions of Danger began to increaſe, and he ſuſpected that the Hand of Heaven was in the Affair. Reflecting therefore on the uncertain Tenure of his ill-gotten Kingdom, and fearing from the many Conſpiracies which had been formed againſt him upon leſs Occaſions, that the Jews might conceal this Child, and raiſe an Inſurrection in his Favour; without enquiring to what Houſe in* Betlehem *the* Magi *repaired, or what Family of* David's *Race might give Ground for Suſpicion by having a Son newly born, all on a ſudden he ordered the Town of* Bethlehem *to be ſurrounded by a ſtrong Body of armed Men, who, according to his inhuman Orders, maſſacreed all the male Children in that and the adjacent Towns, which had been born within the two laſt Years, thinking to involve our Bleſſed Lord in this common Slaughter: For having made diligent Enquiry of the* Magi *about the Time when the Star firſt appeared, he concluded from their Anſwer, that who-*

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[n] Luke ii. 36, 37, 38.

[o] Matth. ii. 13, 14, 15.

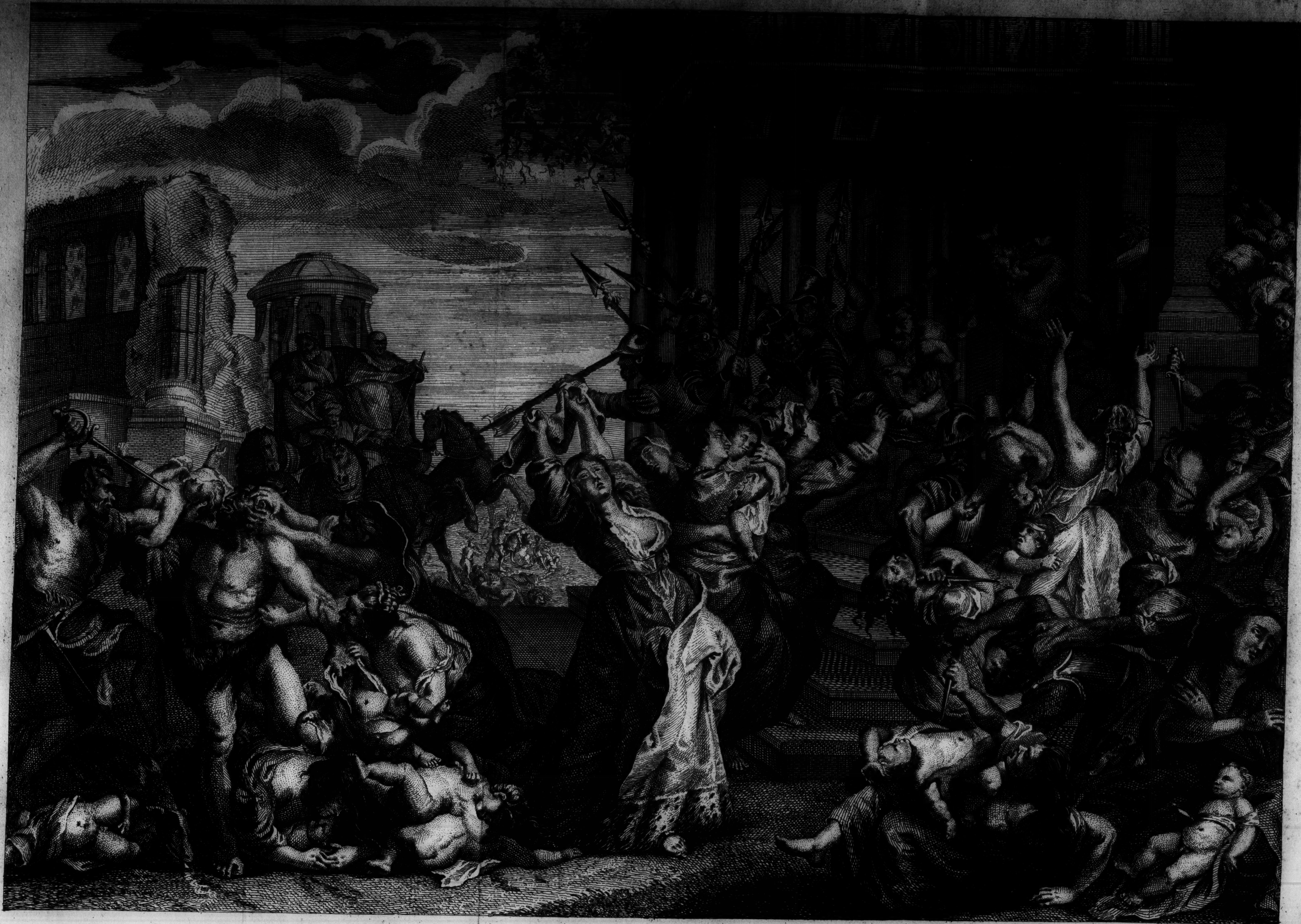
[p] Chap. xi. 1.

[q] Euſebius Demon. Evang. Athanaſius de Incar. Verbi.

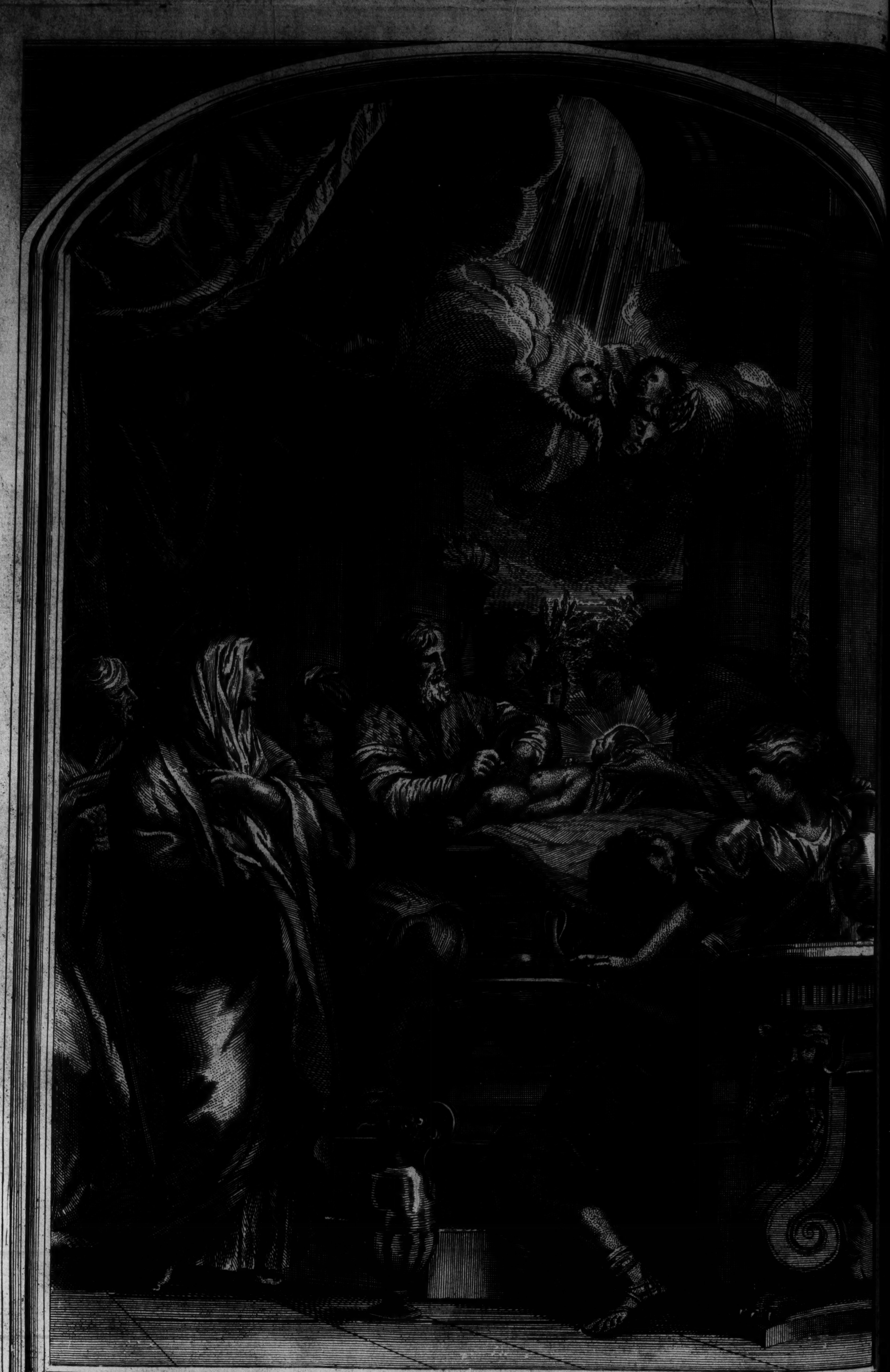
[r] Chap. xix. 1.

[ſ] In the Life of Jeremiah by St. Epiphanius.

[t] Matth. ii. 16, 17, 18.



The MASSACRE *of the* HOLY INNOCENTS. Math. 11. 16. 17. 18.



The Circumcision

Luke. II. V. 21.

ſoever the Child were, his Age muſt neceſſarily have been leſs than two Years; and that therefore he could not fail of his Purpoſe, if he deſtroy'd all Male Children in general to the full Extent of that Time.

VIII. *This more than brutiſh Barbarity, and which would almoſt have ſurpaſs'd Belief had not* Herod *been the Contriver of it, was accompanied with ſuch Shrieks of Mothers and Children, that St.* Matthew *applies to it a Prophecy of* Jeremiah, *which relates more immediately to the* Babyloniſh *Captivity, but received the moſt eminent Completion at this Time.* [u] *A Voice was heard in* Rama, *Lamentation and bitter Weeping;* Rachel *weeping for her Children, refuſed to be comforted, becauſe they were not.* Rama *is a Village not far from* Bethlehem, *and the Sepulchre of* Rachel *is in a Field belonging to this Town. Nor did* Herod *ſtop at* Bethlehem *and* Rama, *but the Malice of this wicked Prince is ſaid to have proceeded alſo as far as the Hill Country of* Judea; *for having heard great Things of* John *the Son of* Zachary, *as how he was deſign'd to an eminent Office under the King of the* Jews, *he attempted in him alſo to reſcind the Prophecies, and ſent one of his Meſſengers of Death to diſpatch him. But his Mother's Care had prevented the Deſign, by conveying him away into an obſcure Place in the Deſart, where he was concealed till the Time of his Manifeſtation to* Iſrael. *Neverthele*ſ*s, as the Children of* Bethlehem *died in the Place of Chriſt, ſo did the Father of* the Baptiſt *for his Son; for* Herod *ſlew* Zachary *between the Temple and the Altar,* [w] *becauſe he refuſed to deliver up his Child into the Hands of that Monſter.*

IX. *We are not told in the Goſpel how long our Lord continued in* Egypt, *but only that it was till after the Death of* Herod. *'Tis worth our Notice here, how God prevented the Cruelty of that Tyrant by this Retirement of the ſacred Family, in that whereas Jeſus was the only Child he ſought to kill, it was ſo ordered that Jeſus was the only one that eſcaped his Fury.* Herod *did not long ſurvive this Piece of Cruelty, at moſt not above a Year; and when he was dead, the Angel of the Lord appeared again to* Joſeph *in a Dream, and commanded him to return into the Land of* Iſrael, *with the Child and his Mother; which he might now do without any Apprehenſion of Danger, ſince they were dead who ſought the Life of the Infant.* Joſeph *immediately ſet out, with his Wife and her Son, in order to return, as he was commanded: But underſtanding by the way, that* Archelaus, *the Son of* Herod, *reigned in* Judea, *in the room of his Father, and being informed what a bloody Beginning he had made of his Government, in ſuppreſſing an Inſurrection of the* Jews, *he was afraid to enter the Territories of that Prince, till he was again reminded of his Duty by the Angel; and then he purſued his Journey till he came to* Nazareth, *the City of* Galilee *in which he had formerly lived, and which was now under* Herod Antipas, *one of the Brothers of* Archelaus, *according to the laſt Will of their Father, and the Decree of* Auguſtus. *Here the ſtrange Occurrences of our Lord's Birth were hitherto unknown; and by inhabiting in this City he got the Name of a* Nazarene, *according to an antient Prediction concerning the Meſſiah, which was at that Time current among the* Jews.

DISSERTATION I.

Of Circumciſion, the Redemption of the Firſt-born, and the Purification of Woman.

I. *Deſign and Method of this Diſſertation.* II. *Circumciſion, what; its Inſtitution.* III. *The Practice of it among the* Jews. IV. *The Time of Circumciſion.* V. *Preparatory Ceremonies.* VI. *Offices of Circumciſor and Godfather.* VII. Elijah's *great Chair.* VIII. *The Inſtruments made uſe of.* IX. *Entry of the Child into the Synagogue.* X. *Ceremonies of the Circumciſion.* XI. *Circumciſion of Maids.* XII. Philo, *and the Rabbi's, their Reaſon for the Inſtitution of Circumciſion.* XIII. *The Effects attributed to it.* XIV. *Whether* Abraham *had it from the* Egyptians. XV. *Other antient Nations that uſed it.* XVI. *By whom practis'd at this Day.* XVII. *Antient Privileges of the Firſt-born.* XVIII. *Conſecration of the Firſt-born to God.* XIX. *Ceremonies of his Redemption.* XX. *The Firſtlings of Beaſts, and Firſt-Fruits.* XXI. *Ceremonies of Purification.* XXII. *The Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin.* XXIII. *On our Lord's Submiſſion to the Ceremonies of the* Jewiſh *Law.*

I. WE mention'd the Circumciſion of our Lord in the ſecond Chapter of this Work, and in the third we have been led by our Subject to two other *Jewiſh* Rites, the Dedication and Redemption of the Firſt-born, and the Purification of Women after Child-Bearing. Theſe *Hebrew* Inſtitutions having ſo near a Dependance, and following one another ſo cloſely in the Order of their Celebration, we thought it would be very proper to treat of them all in the ſame Diſcourſe, eſpecially ſince the two latter will not require ſo much to be ſaid of them as may make it any way neceſſary that they ſhould be treated of ſeparately from Circumciſion, concerning which ſeveral curious Things may be introduc'd. We ſhall give the Reaſon of this Ordinance, the Hiſtory of it among the *Jews* and other Nations, all the Ceremonies of its Celebration, and the Benefits which the *Iſraelites* expected from it. And in doing this we ſhall prove, that the Covenant of God with *Abraham*, and the poſitive Injunction laid upon that Patriarch, were the Original of all the Circumciſion in the World; that the *Egyptians* copied it from the *Iſraelites*, and that all the Nations beſides, among whom the Uſe of this Rite is commemorated in antient Hiſtory, took it either immediately from *Abraham*, or at ſecond Hand from the *Egyptians*. This Method might alſo be purſued with regard to moſt of the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions; for it would be no difficult Matter to prove, at leaſt it would be an eaſy Matter to maintain upon very good Arguments, that all the antient religious Ceremonies of the Heathens, which diſcover an Affinity with thoſe of the *Jews*, were originally borrow'd from the ſacred Oracles, and the Practice of the Church under the two old Diſpenſations.

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[u] Jerem. xxxi. 15.

[w] Chryſoſt. & Pet. Martyr Epiſc. Alexandrin. Nicephorus & Cedrenus.

[x] Matt ii. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

II. The Word Circumciſion is of *Latin* Original, and ſignifies properly *a Cutting all round*, becauſe the *Jews*, who circumciſed their Children, cut off the little Skin after this Manner, that covers the Prepuce. Circumciſion is not once mentioned in the Bible before the Time of *Abraham*, to whom God enjoin'd the Uſe of it, as a Teſtimony to him and his Deſcendants of the Alliance they had enter'd into with the Lord. [a] *This is the Covenant which ye ſhall keep between me and you, and thy Seed after thee: Every Man-Child among you ſhall be circumciſed. And ye ſhall circumciſe the Fleſh of your Foreskin; and it ſhall be a Token of the Covenant betwixt me and you. And he that is eight Days old ſhall be circumciſed among you; every Man Child in your Generations, he that is born in the Houſe, or bought with Money of any Stranger, which is not of thy Seed. He that is born in thy Houſe, and he that is bought with thy Money, muſt needs be circumciſed; and my Covenant ſhall be in your Fleſh, for an everlaſting Covenant. And the uncircumciſed Man-Child, whoſe Fleſh of the Foreskin is not circumciſed, that Soul ſhall be cut off from his People; he hath broken my Covenant.* In Obedience to this Command, *Abraham*, who was then Ninety-nine Years old, was circumciſed, as was alſo his Son *Iſhmael*, and all the Slaves in his Family.

III. From *Abraham*'s Deſcendants Circumciſion paſſed down to the Inhabitants of *Canaan*; and we have a [b] particular Account of the Impoſition of this Ordinance by the Sons of *Jacob* on the *Sichemites*, who ſubmitted to it, that they might reſemble the Family of the Patriarch, and that *Shechem* the Son of *Hamar*, Prince of the Country, might marry *Dinah*. We have no Reaſon, indeed, to think that this Action was of much Advantage in the ſpreading of Circumciſion, becauſe of the Fraud of *Simeon* and *Levi*; but then we cannot doubt but that many of the People thereabouts had before received it, and in particular, that *Abraham* had communicated it to the *Arabians*, and other Nations, who were his Poſterity by *Iſhmael*, and the Sons of *Keturah*: For *Mahomet* did not inſtitute Circumciſion, as many have ſuppoſed, [c] there being no Precept in the Coran about it; but having found that very ancient Cuſtom among the *Arabians*, he left them to continue the Practice of it. The *Iſraelites* deſcending into *Egypt*, carried the Practice of it thither. *Moſes*, while he was in *Midian*, did not circumciſe the two Sons, which were born to him there; but God afterwards obliged him to do it, even while he was upon the Road, in his Return to *Eygpt*. Some pretend, that the *Iſraelites* neglected it while they were there under Oppreſſion; but there can be no Ground for ſuch a Suppoſition, except at one Seaſon, when *Pharoah* prevented them by cutting off all their Male Children before the eighth Day. There is more Reaſon to believe an Interruption of it in the Wilderneſs, where it would have coſt the Lives of many of their Children, on Account of the Fatigues they were obliged to undergo: And God might diſpenſe with this Ordinance at that Time, as he did with the Celebration of the Paſſover. *Joſhua* was commanded to reſtore Circumciſion, which had been ſo long interrupted, as ſoon as the People had paſſed over *Jordan*: [d] *The Lord ſaid unto* Joſhua, *Make thee ſharp Knives, and circumciſe again the Children of* Iſrael *a ſecond Time.* Both *Jews* and Chriſtians have been at a Loſs for the Meaning of the Expreſſion, *a ſecond Time*; but it can refer only to the Renewing of this Ordinance, which had been interrupted in the Wilderneſs. The firſt Inſtitution of it was in the Time of *Abraham*; and though the Precept of it had been repeated [e] among the other Laws deliver'd to *Moſes*, yet as the Practice had been hitherto neglected ſince that Repetition, the Commandment of God to *Joſhan* might properly enough be called a ſecond Inſtitution. From the Time of *Joſhua* downwards the *Jews* have religiouſly obſerved this Ceremony; and [f] at this Day, ſome of them even carry it to Superſtition, by circumciſing after Death, thoſe Male-Children who died before the eighth Day, though they are exempted from the Curſe of the Law, which God denounced againſt the Uncircumciſed in the Precept to *Abraham*.

IV. The Eighth Day from the Birth was always conſecrated to the Obſervation of this Ordinance: And we need not look any further for the Authority of this, than the original Inſtitution, in which God ſays expreſly, That *he that is eight Days old ſhall be circumciſed*; nevertheleſs there are three or four Opinions about the Reaſon of this Choice. The *Jews* pretend that the Sabbath ſtrengthens their Children, and enables them to undergo the Operation. The Chriſtians ſometimes aſſert, [g] that the eighth Day repreſents the eternal Life, in which Sin ſhall be perfectly cut off. Some diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſaying, that we do not reckon all Sorts of Creatures in the Number of Animals till the eighth Day, either becauſe we are not aſſured they live before, or becauſe ſo many Days are neceſſary to cleanſe them from the Impurity which they brought with them into the World; for which Reaſon they could not be offered in Sacrifice before that Time. But it is more certain and eaſy to ſay, that God had no other Reaſon in the Choice of that Day than his own good Pleaſure, which appears in moſt of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies; and therefore People loſe their Time in ſuch Enquiries.

V. When a Woman is to be deliver'd, the modern *Jews* take Care to write upon the Doors and Walls of the Chamber, *Adam, or Eve; Lilith, be gone*; which is a Kind of Prayer to God, that he would give them a Son; or, if a Daughter, that ſhe may reſemble *Eve*, rather than *Li-*

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[a] Gen. xvii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
[b] Gen. xxxiv.
[c] Baſnage.
[d] Joſh. v. 2.
[e] Exod. xii. 44. Levit. xii. 3.
[f] Baſnage.
[g] Cunæus de Rep. Heb. Scultet. Exer. Evang. c. 18.

lith. They pretend that *Lilith* was *Adam*'s firſt Wiſe, and a very ſtubborn and wicked Wife they make of her; whereas *Eve* was all Gentleneſs and Obedience. If a Daughter be born, they expreſs little Joy; and ſo light do they make of that Sex, that in their uſual Prayers the *Jewiſh* Men [h] *Bleſs the Creator of Heaven and Earth, that he has not made them Women:* And the Woman daily ſays, in her Addreſſes to God, [i] *Bleſſed be thou, who haſt made me as thou pleaſeſt.* All the Ceremony after the Birth of a Daughter is only this: At the End of about ſix Weeks they get a Parcel of young Children about her Cradle, and then taking her up in their Arms, they give her afterwards a Name, and divert themſelves. But when a Son comes into the World their Joy is abundantly greater: Entertainments muſt be made, and the Goſſips muſt be choſen, between the Birth and the Circumciſion. The Night before the Operation is performed, the whole Family is kept awake to guard the Child; and this they call Watching. The Father and Mother are alſo viſited at the ſame Time by their Male and Female Friends, on which Occaſion there is abundance of Joy and Civility expreſs'd between them. But not to dwell on theſe Things, we now proceed to the Day of Circumciſion; and here we ſhall take notice, in order, of the Perſons who aſſiſt at it, the Place where, and the Inſtruments with which, 'tis performed; and laſtly, of the Ceremony itſelf.

VI. All the Synagogues have Officers, who are called *Mohels*, or Circumciſors; and they attribute a great deal of Honour to this Function. But as the Law hath ordain'd nothing concerning either the Miniſter, the Inſtrument, or Place, of Circumciſion, the Father is at Liberty to act as he pleaſes in thoſe Particulars. If he is capable, he may circumciſe his own Child himſelf; or he may chuſe a Relation, a Surgeon, or whomſoever elſe he thinks proper. Thoſe who are Circumciſors by Office, give Money to the Poor to make themſelves perfect in their Art by practiſing on the Children of thoſe People. The Godfather holds the Child while the Ceremony is performed, and the Godmother carries it into the Synagogue, or the Room appointed for that Purpoſe by the Parents.

VII. For they are not obliged to go to the Synagogues on theſe Occaſions; but the Father may have the Sacrament of Circumciſion adminiſter'd in his own Houſe. When they have fix'd on the Place, two large Elbow-Chairs are ſet by each other, and covered with Silk Cuſhions. In one of theſe the Godfather ſeats himſelf; the other is reſerved for *Elias*, whom they always imagine to be preſent on theſe Occaſions, to remark whether the Ceremony be religiouſly obſerved or not. The Reaſon they give for this, is, That in the Time of *Elias*, the People of *Iſrael* had renounced Circumciſion; and this ſo mortally afflicted the Prophet, that he could be comforted no other Way than by God's telling him that ſuch a Calamity ſhould never happen again: And 'tis to ſee whether or no he be deceived, that he ever ſince aſſiſts inviſibly at all Circumciſions; and yet not ſo inviſibly neither, but that the Godfather, as they pretend [k], manifeſtly ſees him take his Place. They leave the Chair of *Elias* three whole Days in its Place, whether out of reſpect to that Prophet, or from what other Motive, cannot certainly be determined. If he ever fails of his Attendance, 'tis not their Fault, for they always make Proclamation aloud, before the Ceremony begins, that *This is* Elias *his Place.*

VIII. When *Moſes* was commanded to circumciſe his Children, we are told [l], his Wiſe Zipporah *took a ſharp Stone, and cut off the Foreskin of her Son.* Mr. *Baſnage* tells us, that this Tranſlation is agreeable to the Septuagint; and that in the Text of *Joſhua* above-quoted, where we read of *Sharp Knives*, the Word uſed by the Hiſtorian ſignifies a Stone, and is ſo render'd by ſome Interpreters. St. *Auſtin* has followed this Interpretation, which ſeems the more juſt, becauſe the Heathens uſed Knives of Stone in a [m] more violent Operation. The antient *Galli*, who were the Prieſts of *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods, are particularly remarked for caſtrating themſelves with Stones, or broken Potſherds, not knowing how to do it otherwiſe with Safety to their Lives. 'Tis pretended that Knives of this kind are much leſs dangerous than thoſe of Braſs or Iron, and will not cauſe ſo great an Inflamation of the Wound: But perhaps a better Reaſon for the introducing of them at firſt in theſe Operations may be this, That many of the Antients were unacquainted with the Uſe of Inſtruments of Metal, or at leaſt could not get any of them to uſe. Be this as it will, the modern *Jews* in their Circumciſions generally employ a Razor, which the Circumciſor brings in a Diſh, together with the Aſtringent Powders, the Linen Cloth, the Lint, the Oil of Roſes, and all other Neceſſaries. *Baſnage* mentions a Plate-full of Sand, and two Veſſels fill'd with Red Wine, among the Things that are brought in on this Occaſion. He ſays, that all the Implements are borne in ſeparately by Children, who form a little Proceſſion, the firſt of them carrying a Candleſtick, with twelve Candles burning on it, to repreſent the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*. Perhaps this Proceſſion is only for the Children of the richer Sort of People, who are willing to diſplay a more than ordinary Magnificence.

IX. The Circumciſor and Godfather being ready, they, with the reſt of the Company preſent, ſing a Hymn, while they wait for the Child. At laſt the Godmother, attended by a Company of Women, brings him in her Arms, but no farther than the Door, none of that Sex being permitted to enter where this Ceremony is performed. There ſhe delivers him to the Godfather, at the ſame Time that theſe Words are proclaim'd aloud, [p] *Bleſſed be he that comes*: In which Expreſſion, 'tis pretended, are two [q] great Myſteries. Firſt, the *Hebrew* Letters of it are preciſely Eight, which denotes the Time of Circumciſion to be the eighth Day; and ſecondly, the ſame Letters may be made to ſignify, *Behold* Elias *comes*, and ſo have a Reference to the Preſence of that Prophet at the Ceremony. The *Jewiſh* Writers are full of theſe Kinds of Inventions, and we may ſometimes rehearſe them to give a Taſte of their Learning. This Way of finding Myſteries, where none were intended, has been too much followed by the Writers of the Church in ſome Ages of Chriſtianity, which, we may venture to affirm, has done no Service to the Cauſe of Religion. We can laugh at it in the *Jews*, and therefore ought not to practiſe it ourſelves; and it muſt be ſaid in Juſtice to the Patrons of our Religion in the preſent Age, that by reducing Chriſtianity to a more ſimple and natural Syſtem, they are able to defend it with the ſame Kind of Arguments as are uſed by their Adverſaries.

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[h] Benedito que no me hizo Muger.

[i] Benedito tu que me hizo como ſu volontad. Baſnage quotes theſe Forms from two of their Books, viz. *Orden de las Oraçiones Cotidianas*, and *Manana de Cotidiana.*

[k] Buxtorf, Synag. 2.

[l] Exod. iv. 25.

[m] Mollia qui raptâ ſecurit genitalia teſtâ. Juven, Sat. 6.

X. All Things being thus ready, the Godfather ſits down in the Chair appointed for him, and ſettles the Child in a proper Poſture between his Knees. Then the *Mohel*, or Circumciſor, opens the Blankets. Some of them make uſe of Silver Pincers, to take up ſo much of the Skin as they deſign to cut off; but others hold it with their Fingers. Before they proceed any further, the Circumciſor, holding the Raſor ready in his Hand, repeats this Form of Words; *Bleſſed be thou, O Lord, who haſt commanded us to uſe Circumciſion*: And then he immediately cuts off the thick Skin of the Prepuce, and caſts it into the Sand; tearing off with his Thumb-nails another fine Skin, which remains after the former is taken away. He then ſucks the Blood two or three Times, which flows very plentifully on this Occaſion, and ſpits it out into a Cup full of Wine. After this he waſhes the Wound, and applies to it Coral Powder, Dragon's Blood, and other Things, in order to ſtop the Bleeding: To which he adds Bolſters and Oil of Roſes, and ſo binds up all very cloſely. Whilſt this is doing, the Father gives Thanks to God, and prays him to bleſs the Child; that he may prolong his Days in Proſperity, that he may fulfil the Commands of the Law, that he may ſee the Houſe of God rebuilt, that his Enemies may be covered with Shame, and that his Name may be among the Righteous and wiſe. He then cries, *O God, thy Will be done*; to which the Aſſembly anſwers, *Cauſe your Son to enter into the Law, into Marriage, and good Works, as he has entered into the Covenant of* Abraham. In the next Place, the *Mohel*, having cleanſed his Hands, takes the Cup, into which he had ſpit the Blood, and bleſſes that, the Parents, and the Child, to whom he then gives the Name appointed by his Father; at the ſame Time repeating theſe Words of *Ezekiel*'s Prophecy, [r] *I ſaid unto thee when thou waſt in thy Blood, Live*; and rubbing the Lips of the Infant with the Blood and Wine. Laſtly, he prays for the Congregation, who ſing with him the cxxviiith Pſalm, which begins, *Bleſſed is every one that feareth the Lord*. The Ceremony being thus over, the Godfather reſtores the Child to the Godmother, who carries him back and delivers him to his Mother. All thoſe who are preſent at a Circumciſion, take their Leave of the Father, with wiſhing, that he may be thus preſent at his Son's Wedding. The Child is commonly cured of his Wound in twenty-four Hours; and they celebrate this his Initiation into the Covenant with a ſolemn Feaſt, ſometimes with a Sermon. The *Mohel* is obliged to keep a Regiſter of thoſe he has circumciſed; and not only the Names of the Child and his Father, but alſo of the Godfather and Godmother, are inſerted in it, the whole being interwoven with ſeveral Texts of Scripture.

☞ Theſe are the Ceremonies belonging to Circumciſion. The Authors whom we have followed ſeem to differ in ſome Particulars of their Accounts; but perhaps not more than the *Jews* themſelves in different Countries may vary the Practice of this Inſtitution. As 'twas impoſſible for us poſitively to diſtinguiſh theſe Things, we have been the more circumſtantial in our Relation: For which Reaſon, tho' we cannot ſay, that every Article here mentioned is punctually obſerved at all Circumciſions, yet we believe there is nothing here mentioned that is not at one Time or other obſerved in the Adminiſtration of that Sacrament; and alſo that we have omitted nothing material which has been recorded as an Obſervance on that Occaſion.

XI. The Cuſtom of circumciſing Women was never received among the *Jews*, tho' it was by the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, and in ſome Places of *Arabia* and *Perſia*. When St. *Ambroſe* [s] aſſerts, that the *Egyptians* circumciſed both Men and Women at the Beginning of the eighteenth Year, *Marſham* [t] is angry with him for ſaying this, and wonders where the Father had ſuch a Notion: But that Author ſhould have remember'd that *Strabo* [v] gives the ſame Account concerning the *Egyptian* Women of his Time. We have alſo the Relation of a modern Traveller to prove that the Women [w] of ſome particular Countries of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, which lie towards the *Red-Sea* and the *Perſian Gulph*, continue the Uſe of Circumciſion to this Day in common with the Men. The ſame Thing is [x] affirmed of the *Ethiopians*, and we find ſeveral other Inſtances of it among the Orientals. This Cuſtom ſeems to have been founded upon natural Reaſons, which are not applicable to all the Women of the Countries where 'tis obſerved; and we do not find that in *Egypt* the Practice of it is univerſal, or thought to be of any Obligation.

XII. *Philo*, [y] who could not bear to have a Ceremony ridicul'd which had coſt his Nation ſo much Blood, attempts to explain the Reaſon of its Inſtitution. He believes it was neceſſary to prevent a Diſeaſe called a Carbuncle, to which the Uncircumciſed were very ſubject; and produces alſo ſeveral other natural Reaſons for the Practice. But that ingenious *Jew* was endeavouring to juſtify Circumciſion to ſome Foreigners who were ſhock'd at it, and was therefore obliged to urge ſuch Motives as were merely human; otherwiſe we might juſtly wonder at what he ſays. He afterwards adds, agreeably to the Theology of his Nation, that this Sacrament repreſented the Circumciſion of the Heart; and that it was inſtituted by God to inſtruct them in their Obligations to retrench all the Pleaſures of Senſe. 'Tis certain that the natural Motives which *Philo* mentions are of no Weight in themſelves; and yet ſome modern Rabbies have produced Reaſons altogether as trifling on the ſame Subject. They tell us, that God ordain'd it as a Character of Diſtinction; that the *Jewiſh* Nation being more excellent than all others, might be diſcovered among all the People of the Univerſe. But if this was the Deſign of God, he would not have ſuffered it to paſs among the *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, and the Nations of *Canaan*, from whom there was more Neceſſity of their being diſtinguiſh'd by a ſenſible Mark, than from thoſe that were more remote. It has alſo been ſaid, that God meant to inſpire the *Jews* with a more ardent Charity to one another, by making them all bear the ſame Seal and Character. 'Tis true, St. *Paul* made Uſe of [z] Baptiſm, which was ſubſtituted in the room of Circumciſion, to bind Chriſtians in ſtricter Bonds of Unity. But he mentions it only among other Things, and does not ſay, that the promoting of ſuch Unity was the great End of that Sacrament, of which he has in [a] other Places given another Interpretation. Both Circumciſion and Baptiſm, as they were divine Inſtitutions in the Churches of the Old and the New Teſtament, might properly be mentioned to their reſpective Subjects in an Exhortation to Unity and Concord, and urged in that Caſe as Characters of the People of God; but we muſt not ſay that the Deſign of the Supreme Legiſlator in ordaining them, was immediately the Promotion of ſuch Concord, unleſs we could prove that they ever, in themſelves, were more effectual to that Purpoſe than any other Inſtitutions.

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[p] Baruch Habha. Some take theſe Words to ſignify only *Welcome*.

[q] Baſnage.

[r] Ezek. xvi. 6.

[s] St. Ambroſius de Abrah. lib. ii. cap. 11.

[t] Marſham Chron. Egypt. Sæc. 5.

[v] Lib. 17.

[w] Chardin's Voyage de Perſe, T. 3. p. 207.

[x] Ludolf. Comm. in Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 237.

[y] Philo de Special. Legib.

XIII. But if ſome of the *Jewiſh* Divines have endeavoured to fix their Circumciſion upon a weak Foundation, [b] others, and that in a great Number, have run into a contrary Extreme, by aſcribing the *Support of Heaven and Earth* to their Nation's conſtant Obſervance of this Symbol. They don't believe, ſays *Baſnage*, that their Fathers were ſaved from Death and the Hand of the deſtroying Angel by the Blood of the Paſchal Lamb only; but maintain, that all the Children of the *Iſraelites* were circumciſed on the ſame Day, and that the Blood of their Foreskins being mixed with that of the Lamb, and ſprinkled together with it on the Door-poſts, it was by that means that they avoided the Vengeance of God. They place *Abraham* at the Gates of Hell, through which he gives free Admiſſion to all the Uncircumciſed, but ſtops thoſe of his own Nation, and ſends them to Heaven, becauſe Circumciſion opens the Gates of Paradiſe, and renders their Souls acceptable to God. This laſt is a very odd Conceit: But need we wonder that the *Jews* ſhould aſcribe all this to Circumciſion? People in general are inclin'd to attribute too much to ſenſible Signs; and might not the *Jews* find almoſt as extravagant Characters of the Chriſtian Sacraments, in ſome Books of Devotion eſpecially, as either of theſe here produced from the Writings of their Doctors? The Truth of the Matter is, we are not to collect the Articles of Faith from allegorical Expreſſions, which are uſed only to raiſe and warm the Mind. We do not ſay, that the Rabinnical Paſſages above are of this Kind, though it ſeems very likely that they are; but only give a neceſſary Caution, which ought always to be obſerved in judging of other Mens Opinions. It could not be, that we ſhould aſcribe ſuch ridiculous Notions to other People as we often do, if we judged of their Principles in the ſame Manner as we do of our own; for Reaſon and common Senſe have a like Effect upon all Minds, according to the Degrees in which they are found. Prejudice, indeed, and a long Habit of Reaſoning from falſe Principles, have a ſtrong Influence upon us all; and for that Reaſon we are alike too prone to Error, eſpecially in this Particular, of placing in Modes, and Inſtitutions merely poſitive, much more than we ought. The Juſtice of theſe Reflections will excuſe our making them in this Place, though it be acknowledged that the *Jews* are more guilty than many others of this Kind of Superſtition. There have been [c] Chriſtians, who have pretended to ſee the Neceſſity of Satisfaction in the Blood that flows in the *Jewiſh* Sacrament of which we treat, and the abſolute Deſtruction of Sin in the Abſciſion of the Foreskin. And is it ſtrange that the *Jews* ſhould carry theſe Matters to a greater Lengh? But 'twould ſurprize one that it ſhould ever have been a Subject of ſerious Diſpute, whether or no Circumciſion took away the Guilt of original Sin. The antient Fathers, [d] who lived before St. *Auſtin*, allow'd it to be only a Mark of Diſtinction to the *Hebrews*, denoting their Alliance with God: But St. *Auſtin* [e] maintain'd, (and after him ſeveral others of the Antients,) that Circumciſion procured the Remiſſion of original Sin; and his Opinion was founded upon the Text of Scripture, which declares thoſe to be utterly cut off from the People of God, who were not circumciſed upon the eighth Day. The Queſtion here ſtarted is, What other Sin, beſides that which is original, could ſuch Children be guilty of? For our own Part, after what has been remark'd above, we content ourſelves having barely reported theſe Particulars; which prove that not only many *Jewiſh* Doctors, but antient Fathers of the Chriſtian Church alſo, have attributed very extraordinary Effects to Circumciſion.

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[z] Eph. iv. 1. 6. [a] Rom. vi. 4. & Coll. i. 12, &c.

[b] Baſnage, who does not quote the Rabbies of whom he affirms theſe Things.

[c] Majus Syn. Theolog. Jud. L. 16. p. 250. Lent de Mod. Theol. Jud. c. 16. p. 562.

[d] This is the Opinion of Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Chryſoſtom, Epiphanius, Hilary the Deacon, Jerom, and John Damaſcenus. *Calmet.*

[e] Aug. De Nuptiis & Concupiſc. l. ii. c. 11. & De Civit. Dei l. xvi. c. 17 & de Baptiſmo contra Donat l. iv. c. 24.

XIV. We are now come to an Enquiry of conſiderable Importance, becauſe it has very much divided the Critics of the laſt and preſent Age. 'Tis, Whether *Abraham* borrowed Circumciſion of the *Egyptians*, or communicated it to them? It may ſeem ſurpriſing that ſuch a Queſtion ſhould be ſtarted among Chriſtians, when the Scripture plainly founds the Circumciſion of that Patriarch upon the divine Command. But 'twas not the Chriſtians, who firſt ſtarted it; they have only taken it up after *Julian* the Apoſtate, and *Celſus*, two very great Enemies of our Religion. That they ſhould lay hold of the Arguments of ſuch Men, to turn them againſt the Authority of the Bible, is indeed almoſt as ſtrange, as if they had at firſt invented them. The two Heathens above-mentioned maintain, that Circumciſion really was practis'd among the *Egyptians* before the Time of *Abraham*; and the Chief of thoſe modern Chriſtians who have followed them, are *Marſham* and *Le Clerc*. The Paſſages of antient Hiſtory on which the Controverſy depends, are only two; the firſt in [f] *Herodotus*, and the other in [g] *Diodorus Siculus*; to omit the Teſtimony of the fictitious *Sanchoniathon*. *Herodotus* ſays, that the *Egyptians*, the *Ethiopians*, and the Inhabitants of *Colchos*, were the only People who from the Beginning practis'd Circumciſion; and that as the two latter Nations carried on a great Trade to *Egypt*, he imagin'd they might both receive it from thence. *Diodorus Siculus*, ſpeaking of the *Troglodytes*, tells us, that they uſed Circumciſion in the ſame Manner as the *Egyptians*. We ſhall briefly examine the Authority of theſe two Authors, and conſider how far they may be relied on, in the preſent Diſpute.

1. *Herodotus* is generally called the Father of Hiſtorians; but nevertheleſs he is well known to have often err'd from the Truth, and to have been as faulty in his Deſcriptions of Times, Nations, and Empires, as *Pliny* has been in thoſe of Nature. Such an Author, therefore, cannot deſerve Credit upon his bare Word, or rather upon the Word of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, who impoſed upon him with a vain-glorious Relation of their Antiquities and Ceremonies; eſpecially when ſuch a verbal Teſtimony is to be oppoſed to the Scriptures, in a Point which they have clearly enough expreſſed. To what religious End could Circumciſion have ſerved among the *Jews*, if it had been borrowed from another People? Could it then have been the Characteriſtic of God's peculiar People? Would the Supreme Being have required, as a ſpecial Teſtimony of their Obedience, that they ſhould merely ſubmit to a Ceremony, which others had before taken up of their own Choice? We do not find that *Herodotus* had much Knowledge of the *Jewiſh* Nation, or any at all of the Patriarchs; but *Moſes* was a Maſter of all the antient Hiſtory of the Church; and, therefore, if we put theſe two Writers upon a Level, and conſider them only as Hiſtorians, we ought to prefer the *Jewiſh* Legiſlator in this Caſe, becauſe his Account is much the moſt poſitive, and appears to be founded upon the beſt Authority. How much more ſhould he be recommended by his Character as a ſacred Pen-man, and as the Inſtrument only of that Divine Spirit, who knows all Things, and who cannot deceive? We may add, that tho' *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of the *Egyptian* Circumciſion, has accidentally dropt the Expreſſion *from the Beginning*, he has thereby only followed the vulgar Notion of his own Time; for in reality he has not given us the Hiſtory of that Nation further back than *Abraham*, and not ſo far without the Mixture of Abundance of Fables. 'Tis alſo obſervable, that *Abraham* [h] had already travell'd, and had made ſome Stay in *Egypt*, before he ſubmitted to Circumciſion; which proves that he did it only in Obedience to the Divine Precept, and not to imitate the *Egyptians*; for if he had been influenced by the latter of theſe Motives, he would certainly have been circumciſed while he reſided among that People.

2. The Paſſage of *Diodorus* is yet much leſs to be regarded than that of *Herodotus*; for he only ſays, *That the* Troglodytes *performed Circumciſion in the ſame Manner as the* Egyptians; from whom we may very reaſonably ſuppoſe they at firſt borrowed it, as *Herodotus* is inclined to think the other Nations whom he mentions, might do; and the Reaſon he gives for it is very good; for he obſerves, that this Rite was practiſed only by thoſe Nations who traded to *Egypt*, and not by thoſe who had Correſpondence with the *Greeks* only. If there be not any Proof, therefore, that the *Egyptians* had this Ceremony before, and independantly of, the Command of God to *Abraham*, we have no Room to draw any Concluſions in this Enquiry from the Practice of other Nations, who took it only at ſecond Hand from the *Egyptians*.

3. Authors are not agreed whether the *Egyptians* conformed to the Practice of Circumciſion while the *Jews* reſided among them, or took it up after the Departure of that People. 'Tis certain that the *Jews* were become odious to the *Egyptians* before the Time of *Moſes*, and therefore, 'tis unlikely that they ſhould in ſuch a Situation bring their Maſters to a Compliance with one of their Cuſtoms, which was in itſelf painful. But then *Joſeph* was highly eſteem'd ſo long as he lived, not only in the Court of *Pharoah*, but by all the People of that Kingdom, and all the Family of his Father *Jacob* came to him whilſt he was in the Height of his Reputation.

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[f] Herod. l. ii.

[g] Diodor. Sic. l. iv. c. 2.

[h] See the xiith and xiiith Chapters of Geneſis.

Moſes alſo inſinuates, in the firſt Chapter of *Exodus*, that many of the Succeſſors of that *Pharoah* to whom *Joſeph* had been Miniſter of State, preſerved the Memory of his Services; and that it was a conſiderable Time before this great Man was ſo far forgot, that his Poſterity were inhumanly abuſed, and reduced to extreme Slavery. This has made ſome conclude, that Circumciſion began to be uſed in *Egypt* ſoon after the *Iſraelites* came thither; and a certain Rabbi goes ſo far as to aſſert upon this Preſumption, that they cancelled this Uſage afterwards, that they might have nothing in common with a Nation of Shepherds whom they mortally hated. But others are of Opinion, [i] that they did not practiſe Circumciſion at all till the Time of *Moſes*. The *Egyptians* were the moſt ſuperſtitious People in the World, and the moſt apt to receive any ſudden Impreſſions in religious Matters: From this Temper of theirs, and the aſtoniſhing Actions of *Moſes* at the Court of *Pharoah*, the Original of Circumciſion among them has been accounted for by ſome Perſons. The Death of their Firſt-born, the Darkneſs which overſpread their Country, the Drowning of their Monarch and his Army in the *Red-Sea*; theſe, and other Wonders, could not fail of ſtriking the Minds of the *Egyptians* with great Terror, and giving the Learned a very high Idea of the Author of ſuch Miracles; the Conſequence of which might very well be their embracing ſome Ceremonies of the *Jewiſh* Religion, and particularly this of Circumciſion, which was its moſt eſſential Characteriſtic.

XV. Thus we have endeavoured to make it appear, that the *Egyptians* had their Circumciſion from the *Iſraelites*, and that they began to practiſe it either during the Captivity of theſe latter, or immediately afterwards. The other antient Nations, who are taken notice of by *Herodotus* for uſing it, are thought by the ſame Author to have brought it from *Egypt*; and we have ſtronger Reaſon for believing ſo than he could poſſibly have. As for the *Arabians*, there can be no Difficulty in diſcovering the Original of Circumciſion among them; for we have already taken notice that they were the Deſcendants of *Abraham* as well as the *Hebrews*. The *Canaanitiſh* Nations got it either by Imitation of the Patriarchal Family, as in the Caſe of the *Sichemites*, or learnt it of the *Arabians*, who were alſo their Neighbours. In this Manner we may eaſily account for the Original of it, in all the Countries where Circumciſion was antiently in Uſe. But we do not find that even the Poſterity of *Abraham* univerſally received it, though the Generality of them did. The *Idumeans* were the Deſcendants both of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, by *Eſau* the Son of the latter; and yet they were not circumciſed till they were compelled to it by *John Hyrcanus*, who poſſibly might deſign to leave a Mark of his Victory on them, rather than a Character of *Judaiſm*, though it ſo happen'd that they ſubmitted to all the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions at the ſame Time, and became afterwards One People with the *Jews*. And this Difference has always ſubſiſted between the Circumciſion of the true *Iſraelites*, and that of all other Nations, that it was never thought to be of general and indiſpenſible Obligation by any of the latter, whereas the *Jews* looked upon a Contempt of this Sacrament as productive of the very worſt of Conſequences. This is an additional Proof that all Circumciſion was derived from *Abraham*, and his Poſterity; and, indeed, that they were the only People to whom it was a Matter of Conſcience and Duty; for if the Heathens had ſeen as much in it as the *Iſraelites*, or had practiſed it in effect of ſome poſitive Injunction, whether religious or civil, they would certainly never have treated it as a Matter of indifference. And the *Jews*, though they could not but be informed of the Circumciſion of other Nations, were yet ſo ſenſible of the peculiar Character imprinted on themſelves by this Ceremony, and the powerful Obligations it laid them under, that whenever any of them renounced the Law of *Moſes*, they were careful to eraſe as much as poſſible this Token of the Covenant, to the end, in all probability, that it might not reproach them for their Rebellion againſt God.

XVI. We have before obſerved, that *Mahomet* did not inſtitute Circumciſion. He found it among the *Arabians* and *Saracens*, who were the Poſterity of *Abraham* above-mentioned; and as theſe were the firſt People who embraced the Doctrine of that Impoſtor, and who afterwards communicated it to the bordering Nations, we need not wonder that Circumciſion, their antient and favourite Ceremony, was communicated along with it; and, conſequently, that 'tis at this Day practiſed by all the *Mahometans*. From them it was taken, together with ſome other Parts of their Religion, by the Negroes of *Guinea*, and the bordering Parts of *Africa*, who follow at this Time a Kind of mongrel Superſtition, half-*Mahometan*, half-Heathen. The Author who aſſures us of this Particular, ſays further, [k] That he had himſelf ſeen Phylacteries about the Arms and Necks of thoſe People, written in very good *Arabian* Characters, containing certain Invocations out of the Coran. This ſufficiently proves, that they have embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, how imperfectly ſoever it may be, and how much ſoever intermixed with the Ceremonies of their antient Idolatry; ſo that we need not be in the leaſt at a Loſs for the Original of Circumciſion among them, eſpecially ſince we have not the leaſt Argument which may engage us to think that they practiſed it before the Time of *Mahomet*. As for the *Ethiopians*, we have before put it beyond a mere Probability, that they received this Rite at firſt from the *Egyptians*; and we have Reaſon to believe further, that having afterwards learn'd from whom the *Egyptians* themſelves had it, they ſet up and carried on a religious Correſpondence with the *Jews*, many of them making a public Profeſſion of the Law of *Moſes*, and going regularly to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*. The Eunuch of Queen

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[i] Baſnage mentions this.

[k] See a Diſſertation on the Conformity of the Eaſt-Indians with the Jews, and other antient Nations.

[l] Ibid.

Candace was a Proſelyte of this Kind; for the ſacred Story informs us, [m] that *having come to* Jeruſalem *for to worſhip, he was returning, ſitting in his Chariot, and reading the Prophet* Iſaiah, *at the Time when* Philip, *by Direction of the Spirit, met him on the Road.* The *Ethiopians*, who have long made Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, have nevertheleſs continued the Uſe of Circumciſion down to this Time, tho' a [n] certain learned Man has pretended that this Ceremony is now grown peculiar to the *Jews* and *Mahometans*. The Inhabitants alſo of the Iſland of *Socotora*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ethiopia*, have preſerved this antient Inſtitution. But that none of theſe People conſider it as a Sacrament, or even practiſe it from natural and neceſſary Reaſons, the Confeſſion of *Claudius* King of *Ethiopia*, publiſh'd by Mr. *Ludolf*, is an undeniable Proof. [o] *We have not*, ſays that Prince, *the ſame Idea of Circumciſion as the* Jews; *for we have learned from St.* Paul, *that Circumciſion is nothing, and that Faith and the new Creation in* Chriſt Jeſus *is neceſſary. We have all the Writings of St.* Paul, *and we follow his Doctrine concerning Circumciſion and Uncircumciſion. We obſerve not ours with reſpect to the Law of* Moſes; *but in Obedience to a Cuſtom merely human. We circumciſe with us as they caſtrate in* Egypt, *and bore their Ears in the* Indies. This Quotation concludes our Account of Circumciſion, in which we have introduced as many curious Particulars for the Illuſtration of that Subject, as could properly have Place in a Work of this Nature.

XVII. We have [p] before taken ſome Notice of the antient Privileges of the Firſt-born, particularly that of being Prieſt of the Family, which continued among the Patriarchs, and their Deſcendants the *Iſraelites*, till the Prieſthood was transferr'd to the Tribe of *Levi*. The Scripture gives room to believe, that there had been a Cuſtom from the Beginning of offering to God the Firſt-born of every Creature; and tho' we know not for certain whether this was communicated to Man as a Part of the Divine Will, or had its Original only from the Suggeſtions of a grateful Mind, it appears plain, at leaſt, from the Examples of *Cain* and *Abel*, [q] that it was underſtood to be a Duty in the very Infancy of the World. A Man that could claim the Prerogative of a Firſt-born, muſt not only be the firſt Son, but the firſt Child of his Mother; for if a Woman was delivered of a Daughter before a Son, none of her Sons who were born afterwards, had ſhe ever ſo many, were to be preſented to the Lord. But let a Man marry as many Wives as he pleaſed, the Firſt-born of each, if a Son, was ſubject to this Dedication. The Excellency attributed by the *Jews* to the Firſt-born, ſeems to have been the Cauſe why that Word is ſometimes in the Bible applied figuratively to any Thing that is the firſt, or moſt diſtinguiſhed, of its Kind. Thus it is ſaid of *Jeſus Chriſt*, that he is the [r] *Firſt-born of every Creature*; and in another Place he is called, [ſ] *The Firſt-born from the Dead.* Thus alſo in *Iſaiah*, [t] *the Firſt-born of the Poor*, ſignifies the moſt miſerable of all the Poor; and in *Job*, [v] the *Firſt-born of Death*, is the moſt terrible of all Deaths. The Character of Firſt-born ſeems to have been transferred, together with the Prieſthood, to every Individual of the Tribe of *Levi*; for *Aaron* was commanded to [w] *offer the Levites before the Lord, for an Offering of the Children of* Iſrael, *that they might execute the Service of the Lord. Moſes* has regulated another Particular of this Prerogative of the Firſt-born, in the Caſe of Polygamy, which was common among the *Jews*. [x] *If a Man have two Wives, one beloved, and another hated, and they have borne him Children, both the Beloved and the Hated, and if the firſt-born Son be hers that was hated, then ſhall it be, when he maketh his Sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the Son of the Beloved Firſt-born before the Son of the Hated, which is indeed the Firſt-born, but he ſhall acknowledge the Son of the Hated for the Firſt-born, by giving him a double Portion of all that he hath.* By this it appears, that beſides the Prieſthood, the firſt-born Son was to have a double Portion among his Brethren. Some underſtand this inheriting a double Portion to ſignify, that the Firſt-born was to have a full Half of all his Father's Inheritance, and that the other Half was to be ſhared in equal Parts among the reſt of the Sons: But the Rabbies inform us, [y] that the Firſt-born only took for his Share twice as much as any one of the others; ſo that if there were ſix Sons, the whole Inheritance was divided into ſeven equal Parts, whereof the eldeſt had two for his Portion; or if he was dead before his Father, and had left Children, they divided his double Share among them in equal Parts alſo. This might probably have been a Law, or at leaſt a Cuſtom, before the Time of *Moſes*; for he ſeems only to have confirmed the antient Uſages of the *Iſraelites* in this Matter, as in many others. Thus tho' we find that the Firſt-born, both of Man and Beaſt, had been ſacred to the Lord from the Beginning, yet when God, [z] by the Sword of the deſtroying Angel had killed all the Firſt-born of the *Egyptians*, [a] the Law concerning their Conſecration among the *Iſraelites* was renew'd, or probably was then firſt committed to Writing, as many other antient Cuſtoms were, and incorporated with the Body of the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions. 'Tis likely indeed that the Ceremony of preſenting the Firſt-born of Man to the Lord in public, was not till now introduced; becauſe before this Time there had been no general Place of Worſhip, like the Tabernacle, which was made in the Wilderneſs, and the Temple afterwards at *Jeruſalem*, And the Tribe of *Levi*, being about the ſame Time ſet apart for the prieſtly Office, on Account of their abſtaining from the Idolatry of the Golden Calf, the Redemption of the Firſt-born from the Office of the Miniſtry, to which they were devoted by their Conſecration, became alſo neceſſary, there being no longer any Occaſion for their Service. This we take to be a ſufficient Account of the Priveleges of firſt-born Sons, the Senſe of what *Moſes* has delivered concerning them, and the Original of thoſe antient *Jewiſh* Ceremonies of their Dedication and Redemption, which we ſhall next deſcribe.

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[m] Acts viii. 27, &c.
[n] Le Moyne Varia Sacra, p. 761.
[o] Ludolf. Hiſt. Ethiop. l. 3. c. 1.
[p] Page 9. of this Work, Parag. xi. and Page 61, Parag. i.
[q] Gen. iv. 4.
[r] Col. i. 15.
[ſ] Col. i. 18. See Rom. viii. 29.
[t] Iſai. xiv. 30.
[v] Job xviii. 13.
[w] Numb. viii. 11.
[x] Deut. xxi. 15, 16, 17.
[y] Selden de ſucc. in Bona, c. 5, 6, 8.
[z] Exod. xii. 29.
[a] Exod. xiii. 2, 3, &c.

XVIII. The Time appointed by the Law for the Preſentation of a Firſt-born, ſeems from the [b] Time preſcrib'd for the Purification of Women, to be the End of forty Days after his Birth, though ſome [c] tell us, and probably with Reaſon, now the Cuſtom of Purification is laid aſide, that the Child is only required [d] to be full thirty Days old. Be this as it will, the full Time being come, one of the Deſcendants of *Aaron*, who is moſt agreeable to the Father, is ſent for; and ſeveral Perſons being met together in the Houſe, the Father brings a Quantity of Gold and Silver in a Cup or Baſon. Then the Child is put into the Hands of the Prieſt, who with an audible Voice asks the Mother, *Whether this Boy be hers?* She anſwers, *Yes.* The Prieſt then goes on: *Have you never had any other Child, Male or Female; no untimely Birth, or Miſcarriage?* To this the Woman replies in the Negative. *If ſo,* ſays the Prieſt, *this Child, as your Firſt-born, belongs to me.* This is the preſent Form of their dedicating a Firſt-born Son to the Lord, as it is performed in the Houſe of the Father.

XIX. The Prieſt having thus taken Poſſeſſion of the Child, he turns himſelf to the Father, and ſays, *If you have a Deſire to have him, you muſt redeem him.* The Father anſwers, *This Gold and Silver is offered to you for that Purpoſe only. Are you willing then to redeem him?* continues the Prieſt. *I am,* ſays the Father. Then the Prieſt turning to the Aſſembly, ſpeaks to the following Purpoſe: *This Child, as a Firſt-born, is mine, according to the Law.* [e] *And thoſe that are to be redeemed, from a Month old ſhalt thou redeem, according to thine Eſtimation, for the Money of five Shekels, after the Shekel of the Sanctuary.* —— *But I am content with this in Exchange.* At the Concluſion of theſe Words, he takes two Crowns, or thereabouts, out of the Cup, more or leſs as he pleaſes; and after that reſtores the Infant to his Father and Mother. The Day of the Redemption is a Day of Rejoicing in the Family. If the Father be a Prieſt or a Levite, his Son is not redeemed at all, becauſe he remains devoted to the Service of the Lord.

XX. A [f] clean Beaſt, ſuch as Calf, a Lamb, a Kid, was alſo to be offer'd at the Temple. It was not to be redeem'd, but killed; the Blood of it was to be ſprinkled upon the Altar, the Fat to be burnt, and the Fleſh was for the Prieſt. But a Horſe, an Aſs, a Camel, or any other unclean Beaſt, was either redeemed, or ſomething elſe given in exchange for it. And, beſides the Firſt-born of Men and Beaſts, which were either offered to the Lord, or redeemed with Money, the [g] Firſt-fruits of Corn and Trees were alſo to be ſet apart. The Fruit of a Tree was unclean the three firſt Years, and in the fourth Year it was the Lord's; ſo that the Proprietor had no Right to gather any for his own Uſe till the fifth Year. Concerning the Firſt-fruits of Corn there are many Preceps, according to the ſeveral Kinds thereof. We ſhall not quote any Texts of this Kind, but ~~only~~ refer the Reader to ſeveral Paſſages,[h] both of the ſacred Writers and others, which may give a complete Knowledge of theſe Matters to ſuch as deſire it, for no more of them is here neceſſary.

XXI. There were ſeveral Kinds of Purifications among the *Hebrews*, which had all Relation to the ſeveral Impurities that might be contracted. We have before remarked, that when a Woman was deliver'd of a Boy, ſhe was impure for forty Days. During the firſt Seven of theſe, ſhe could not touch any Kind of Thing, but what it became defiled. After this, though her Impurity continued thirty-three Days longer, yet it was ſuch as did not hinder her from the Care of her houſhold Affairs, but only excluded her from the Uſe and Participation of holy Things. If ſhe brought forth a Girl, the Term of her Impurity was twice as long as at the Birth of a Boy; for ſhe was to continue fourteen Days in the firſt State of Impurity, and ſixty-ſix in the Second, before ſhe went to the Temple. The Words of the Law, both concerning the Time of Uncleanneſs, and the Ceremony of Purification, are as follows: [i] *If a Woman have conceived Seed, and borne a Man-Child, then ſhe ſhall be unclean ſeven Days; according to the Days of her Separation for her Infirmity ſhall ſhe be unclean.* ——— *And ſhe ſhall then continue in the Blood of her purifying three and thirty Days: She ſhall touch no hallowed Thing, nor come into the Sanctuary, untill the Days of her purifying be fulfilled. But if ſhe bear a Maid-Child, then ſhe ſhall be unclean two Weeks, as in her Separation; and ſhe ſhall continue in the Blood of her purifying threeſcore and ſix Days. And when the Days of her purifying are fulfilled, for a Son or for a Daughter, ſhe ſhall bring a Lamb of the firſt Year for a Burnt-offering, and a young Pigeon, or a Turtle Dove, for a Sin-offering, unto the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, unto the Prieſt; who ſhall offer it before the Lord, and make an Atonement for her; and ſhe ſhall be cleanſed from the Iſſue of her Blood.* —— *And if ſhe be not able to bring a Lamb, then ſhall ſhe bring two Turtles, or two young Pigeons, the one for a Burnt-Offering, and the other for a Sin-offering; and the Prieſt ſhall make Atonement for her, and ſhe ſhall be clean.* —— *This is the Law for her that hath borne a Male or a Female.*

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[b] Our Lord was preſented, and his Mother purify'd, at the ſame Time.

[c] Calmet in the Word Firſt-born.

[d] This agrees with the Precept below.

[e] Numb. xviii. 16.

[f] Levit. xxvii. 26, 27. Numb. xviii. 15, 16, 17.

[g] Levit. xix. 23.

[h] Deut. xii. 17, 18, & xv. 19. Cod. Menachoth. Maimonides in Temedim & Moſaphim. Levit. xxiii. 17. Joſeph Antiq. l. iii. c. 10. Miſna Tract. Thrumoth & Becharim. Deut. xxvi. 4, 5. Numb. xv. 19, 20. Philo de Primitiis Sacerdot. Leo of Modena, &c. *Calmet.*

[i] Levit. xii. 2, &c.

XXII. That the Bleſſed Virgin was entirely [k] free from the Obligation of this Law, may be eaſily proved from the firſt Words of it, which contain the Condition by which a Woman was to become ſubject thereto; a Condition which reaches all the Mothers that ever were, except the Mother of our Lord, whoſe Conception was by the Power of the Moſt High. This was the Doctrine of the Fathers, as may be ſeen in the Places referred to; and the Church has always look'd upon it as an Example of the profoundeſt Humility and Submiſſion, that ſhe went thro' a Ceremony, to which ſhe was not at all obliged by the Law. To preſerve the Memory of this Humility, and to wear out the Remains of thoſe [l] profane Sacrifices, which the *Pagans* uſed to make in the Month of *February*, the Feaſt of the Purification of the Bleſſed Virgin was ſolemnly inſtituted by the Emperor *Juſtinian*, [m] about the Middle of the ſixth Century, though it is thought to have been celebrated in ſome Places before that Time. The Vulgar [n] Name of the Day, and the Candles borne in this Feſtival by the *Roman* Church, were introduced, as 'tis pretended, in alluſion to *Simeon*'s calling our Lord, *The Light of the Gentiles, and the Glory of his People* Iſrael: Though the beſt-grounded Reaſon for the Uſe of theſe Candles, is, that they were to take Place of the Torches which the *Pagans* carried in their *Lupercalia*; it being certain, that when Chriſtianity was ſubſtituted by Law, in the room of *Paganiſm*, the Emperors converted ſeveral Heathen Uſages, which were innocent in themſelves, into Ceremonies of the Chriſtian Church, the better to engage the Attention of the common People, who are generally very much taken with Pomp and Show, and exceedingly tenacious of their antient Cuſtoms.

XXIII. But if it was a Token of great Submiſſion in the Bleſſed Virgin, that ſhe condeſcended to perform all the Ceremonies of her Religion, though not under any Neceſſity of ſo doing, how much more is the Obedience of her heavenly Son to be admired, who, though as God he was above the Law, and as Man was impeccable and perfect, did nevertheleſs chuſe a Life of ſtrict Obedience to all thoſe eſtabliſhed Forms, which were only Symbols of the Privileges, Graces, and Virtues, that were to be granted and taught under his own new Diſpenſation! We think it better to make ſuch a Reflection as this, upon the Occaſion of our Lord's Circumciſion and Preſentation in the Temple, than to enter into a nice Enquiry concerning the particular Motives which made him ſubmit to thoſe Ordinances. *Origen* and *Tertullian* [o] refine too much upon this Matter, when treating of our Lord's Preſentation, they underſtand the Words of *Moſes*, *Every Male that opens the Womb*, to be merely prophetical, and that ſtrictly taken they have a Regard to *Jeſus Chriſt* only. Their [p] Reaſon for this Conceit, in our Opinion, is altogether trifling, or worſe, and very unworthy of ſuch great Men; for *Moſes* certainly knew himſelf what he meant, and if he had not deſign'd every Firſt-born among the *Iſraelites* by theſe Words, he would neither have put it among the other Laws which he gave to that People, nor have ſuffer'd the Practice of preſenting the Firſt-born to God to have become general, as we have no room to think but it did even in his Time. If a Reaſon muſt be found for our Lord's exact Obedience to the whole Ceremonial Law, we think it the beſt Way to content ourſelves with ſuch an one as this: All the Precepts of that Law were poſitive Inſtitutions of God, and for a Time to ſtand as it were in the Place of thoſe moral Duties which corrupt human Nature could not perfectly perform; for theſe Reaſons it was abſolutely neceſſary that the *Jews*, to whom theſe Precepts were given, ſhould be very regular and exact in obſerving every Thing they enjoined, otherwiſe their Obedience was ſtill imperfect, and they were in the Senſe of this Law under the ſame Curſe as they were originally under for their Infringement of the Law of Nature. Now if we conſider what a Burden the Ceremonial Law muſt have been to that People, we have little Reaſon to think that any of them, and we may be certain that not many of them, could render ſuch an Obedience as was there required; and therefore as it was neceſſary that the Mediator, who was to reſtore the antient Union between God and his Creatures, ſhould ſee that all the Terms of that Union were obſerved, of which Terms an exact Obedience to the Ceremonial Law, ſo long as that Law continued in Force, was undoubtedly one, it ſo became neceſſary that *Jeſus Chriſt*, as Mediator, ſhould exactly perform all the Injunctions of that Law, as well as obey all the Dictates of the eternal Law of Nature; the latter for Mankind in general, and the former for the *Jews*, and thoſe who ſubmitted to the *Jewiſh* Inſtitutions, in particular. Theſe are our preſent Sentiments, which we do not require any one elſe to receive without Examination. This, however, we may offer, as a certain Truth: That whatever Virtue or Merit it pleaſed God to find in the *Jews* Obedience to their Ceremonial Law, and whatever Benefits he conferred on them for it; the whole, ſome Way or other, was entirely founded on, and owing to, the Merits and Satisfaction of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the only Mediator between God and Man, there being nothing in thoſe Ceremonies themſelves, at leaſt in the greateſt Part of them, of eternal Obligation; and therefore the Obſervance of them could not be naturally meritorious.

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[k] Vide Origen. hom. 8. in Levit. Baſil. in Iſai. vii. 14. Chyrſoſt. in homil. de Occurſ. Domini. Cyril. Alex. l. 2. de fide ad reginas, Procopium, Theophylact. ad Luc. ii. Bern. ſerm. Purificat.

[l] The Februa ſacra in Honour of Pluto, and the Lupercalia in Honour of Pan.

[m] Calmet.

[n] Candlemas.

[o] Origen. in Luc. hom. 14. Tertull. de Carne Chriſti, c. 23.

[p] Origen ſays, Quia omnium mulierum non partus infantis, ſed viri coitus, vulvam reſerat; And Tertullian, Ecquis proprie vulvam adaperuit, quam qui clauſam patefecit?

DISSERTATION II.

Critical, Hiſtorical, and Geographical.

I. *The* Jews *long expected Chriſt.* II. *Stories about* Simeon. III. *Said to have been Preſident of the* Sanhedrim. IV. *That Opinion refuted.* V, VI. *Order of ſome Occurrences mentioned by* St. Matthew *and* St. Luke. VII. *Why* Herod *ſlew Children of two Years old.* VIII. *Another Opinion concerning it.* IX. *A Conjecture on ſome Words of* Matthew. X. *Slaughter of the Innocents not mentioned by* Joſephus. XI. *The Prophecy of* Jeremiah, *quoted by* Matthew, *conſider'd.* XII. Rama, *and* Rachel's *Tomb.* XIII, XIV, XV. *The Time of our Lord's Continuance in* Egypt, *and the Year of* Herod's *Death.* XVI. *At what Place in* Egypt *Chriſt reſided.* XVII, XVIII, XIX. Onias, *the Temple of* Helipolis, *and the* Egyptian Jews. XX. *Of our Lord's being called a* Nazarene. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV. *The Life, Actions, Power, Death, Character and Poſterity of* Herod the Great.

I. THE inſpired Authors have ſaid ſo little of *Simeon* and *Anna*, (the Perſons who firſt acknowledged *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Temple, as the Meſſiah whom their Nation had long expected) that we cannot with Certainty add any Thing concerning them, to what has been ſaid in the [a] hiſtorical Part of this Work. This in general, however, may be deduced from the Evangelical Account of them, (and we have made the Obſervation before,) that the *Jewiſh* Nation at that Time were convinced that the Day of the Meſſiah's Appearance was at Hand: For 'tis particularly remarked of *Simeon*, *That he waited for the Conſolation of* Iſrael; and that *Anna* was full of the ſame Expectation, may alſo be collected from her Story. 'Tis ſaid, that this Woman departed not from the Temple Day nor Night, which muſt be underſtood, ſays Dr. *Prideaux*, that ſhe conſtantly attended the Morning and Evening Sacrifice, (which were the moſt ſolemn Times of Worſhip,) and then with great Devotion offered up her Prayers to God. The Evangeliſt intimates, that this had always been her Cuſtom, at leaſt ſince ſhe had been a Widow, which was a long Time, even if we underſtand the fourſcore and four Years, mentioned by St. *Luke*, which ſome interpret of her Widowhood, to be meant of her whole Life; and if this Attendance was occaſion'd by her Expectation of the Meſſiah, as the ingenious Author above-mentioned takes it, we are thereby aſſured that ſuch an Expectation was of a long Standing among the *Jews*: For ſhe had either received it from other People, or, as a Propheteſs, was taught it immediately from Heaven. If the former was the Caſe, the Notion muſt have got Ground at leaſt as ſoon as it came to her; if the latter, we cannot ſuppoſe that ſhe would have kept ſo important a Revelation in her own Breaſt, at leaſt without an expreſs Command ſo to do, which we have no Reaſon to think ſhe ever had.

II. The Author [b] of an antient Preface to a Book which is now loſt, informs us, that *Simeon* was blind, and that upon taking *Jeſus Chriſt* into his Arms, he immediately recovered his Sight, and gave Teſtimony to the Saviour of Mankind in the Preſence of all the People. Some [c] think, that *Simeon* was the officiating Prieſt; and that as ſuch he took our Saviour into his Arms, as a Firſt-born which belonged to the Lord, returning him again to his Parents when they had redeemed him according to the Law. And, indeed, ſeveral of the [d] Antients maintain, that he was a Prieſt; but others [e] again deny it with better Reaſon; [f] for the Silence of the Scripture alone in this Particular, is a ſufficient Argument on the Side of the latter, it being unlikely that the ſacred Writers would have omitted mentioning ſuch a Circumſtance. The Reader may poſſibly be pleaſed to hear more of theſe Stories, there being many of them concerning this Man; for though we have already declared, that we cannot with Certainty add to the Scripture Account of him, yet ſuch Relations may ſerve to ſhew the Temper of the Perſons who have deliver'd them down. *Leo Allatius*, in a Diſſertation upon the Writings of the *Simeons*, relates from Tradition ſeveral Particulars that happened when *Simeon* came into the Temple to ſee the Meſſiah. Among the other Mothers that brought their Children into the Temple, he obſerved the Holy Virgin ſhining with Rays of Light; and immediately thereupon, putting aſide the Multitude, he went directly to her, gave her his Bleſſing, took the Child *Jeſus* into his Arms, and with a divine Enthuſiaſm pronounced the Canticle recorded by St. *Luke*. *Nicephorus* tells us, that the good old Man died as ſoon as ever he had returned the Child into the Arms of his Mother; and *Epiphanius* [g] adds, that the *Hebrew Prieſts* refuſed to give him Burial, becauſe he had ſpoken of our Saviour with too much Advantage.

III. We have before ſaid, that the *Simeon* in the Goſpel is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been *Simeon* the Son of *Hillel*. This *Hillel* was the greateſt of all the antient *Miſhnical* Doctors; that is, of thoſe Doctors who taught the *Jews* their Traditions, and whoſe Succeſſion continued from the Time of [h] *Simeon the Juſt*, till the Book called the *Miſhna* was compoſed. He was deſcended by the Mother's Side from *David*, and not only ſat himſelf in the firſt Seat of Juſtice over the *Jewiſh* Nation, as Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, for forty Years together, but the ſame Honour continued to his Poſterity thro' ten Generations.

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[a] Chap. iii. § 3, 4, 5.

[b] His Name was Celſus. This Preface is preſerved among the Works of St. Cyprian.

[c] V. Baronium in Anno J. C. 1. Sect. 40.

[d] Methodius, Cyrillus Hieroſolym. Athanaſius, Epiphanius, Sophronius Hieroſol. Dionyſius Carth. & alii plures apud Allatium.

[e] Photius, Euthymus, Theophylact, Janſenius, Barradius, Tillemont, and others.

[f] Calmet.

[g] De Vita & Morte Prophetarum.

[h] An High-Prieſt of the Jews, who lived about 300 Years before Chriſt.

Simeon, the Son of *Hillel*, ſucceeded his Father, and after *Simeon*, his Son *Gamaliel*, who preſided when *Peter* and the other Apoſtles were [i] called before that Council, and was the ſame at whoſe Feet [k] *Paul* was bred up in the Sect and Learning of the *Phariſees*. Concerning the Queſtion above, Whether this *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel*, and the *Simeon* of St. *Luke*, may be juſtly thought the ſame Man, we ſhall here give our Opinion, which was omitted in the narrative Part, where we ſhall always either keep ſtrictly to the Text, or only juſt report the Paraphraſes of others.

IV. The great Learning and Reputation of *Simeon*, the Son of *Hillel*, and the Circumſtance of his living at the proper Time; theſe, together with the Fondneſs of ſome Perſons for introducing of Great Men among the firſt Believers, ſeem to have been the only Reaſons why he is ſaid to be the ſame with *Simeon* in the Goſpel. If it be unlikely that this latter was ſo much as a common Prieſt, becauſe no ſuch Circumſtance is mentioned, how improbable is it that he ſhould be ſo great a Man as he is here repreſented? Would our Lord have ſaid in the Time of his publick Miniſtry, [l] *I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, that thou haſt hid theſe Things from the Wiſe and Prudent*, if a Perſon of the higheſt Rank, both for Wiſdom and Authority, had been the Firſt that received him in the Character of the Meſſiah? Would the *Jews* have continued in that high Station of Preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, a Man who acknowledged the Object of their Contempt for the Son of God? Or rather, could the Preſident of the *Sanhedrim* have made ſuch an Acknowledgment concerning *Jeſus* at his Birth, and yet that ſame *Jeſus* have lived thirty Years afterwards in Obſcurity, and not be at all known when he made his public Appearance? We will juſt add one Thing concerning *Simeon*, which *Nicephorus* [m] has related, and which is founded on the Suppoſition here refuted, together with what is ſaid of him by St. *Luke*. He was one Day explaining that Paſſage in *Iſaiah*, *A Virgin ſhall conceive, and bear a Son*, when not being able to penetrate the Depth of this Myſtery, the Revelation was made to him, That he ſhould not die till he ſaw theſe Things accompliſhed. It has been often enough hinted, how much ſuch Traditions are to be rely'd on.

V. St. *Matthew* having related the Hiſtory of the Wiſe-men, proceeds immediately to tell us, that [n] *when they were departed, an Angel of the Lord appeared to* Joſeph *in a Dream*, and warned him to flee into *Egypt*. This Evangeliſt ſays nothing either of the Circumciſion or Preſentation, which are related by St. *Luke* only, who, on the other Hand, omits the Coming of the Wiſe-men. We have followed the general Opinion of Commentators, ſupported by the Authority of the Church, that *Jeſus* was circumciſed before the Arrival of the Magi at *Bethlehem*, and that his Preſentation was almoſt thirty Days after they were departed home. We alſo conclude the holy Family not to have gone to *Nazareth* till after their Return out of *Egypt*, and conſequently, that they went back to *Bethlehem* as ſoon as the Ceremonies at *Jeruſalem* were over, from whence they fled into *Egypt* at the Divine Command. There are ſome Difficulties, however, that attend this Opinion, which we ſhall now endeavour to remove.

VI. St. *Luke* immediately paſſes from the Account of what happened in the Temple to their Departure into *Galilee*: [o] *And when they had performed all Things according to the Law of the Lord, they returned into* Galilee, *to their own City* Nazareth: But we have ſuppoſed a Return from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethlehem*, a Retreat from thence into *Egypt*, and a Continuance of ſome Time in that Kingdom, and all before they went to their own City *Nazareth*: How can this be reconciled with the Words of *Luke*? The Anſwer to this is only, That it may be done in the ſame Manner as St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* are made to agree with one another in other Parts of their Goſpels. Neither the one nor the other of the Evangeliſts ſo much as hints at any Occurrences that happened between thoſe of which he himſelf gives an Account, and yet theſe two, particularly in our Lord's Infancy, relate different Things that muſt neceſſarily have happened about the ſame Time; and therefore this proves that the Accounts of one ought certainly to be inſerted between thoſe of the other. Thus though the Evangeliſt *Matthew* informs us, that *when* the *Magi* were departed, an Angel appeared to *Joſeph*, we have nevertheleſs ſuppoſed, and we ought ſo to do, that all what St. *Luke* relates concerning the Going up to *Jeruſalem*, came to paſs between the Departure of the *Magi* and the Appearance of the Angel, becauſe the Circumſtances of theſe Actions convince us that this is their proper Place: And ſo alſo in the Text before us, where *Luke* ſays, *when* they had preformed all Things according to the Law, they returned into *Galilee*, it ſeems apparent, that between their performing theſe Things, and their Return to *Galilee*, their Flight into *Egypt* muſt have happened, becauſe we cannot place it any where elſe, with ſo much Probability. Add to this, that St. *Matthew* himſelf mentions [p] their Going to *Nazareth*, and ſettling there, after they came out of *Egypt*, in ſuch a Manner as leaves little room to believe they had been there before ſince the Birth of *Jeſus*. The Word *When*, uſed by both theſe Evangeliſts in their Tranſitions, ſhould be there taken indefinitely, not ſo as to ſignify *immediately*, but *ſome Time after*; without determining how long. No two Hiſtorians that ever wrote of the ſame Time, or Occurrence, have given ſo exactly the ſame Account, as that neither has omitted a Circumſtance which the other has related: And yet two Writers upon the ſame hiſtorical Subject, who are both ſufficiently exact, and perhaps of equal Authority, may be eaſily found; nor will any Imperfection or Omiſſion be diſcover'd in either, but by comparing them together. A judicious Perſon, who ſhould read two ſuch Authors, in order to reconcile them with each other, and deduce a regular Series of Facts from them both, would he not purſue the ſame Method, that we, and that all Commentators and Harmoniſts, have purſued with reſpect to the Evangeliſts?

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[i] Acts v. 34.

[k] Acts xxii. 3.

[l] Matth. xi. 25, 26. Luke x. 21.

[m] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12.

[n] Matth. ii. 13.

[o] Luke ii. 39

[p] Matth. ii. 22, 23.

VII. There ſeems to be ſome Obſcurity in the Words of St. *Matthew*, which relate the Murder of the Children at *Bethlehem*. [q] *Then* Herod, *when he ſaw that he was mocked of the Wiſe-men, was exceeding wroth, and ſent forth, and ſlew all the Children that were in* Bethlehem, *and in all the Coaſts thereof; from two Years old and under, according to the Time which he had diligently enquired of the Wiſe-men.* The chief Difficulty is, to find a Reaſon for *Herod*'s ſlaying Children of two Years old, in order to involve our Lord in the common Carnage, who, according to the Opinion of moſt, could not be any thing near that Age at the Time of this Maſſacre. In order to get over this, ſome are willing to imagine, that the Wiſe-men ſaw the Star above a Year before they came to *Jeruſalem*; that Token of the Meſſiah's Birth being ſent them ſo early, on Account of the Diſtance of their Country, that they might be preſent to ſee the Bleſſed Infant whilſt lying in a Manger. Now St. *Matthew* informs us, that Herod *enquired diligently, at what Time the Star appeared*; and afterwards, that *he ſlew the Children according to the Time that he had enquired of the Wiſe-men*; that is, according to the Time at which they had told him the Star firſt appeared, which might then be near two Years ago. This would be an eaſy Way of ſolving the Difficulty, could there be any Thing brought to ſupport the principal Fact, the Appearance of the Star ſo long before our Lord's Nativity.

VII. Others believe, that the Wiſe-men did not come to *Jeruſalem*, till above a Year after our Lord's Birth, and after they had firſt ſeen the Star. This will put the Slaughter of the Innocents a Year lower than 'tis commonly thought to have been, and within a very little of the Time when *Herod* died; for that Tyrant, according to the largeſt Conjectures, did not ſurvive the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt* ſo much as two full Years. Agreeably to this Opinion, it has been maintain'd, that theſe Children were put to Death while *Herod* was raging mad in his laſt Sickneſs, and even no more than five Days before he died. The Reaſons upon which this is believed, are theſe: [r] *Joſephus* tells us, that *Herod* was exaſperated to the utmoſt Degree of Wrath in his laſt Sickneſs, and that only five Days before his Death he had his own Son *Antipater* executed: And *Macrobius*, an Author of the fifth Century, [s] mentions a Child of *Herod*'s, that was ſlain among the other Children at *Bethlehem*. But theſe Things cannot be made to hang well together: For *Antipater* was ſo far from being a Child, that he was a Man in Years; neither was he executed at *Bethlehem*: Beſides, *Joſephus*, who gives an Account of *Antipater*'s Death, ſays nothing of theſe Children, which he would certainly have done, had they been put to Death at the ſame Time. Others have pretended, that the Child of *Herod*, which was murdered in this Maſſacre, was only an Infant at Nurſe: But neither is there any Ground to affirm this. *Macrobius* adds, that the Cruelty of *Herod* coming to the Ears of *Auguſtus*, that Emperor made the following ſarcaſtical Reflection upon it: *'Tis better to be* Herod's *Hog than his Son.* The Point of this turns, in a great Meaſure, upon the *Jews* Abſtinence from Swine's Fleſh; for which Reaſon they killed no Hogs: It was therefore better to be a Hog than a Man, at the Mercy of ſuch People.

IX. But we may ſtill keep to the old Opinion, and allow the *Magi* to have come within forty Days after the Birth of *Chriſt*; for, according to Dr. *Whitby*, we need not have recourſe to any of the Suppoſitions above, in order to account for this Paſſage of St. *Matthew*. That Author ſays, [t] We are not certain from the original Words, that the Evangeliſt means all the Children *of two Years old and under*. To prove this he inſtances in two [u] *Greek* Authors, who expreſs *a Thing that lives one whole Year*, by the ſame [w] Word that is here tranſlated *two Years old*. *Ariſtotle* alſo has a Verb from the ſame Root, when ſpeaking of certain Waſps, he tells us *they* [x] *live not a whole Year*, but die in the Winter. If theſe Teſtimonies will hold good, 'tis plain that the Words of St. *Matthew* may be render'd, *from one Year old and under*; which Interpretation makes that Evangeliſt appear perfectly conſiſtent with himſelf, and removes the Perplexity that attends this Part of the Goſpel Hiſtory: For indeed it appears ſomewhat ſtrange that ſuch a Prince as *Herod*, when he was diſappointed by the *Magi* in the Manner St. *Matthew* relates, ſhould ſtay afterwards at leaſt above a Year before he executed his bloody Purpoſe. But taking the Words of the Goſpel in the Senſe here given them, the Time between the Coming of the *Magi* and the Maſſacree at *Bethlehem* is reduced to half; and we cannot tell how much *under one Year* the Age of *Chriſt* might be at the Time of this Maſſacree; for as *Herod* was willing to make ſure Work, there is no doubt but he carried his Cruelty beyond the Information he had received. We are ſure he did ſo with regard to Place; for he ſlew not only the Children of *Bethlehem*, where the Chief Prieſts and Scribes informed him *Chriſt* was to be born, but he alſo ſhed the Blood of all the innocent Babes *in the Coaſts of that City*: And why might he not go backwards three or four Months, or more, in reſpect of Time, to prevent his being deceived? There might be a great deal more introduced upon this Head; but we have met with nothing that ſeems more to the Purpoſe.

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[q] Matth. ii. 16.

[r] Antiq. l. 17. c. 8.

[s] Saturnal. l. 2. c. 4.

[t] In his Notes on the Place.

[u] Phavorinus, & Heſychius.

[w] διέτης.

[x] ου διετίζειν.

X. The *Greek*, *Moſcovite*, and *Ethiopian* Chriſtians, affirm, that the Number of Children maſſacred at this Time, in *Bethlehem* and the neighbouring Villages, amounted to fourteen thouſand; an Article not at all credible, conſidering that *Joſephus*, who gives a very large Account of *Herod*'s Actions, takes not the leaſt Notice of this Affair. It is indeed ſurprizing to many, that this Hiſtorian, who relates *Herod*'s Murder of ſome Youths when he was only Governor of *Galilee*, and the Cry of their Mothers for Juſtice againſt him for it, ſhould be altogether ſilent in regard to an Action of the ſame Prince, which appears to us with much more Horror; eſpecially as it was perpetrated ſo many Years after the other, and when he was poſſeſs'd of regal Authority. *Whitby* ſays, That *Joſephus* being born in the firſt Year of *Caius*, and the Thirty-eighth of *Chriſt*, and writing [y] his Hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* Wars in the [z] Fifty-ſixth Year of his Age, which was the Ninety-fourth of *Chriſt*, it is not ſo much Wonder that he ſhould at that Diſtance of Time make no Mention of a Fact, which was not likely to be preſerved in the *Jewiſh* Records. But why was it not likely to be preſerv'd there, as well as the other Actions of *Herod?* There muſt certainly have been ſome particular Reaſon for this; for the *Jews* had ſo little Reſpect to the Memory of *Herod*, that they would not voluntarily have neglected to record an Action ſo much to his Diſadvantage: And if Dr. *Whitby* knew this particular Reaſon, he ought to have given it, or not have apologiz'd for *Joſephus* at all. He ſays, 'tis ſufficient that this Hiſtory is preſerved by *Macrobius*; yet [a] afterwards he calls the Teſtimony of *Macrobius* in queſtion, in order to refute Mr. *Whiſton*. For our own Part, we content ourſelves with St. *Matthew*'s Account of this Affair, without looking for concurrent Teſtimonies of it, or enquiring what were the Reaſons that prevented our having any ſuch: For if *Matthew* had aſſerted a Falſhood, he would certainly have been corrected by the *Jews* of his Time, many of whom could remember *Herod*, which was more than could be ſaid when *Joſephus* wrote. The moſt that may be gathered from the Silence of this latter, is only, that the Number of theſe Children was not very great and conſiderable. But even this is far from being certain; for when we conſider the Character of *Herod*, there ſeems to have been nothing ſo extravagantly bloody and inhuman, that he was incapable of acting it; and the Application of a Paſſage of *Jeremiah* to this Slaughter, which is made by St. *Matthew*, is enough to make us think it was very great and terrible, tho' ſhort of what the Chriſtians above-mentioned have pretended.

XI. The Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, which the Evangeliſt quotes, relates more immediately to the Captivity of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, who were deſcended from *Rachel*. That beloved Wife of *Jacob* died at *Rama*, in Childbirth, as ſhe was upon the Road with her Huſband, who buried her in the ſame Place, and erected over her a Monument which remained for many Ages. The Prophet therefore, by a very beautiful Figure, introduces her as lamenting in the Place of her Death, for the Captivity of her Children: [b] *In* Rama *was a Voice heard, Lamentation and bitter Weeping,* Rachel *weeping for her Children.* That this was the Prophet's Meaning, appears plain from the following Words, which can refer only to the future Return of her Children from their Captivity and Diſperſion. [c] *Thus ſaith the Lord; Refrain thy Voice from Weeping, and thine Eyes from Tears; for thy Work ſhall be rewarded, ſaith the Lord, and they ſhall return again from the Land of the Enemy: And there is Hope in thine End, ſaith the Lord, that thy Children ſhall come into their own Border.* But tho' the Application of this Prophecy by St. *Matthew* cannot be ſaid to give the literal and hiſtorical Senſe thereof, yet the Providence of God foreſeeing this future and greater Occaſion for *Rachel* to weep, the Holy Spirit might have a Reference to that as well as to the Captivity of *Iſrael*, in the Words of the Prophet. And 'tis remarkable that *Matthew*, in applying this Text, does not ſay as in other Places, [d] *This was done that it might be fulfilled*, (which would have made the Slaughter of the Innocents the immediate Object of the Prophecy,) but only, *Then was fulfilled that which was ſpoken by the Prophet* Jeremiah; that is, then was performed that which gave a more full Completion to the Words of *Jeremiah*, than they had before received by the Captivity of *Iſrael*.

XII. The City, or, as it was in the Time of St. *Jerom*, the Village of *Rama*, was ſituated within *the Coaſts* or Neighbourhood of *Bethlehem*, tho' not in the ſame Tribe. It was in the Inheritance of *Benjamin*, the younger Son of *Jacob*, at whoſe Birth *Rachel* died; and within ſix or ſeven Miles of *Jeruſalem*. 'Tis mentioned by *Joſephus* [e], under the Name of *Ramathan*; and in the Old Teſtament 'tis called *Rama*, *Ramath*, and *Ramathaim*. There were other Places of the ſame Name in the *Land of Iſrael*. The Tomb of *Rachel*, which we called a *Turkiſh* Structure in a [f] preceding Diſſertation, upon the Authority of Mr. *Maundrell*, is thus deſcribed by *M. Le Brun*, who took a Draught of it on the Place. 'Tis cut in the Cavity of a Rock, and covered with a Dome, ſupported by four Pillars, or Fragments of a Wall, which open to the Sepulchre. The Work is rude enough, and without any Ornament, but as entire as when firſt made; which confirms Mr. *Maundrell*'s Conjecture, that it cannot be the Monument which *Jacob* erected. Another Author tells us [g], that the four Pillars of this Dome are ſquare, and form as many Arches; and that it is ſurrounded by a Wall of three Foot high, through which there is a little Entrance by three Steps. The Tomb itſelf riſes ſix Foot above the Ground; is ſeven Foot long, and three and a half broad: The upper Part of it is round.

XIII. The Time of our Lord's Continuance in *Egypt* is very uncertain: For ſome make it to be almoſt two Years, and others not above two Months. This Queſtion depends very much upon two others: *Firſt*, When the Wiſe-men came to *Jeruſalem*; And, *Secondly*, How long *Herod* lived after the Murder of the Holy Innocents. The firſt of theſe we have already examined, and concluded that thoſe Eaſterns came to *Jeruſalem*, and from thence to *Bethlehem*, whilſt our Lord was under forty Days old, and before he was preſented in the Temple. With regard to the Second, it has been the Opinion of ſome, that *Herod* lived not above five Days after that horrid Piece of Barbarity. Theſe are the Perſons who [h] imagine, upon the Authority of *Macrobius*, that the Death of the Innocents and that of *Antipater* happened at the ſame Time; for *Joſephus* aſſures them that *Antipater* was put to death only five Days before *Herod* himſelf died, as we before remarked. Others pretend [i] that the Maſſacree at *Bethlehem* was only ſix Weeks before *Antipater*'s Execution; and that the News of both theſe bloody Buſineſſes coming at the ſame Time to the Ear of *Auguſtus*, might be the Occaſion of his uttering the Expreſſion recited by *Macrobius*. Thoſe who argue for ſo ſhort a Time between the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Death of *Herod*, muſt either make the Coming of the *Magi* to be long after the Birth of *Chriſt*, or they muſt ſuppoſe that *Herod* died very ſoon after *Chriſt* was born. The firſt of theſe Opinions being already rejected, we ſhall take no further notice of it; but Mr. *Whiſton* [k] has maintained the latter, and affirm'd that there was only a Month between our Lord's Nativity and *Herod*'s Death. We ſhall rehearſe the principal Arguments that are brought againſt the Hypotheſis of this learned Man, and then give our own Opinion, according as the Evidence appears.

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[y] De Vita ſua.

[z] In Antiq.

[a] See towards the End of his Commentary on Matth. ii.

[b] Jerem. xxxi. 15.

[c] Ver. 16, 17.

[d] See Matth. i. 22. ii. 15. iv. 14. viii. 17. xii. 17. xiii. 35. xxi. 4.

[e] Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 6.

[f] Page 33.

[g] Calmet.

XIV. We muſt here firſt collect from *Joſephus*, how long *Herod* reigned, and in what Year he died; and then compare it with the Year of our Lord's Nativity, as it has been fixed by very learned Men. The *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of *Herod*'s being declared King of *Judea* at *Rome*, has Words to this Effect: [l] *So he took the Kingdom, which he obtained in the one hundred forty-eighth Olympiad, during the Conſulate of* C. Aſinius Pollio, *and* C. Domitius Calvinus, *who was that Year the ſecond Time Conſul.* This was in the Year from the Building of the City ſeven hundred and fourteen. And the ſame Author, relating the Siege of *Jeruſalem* by *Herod*, tells us, [m] *that it was in the third Year after he was declared King at* Rome, *in the hundred and eighty-fifth Olympiad,* M. Agrippa *and* Canidius Gallus *being Conſuls.* He took *Jeruſalem* about the End of the third Year of his Reign, as M. *Le Clerc* has proved. Theſe Paſſages ſettle the twofold Beginning of *Herod*'s Reign (from his being proclaimed at *Rome*, and from his becoming Maſter of *Jeruſalem*) beyond all Diſpute: Let us now ſee in what Year he died; which we may alſo learn from the ſame Hiſtorian. [n] *He died in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Reign after he had cut off* Antigonus, *but the Thirty-ſeventh after his being declared King at* Rome. The Death of *Antigonus* was not long after the taking of *Jeruſalem*; for *Herod* did not think himſelf ſafe ſo long as there was any Remainder of the antient Royal Family [o], and therefore never left ſoliciting *Anthony*, whoſe Priſoner *Antigonus* was made, till he obtained the Death of that unfortunate Prince by the Hands of a common Executioner. This Expreſſion therefore, *after he had cut off* Antigonus, is much the ſame as if *Joſephus* had ſaid, *from the Taking of* Jeruſalem. Now if to the Year ſeven hundred and thirteen from the Building of *Rome*, you add thirty-ſeven, taking in the Year ſeven hundred and fourteen, in which *Herod* began to reign, you fall upon the Number ſeven hundred and fifty, which was therefore the Year of *Rome* in which *Herod* died. The ſame Number ariſes from the Addition of thirty-four to ſeven hundred and ſixteen, at the End of which *Antigonus* was cut off in Favour of *Herod*, who alone from that Time could be called King of the *Jews*. Beſides this, *Joſephus* marks out another Way of finding the true Year of *Herod*'s Death; for he ſays there [p] was an Eclipſe of the Moon in that Year; which Eclipſe, according to the Calculation of Aſtronomers, happened at *Jeruſalem* on the Thirteenth of *March*, in the Year ſeven hundred and fifty from the Building of *Rome*. We ſhall here omit what has been ſaid about the Times of the Year at which the Reign of *Herod* began and ended; but only obſerve in general, that he appears to have died at the Beginning of the thirty-ſeventh Year of his Reign, which makes it neceſſary to include the Year ſeven hundred and fourteen in calculating the Year of his Death by the Length of his Reign, as we have done above.

XV. Having thus ſettled the Year of *Herod*'s Death, our next Enquiry is, How long the Birth of *Chriſt* preceded the Death of *Herod*. We have already placed the Nativity of our Lord in [q] the Thirty-third Year of *Herod*, reckoning from the taking of *Jeruſalem*, and we ſhall find no Reaſon to alter this upon the moſt impartial Examination. Concerning the particular Number of Months, indeed, between the Nativity of *Chriſt* and the Death of *Herod*, there can be nothing ſaid; but this we may lay down for Truth, that *Chriſt* was born in the ſeven hundred and forty-ninth Year of *Rome*; and that for the two following Reaſons.

1. *Firſt*, St. *Luke* tells us, [r] that *John* began to baptize in *Jordan* in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*; and that many flocking to him from all Parts, *Jeſus* himſelf alſo came [ſ] and was baptiz'd by him. He adds, [t] that then *Jeſus* began to be about thirty Years of Age. The Queſtion here is, when *Tiberius* began to reign? And by finding that, we ſhall eaſily know in what Year *Jeſus* was born.

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[h] Mr. Whiſton has advanced this. [i] This is Calmet's Opinion. [k] In his Harmony of the Goſpels.

[l] Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 29. [m] Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 27, 28. [n] Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 10. & De Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 21.

[o] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib. xv. cap. 1. & De Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 13. [p] Antiq. lib xvii. cap. 8.

[q] Page 4, and 15. [r] Luke iii. 1, 2, 3. [ſ] Ver. 21. [t] Ver. 23.

Now there is a twofold Beginning attributed to the Reign of this Emperor; the firſt in the eleventh Year of the Vulgar Æra, that is, the fifteenth from the true Time of our Lord's Nativity, according to the Chronology of *Uſher*, when *Tiberius* was taken in as a Colleague by *Auguſtus*; and the ſecond about three Years after, when *Auguſtus* died, and his Partner came into the ſole Poſſeſſion of the Empire. It muſt be from the firſt of theſe Beginnings that the Evangeliſt dates the Years of *Tiberius*, which falling in with the fifteenth Year of our Lord's real Age, it follows, that ſome time in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius* he muſt be thirty Years old. Now this fifteenth Year of *Tiberius* anſwers to the Year of *Rome* 779. from which ſubſtracting thirty Years, it appears that our Lord was born in the Year of *Rome* 749. one Year at leaſt before the Death of *Herod*. To prove this, 'tis neceſſary to make one Remark here, that was before paſt over; which is, that *Herod* dy'd towards the End of the Year of *Rome* 750, which was the Beginning of his thirty-ſeventh; and this agrees with what was before ſaid.

2. The other Mark of the Time when our Lord was born, is taken from the Goſpel of St. *John*. That Evangeliſt, whilſt he is treating of the firſt Year of our Lord's Miniſtry, introduces the *Jews*, as ſaying to Chriſt[u] *Forty and ſix Years was this Temple in building*. By which Words they mean, that the Temple began to be built forty-ſix Years before, and afterwards till that Time received continually ſome additional Ornaments, though the main Body[w] was finiſhed by *Herod* in nine Years and a Half. Thus *Pliny*, ſpeaking of the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, ſays,[x] *it was two hundred and twenty Years in building by all* Aſia; by which he can mean no more, than that the adorning and beautifying of it was ſo long carried on. Thus alſo we might now attribute a very long Time to the building of *St. Paul's* in *London*, the beautifying of which has been continually carrying on ſince the outward Structure was finiſhed. Now *Joſephus* tells us, that *Herod* began to rebuild the Temple at *Jeruſalem* in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, dating the Beginning of it from the taking of that City. This eighteenth Year of *Herod*'s Reign anſwers partly to the twenty-ſixth *Julian* Year, and partly to the twenty-ſeventh; ſo that reckoning from the twenty-ſixth to the ſeventy-firſt of the ſame Æra, (which was the twenty-fifth of the vulgar Chriſtian Æra, the fifteenth of the Reign of *Tiberius*, the firſt of our Lord's Miniſtry, and the thirtieth of his Life,) we ſhall find forty-ſix whole Years, as ſeems neceſſary in the preſent Caſe, without taking Notice of the odd Months. And if Thirty, the Year of our Lord's Age, be ſubſtracted from Seventy-one, the Year of the *Julian* Æra at that Time, we ſhall find that he was born in the forty-firſt Year of that ſame Æra, which anſwers to the 749th from the building of *Rome*, and the 33d of of *Herod*'s Reign, reckoning from his becoming Maſter of *Jeruſalem*, and the Death of *Antigonus*.

3. Thoſe who require a more exact Calculation of theſe Times, may find it in ſuch Works as are written expreſly on the Subject: But we believe that what has been here ſaid, will be thought ſufficient for our Purpoſe, which is only to prove that the Birth of our Lord, and the Death of *Herod*, could not happen ſo near together as ſome have imagined; and conſequently, that the Time of our Lord's Abode in *Egypt*, from before the Slaughter of the Innocents till after *Herod*'s Death, muſt have been longer than a few Weeks, and even than a very ſmall Number of Months. If therefore the Birth of our Lord was in *October*, as many have conjectured, and the Death of *Herod* on the 25th of *November*, as is generally agreed, we may juſtly conclude, that the latter of theſe was a full Year and a Month after the former; whence it will follow, that the Time of our Lord's Abode in *Egypt*, muſt be about a Year; for he was carried thither immediately after his Preſentation in the Temple, and not brought back again till *Herod* was dead. But if the Nativity of *Jeſus Chriſt* was at another Time of the Year than in the Month of *October*, as we are not at all ſure but it was, then that Nativity and *Herod*'s Death might as well be further apart, and the Time of the Holy Family's Receſs into *Egypt*, might be longer than we have here put them. This is all we ſhall ſay concerning theſe Matters, and we are afraid this is more than many of our Readers might deſire, upon ſo dry a Subject as a Chronological Queſtion.

XVI. *Egypt* is known to be the North-eaſt Part of *Africa*, according to the preſent Diviſion of the Quarters; tho' the antient Geographers counted ſo much of it to be in *Aſia*, as lies Eaſtward from the *Nile*. It contain'd formerly a [y] prodigious Number of Towns, and an incredible Multitude of Inhabitants, within a very narrow Compaſs. The *Nile* runs from South to North, through the whole Country, which is two hundred Leagues in Length, bounded on the North by the *Mediterranean Sea*, on the Eaſt by the *Red-Sea* and the *Iſthmus* of *Suez*, on the South by *Ethiopia*, and on the Weſt by *Libya*. It is incloſed on each Side by a Ridge of Mountains, which very often leave, between their Foot and the *Nile*, a Space of not above ſixteen *Engliſh* Miles, and ſometimes leſs; but on the Weſt Side this Plain extends in ſome Places to twenty-five or thirty Leagues. The greateſt Breadth of *Egypt* is in the North, from *Alexandria* to *Damiata*, being about fifty Leagues. This Country is often mentioned in Scripture by the Name of[z] *Miſraim*, from a Son of *Ham* ſo called, and is particularly celebrated for the Captivity which the *Iſraelites* there ſuffered, and the Wonders wrought by *Moſes* at the Delivery of that People. It was antiently divided into three Parts, *Upper*, *Middle*, and *Lower Egypt*, which were all united under the great King *Seſoſtris*. Through a long Courſe of Years it was governed by Monarchs of its own, and afterwards by the Succeſſors of *Ptolemy Lagus*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, till it was reduced to a *Roman* Province by *Auguſtus*, a few Years before the Birth of Chriſt. We muſt not pretend to run into a particular Deſcription of this Country, which was ſo famous in antient Hiſtory, for we ſhould be obliged to ſay more than would be proper in the preſent Work. Every one has heard of its Cities, its Pyramids, its Obeliſks, and the over-flowing of the *Nile*, which have ſeparately been the Admiration of all Ages. It was hither that our Bleſſed Lord was carried in his Infancy, for Security from the Rage of *Herod*; and here we ſuppoſe him to have reſided a Year or more, though in what Town or City is not certainly known. There are three Places mentioned on this Occaſion, *Bahana*, *Matharæa*, and *Hermopolis*; and ſeveral Miracles are attributed to him at each of theſe three; but the beſt Authors who ſpeak of this Matter, conclude in favour of *Hermopolis*, and for that Reaſon we have placed him there in our [a] Hiſtory. This City is not once mentioned in the Canonical Books of the Scripture; but Geographers inform us, that it was ſituated in *Upper Egypt*, or *Thebais*, at a very great Diſtance from *Judea*. Whether or no *Joſeph* and *Mary* would chuſe ſuch a remote Part of the Country, when they might have been as ſafe nearer Home, we leave the Reader to determine: This however we may beg Leave to remark, in favour of the Antients who fix our Lord's Reſidence at this City, that if they had been guided by Fancy only in the Choice of a Place, it ſeems likely that they ſhould rather have thought of *Alexandria*, where there were Abundance of *Jews*; or *Heliopolis*, where there was a *Jewiſh* Temple, like that at *Jeruſalem*, than of this *Hermopolis*, where we hear of nothing particular to invite them thither. But perhaps it will be ſaid, that the *Jews* who worſhipped at *Heliopolis*, were looked upon as Heretics and Schiſmatics by their Brethren; and therefore we ought not to think that our Lord would aſſociate with ſuch People. It may be ſo: We have only offered a Conjecture, and ſhall not inſiſt upon it at all: But it may be worth while in this Place to give ſome Account of the Temple, which has been thus occaſionally mentioned.

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[u] John ii. 20.

[w] Joſephus Antiq. l. 15. c. 14.

[x] L. 36. c. 14.

[y] Herodotus ſays 18000 Towns, and 7000000 of Inhabitants. l. ii. c. 177.

[z] In the Original.

XVII. *Onias*, the Son of *Onias* III. High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, being diſappointed of the Pontifical Dignity upon the Death of his Uncle *Menelaus*, fled into *Egypt*; and there ſo ingratiated himſelf with King *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his Queen,[b] that he gained the Chief of their Confidence in all their Affairs. And having obtained this great Power and Intereſt, he made Uſe of it to procure [c] a Licenſe to build a Temple for the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and a Grant for him and his Deſcendants to be always High-Prieſts thereof. To accompliſh this, he repreſented to the King, that the building of ſuch a Temple would be for the Intereſt of his Crown: For there being Enmity between the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and *Jeruſalem* being within the Territories of the latter, *Onias* told *Ptolemy*, that the going of the *Egyptian Jews* to worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, might give Occaſion for the ſeducing of them to the *Syrian* Intereſt; which would not only be effectually prevented by the building of a Temple in *Egypt*, but ſuch a Temple, he ſaid, might alſo draw many other *Jews* out of *Judea*, for the better peopling and ſtrengthening of his Kingdom. By ſuch Arguments as theſe he gained over the King, who was willing to oblige the Man he ſo much reſpected; and indeed *Onias* deſerved his Favour; for he was both a great Soldier, and a conſummate Politician. But the great Difficulty was to reconcile the *Jews* to this new Invention, their conſtant Notion hitherto having been, that *Jeruſalem* was the only Place which God had choſen for his Worſhip, and that it was a Sin to ſacrifice to him upon any Altar elſewhere. To ſatisfy them as to this, he produced the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, where it is ſaid, [d] *In that Day ſhall five Cities in the Land of* Egypt *ſpeak the Language of* Canaan, *and ſwear to the Lord of Hoſts. One ſhall be called the City of Deſtruction. In that Day ſhall there be an Altar unto the Lord in the Midſt of the Land of* Egypt, *and a Pillar at the Border thereof unto the Lord.* And having interpreted this Place of Scripture, which truly related to the future State of the Goſpel in that Country, as if it reſpected the then preſent Times, he prevailed with all of his own Nation in the Land of *Egypt* to underſtand it ſo too, and by that Means ſerved his Purpoſe.

XVIII. The Place which he choſe for the Execution of his Project, [e] was a Plot of Ground within the *Nomos* or Præfecture of *Heliopolis*, at the Diſtance of about twenty-four Miles from *Memphis*, where had formerly ſtood an old Temple of *Bubaſtis*, or *Iſis*, which was then wholly neglected and demoliſhed. The Rubbiſh of theſe Ruins being cleared away, he there built upon the very ſame Spot his new *Jewiſh* Temple. He made it exactly after the Pattern of that at *Jeruſalem* (though not altogether ſo high, nor ſo ſumptuous,) and placed therein an Altar for Burnt-offerings, an Altar of Incenſe, a Shew-bread Table, and all other Inſtruments and Utenſils neceſſary for the *Jewiſh* Service, in the ſame Manner as in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, ſave only that he had not a Golden Candleſtic of ſeven Branches in the Sanctuary, but inſtead of it, one great Lamp was hung there in its Place by a golden Chain from the Roof of the Houſe.

Scaliger thinks [f], that *Onias* was led to the Choice of this Place by the ſame Prophecy of *Iſaiah* above recited: For the Words rendered, *One ſhall be called the City of Deſtruction*, by the Change [g] of only one Letter for another much like it, would ſignify, *One ſhall be called the City of the Sun*, which is the true Meaning of the *Greek* Word *Heliopolis*, the Name of the Præfecture where this Temple was erected. And Dr. *Prideaux* ſays, that in the Time of *Jonathan Ben-Uzziel*, Author of the *Targum* on the Prophets, who lived about a hundred Years after the Building of this Temple, there was a Doubt, whether *Haberes*, *Deſtruction*, or *Hacheres*, *the Sun*, was the true Reading. From this it ſhould ſeem not at all improbable, that *Scaliger* may be right, and that *Onias* might be influenced in his Choice by the latter of theſe Readings. But another Reaſon has been aſſign'd for the building of this Temple here, which *Prideaux* believes the true one; and that is, that *Onias* having the Government of this Præfecture under the King, had built a City there, and called it after his own Name *Onion*; which City, and the Territory round it, being peopled with *Jews*, he could find no Place more advantageous and convenient. Others ſeem to confine [h] the Name *Onion* to the Temple only, and take no notice of any other City here than that of *Heliopolis*, which gave Name to the Diſtrict, and was ſo called from a Temple therein dedicated to the Sun, in which was a Looking-Glaſs diſpoſed in ſuch a Manner, that it reflected the Rays of that Luminary all Day long. This City is called *On* [i] in Scripture; and it was here that *Potiphar* was Prieſt, who married his Daughter to *Joſeph*.

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[a] Chap. iii.

[b] Joſephus contra Apion. l. ii.

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 6. & l. xx. c. 8. & De Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 30.

[d] Iſai. xix. 18, 19.

[e] Joſephus ubi ſupra.

[f] In Animad. ad Chronolog. Euſebii, ſub Numero 1856.

[g] He for Cheth, which Letters are much alike both in Figure and Sound.

But to continue our Deſcription: When *Onias* had thus built his Temple, he ſurrounded the Area in which it ſtood with a high Brick Wall, and placed Prieſts and Levites to officiate in it. For he found, it ſeems, many of theſe as little ſcrupulous as himſelf; tho' their Brethren at *Jeruſalem* could not ſee this Temple without Concern, and it was always a Subject of Diviſion between the *Jews* of *Egypt* and thoſe of *Paleſtine*. But whatever Diſputes might ariſe, divine Service was here continually carried on in the ſame Manner as at *Jeruſalem*, from the Time of its Building, about the Year of the World 3854, before the vulgar Æra one hundred and fifty Years, till it was put a Stop to by the Command of *Veſpaſian*, about two hundred and twenty-three Years after, that is, in the Year of *Chriſt* 173. For the Temple at *Jeruſalem* having been [k] juſt before demoliſhed by the *Romans*, there was Reaſon to fear that the *Jews* of *Paleſtine*, being driven out of their Country, might retire into *Egypt*, and aſſembling together in this Temple, take Occaſion for another Revolt. To prevent this, Orders were ſent to *Lupus*, Governor of *Alexandria*, and Prefect of *Egypt*, to level it with the Ground: But *Lupus* contented himſelf with only ſhutting it up; and *Paulinus*, who ſucceeded him, with ſtripping it of all the Ornaments and Riches that were contained in it, and continuing to prohibit all Manner of Religious Exerciſes therein. Dr. *Prideaux* ſays, it was afterwards wholly demoliſhed, together with the City *Onion*, in which it ſtood: But others mention a Tower to be ſeen there, like that of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which probably might have been the Sanctuary of the Place [l]. 'Tis a Structure of about ſixty Cubits high, built with very large Stones, and having in it an Altar, which is alſo like that of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*.

XIX. 'Tis not very difficult to trace the Original of the *Jews* in *Egypt*: For, notwithſtanding the antient Enmity between them and the *Egyptians*, we find that theſe two Nations were often obliged to unite their Forces, to reſiſt the Kings of *Aſſyria*, who would gladly have conquered them both. This opened a Communication between them, and doubtleſs gave Occaſion for many *Jews* to go and ſettle in *Egypt*. But beſides this, *Pſammetichus* King of *Egypt* having taken *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, a Town inhabited by *Jews*, he carried the People of it away with him, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. After this, upon the firſt Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, when *Gedaliah* Governor of *Judea* was murdered, the ſacred Story informs us, [m] that *Johanan* the Son of *Kereah*, with the People that were left, fled into *Egypt* for Refuge from the King of *Babylon*, carrying with them *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and *Baruch* the Son of *Neriah*: And tho' many of theſe Refugees, together with abundance of *Egyptians*, were afterwards carried Captives to *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, there yet remained in *Egypt* ſeveral Families of *Jews*, who increaſed continually. The Number of theſe were vaſtly augmented by *Alexander the Great*, who reſolving to fill his new City *Alexandria*, ſent thither a Colony of *Jews*, and granted them the ſame Privileges as the *Macedonians*. And *Ptolemy Lagus*, the Succeſſor of *Alexander* in *Egypt*, making Incurſions into *Judea*, carried away with him at Times about a hundred thouſand of theſe People, who were all ſold for Slaves to the *Egyptians*, but ſet at Liberty in the next Reign by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

This Prince is ſaid to have procured a Tranſlation of the Books of the *Old Teſtament* into *Greek*, and to have employ'd therein at a prodigious Expence ſeventy-two of the moſt learned *Jews*, who all agreed to a Miracle in the Verſion they made. And from the Number of theſe Men, that Tranſlation has ever ſince been called the *Tranſlation of the Septuagint*, or more briefly *the Septuagint* only, the Word *Septuaginta* in *Latin* ſignifying the Number Seventy. There is a pretended Hiſtory of this Tranſlation in *Greek*, ſaid to have been written by one *Ariſtæas*; but the Learned of this Age reject its Authority, and look upon it as a Heap of Fables. It is certain, however, that a Verſion of the Bible into *Greek* was actually made at ſome Time during the Empire of the *Ptolemys*, that this Verſion is what we now have under the Name of the *Septuagint*, and that the ſame was uſed by the Authors of the *New-Teſtament* in the Quotations which they made from the *Old*; for moſt of thoſe Quotations are Word for Word the ſame as in the *Septuagint Greek* Bibles of this Day.

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[h] See Calmet's Dictionary.

[i] Gen. xli. 45. & xlvi. 20.

[k] Anno Chriſti 70.

[l] Calmet.

[m] Jerem. xlii.

Thus have you the Origin of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and an Abſtract of their Hiſtory in that Country to the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, under whoſe indulgent Reign they could not but multiply vaſtly. After his Death they continued quietly enough for near thirty Years, till the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopater* his Grandſon. This Prince, who was a Monſter of Cruelty and Debauchery, having obtained the Provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, from *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, and being returned to *Alexandria* from ravaging the Land of *Judea*, where he was hinder'd by the High-Prieſt from entering the Holy Temple, took it into his Head to deſtroy all the *Jews* in *Egypt*, in Revenge for the Affront which was put upon him at *Jeruſalem*. To accompliſh this, he order'd them to be ſent to *Alexandria* from all Parts of the Kingdom in Chains, and as faſt as they arrived, he had them ſhut up in the [m] *Hippodrome*, purpoſing there to expoſe them for a Spectacle, and have them deſtroy'd by his Elephants. But when the People were met on the Day appointed, and the Elephants brought forth, they were diſappointed by the King's Abſence, who having been drunk the Night before, and ſleeping late that Morning, the Show was put off till another Day. A ſecond Fit of Drunkenneſs cauſed another Reprieve, during which the *Jews* continued to lift up their Voices to God for Deliverence; and on the third Day, when the Tyrant came, the Hand of Providence evidently appeared for theſe unhappy innocent People: For the Elephants being brought forth, and made drunk with Wine and Frankincenſe to increaſe their Fury, inſtead of falling on the *Jews*, they turned upon the Spectators, and deſtroy'd great Numbers of them. *Philopator* was ſo terrify'd at this Sight, that he gave the *Jews* their Liberty, revok'd all his Decrees againſt them, and loaded them with Gifts and Favours, in order to appeaſe the Divine Vengeance: The third [n] Book of the *Maccabees* contains the Hiſtory of this Affair.

Ptolemy Philometor, in the thirty-ſecond Year of whoſe Reign *Onias* built the Temple of *Heliopolis*, was the ſecond in Succeſſion after *Philopator*. The *Jews* had hitherto continued in Obedience to the *Egyptian* Kings; ſo that even in [o] Defence of *Philopator* againſt his rebellious Subjects, no leſs than forty thouſand of them were ſlain, the very Year after he had contrived their utter Deſtruction in the Manner above related. And fifty Years after the Building of the Temple by *Onias*, the [p] Children of that Prieſt ſaw themſelves at the Head of *Cleopatra*'s Army, when ſhe diſputed the Sovereignty with her Son *Lathyrus*. Prophane [q] Hiſtorians give an honourable Teſtimony of the *Jews* Fidelity that Time, in that they always fought for the Queen, when moſt of the *Egyptians* had deſerted her. Beſides the Temple at *Heliopolis*, they had now a beautiful Synagogue, and ſeveral Oratories, at *Alexandria*, for the Exerciſe of their Religion in that City; and we read no more of any conſiderable Trouble that they met with for a long Time after, even not till the Reign of *Caligula*, which was many Years after *Auguſtus* had reduced *Egypt* to a *Roman* Province by the *Actian* Victory.

Flaccus was Governor of *Egypt* under *Caligula*. This Man being willing to ingratiate himſelf with the Natives of his Province, encouraged them to treat the *Jews* with Contempt, as being Foreigners in that Country, and having no Right to defend themſelves. They were now driven from Place to Place, and every where obliged to ſeparate from the *Egyptians*, and live together in particular Quarters of *Alexandria*. In a Word, the Perſecution was violent, and they could meet with no Redreſs; for a Journal of the Proceedings againſt them being ſent to *Caligula*, that Emperor only laugh'd at it. Upon this, *Philo* and four others were ſent Ambaſſadors to [r] *Rome*, in behalf of the whole Community; but their Deputation had no Effect, for *Caligula* required to be worſhipped as a God, and have Sacrifices offer'd up to him, which the *Jews* would never conſent to. During the Reign of *Claudius* theſe People had ſome Reſpite; but from that Time their Intereſt and Numbers continued greatly to decreaſe; ſo that of a Milion of *Jews*, [ſ] which were ſuppoſed to be in *Egypt*, far the greateſt Part miſerably periſhed, partly through their own ſeditious and rebellious Tempers, and partly by the juſt Judgments of God, which now began to fall heavily upon the whole Nation. 'Tis true they were ſtill thought Citizens of *Alexandria*, and as ſuch might come into public Offices; and they had beſides a King or ſupreme Magiſtrate of their own, whom they called their *Alibarch*: But all this could not ſupport them againſt the Scorn and Indignity with which they were every where treated. In fine, though upon the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* great Numbers of them repair'd into *Egypt*, as *Veſpaſian* had apprehended, yet the putting a Stop to their public Worſhip there, by ſhutting the Temple at *Heliopolis*, prevented their making any conſiderable Figure in that Country; and the moſt that we hear of them after this, in *Egypt* as well as in other Places, is only a Series of Inſurrections, Impoſtures, Perſecutions, and Diſperſions.

XX. This brief Account of the *Jewiſh* Affairs in *Egypt*, how much ſoever like a Digreſſion it may ſeem, was not at all improper; for we ſhall have Occaſion hereafter to refer to ſeveral Things therein mentioned. Concerning the Abode of the Holy Family in this Country, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſays no more than that they were [t] *there untill the Death of* Herod. [v] *But when* Herod

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[m] A large Place without the City, where the People uſed to aſſemble to ſee Horſe-Races and other Shews.

[n] This Book is not among the Apocryphal Books of our Old Engliſh Bibles, nor in the Latin Verſion from which that was taken; but 'tis in the Verſion of Tremellius and Junius.

[o] Baſnage Hiſt. of the Jews, b. vi. c. 2.

[p] Baſnage, ibid.

[q] Strabo Cappadox apud Joſephum.

[r] In the Year of Chriſt 39. ſix Years after our Lord's Crucifixion.

[ſ] Baſnage ubi ſupra.

[t] Matt. ii. 15.

[v] Ver. 19. 20.

was dead, behold an Angel of the Lord appeared in a Dream to Joſeph *in* Egypt, *ſaying, Ariſe, and take the young Child and his Mother, and go into the Land of* Iſrael. —— [w] *And he came and dwelt in a City called* Nazareth; *That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophets, He ſhall be called a* Nazarene. Theſe laſt Words have occaſion'd many Conjectures; for it is no where ſaid in any of the prophetical Books of the Old Teſtament, *That the Meſſiah ſhould be called a* Nazerene: 'Tis certainly a Matter of great Importance to find the Meaning of the Holy Spirit in this Paſſage, and others of the like Kind, from which the *Jews* and *Sceptics* have taken Occaſion to charge falſe Quotations upon the ſacred Penmen. We ſhall put down, in order, ſeveral Interpretations of theſe Words of St. *Matthew*, together with ſome Remarks upon each.

1. *Jacob*, in the laſt Bleſſing which he gave to his beloved Son *Joſeph*, has theſe Words: [x] *The Bleſſings of thy Father have prevailed above the Bleſſings of my Progenitors: Unto the utmoſt Bounds of the everlaſting Hills they ſhall be on the Head of* Joſeph, *and on the Crown of the Head of him that was the* Nazir *of his Brethren.* Part of the ſame Words were repeated by *Moſes*, in the [y] Bleſſing which he gave to the Children of *Iſrael* juſt before his Death: And our Tranſlators in both Places have explained *the* Nazir *of his Brethren*, by *Him that was* ſeparate *from his Brethren.* The *Nazarites* among the *Jews* were ſuch as ſeparated themſelves from other People by a Vow of Abſtinence and Purity; and agreeably to this the *Latin* Verſion of theſe Words, is, [z] *The* Nazarite *of his Brethren*; which amounts to the ſame Thing as the *Engliſh ſeparate*. Now as *Joſeph* was an eminent Type of Chriſt, ſome think it not improbable that the Evangeliſt might allude to theſe Words of *Jacob* and *Moſes*, according to the Interpretation of them which is here introduced. Others take notice that the ſame Word *Nazir* ſignifies alſo a Crown, or one that is crowned, diſtinguiſhed, honoured, choſen: In which Senſe likewiſe the Alluſion from *Joſeph* to Chriſt is ſufficiently clear. They tell us, [a] that *Nazir* was a Name of Dignity in the Eaſtern Courts; and that at this Day the *Nezir* in *Perſia* is Superintendant-general of the King's Houſhold, firſt Officer of the Crown, Steward of the Revenues and Treaſures; that he inſpects all the other Officers of the Royal Table, Guards, and Penſions. Both theſe Interpretations may be juſt, and the Alluſion according to either might be ſufficiently ſtrong, if we were at Liberty to uſe it: But the Words of St. *Matthew* will by no means permit the Application of theſe Texts, as will be ſeen a little lower.

2. We read the following remarkable Prophecy in the Book of *Iſaiah*, which has always been apply'd to the Meſſiah by the *Jews* as well as Chriſtians. [b] *And there ſhall come forth a Rod out of the Stem of* Jeſſe, *and a Branch* (in *Hebrew Nezer*) *ſhall grow out of his Roots.* St. *Jerom* was of Opinion, [c] that the Evangeliſt had a Regard to the original Word of *Iſaiah* in this Place, when he mentions the Prophets; and Dr. *Hammond* looks upon this as a [d] commodious and ſatisfactory Interpretation of St. *Matthew*'s Words. Indeed as the Prophecy of *Iſaiah* is directed to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and therefore there is no Tranſition from Perſon to Perſon in the Application of it, this Interpretation is in that reſpect more commodious than the former: But how much more ſatisfactory it may be, after the following Objection has been conſider'd, we will not pretend to determine.

That it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Prophets, and that *Jeſus Chriſt* might *be called a* Nazarene, the Evangeliſt tells us, *He went and dwelt in a City called* Nazareth. Can any Thing be plainer than this? Why did he dwell in *Nazareth that* he might be called a *Nazarene*, if he was afterwards called ſo upon any other Account? If he had this Name becauſe he was a diſtinguiſhed Perſon, ſet apart, or ſeparated from other Men, becauſe he was the Branch of the Root of *Jeſſe*, or, in a Word, if this Name was occaſion'd by any thing but the Place of his Habitation, he might have aſſumed it at *Bethlehem*, in *Egypt*, at *Jeruſalem*, or any where elſe in the whole World, altogether as well as at the City of *Nazareth* itſelf. This Objection is too ſtrong to be eluded; and it holds good not only againſt the two Gloſſes above-mentioned, but againſt all others of the ſame Kind. The Force of it was confeſſed by Dr. *Hammond*, and he has endeavoured to anſwer it by another Invention, which indeed ſhews his Learning, but cannot ſupport his Argument.

3. *Whitby* finds the ſame Fault as we have here done with thoſe who deduce the *Nazarene* of St. *Matthew*, from the *Netzer* or *Branch* of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, becauſe none of them give an Account how this was fulfilled by Chriſt's being at *Nazareth*. But that Author ſeems not to have obſerved, that the ſtrongeſt Part of the Objection againſt theſe Interpretations lies in this, That they make the Evangeliſt guilty of playing with Words, and fonnding the Name of our Lord upon a Witticiſm of the loweſt Kind, to expreſs which the Reader will eaſily find a proper Term. If *Whitby* had taken notice of this, he would never have fallen into the ſame Error; and that he has done ſo, beſides being guilty of other Inconſiſtencies, will be ſeen in what follows. The *Nazarite*, ſays he, was a Name of Infamy put upon Chriſt and Chriſtians, both by the unbelieving *Jews* and *Gentiles*. There was among the *Jews* a celebrated Thief, [e] called *Ben Nezer*, and in Alluſion to him they gave this Name to Chriſt. So *Abarbinel* ſaith, the little Horn mentioned by *Daniel*, [f] is *Ben Nezer*, that is, *Jeſus* of *Naza-*

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[w] Ver. 23.

[x] Gen. xlix. 26.

[y] Deut. xxxiii. 16.

[z] Nazoræus Fratrum ſuorum.

[a] Calmet, who quotes Chardin's Voyages.

[b] Iſaiah xi. 1.

[c] In Iſaiah xi. 1. & in Matth. ii. 23.

[d] In loc. Matth.

[e] Buxtorf. Lex p. 1383.

[f] Dan. vii. 8.

reth. And this Title of *Nazaræan*, both the *Jews*, and the Enemies of Chriſtianity, gave always by Way of Contempt to our *Jeſus*, and that becauſe he was ſuppoſed to come out of this very City; yea his very going to dwell there was one Occaſion of his being contemned, deſpiſed, and rejected by the *Jews*. The Doctor then quotes two Texts[g] of the New Teſtament to prove that our Lord was deſpiſed becauſe he was of *Nazareth*: After which he goes on to tell us, that moſt of the Prophets ſpeak of Chriſt as of a Perſon that was to be reputed vile and abject, deſpiſed, and rejected of Men. Of this he alſo gives us two[h] Inſtances, and concludes thus: Here then is a plain Senſe of theſe Words of *Matthew*; The Angel ſent *Jeſus* to this contemptible Place, that he might thence have a Name of Infamy, according to the frequent Intimations of the Prophets. To ſupport this Interpretation, he had before obſerved, That as St. *Matthew* doth not cite any particular Prophet, but only the Prophets in general, it ſhews he took not the Words from the Prophets, but the Senſe only.

For our own Part, we are not able to diſcover any Connection that the End of this Commentary has with the Beginning of it; the Reaſon why our Lord was called a *Nazarene* being altogether changed within the Compaſs of a few Lines. By deriving that Name from *Ben Nezer*, the Doctor has evidently taken up that very Method of Interpretation, which he had the Minute before rejected: For what has the City of *Nazareth* to do with *Ben Nezer* the Thief, any more than it had with *Nezer* the Branch? But his latter Etymology has a better Appearance; let us now examine whether 'tis more perfect, and may deſerve to be called a plain Senſe.

Matthew, ſays this learned Author, had underſtood from the Prophets, that *Jeſus* was to be deſpiſed; and therefore he tells us, that the Angel ſent him to *Nazareth*, a contemptible Place, that he might thence have a Name of Infamy. But does *Matthew* in reality tell us this? His Words are only, He — *dwelt at* Nazareth, *that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken* —— *He ſhall be called a* Nazarene. The Evangeliſt has not a Syllable of this Contempt and Infamy. Are they then contained in the Word *Nazarene*? If they are, would this Evangeliſt, who[i] elſewhere interprets the Word he alludes to, when it was not otherwiſe likely to be underſtood, have left them to be found out by the Reader, without giving them the leaſt Hint for his Direction, either here or in any other Part of his Goſpel? 'Tis St. *John* that mentions the Contempt which the *Jews* put upon the City of *Nazareth*, and not St. *Matthew*, who had more Occaſion to do it, if that Contempt was really the Reaſon of his telling us that *Jeſus* dwelt at *Nazareth*. In ſhort, this Interpretation, at the beſt, preſerves much of that low kind of Alluſion for which the former were rejected both by Dr. *Whitby* and ourſelves, and which, in our Opinion, ought by no means to be charged on the ſacred Penmen.

Perhaps we have been longer on this Piece of Criticiſm than may be agreeable to ſome Perſons, who will therefore require a better Expoſition of this Text than thoſe which have been rejected. We ſee no Reaſon to think the Evangeliſt had any other View, than to allude to ſome Prediction concerning the Meſſiah, at that Time current among the *Jews*, which mentioned his being called a *Nazarene*, according to the natural Acceptation of the Word, as apply'd to an Inhabitant of the City of *Nazareth*: Whether this Prediction was only traditional, or recorded in ſome Book that is now loſt, cannot with any Certainty be ſaid. There may be enough offer'd in Behalf of either of theſe Opinions to recommend them to a reaſonable Perſon: For we know that the *Jews* had many Things delivered down by oral Tradition only; and we know alſo that there are Writings referred to in the New Teſtament, which are not to be at all found in the preſent Canon of the Old. We ſhould not have ventured to ſay thus much, if we had not learnt that many of the antient Chriſtians, who take notice of this Paſſage of Holy Writ, are of Opinion that the Apoſtle refers to ſome Writings of the Prophets that were then extant, but are ſince loſt; and that ſome learn'd Moderns have thought they threw no Diſcredit on the inſpired Penman, in believing he might even appeal to a current Opinion of that Time concerning the Meſſiah, which was delivered down by Oral Tradition only.

But let the Origin of the Word *Nazarene*, as applied to our bleſſed Saviour, have been what it will, we are certain that it afterwards became a common Name of the Apoſtles and Firſt Chriſtians, which was given them in Deriſion by the Enemies of their Religion. The Word had then nothing in it that was odious among Chriſtians themſelves, who had learned of their Maſter to bear all Manner of Reproach for the ſake of him, and that new Revelation of which he had made them Partakers. The Fathers frequently mention the Goſpel of the *Nazarenes*, which differ'd not at all from that of St. *Matthew*, 'till 'twas in Proceſs of Time corrupted by the *Ebionites*. Some of theſe *Nazarenes*, who preſerved the Goſpel in its primitive Purity, were in being ſo long as till the Time of St. *Jerom*,[k] who has not reproached them with any Errors. Thoſe of them who were called Heretics, were Chriſtians converted from *Judaiſm*, who continued to be zealous Obſervers of the Law of *Moſes*: And the principal Error of which they were accuſed, was that of defending the Neceſſity or Expediency of the Works of the Law, and an obſtinate adhering to the Practice of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, that were abrogated by that new Religion, which they had thought fit to embrace.

Before we entirely part with the *Nazarenes*, 'twill be proper to ſpeak a Word or two more concerning the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*, of whom St. *John Baptiſt* was one; the rather becauſe theſe two Words are liable to be confounded, or miſtaken the one for the other. The *Nazarites* were Men or Women who engaged themſelves by a Vow, to abſtain from Wine and all intoxicating Liquors, to let their Hair grow without cutting or ſhaving, not to enter any Houſe that was polluted by having a dead Corpſe in it, nor to be preſent at any Funeral. The Ceremonies of Conſecration to the *Nazariteſhip* were many, and took up a conſiderable Time; yet if any one happened to die in the Preſence of a *Nazarite*, that Devotee was obliged to repeat the whole Formality of his Initiation. Some of theſe were perpetual *Nazarites*, being conſecrated by their Parents, and obliged to keep the Vows of Abſtinence and Separation all the Days of their Lives. Of this kind were *Sampſon* and *John the Baptiſt*, as may be collected from their Hiſtories. Others were only voluntary Devotees for a determinate Time, at the End of which being releaſed from their Vow by the Prieſt, they might again drink Wine, and live without Reſerve, as before they took the Obligation upon them. We find that St. *Paul* had put himſelf under ſuch a temporary Vow, at the Expiration of which he had his [l] Hair cut at *Cenchrea*, a Port of *Corinth*, leaving the other Forms of his Releaſement till his Arrival at *Jeruſalem*, as was uſual with Perſons who travelled while they were bound by a Vow of *Nazariteſhip*. It was meritorious in thoſe who were not in a Condition to put themſelves under ſuch Obligations, if they contributed to the Expence of the Sacrifices and Offerings of thoſe who had made and fulfilled Vows of this Kind: And *Joſephus*, in order to magnify the Zeal and Devotion of King *Herod Agrippa*,[m] takes notice of his having cauſed ſeveral *Nazarites* to be ſhaven, that is, paid the accuſtomary Charges of their Tonſure, and the Diſengagement from their Vows. Here is enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe *Nazarites* from the *Nazarene* Chriſtians. The Word *Nazarene*, as well as a few other Particulars in the preſent Diſſertation, may poſſibly have been treated of ſomewhat too diffuſely: But 'tis difficult to part with Subjects of Controverſy, upon which a great many Things have been ſaid.

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[g] John i. 47. & vii. 52.

[h] Pſalm lxix. 9, 10. Iſaiah liii. 3.

[i] Chap. i. 23.

[k] Jerom. in Iſai. viii. 9. ix. 1. xxix. 20. xxxi. 6.

XXI. *Herod the Great*, King of the *Jews*, died whilſt our Lord, with his Mother and her Husband, were in *Egypt*. We have before ſpoken [n] of the Birth and Deſcent of that Prince, and ſhall now take a ſhort View of his Life and Character. He had three Brothers, whoſe Names were *Phaſael*, *Joſeph*, and *Pheroras*, who all died before him, and a Siſter called *Salome*, who ſurvived him, and had always a principal Share in his Confidence and Favour. *Phaſael* was made Governor of *Jeruſalem*, by his Father *Antipater*, and *Herod* of *Galilee*, (both by the Conſent of *Hyrcanus*, High-Prieſt and King of the *Jews*, to whom *Antipater* was Chief Miniſter,) when *Herod* was only twenty-five Years of Age. *Herod* behaved with ſo much [o] Prudence and Valour in his Charge, that he reſtored the Peace of his Province, which had been diſturbed by Abundance of Robbers. He took *Ezekiah*, the Captain of the Banditti, and thereby procured the Friendſhip of *Sextus Cæſar*, Governor of *Syria*. But People of the firſt Rank growing jealous of *Antipater*'s Family, made their Complaints to *Hyrcanus*, who ſummoned *Herod* and come to juſtify his Conduct at *Jeruſalem*. Thither *Herod*[p] came, but ſo arm'd and attended that he terrify'd the Judges, all but one *Sameas*, who boldly charged *Herod*'s Miſconduct upon the King and Council, for that they had truſted him with too much Authority. But *Hyrcanus* being willing to ſave young *Herod*, and obſerving that the Judges, after this Speech of *Sameas*, were diſpoſed to condemn him, he deferred Judgment till the next Day, and in the mean time adviſed him to make his Eſcape by Night. *Herod* took the Counſel of *Hyrcanus*, retired to *Sextus Cæſar*, and was by him made [q] Governor of *Cæle-Syria*; from whence marching with an Army to take revenge on thoſe who occaſion'd his being cited to *Jeruſalem*, he was met in the Way by *Antipater* and *Phaſael*, who prevail'd with him to return peaceably. *Caſſius* and *Brutus* again made him Governor of *Cæle-Syria* after the Murder of *Julius Cæſar*, and promiſed him the Kingdom of *Judea* at the End of the War, which they were carrying on againſt *Mark Anthony* and *Octavianus Cæſar*. About the ſame Time *Antipater* was poiſoned at *Jeruſalem* by one *Malichus*; but *Herod* revenged the Death of his Father by that of the Murderer, whom he put to Death at *Tyre*. And about two Years after, [r] *Brutus* and *Caſſius* being dead, a hundred *Jews* of the firſt Rank accuſing *Herod* and *Phaſael* to *Mark Anthony*, that *Roman* demanded of *Hyrcanus* (who was then preſent, and who had promiſed his Grand-daughter *Mariamne* to *Herod* in Marriage) Whether *Herod* and *Phaſael*, or their Accuſers, were fitteſt to govern the State? *Hyrcanus* anſwer'd, The two Brothers. Whereupon *Anthony*[ſ] immediately entruſted the Government of all *Judea* into their Hands, and impriſoned fifteen of the moſt mutinous againſt them, whom he had certainly put to death, if *Herod* himſelf had not interceded in their behalf.

XXII. The next Year *Herod* was declared King of the *Jews* by the *Roman* Senate: For *Antigonus*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, younger Brother of King *Hyrcanus*, having, by the Help of the *Parthians*, diſpoſſeſſed his Uncle *Hyrcanus*, and made him and *Phaſael* Priſoners, *Herod* was obliged to retire for his own Security: Whereupon coming to *Rome*, [t] and informing *Anthony* and *Octavianus* of what had happened in *Judea*, they both, partly out of Reſpect to him, and partly out of Hatred to *Antigonus*, whom they looked upon as diſaffected to the *Roman* People, united their Intereſt to get the ſaid Declaration in

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[l] Acts xviii. 11.

[m] Antiq. l. 14. c. 5.

[n] See Pages 15, 16, 17, of this Work.

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 16, 17. Et De Bell. l. i. c. 8.

[p] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. Before the vulgar Æra 46.

[q] Ant. l. xiv. c. 20. Before the Vulgar Æra 43.

[r] Before the Vulgar Æra 41.

[ſ] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. Et De Bell. l. i. c. 10.

[t] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 26. Before the Vulgar Æra 40.

Herod's Favour, which they effectually procured and got *Antigonus* pronounced an Enemy to the Commonwealth at the ſame Time. With this new Title *Herod* returned to *Judea*, and carried on a War with *Antigonus*, in Conjunction with *Silo* and *Soſius*, two *Roman* Generals, till in the End they took *Jeruſalem*, ſent his Rival Priſoner to *Antony*, and he became ſole Maſter of *Paleſtine*. Juſt before the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, *Herod*[v] married his beloved *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Hyrcanus*, at the City of *Samaria*: And in the preceding Year, while he was gone to viſit *Antony* in *Syria*, his Brother *Joſeph*, whom he left to command in his Abſence, venturing to engage the Enemy without Order, was unfortunately ſlain; but *Herod* revenged his Death upon *Pappus*, General of *Antigonus*, whom he ſlew in Battle, together with the greateſt Part of his Army. As for *Phaſael*,[w] when he was taken Priſoner, knowing his Death to be determined, he beat out his Brains againſt the Priſon Wall, to prevent the Executioner. *Hyrcanus* had his Life ſpared; but *Antigonus* cut off his Ears, to incapacitate him for being any longer High-Prieſt; for according to the Law,[x] no Perſon was to enjoy that Dignity, who was not perfectly whole in all the Members of his Body. *Antigonus* then deliver'd him to the *Parthians*, to be carried by them into the Eaſt, where they afterwards ſuffered him to live peaceably among the *Babylonian Jews*,[y] till he was ſecured and put to Death by *Herod* about ten Years after, at above eighty Years of Age, under the ſham Pretence of a Plot. And in him was cut off the laſt of the *Aſmonæan* Race: For *Ariſtobulus*, the Brother of *Mariamne*, having been made High-Prieſt in the 3d Year after the taking of *Jeruſalem*, *Herod* ſoon took Care to have him murdered,[z] in a Manner as crafty as it was cruel, purely becauſe he appeared to be the Darling of the People. The young Prince, being invited to an Entertainment by *Herod*, was perſuaded to bathe after Dinner, in Company with ſeveral others, who, by *Herod's* Appointment, ducked him under Water in a Shew of Paſtime, till they drowned him in earneſt. This Affair had like to have been fatal to *Herod*: For *Alexandra*, the Mother of *Ariſtobulus*, made great Complaints to *Cleopatra*, who ſo wrought upon *Anthony*, that he ſent for *Herod* to come to juſtify himſelf; but the artful Tyrant managed it ſo well, with Preſents and fine Words, that *Anthony* dropt the Proſecution. Soon after this,[a] *Herod* had an Opportunity of ſhewing his Gratitude to *Anthony*; for the Civil War between him and *Octavianus* breaking out, *Herod* eſpouſed the Cauſe of his Benefactor, *Anthony* being overcome, *Herod* was again in Danger from the Reſentment of the Victor: To prevent this Storm, he met *Octavianus* at *Rhodes*, appeared before him in Royal Robes, and ſpoke with ſuch Conſtancy and ſeeming Greatneſs of Soul, of the Reaſons why he ſtood for *Anthony*, and of his Readineſs to do the ſame for *Octavianus* himſelf, that he perfectly recovered the Eſteem of that Prince, to whom, and to his Friends, he made large Preſents, and afterwards entertained him and his whole Army in *Paleſtine*, on their Way to *Egypt*, with all manner of Proviſions.

XXIII. *Octavianus* being returned to *Rome*, the Senate complimented him[b] with the Name of *Auguſtus*, and entruſted the whole *Roman* Empire in his Hands. In the mean Time *Herod*, who ſeemed to be in full Poſſeſſion of all that he could wiſh, was diſturbed by domeſtic Diviſions, and Misfortunes of different Kinds; which, in the Midſt of the greateſt Proſperity, made him one of the moſt unhappy Princes of his Age. And from this Time to the End of his Life, though his Wars were ſucceſsful, and his Dominions almoſt continually enlarged; though in the ſumptuous Buildings he erected, and the Magnificence of every thing he did, he excelled any King of the *Jews* that ever was, *Solomon* only excepted; notwithſtanding all this, the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory contains only a Series of Jealouſies, Plots, Cruelties, Murders, and every Thing elſe that is horrible and ſhocking to human Nature.

When *Herod*[c] was ſummoned before *Anthony*, to anſwer for the Death of *Ariſtobulus*, he left the Government of *Judea* to his Uncle *Joſeph*, charging him particularly, in caſe himſelf was put to Death by *Anthony*, not to let *Mariamne* ſurvive him, but immediately to cut her off, that no-body after him might enjoy ſo rare a Beauty, and eſpecially *Anthony*, who he was informed had a Paſſion for her. *Joſeph* during *Herod's* Abſence frequently waited on *Mariamne*, and at laſt blabb'd out the whole Secret to her, in order to convince her how exceſſively ſhe was beloved. This Story ſo touched the Queen, that when *Herod* came Home ſhe upbraided him with it; the Conſequences of which were, the Death of *Joſeph*, and a Suſpicion of *Mariamne's* Fidelity; for the Tyrant imagined that ſuch a Secret would never have been told but in a criminal Converſation. Some Time after an Order of the ſame Kind was given to *Sohemus*, one of *Herod's* Confidents, who had the Care of Affairs while the King waited upon *Octavianus*, after the Defeat of *Anthony*; and this alſo was told to *Mariamne*, but ſhe kept it from the King, out of Reſpect to *Sohemus*. This Inſtance of his Cruelty, added to the former, ſo alienated her Affections from *Herod*, that ſhe could not but diſcover ſome new Reſentment at his Return; and *Herod* upon her Coldneſs was apt to be as violently jealous of her, as at other Times he was paſſionately fond, tho' he did not as yet believe that *Sohemus* had told the Secret. Now the Mother and Siſter of *Herod* having a Quarrel with *Mariamne*, upon ſome fooliſh Point of Honour, they loſt no Opportunities of irritating him againſt her, till at laſt they found an Occaſion to work the utter Deſtruction of that virtuous and innocent Queen.

The Murder of her[d] Father,[e] Grandfather,[f] Brother, and[g] Uncle, all put to Death by *He-*

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[v] Antiq. l. xiv. c 27, 28.

[w] Antiq. l. xiv. c. 25.

[x] Levit. xxi. 16, 24.

[y] Antiq. l. xv. c. 9.

[z] Antiq. l. xv. c. 3.

[a] Before the Vulgar Æra 32. Antiq l. xv. c. 16. Et De Bell. l. i. c. 14.

[b] Before the Vulgar Æra 27.

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4.

[d] Alexander the Son of Ariſtobulus.

[e] Hyrcanus.

[f] Ariſtobulus the High-Prieſt.

[g] Antigonus.

rod's Procurement, and the utter Ruin of her Family through his Means, were reviv'd in *Mariamne*'s Breaſt, by the cruel Orders againſt herſelf; and a continual Meditation on theſe Things had wrought in her ſuch an Antipathy towards her Huſband, that ſhe ſhew'd it to all his Relations, and particularly to *Cyprus* and *Salome*, his Mother and Siſter above-mentioned. But *Herod* had in reality ſo great a Paſſion for this beautiful Princeſs, that all her ill Treatment of him, and his own Jealouſy, could never abate it, till upon ſending for her one Day into his Chamber, and offering her his Embraces, ſhe not only turned from him with Scorn, but provoked him ſo far with bitter Reproaches for the Death of her Relations, that he could ſcarce forbear to lay violent Hands upon her immediately. *Salome* took the Advantage of this Fit of Rage, by ſending in his Butler, whom ſhe had ſuborned for that Purpoſe, to accuſe *Mariamne* of tempting him to adminiſter to him a poiſonous Draught. This adding to *Herod*'s Rage, he ordered the Queen's Favourite Eunuch, without whoſe Privity ſhe did nothing, to be immediately tortured; but all that could be extorted from him was, that Something which *Sobemus* had told the Queen had put her into ſo ill a Humour. This Something was quickly judged by the King to be the Secret above-mentioned; whereupon *Sobemus* was immediately put to Death upon the ſame Suſpicion that *Joſeph* had ſuffer'd before, and a Bench of Judges were pack'd to try *Mariamne*, of whom he was now more jealous than ever he had been before. Theſe Judges were all Creatures of the King; and perceiving by the Vehemency with which he himſelf in Perſon accuſed her, that nothing but a Sentence of Death would give Satisfaction, they accordingly paſſed it upon her. *Herod* did not intend to precipitate her Execution; but the Malice of his Mother and Siſter ſoon procured what his Paſſion for her might otherwiſe have prevented; for they telling him continually, that if ſhe was kept alive the People would riſe in her Behalf, their Suggeſtions [h] terrify'd him into a Compliance. *Mariamne* [i] died as ſhe had lived, great, firm, and intrepid to the laſt. This virtuous and generous Princeſs, in the Charms and Graces of her Perſon, excelled all the Women of her Time, and would have been a Lady without Exception, if ſhe could have carried it with a better Temper towards her Huſband. But conſidering that he built his Fortune upon the Deſtruction of her Family, and had twice ordered her own Death, 'tis a Queſtion whether the moſt prudent Woman in the World could have acted towards him with greater Complaiſance than ſhe did.

Herod's Rage being quenched with *Mariamne*'s Blood, his Love to her again revived; whereupon followed ſuch a bitter Scene of late Repentance, as is ſcarce any where elſe to be met with. Agonies of Sorrow, Regret, and tormenting Remorſe for what he had done, filled his Mind, which would not ſuffer him to reſt either Day or Night. Whereſoever he went, the Thoughts of *Mariamne* followed him, and cauſed bitter Reflections in his Breaſt. Theſe he endeavoured to ſtifle, by Wine, Company, Feaſtings, and other Divertiſements; but none of them effecting his Relief, he at length fell into downright Diſtraction, in the Fits of which he would often call for *Maridmne*, and order his Servants to bring her to him, as if ſhe were ſtill alive. Hereupon alſo followed a grievous Peſtilence, [k] which every Body looked upon as a Judgment from God for the Death of the Queen. This ſo added to *Herod*'s Diſorder, that he threw up the Care of all Buſineſs, retired to *Samaria*, and there fell into a violent Sickneſs, under which he languiſhed for ſome time. And though with Difficulty he at laſt got rid of his Diſtemper, and returned to *Jeruſalem*, yet he never again recovered his former Temper, but was obſerved to act with greater Rigour and Cruelty from this Time to the End of his Life, than ever he had done before. *Alexandra*, the Mother of *Mariamne*, was the next after her Daughter that felt his Fury. When *Herod* was ſick at *Samaria*, this Princeſs, imagining he would die, treated with the Governors of two Caſtles, which commanded all *Judea*, to have them delivered into her Hands, under Pretence of ſecuring the Succeſſion to *Herod*'s Sons by *Mariamne*. But the Governors, liking neither her nor her Deſigns, ſent an Account of the Affair to *Herod*, who immediately gave Orders for her being put to Death. *Alexandra* had a ſtrong and active Genius, which could never be at reſt: But in Virtue ſhe was far behind her Daughter, at whoſe Death ſhe had acted a very ſcandalous and infamous Part, in order to ſave her own Life; for as that unfortunate Princeſs was led to Execution, *Alexandra* railed at her publickly, and reproached her with being ungrateful towards a kind Huſband, all which *Mariamne* took without anſwering a Word. We have been more particular in this Account of *Mariamne*'s Death, and the immediate Conſequences of it, than we ſhall be in ſpeaking of any other Part of *Herod*'s Life; and that becauſe we think it gives a very lively Picture of the Tyrant's Mind.

XXIV. *Salome* was much of her Brother's Temper. Her ſecond Huſband was one *Coſtobarus*, an *Idumean*. Being weary of this Man,[l] ſhe ſent him a Bill of Divorce, contrary to the Laws of the *Jews*,[m] which permitted the Huſband to divorce the Wife, but not the Wife the Huſband. And the better to make her court to *Herod*, ſhe ſhamm'd a Plot upon the innocent Man, joining with him *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater*, and *Doſitheus*, all Men of Note in the ſame Country. Theſe were ſacrificed to the Pique of *Salome*, and with them the Sons of *Babas*, who were Sticklers for the *Aſmonæan* Party, but had hitherto been concealed from *Herod*'s Reſentment by *Coſtobarus*, which was the only real Crime that appeared againſt him. And now all the Favourers of the antient Royal Family, as well as the Family itſelf, being cut off, *Herod*, thinking himſelf ſecure, began to deviate from the *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms, and to introduce Foreign and *Pagan* Rites. He built at *Jeruſalem* a Theatre and an Amphitheatre, like thoſe at *Rome*, and exhibited in them Games and Shows in Honour of *Auguſtus*; which were much diſliked by the Generality of the *Jews*. But nothing offended them more at firſt, than certain [n] Trophies, which he ſet up round the Theatre; for they took them to be Images, till they were convinced to the contrary. All theſe Innovations were the Occaſion of a [o] Conſpiracy againſt him, in which about ten Perſons were concerned. They were to aſſaſſinate him with Daggers in the Theatre, whither they went for that Purpoſe. But one of *Herod*'s Spies having gotten a Hint of their Deſign, diſcovered it to the King juſt as he entered the Theatre, when the Plot was ready to have been executed; whereupon the Conſpirators were all ſeiz'd, and put to Death by the moſt exquiſite Torments. The Perſon who made this Diſcovery was torn to Pieces by the People, which plainly ſhew'd how much they wiſhed to have the Tyrant cut off: But *Herod* found out the Actors in this Affair alſo, and put them every one to Death. In the ſame Year that this Conſpiracy was defeated, *Herod* rebuilt *Samaria*, which had been deſtroyed by *John Hyrcanus*, and called it *Sebaſte*,[p] in Honour of *Auguſtus*. He alſo melted down the Plate of his Palace to buy Corn for the People, who ſuffered under a grievous Famine. And this Action had the deſired Succeſs; for it reconciled to him the Affections of his People, and made his Name famous in foreign Nations. But he could not long ſuſtain the Character of a good Prince; for his Tyrannical Adminiſtration continuing after this vainglorious Deed, he very ſoon loſt all its happy Effects at Home, and became again the Object of his People's Odium as much as ever.

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[h] In the Year before the Vulgar Æra of Herod.

[i] Prid. Connect. Part II. Book viii.

[k] Antiq. l. xv. c. 11.

[l] Anno Ant. Ær. Vulg. 26. Herodis 12. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 11.

[m] Deut. xxiv. 1, 2, &c. Matth. v. 31. & xix. 7. Mark x. 4. Maimonides de Repudiatione.

The next [q] Year *Herod* began to build him a ſtately [r] Palace on Mount *Sion*, the Magnificence of which, when finiſhed, was ſuch, that in ſome Reſpects it exceeded even the Temple itſelf. This Palace was eſpecially famous for two ſumptuous Apartments therein; one of which was called *Cæſareum*, in Honour of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and the other *Agrippeum*, in Honour of *Agrippa*, the principal Favourite of *Auguſtus*. And the ſame Year [ſ] he furniſhed *Auguſtus* with 500 Men out of his Guards towards an Expedition againſt the ſouthern *Arabs*, in which *Ælius Gallus*, the *Roman* General, loſt above Half his Army, and returned without Succeſs. From this [t] Time till the Building of the Temple was propoſed, *Herod* was chiefly employ'd in raiſing other magnificent Structures, quelling the Free-booters in his Neighbourhood, and defending himſelf againſt his Enemies, who accuſed him to *Auguſtus*. Among the Buildings, [v] *Herodium* was erected about ſeven Miles from *Jeruſalem*, in a Place where he had formerly defeated the *Parthians*, and the *Jews* of the *Aſmonæan* Party, when he fled from *Antigonus*. *Cæſarea* was another City, which he built in Honour of *Auguſtus*, after he had finiſhed *Sebaſte*. It ſtood upon the Sea-Coaſt of *Paleſtine*, at a Place before called *Straton's-Tower*; and he not only made it a magnificent City, but the moſt commodious Port in all the Coaſts of *Phœnicia*; ſo that when *Judea* was reduced to a *Roman* Province, this City was the uſual Reſidence of the Governor. *Herod* alſo married about this Time another *Mariamne*, the Daughter of one *Simon*, an ordinary Prieſt at *Jeruſalem*, whom he thereupon advanced to the High-prieſthood. *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, his Sons by the former *Mariamne*, he ſent to *Rome* for their Education, where they had Apartments in the Palace of *Auguſtus*, who moreover gave *Herod* full Liberty to leave his Kingdom to which of his Sons he ſhould think fit, adding at the ſame Time to his Territories,[w] ſeveral Diſtricts, which lay beyond the Sea of *Galilee*. *Herod* alſo waited upon *Agrippa* and *Auguſtus* in Perſon, when they ſeverally came into the Eaſt, and built a Temple to the latter, in a remote Part of his Dominions, as an Acknowledgment for all the Favours of that Emperor. By this idolatrous Flattery, and other Compliances with heathen Uſages, he farther alienated from him the Hearts of all thoſe *Jews*, who were zealous for the Religion of their Forefathers. *Herod* ſaw this, and endeavoured to excuſe himſelf by alledging the Neceſſity he was under of pleaſing *Auguſtus* and the *Romans*. But ſtill the Diſcontent encreaſed; to prevent the ill Effects of which he prohibited all Meetings at Feaſts and Clubs, and would at the ſame time have impoſed an Oath of Fidelity on all his Subjects; but was ſo vigorouſly oppoſed therein by *Hillel* and *Shammai*, the Preſident and Vice-preſident of the *Sanhedrim*, that he was obliged to drop his Deſign.

When *Herod* had reign'd eighteen Years, had finiſhed his Buildings at *Sebaſte*, and far advanced thoſe at *Cæſarea*, perceiving himſelf in the full Enjoyment of Peace and Plenty, he formed [x] a Deſign of new building the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, thinking thereby not only to regain the Affections of the *Jews*, but alſo to erect a Monument of laſting Honour to his own Name. The Temple built after the Return of the *Jews* from *Babylon*, fell much ſhort of that of *Solomon* in Height, Magnificence, and other Particulars; and five hundred Years being elapſed ſince its Erection, ſeveral Decays had happened to it, both by Length of Time, and the Injuries of War. For the amending of all theſe Defects and Decays, *Herod* propoſed in a general Aſſembly of the People, his Intention of building the whole a-new. The People were ſtartled at the Propoſal, apprehending that when he had pulled down the old Temple, he would neither have Ability nor Inclination to perform his Promiſe. But the King perceiving this, aſſured them, that he would not take down the old Structure, till he had gotten Materials ready for immediately erecting a new one; and this in ſome Meaſure delivered them from their Fears. Accordingly he forthwith began the Preparations, employing therein a thouſand Waggons for carrying of Stones and Timber, ten thouſand Artificers to fit Things for the Work, and a thouſand Prieſts, skill'd in Architecture, to ſuperviſe the whole. In two Years time the Materials were all prepar'd, and in nine Years and a Half after that the new Temple was made fit for Divine Service, tho' a great Number of Workmen were ſtill employ'd about it in the Time of our Lord's public Miniſtry. Eighteen thouſand of theſe were afterwards [y] diſcharged at one time, when *Geſſius Florus* was Governor of *Judea*, and their Mutinies for Want of Work were the Beginning of thoſe Seditions, which afterwards ended in the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Temple with it.

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[n] A Trophy was a Suit of Armour, with the Head-piece, put upon the Stem of a Tree.

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 11. Anno Herodis 13.

[p] Sebaſtos is Greek for Auguſtus.

[q] Before the Vulgar Æra 24. of his Reign 14.

[r] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 12. & De Bell. l. 1. c. 16.

[ſ] Joſeph. ubi ſupra & Strabo lib. xvi.

[t] During the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th Years of his Reign. See Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

[v] A Palace, ſo called from his own Name.

[w] Trachonitis, Auranitis, Batanea, and ſoon after Paneas.

[x] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 14.

While the Work of the Temple was carrying on, *Herod* made a [z] Voyage to *Italy*, in order to viſit his two Sons, and pay his Reſpects to *Auguſtus*. In his Way thither he ſtopp'd in [a] *Greece*, to ſee the [b] *Olympic* Games, giving a large Sum for the reſtoring of them to their former Solemnity; in return for which he had the Honour of being choſen Preſident of thoſe Games during Life. He was received at *Rome* with great Kindneſs by *Auguſtus*, from whom having deſired back his Sons, now fully inſtructed in all the *Roman* Exerciſes and Literature, he returned with them into *Judea*, where by the Comelineſs of their Perſons, the Agreeableneſs of their Behaviour, and other laudable Qualifications, they drew to [c] them the Love and Eſteem of all the *Jews*; except *Salome*, and her Accomplices in procuring the Death of *Mariamne*, who fearing the Revenge of the young Men, were never at reſt till they had accompliſhed their Deſtruction alſo. In the mean time they were [d] married by their Father, *Alexander* to *Glaphyra* the Daughter of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, and *Ariſtobulus* to *Berenice* the Daughter of *Salome*.

The two [e] following Years were ſpent by *Herod* in entertaining of *Agrippa*, in aſſiſting him againſt the *Cimmerian Boſphorans*, and in procuring from him a Confirmation of Privileges to the *Aſiatic Jews*. But after his two Sons by *Mariamne* had lived with him about three [f] Years, they fell grievouſly under his Diſpleaſure. They let fall many raſh Words, which expreſſed their Reſentments for the Death of their Mother, with Threats upon the Authors of it; at which *Salome* and *Pheroras* being alarmed, they took Care to repreſent all thoſe indiſcreet Sallies to *Herod*, as if they included Threats againſt himſelf. And the more to enſnare the young Men, frequent Occaſions were taken to provoke them, and make them ſpeak out all the Anger and Indignation of their Minds, which being carried to *Herod*, with malicious Gloſſes and Aggravations, had all the Effect that was intended, in exciting him to be jealous of his two Sons. The Conſequence of this was, that whereas they had hitherto held the firſt Place among his Children, and were deſigned his Succeſſors in the Kingdom, they were now obliged to give way to *Antipater*, another of his Sons, by *Doris* his firſt Wife, who was called to Court, and placed over their Heads. This he did in order to humble the two Brothers, whom probably he intended to have received again to Favour upon their Submiſſion; but it working the quite contrary Way, in provoking them to more intemperate Language, he was ſtill further exaſperated againſt them. *Antipater* was very crafty as well as malicious, and knew how to make his Advantage of theſe Things. He got his Mother reſtored to the Favour of the King, from whom ſhe had been formerly divorced to make Way for *Mariamne*, the Mother of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*. The Deſtruction of theſe Princes was now the principal Point in View, and all Things at Court ſeemed to haſten it forwards: For the Breach between *Herod* and them growing wider and wider, at the End of about two Years after it firſt began, being no longer able to bear his Apprehenſions concerning them, he took them [g] with him to *Italy*, and there in Perſon accuſed them before *Auguſtus*. The Charge was, that they carried themſelves inſolently and undutifully towards him, and had formed Deſigns to take away his Life by Poiſon. But *Auguſtus* quitted them of the main Point, of which nothing appeared but groundleſs Suſpicions; and having reconciled their Father to them, ſent them all back in Friendſhip. *Herod*, upon his Return to *Jeruſalem*, related publickly the of Event of his Journey, and, according to the Power given him by *Auguſtus*, named *Antipater* to ſucceed him firſt in the Kingdom, and after him the Sons of *Mariamne*. While this Peace continued in his Family, he perfected ſome of the great Buildings before undertaken, and added to them ſeveral other new Cities, three of which he called *Antipatris*, *Cypron*, and *Phaſaelis*, in honour of his Father, his Mother, and his elder Brother. But *Salome*, *Pheroras*, and *Antipater*, ſtill purſuing their Plot againſt the two Brothers, the former Jealouſies were again revived, and in about two Years more were carried as high as ever; ſo that the young Men had certainly been ſacrificed to the preſent Reſentment of their Father, if the Breach had not been once more [h] made up by *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, the Father-in-Law of *Alexander*, who came to *Jeruſalem* for that Purpoſe.

Herod about [i] this Time paid another Viſit to *Auguſtus*; and at his Return dedicated the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and deſtroy'd a great Number of the *Trachonite* Thieves. In this laſt Affair he was[k] accuſed to *Auguſtus*, as if he had invaded *Arabia* with a great Army, and continued under the Emperor's Diſpleaſure till a juſt Account of the whole Expedition reſtored him again to Favour. This Perplexity was immediately followed, or rather accompanied, by another Domeſtic one; for his Quarrel with the Sons of *Mariamne* was again revived, and this was their laſt and fatal Breach. The old King was now [l] ſo throughly poſſeſſed with the Notion of their being in a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, that though nothing was proved againſt them but a Deſign to make their Eſcape into ſome other Country, he was yet reſolved on their Deſtruction, and wrote to *Auguſtus* for Leave to proceed againſt them. The Emperor in a kind Anſwer condoled his Misfortunes, adviſed him to call a Council at *Berytus*, and there, with the Aſſiſtance of the neighbouring Princes and Governors of Provinces, examine and determine the whole Matter; after which he might inflict on them ſuch Puniſhment as their Crimes ſhould deſerve. *Herod* proceeded accordingly, and Sentence of Condemnation was pronounced againſt them, which he was to execute as he thought fit: Whereupon ſending them to *Sebaſte*, he cauſed them there to be both ſtrangled. The Death of theſe unfortunate Princes happen'd in the Year [m] wherein the Angel appeared in the Temple to *Zacharias*, the Father of *John the Baptiſt*, as he there officiated in his Courſe. And at the Beginning of the next Year, about the Time that the ſame Angel brought the bleſſed News of our Lord's Conception to the Virgin *Mary*, a Plot of *Antipater*'s againſt his Father was detected, into which he had alſo drawn *Pheroras*,[n] the old King's only ſurviving Brother. For the Sons of *Mariamne* being dead, nothing now ſtood between *Antipater* and the Crown, but the Life of *Herod*, which they had therefore determined to take away by Poiſon. The Cauſe of *Pheroras*'s engaging in this Affair, was a [o] Quarrel which he had juſt before with *Herod*, about a Marriage Story, which went ſo high that *Pheroras* was forbid the Court. He thereupon returned to his own [p] Tetrarchy, and *Antipater* got himſelf called to *Rome*, that they both might be out of the Way when their Plot was executed. The Poiſon was procured by *Pheroras*, who gave it to his Wife to lay up, till there ſhould be an Opportunity of getting it adminiſtered to *Herod*. But *Pheroras* falling ſick, and dying immediately after, his Wife confeſſed the whole Deſign, which was alſo made out by other clear Evidence. *Herod* now ſaw too late the Wickedneſs of *Antipater*, and was convinced that he had procured the Death of his Brothers with the ſame View that he had deſigned that of his Father. It was but Juſtice that ſuch a Wretch ſhould ſuffer, and it ſo happened that the Diſcovery was not communicated to him at *Rome*, or upon the Way back time enough to prevent his returning into *Herod*'s Power. The Birth of our Lord happened during this Abſence of *Antipater*, and was immediately followed by the Arrival of the Wiſemen, and the Death of the Holy Innocents, of all which Particulars we have already treated. In fine, *Antipater* being returned from *Rome* into *Judea*,[q] was there convicted of treaſonable Deſigns againſt his Father before *Quintilius Varus*, Preſident of *Syria*, and Sentence of Condemnation paſſed upon him; which Sentence being confirmed by *Auguſtus*, he was accordingly put to Death: And five Days after died *Herod* himſelf.

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[y] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 8.

[z] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 1. Anno ant. Ær. Chriſti 16. Herodis 20.

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 9. & De Bell. l. 1. c. 16.

[b] In the 191ſt Olympiad.

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 1.

[d] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 2.

[e] Of his Reign the 23d and 24th.

[f] Ante Ær. Dionyſ. 13. Herodis 25.

[g] In the 27th Year of his Reign. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 7, & 8.

[h] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 12. Before the Vulgar Æra eight Years.

[i] In his 30th Year.

XXV. Knowing how much he [r] was hated by the *Jews*, *Herod* concluded rightly, that there would be no Lamentation at his Death, but rather Gladneſs and Rejoicing for it all the Country over. To prevent this, he framed a Project and Reſolution in his Mind, which perhaps was one of the moſt horrid and wicked that ever entered into the Heart of Man. For having iſſued out a Summons, to all the principal and moſt eminent of the *Jews* of his Kingdom, commanding their Appearance at *Jericho*, where he then lay, on pain of Death at a Day appointed, on their Arrival he ſhut them all up in the *Circus*, and then ſending to *Salome*, and *Alexas* her Husband, commanded them, that as ſoon as he was dead, they ſhould ſend in the Soldiers upon them, and put them all to the Sword. For this, ſaid he, [s] will provide Mourners for my Funeral all over the Land, and make the *Jews* in every Family thereof lament at my Death, whether they will or no; and when he had adjured them hereto, ſome Hours after he gave up the Ghoſt. But *Salome* and *Alexas*, not being quite wicked enough to do what they had been made ſolemnly to promiſe, or elſe being afraid to engage in ſo dangerous a Project, rather choſe to break their Obligation than make themſelves the Executioners of this bloody and horrid Deſign; and therefore, as ſoon as *Herod* was dead, they opened the *Circus*, and permitted all that were ſhut up in it to return again every Man to his own Home, without any Wrong done to any of them. This Hiſtory of this his moſt wicked Deſign (ſays the learned Author whoſe Words we here tranſcribe) take off all Objection againſt the Truth of his murdering the Innocents, which may be made from the Incredibility of ſo barbarous and horrid an Act. For this thoroughly ſhews, that there can nothing be imagined ſo cruel, barbarous, and horrid, which this Man was not capable of doing. In moſt of his Actions may be ſeen the Character of a bloody, cruel, and wicked Tyrant; but in none more than in theſe two: And the Diſeaſe of which he died, and the Miſery which he ſuffered under it, plainly ſhew, that the Hand of God was then in a very ſignal Manner upon him for the Puniſhment of them. The

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[k] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 15.

[l] Joſeph. Antiq l. xvi. c. 16.

[m] Of Herod's Reign 32.

[n] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 1. 3. 6.

[o] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvi. c. 11.

[p] Given him by the Romans.

[q] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 7, 8.

[r] Prideaux Connect. Part II. B. 9.

[s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 8. Et De Bell. l. i. c. 21.

Account which *Joſephus*, and from him *Euſebius*, gives us of it, is as [t] followeth: "*Herod*'s Diſeaſe grew yet more and more bitterly violent, God exacting his Vengeance upon him, for the Puniſhment of the many great Enormities he had been guilty of. He had a ſlow Fever, not ſhewing itſelf ſo much to the outward Touch and Feeling, as more grievouſly burning him within: Moreover he had a ſtrong canine Appetite for Meat, which nothing could ſatisfy. His Bowels were ulcerated, eſpecially the Colon Gut, from whence he ſuffered grievous Pains. His Feet being ſwoln, from thence iſſued forth a Phlegmatic and ſhining Humour. Moreover the Diſeaſe had ſeiſed the lower Part of his Belly, and an Ulcer broke out in his Genitals breeding Worms and Lice. Beſides, he had a Shortneſs of Breath, and that very ſtinking and unſavory: And he had alſo a troubleſome Flux of Rheum with it, and an aſthmatic Difficulty of breathing. And the Patient not having Strength to bear all this, there followed a Convulſion of all the Parts of his Body." This is the Account of *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*. And thus died this wicked Man in horrible Pain and Torment, ſmitten of God in this ſignal and grievous Manner, for his many enormous Iniquities. That moſt others of the great Perſecutors of God's People have died the like Manner of Death, is well known to thoſe who have been to any conſiderable Degree converſant in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

Baſnage tells [u] us, that *Herod* was brave, vigilant, ſkilful, magnificent, and a good Politician. This is certainly a very juſt Character of him; but here ends the Catalogue of every thing in him that was praiſe-worthy. The Inhabitants of *Judea*,[w] ſays the ſame Author, hated him mortally, notwithſtanding he rebuilt their Temple, and diſtributed a prodigious Quantity of Corn among them, in the Time of a very hard Famine. If this Nation ſuſpended their Hatred whilſt their Wants and his Charity laſted, it was as inveterate as ever when the Dearth was over. Almoſt all the Paſſages of his Life that have been here related, prove that he was moſt exceſſively cruel. Thoſe whom he loved beſt fell a Sacrifice to his Paſſion, and he could murder the Perſon for whom he was even diſtracted. His Jealouſy of the *Jews*, and particularly of the *Aſmonean* Family, made him careful to remove out of the Way every one whom he had but the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect. His Religion, if he may be ſaid to have had any, was very much leaning towards Paganiſm, though it cannot be denied that he was a *Jew*. So far was he from ſubmitting to the Clergy in any Thing of Conſequence, that he put two High-prieſts to Death, and depoſed four. No doubt, but the Fathers have charged upon him ſome particular Inſtances of Cruelty, of which he was not guilty; for this they were to blame, there being no need to heap imaginary Barbarities upon a Man, who had ſo many real ones to anſwer for. His Siſter *Salome*, a Perſon as wicked as himſelf, by her crafty and malicious Intrigues, cauſed a great many of the Miſchiefs with which the Reign of *Herod* is ſo filled. This Woman died about twelve Years after her Brother, living long enough to ſee a *Roman* Governor preſiding in *Judea*, and to hear of the Baniſhment of *Archelaus*.

Herod had nine Wives,[x] and by them many Children. We have mentioned three of his Sons whom he put to Death. Of the reſt of his Poſterity, 'tis not neceſſary to take notice of any but ſuch as are named in the New Teſtament, and they are theſe following: By *Malthace*, one of his Wives, he had [y] *Archelaus*, and [z] *Herod Antipas*; by *Cleopatra*, another of his Wives, he had [a] *Philip*; and by the laſt *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Simon*, he had [b] *Herod Philip*. *Ariſtobulus*, whom *Herod* put to Death, had by *Berenice* his Wife, King [c] *Agrippa*, who ſlew *James* the Brother of *John*, and afterwards was [d] ſmitten at *Cæſarea*; and alſo [e] *Herodias* his Siſter, who firſt married *Herod Philip* her Uncle, and afterwards eloped from him to marry *Herod Antipas*. By her firſt Huſband ſhe had [f] *Salome*, who danced off the Head of *John the Baptiſt*, becauſe he reproved *Herod Antipas* for his inceſtuous Adultery with her Mother. Of King *Agrippa* the Firſt was born King [g] *Agrippa* the Second, before whom *Paul* pleaded his Cauſe, and his two Siſters *Druſilla* and *Berenice*, the firſt of which was Wife to *Felix*, the Procurator of *Judea*, and the other was preſent with her Brother at *Cæſarea*, when *Paul*'s Cauſe was there heard before him.

Herod was King of all *Judea*, and of all thoſe other Provinces over which his Sons afterwards reigned. 'Tis however plain from his whole Story, that he was not altogether an independant Sovereign, but enjoy'd his Kingdom as a Vaſſal or Subject of the *Roman* Empire. This has been clearly proved, as we could here ſhew, if it was at all neceſſary to enter into ſuch a Controverſy. *Jacob*'s Oracle drew towards its Accompliſhment, and the Scepter was by Degrees removed from *Judah*, till it was wholly taken away upon the Depoſition of *Archelaus*, of which we ſhall ſay ſomewhat more hereafter. 'Tis ſufficient to take notice here, that immediately after the Death of *Herod*, his Kingdom was divided between *Archelaus*, *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, three of the Sons before-mentioned. *Archelaus* [h] had *Judea*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*; *Philip* had *Auronitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Paneas*, and *Batanea*; and *Herod Antipas* had *Galilee* and *Peræa*. This was according to the Will of their Father, which was confirmed by *Auguſtus*.

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[t] Joſephus ubi ſupra, & Euſebius Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. lib. i. c. 8.

[u] Hiſt. of the Jews, b. i. c. 2.

[w] Baſnage ibid.

[x] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. & De Bell. l. i. c. 18.

[y] Matth. ii. 22.

[z] Matth. xiv. 1. 3. 6. Mark. vi. Luke iii. viii. ix. xiii. xxiii. Acts iv. 27.

[a] Luke iii. 1.

[b] Matth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17.

[c] Acts xii. 1, 2.

[d] Acts xii. 20. 23.

[e] Matth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17.

[f] Matth. xiv. 6. 11. Mark vi. 21. 28.

[g] Acts xxiv, xxv, xxvi.

[h] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 13. See alſo Matth. ii. 22. & Luke iii.

CHAP.

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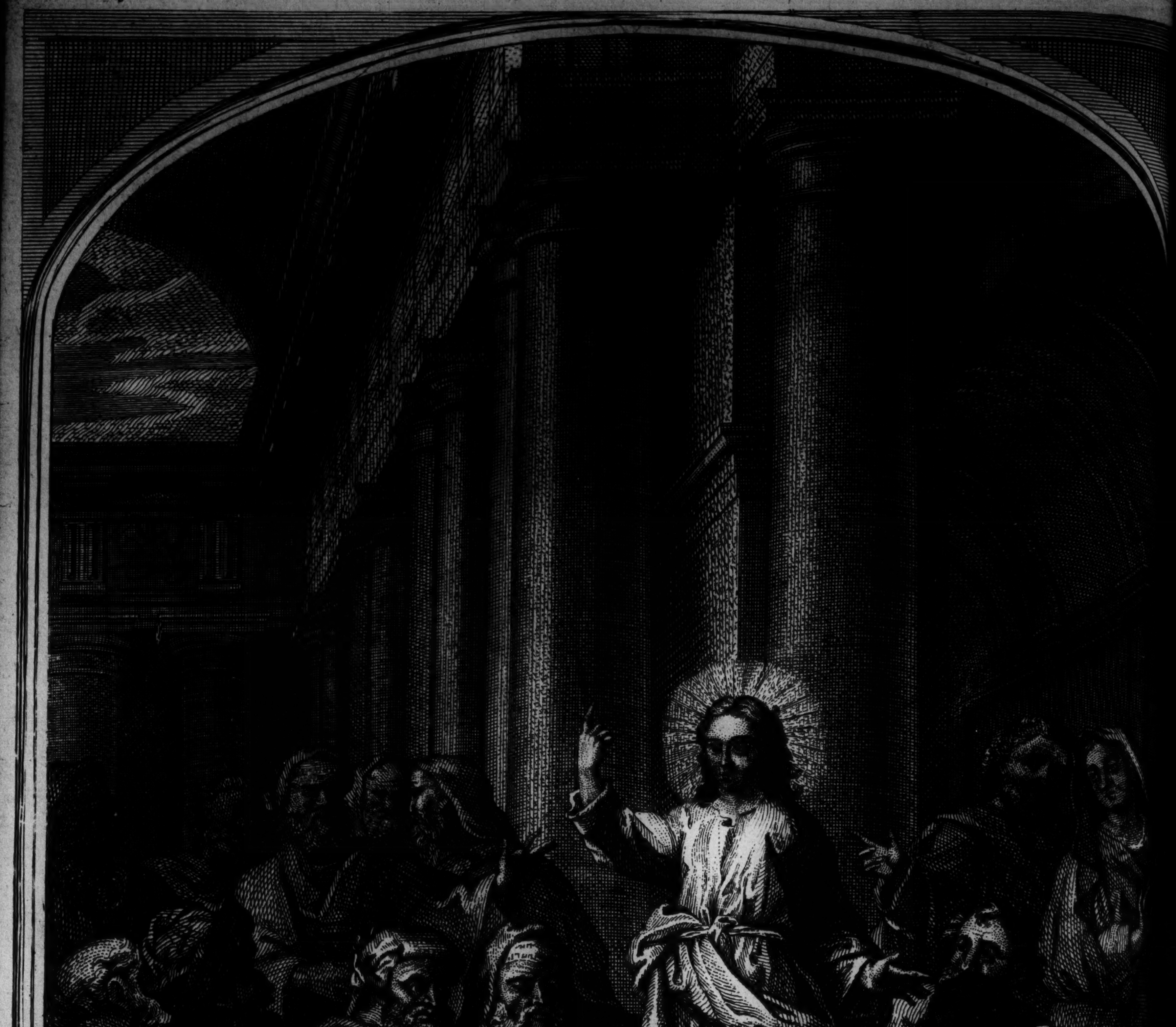

The Disputation with the Doctors in the Templ

Luke. 11. 41. 50.

CHAP. IV.

I. Little known of our Lord's Infancy and Youth. II. He goes to *Jeruſalem* with his Parents, and ſtays behind them there. III. They find him in the Temple, diſputing with the Doctors. IV. Conjectures on the Subject and Manner of this Conference. V. Diſcourſe between our Lord and his Mother. VI. Our Lord's Diligence in his Office, and Reſpect to his earthly Parents. VII. Whether he actually encreaſed in Wiſdom. VIII. His Manner of Converſation collected from the Evangeliſts. IX. That he followed the Trade of his reputed Father. X. Inſtances of his Humility and Wiſdom.

I. T*HE Scripture leaves us very much in the Dark concerning the Manner in which our Lord ſpent his Childhood and Youth, and indeed how he was employ'd from his Infancy till he was thirty Years of Age, which includes far the greateſt Part of his Life. Little or nothing of theſe Things is to be found in any authentic Hiſtory; and* St. Luke, *who is more particular in his Account of our Lord's Nonage than any other of the Evangeliſts, ſays no more of it, than* [a] *that the Child grew, and waxed ſtrong in Spirit, filled with Wiſdom; and the Grace of God was upon him: And afterwards, ſpeaking of his Life at* Nazareth, *he only tells us,* [b] *that he was ſubject to his Parents, that he encreaſed in Wiſdom and Stature, and in Favour with both God and Man. The Silence of the Holy Spirit with regard to the many Particulars that muſt have paſſed in ſuch a long Courſe of Time, may afford Variety of uſeful Reflections, which the well-diſpoſed Reader will eaſily make. Thus much may reaſonably be concluded from what is left on Record, that our Lord was not ſubject to thoſe Infirmities of Mind, which are common to other Children; but that on the contrary, he was all Serioufneſs, Modeſty, and Sweetneſs; ever well pleaſed, obſervant, and obliging: Nor can we doubt but that he was much employ'd in Prayers, Meditations, and ſpiritual Converſe with his heavenly Father. From this general Remark we proceed to take notice of that ſingle Hiſtory relating to our Lord's Youth, which is left on Record, the Account of his going up to* Jeruſalem, *with his Mother and* Joſeph, *when he was only twelve Years of Age, and his Converſation there with the Doctors in the Temple.*

II. *Before this, as we may learn from the Words of* [c] St. Luke *above-quoted, the Favour of God towards him was very remarkable, ſo that the Divine Spirit, with which he was filled, began to appear even in his very Infancy. The wonderful Progreſs he made in Wiſdom, the viſible Stedfaſtneſs of his Mind, and a Compoſure of Countenance beyond what was ever before ſeen in one ſo young, were ſo many early Teſtimonies of his Divinity. While more and more of this kind was every Year diſcovered, his Parents* [d] *continued their pious Cuſtom, which was indeed the Cuſtom of the* Jews *in general, of going up to* Jeruſalem *at the Feaſt of the Paſſover. Whether or no* Jeſus *ever went with them before he was twelve Years of Age, is not ſaid; but it ſeems likely that this was the firſt Time of his appearing in public. When he was twelve Years old therefore, having been with them ſeven Days in the Courſe of their Attendance at the Temple, as they were upon their Return homewards, he privately withdrew himſelf from them, and tarried behind in* Jeruſalem. *In the mean time* Joſeph *and* Mary, *ſuppoſing him to be ſomewhere in the Company of their Friends and Acquaintance, who had been at the Holy City on the ſame Errand with themſelves, went forwards one whole Day's Journey in their Way home, enquiring for him of ſuch Perſons as they thought the moſt likely to give them Satisfaction.*

III. *But having ſought him* [e] *all Day in this Manner without Succeſs, and being now convinced that he was not with any of their Relations and Friends, they turned back again to the City, enquiring of every one they met with no ſmall Concern, and looking every where for him as they paſſed along. At laſt, after three Days ſpent in the Search, they found him in the Outer Court of the Temple, ſeated in the midſt of the Doctors, both hearing them, and aſking them Queſtions. For the better underſtanding of this, 'tis neceſſary to obſerve, that about the Outer Court of the Temple, commonly called the Court of the People, were certain Porches, or Chambers, called alſo* Gazophylacia, *from the Goods and Treaſures of the Temple repoſited in them. Theſe Rooms* [f] *belonged to the Prieſts, and in theſe the Doctors of the Law, aſſembling at certain Hours of the Day, expounded the Moſaical Inſtitutions to the People, debating the Difficulties that occurred with one another. Hither alſo they admitted ſuch Youth as applied themſelves to Learning, and gave them neceſſary Inſtructions, the ſame as in their other Schools, erected for that Purpoſe only.*

IV. *'Twas in this Aſſembly of the Doctors, that* Jeſus *preſented himſelf, and not only gave Attention to their Diſputes, as probably others of his Age might do at the ſame Time, but likewiſe propounded difficult Queſtions unto them; and, what was yet more, when the Doctors could not ſolve them, he explained them himſelf, and that ſo much to the Satisfaction of the Auditors, and the Confuſion of the* [g] *Doctors, that all preſent were aſtoniſhed at the great Wiſdom conſpicuous in him, and wondered to hear a Child excel in Underſtanding not only Men, but ſuch Men as were reputed the moſt knowing and learned among them. Certainly there was ſomething very extraordinary and divine in this his Appearance: And ſince he himſelf guided the Diſcourſe, as he did afterwards in the*

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[a] Luke ii. 40.

[b] Luke ii. 51, 52.

[c] Chap. ii. 40.

[d] Verſe 41, 42, 43, 44.

[e] Luke ii. 45, 46, 47.

[f] Jerem. xxxv. 2. 4. xxvi. 12. 20.

[g] Luke ii. 47.

Synagogue at Nazareth,[h] *where he opened the Book at a Place that ſpoke of himſelf, we may very well imagine the Subject diſputed of with the Doctors to have been ſome Prophecy concerning the* Meſſiah. *The Admiration which he raiſed might have produced further Enquiry after him, had not the coming in of ſuch mean People as* Joſeph *and* Mary, *who appeared to be his Parents, abated their Eſteem of him, and drawn a Veil over the Eyes of ſuch lazy Searchers after Truth, or envious Rivals of his ſurprizing Knowledge as we may ſuppoſe theſe Doctors and their Hearers to have been.*

V. Joſeph *and* Mary *beheld in this* [i] *Situation with Wonder and Surprize, equal to that of his other Auditors, or to their own Apprehenſions and Concern, when they firſt perceived him miſſing. There is no doubt but our Lord, upon beholding his Parents, aroſe dutifully out of his Place and came to them, taking this Occaſion to withdraw himſelf from that admiring Aſſembly. His Mother, in whom this Sight had made greater Impreſſions of Reverence towards him, asked* [k] *him gently, Why he had left them in this manner? Which ſhe ſaid rather to learn the Reaſon of his Action, than to blame his Conduct, being convinced that he was under a divine Guidance. Thy Father and I, ſhe added, have been extremely concerned for thee, and have ſought thee theſe three Days with great Anxiety and Grief. Our Lord replied by informing her, That they had no Cauſe to be thus ſollicitous about him, for they ought to have known the Occaſion of his leaving them, and that the Time would ſhortly come when he muſt be wholly employ'd in the public Buſineſs of his Father. But they could not comprehend the full Meaning of this Anſwer, either not knowing that he talked to them of his heavenly Father, or not underſtanding what he meant by his Father's Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs his* [l] *Mother, as ſhe had hitherto done upon every remarkable Occaſion, laid up in her Heart the Words which he now ſpoke, keeping them there as precious Treaſure, until the Time that they ſhould be explained by his future Miniſtry.*

VI. *The early Fervour of our Lord, for yielding in all Things exact* Obedience *to the Will of his heavenly Father, may bring to our Minds what he ſaid afterwards upon like Occaſions. When his Diſciples asked him, at the Time of* [m] *his Conference with the* Samaritan *Woman, whether any Man had brought him ought to eat, his Anſwer was, My Meat is, to do the Will of him that ſent me; and to finiſh his Work. So in another Place he tells them, thus,*[n] *I muſt work the Work of him that ſent me; and again,*[o] *As the Father gave me Commandment, even ſo do I. Add to theſe, his Anſwer to* Pilate, *who had demanded of him Whether he was a* [p] *King? To this End, ſays he, was I born, and for this Cauſe came I into the World, that I ſhould bear Witneſs unto the Truth. In Conformity to this conſtant Rule of his Actions and Words, we find him in the Midſt of the Doctors at twelve Years of Age, manifeſting to them their* Meſſiah, *and giving evident Signs of the Holy Spirit and Wiſdom with which he was repleniſhed. This was doing the Buſineſs of his heavenly Father: And having given ſuch an early Teſtimony of his Diligence and Obedience in the Work wherein he was afterwards to be wholly employ'd, he immediately added an Inſtance of his Duty to his Mother and reputed Father, under whoſe Direction he was to live till that Time: For*[q] *he returned with them to* Nazareth, *and was ſubject to them, as before. Mean while he grew up in Stature, and made wonderful Improvements in Wiſdom and Underſtanding, being favoured by* God *in a viſible and extraordinary Manner, and highly extolled and reverenced by all that knew him.*

VII. [r] *Thoſe who delight in hard Queſtions, are apt to diſpute about ſome of the laſt Words of this Hiſtory, which tell us that* Jeſus *increaſed in Wiſdom. They make it a Queſtion, Whether he truly did ſo, or in Appearance only. For being the eternal Wiſdom of the Father, perſonally united to the Word, they conclude, that a Plenitude of Wiſdom was as natural to the whole Perſon, as to the divine Nature. But others grounding their Opinion upon the Words of the Hiſtory, which affirm Chriſt to have increaſed in Favour with God as well as with Man, and in Wiſdom as well as in Stature, apprehend no Inconvenience in believing it to have been agreeable to* Chriſt's *human Nature, that he ſhould have Degrees of Underſtanding as well as of other Perfections. And though the Humanity of* Chriſt *made up the ſame Perſon with the Divinity, yet they think the Divinity ſtill to be free, even in thoſe Communications which were imparted to his inferior Nature; and that the Godhead might as well ſuſpend for a Time the Effuſion of all Wiſdom upon the Humanity, as he did the beatific Viſion, which moſt certainly was not imparted in the Height of our Saviour's Paſſion. But whether it were truly or in Appearance only that he increaſed in Wiſdom, whether in Habit of Mind or only in Experience and Exerciſe, of this we may be ſure, that the Advancements of the Holy Child were great, admirable, full of Wonder and Sanctity, ſufficient to entertain the Hopes and Expectations of* Iſrael, *and diſpoſe Mankind to receive the more full Manifeſtations of him in his public Miniſtry.*

VIII. *Though there be nothing expreſly recorded concerning our Lord's Life and Converſation, from twelve Years of Age to thirty, yet from ſome Paſſages of Scripture ſeveral Things relating hereto may rationally be collected. From his Parents ſeeking him among their Kinsfolk and Acquaintance, when he ſtaid behind at* Jeruſalem, *we may learn, that his Converſation was free and common with all Sorts and Conditions of Men, and that he lived in peculiar Familiarity with his Relations and Neighbours: Nor needed he, who was in no Danger of Sin to live a Life of abſolute Solitude and Severity. On the other hand, 'tis alſo plain, that though the Doctors and People in the Temple were aſtoniſhed at his Underſtanding and Anſwers, and though afterwards, before his Mother and ſome particular Friends, he continually ſent forth many Rays of his infinite Prudence and Sanctity, he nevertheleſs caſt ſuch a Veil over theſe his Divine Excellencies, and was ſo reſerved before the Generality of Mankind, with whom he always talked within the Compaſs of their own Knowledge, that no great Fame or Reputation of him was ſpread abroad, not even in his own City,*[s] *where he was afterwards reproached with the Meanneſs of his Extraction, and his illiterate Education.*

IX. *It furthermore ſufficiently appears,*[t] *that after our Lord was of a competent Growth, he aſſiſted the Neceſſities of his Parents with his own Labour, and wrought at the Trade of his reputed Father, who is called a Carpenter by the Evangeliſts. Some of the Antients have pretended to inform us, what was the Species of Carpentry at which* Joſeph *wrought; and* Juſtin Martyr, *in particular, ſays,*[u] *it was making Ploughs, Yokes, and other Inſtruments of Husbandry for his Neighbours. A certain Author alſo obſerves, that ſuch a private Branch of Trade was more ſuitable to the Piety and Devotion of ſo good a Man as* Joſeph, *and better accommodated to the retired Education of our bleſſed Lord, than ſeeking of Work here and there in other Mens Houſes would have been. The Deceaſe of* Joſeph *is thought to have happened before* John *began to baptize, becauſe he is never after mentioned in the Evangelical Hiſtory; and 'tis very probable that our Lord followed his Trade for ſome Time after, which might be the Reaſon why St.* Mark *has not made the* Jews *call him The Carpenter's Son, as* Matthew *has, but ſimply, The Carpenter, the Son of* Mary.

X. *Among the many Hardſhips and Mortifications, which our Lord ſuffered during his Minority, this was none of the leaſt, that he, who was the Word and Wiſdom of God, ſhould have a Law of Silence ſo long impoſed on him, when the Sins and Follies of Mankind afforded him ſo many Opportunities of diſcovering his ſupreme Holineſs and Sagacity. On the Sabbath Days eſpecially, when People frequented the Synagogue to hear the Law and the Prophets, where among others his devout Parents and himſelf were conſtantly preſent, was it not wonderful that he, the Lawgiver of* Iſrael, *ſhould patiently ſtand there as a mean Artificer, to bear the erroneous Expoſitions of others? And this too after his fore-mentioned Diſpute with the Doctors, and when he was now arrived at Man's Eſtate? Herein appears the moſt profound Humility and conſummate Wiſdom of our Lord, in that he ſo long concealed his ſtupendous Virtues, when he might have gained to himſelf the Admiration and Applauſe of all Men, ſuffering his Divinity to blaze out all at once, that his Knowledge and Works might be confeſſedly the Effects of a ſupernatural Power.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of *Herod*'s Sons, and the Departure of the Sceptre from *Judah*, according to *Jacob*'s Prophecy.

I. Archelaus *ſucceeds his Father, and is depoſed by* Auguſtus. II. Judea *reduced to a* Roman *Province by* Cyrenius, *and the Commotions that followed thereupon.* III. *Our Lord's going up to* Jeruſalem: *The Oracle of* Jacob *referr'd to this Time.* IV. Baſnage's *Manner of applying it.* V. *What was meant by* Shiloh. VI. *The Nature of* Judah's *Authority.* VII. *How it was preſerv'd by that Tribe.* VIII. *At what Time it was utterly loſt.* IX. *Objections againſt the Oracle of* Jacob *conſidered.* X. Prideaux's *Manner of underſtanding it.* XI. *What was meant by* Judah, *and when the Sceptre departed from him.* XII. *How far theſe two Interpretations may ſerve to the ſame Purpoſe.* XIII. *Some Account of* Herod Antipas; *his Power, and the Extent of his Territories.* XIV. *The Apoſtles and* Joſephus *reconciled concerning* Philip *the Tetrarch, with ſome Account of that Prince.* XV. *The perpetual Subjection of the* Jews *to the* Roman *Empire from the Time of* Pompey.

I. HEROD *the Great* once intended to leave his whole Kingdom to his Son *Herod Antipas*, in order to keep up the Grandeur of his Family; but he altered his Reſolution, and divided it between him, *Archelaus*, and *Philip*, as before noted. The firſt Will was preferred by the *Jews*, becauſe *Antipas* was of a ſomewhat milder Diſpoſition than his Brother *Archelaus*, who inherited the Cruelty of his Father. This was manifeſt from the bloody Beginning he made; for having aſſumed the Government without Orders from *Rome*, he cut off great Numbers of People, who thought to have regained their antient Liberty at the Juncture of *Herod*'s Death. While the Brothers therefore were ſolliciting their Cauſe before *Auguſtus*, it was alledg'd by *Antipas* and his Party, that *Archelaus* had anticipated the Emperor's Deciſion, by thus taking upon him an Authority over the *Jews*. *Archelaus* was ſo frighted at theſe Remonſtrances, that he fell down at *Auguſtus*'s Feet, and in that humble Poſture begg'd his Protection. His Submiſſion mov'd the Emperor, who told him, That he was worthy to reign; and that Saying was taken for a Sentence in his Behalf. However fifty Deputies from the *Jews* thought to prevail upon the Emperor to alter his Reſolution, by telling him that they had rather be under the Government of *Syria* than of *Herod*'s Family. But *Auguſtus* confirmed the Will of *Herod* his Friend, by giving *Archelaus* the Provinces of *Judea*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*, with the Title of Ethnarch, or Prince of the People, and a Promiſe to change it into King, if he made himſelf worthy thereof by his Virtue. There was therefore no King of *Judea* at the Time when our Lord returned out of *Egypt*, nor did *Archelaus* ever after enjoy that Title: For having committed many great and tyrannical Male-Adminiſtrations, [a] Ambaſſadors came to *Rome*, both from the *Jews* and *Samaritans*,

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[h] Luke iv. 17. 20.

[i] Luke ii. 48.

[k] Luke ii. 48, 49, 50.

[l] Luke ii. 51.

[m] John iv. 33, 34.

[n] John ix. 4.

[o] John xiv. 31.

[p] John xviii. 37.

[q] Luke ii. 51, 52.

[r] Theſe Obſervations that follow to the End of the Chapter are collected from ſeveral Authors.

[s] Matth. xiii. 54, 55, 56. Mark vi. 2. 3.

[t] From the Texts laſt quoted.

[u] Juſtin. Mart. contra Tryphonem. His Words are, *Aratra conficiens, & juga boum.*

[a] Joſeph. Antiq l. xvii. c. 15. & De Bell. l. ii.

ritans, to accuſe him thereof before *Auguſtus*. This was in the tenth Year of his Reign; and he was immediately ſummon'd to come and anſwer for himſelf before the Emperor. On his appearing at *Rome*, not being able to juſtify his Conduct, but being found guilty of all that was charged upon him, [b] he was depoſed from his Principality, had all his Goods condemned to be confiſcated, and he himſelf was baniſhed to *Vienna* in *Gallia*, where he died.

II. *Auguſtus* hereupon [c] ſent *Publius Sulpitius Quirinus*, whom he had appointed Preſident of *Syria*, to ſeize the Country which *Archelaus* had hitherto reigned over, and reduce it to the Form of a *Roman* Province; and *Coponius*, a *Roman* of the Equeſtrian Order, was ſent with him, to take on him the Government of it, under the Title of Procurator of *Judea*. On their Arrival at *Jeruſalem*, they ſeiz'd all *Archelaus*'s Goods, according to the Sentence of Confiſcation, and having in a great Part aboliſhed the *Jewiſh* Polity, eſtabliſhed the *Roman* in its Stead. *Coponius* took on him the Adminiſtration in the Name of *Auguſtus*, but ſtill in Subordination to the Preſident of *Syria*, *Judea* being made a Part of that Province. After this [d] the Power of Life and Death was taken wholly out of the Hands of the *Jews*, and placed in the *Roman* Procurator, and his ſubordinate Officers; and Taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* Emperor. The Deſcription and Regiſtration of every Man's Poſſeſſion was made eleven Years before by *Sentius Saturninus*; but the laying and levying of Taxes according thereto was not executed till now, when *Judea* was reduced to a Province by *Quirinus*, or *Cyrenius*, Governor of *Syria*.

The raiſing of thoſe Taxes cauſed great Diſturbances [e] among the *Jews*; many oppoſing it; ſome under a Notion of univerſal Liberty, that they were to have no King but God; and others, that they were not to own a King, by paying Taxes to him, that was of a Foreign Nation, becauſe the Law commanded, [f] *not to ſet a Stranger, which is not of their Brethren, to be King over them*. The firſt Party was headed by one [g] *Judas* of *Galilee*, a turbulent and ſeditious Man, of whom mention is made [h] in the Acts of the Apoſtles; but he was ſoon cut off, and all his Followers ſuppreſs'd. But the other Notion of not owning a Foreigner to be their King ſtill prevail'd: For it was a Doctrine held and taught by the *Phariſees*, the predominant Sect of the *Jews*, and from them imbibed by the Generality of that People. And hence it was, that in the Time of our Saviour's Miniſtration they made it a Queſtion, [i] Whether they ought to pay tribute to *Cæſar* or no. For tho' they were obliged to ſubmit thereto, yet as to to the Legality of the Thing they generally held it in the Negative. And this was the Reaſon that the *Publicans*, that is, thoſe of their Nation who were employ'd under the *Romans* for the gathering of thoſe Taxes, were in ſo great Odium and Deteſtation among them. For they look'd on their Employment as a conſtant Breach of the Law, and on them for acting therein as Apoſtates from it, and the worſt of Men, ſuch as were not to be drunk or eaten with, or admitted to common Converſation. And hence it is that in the Goſpels we find *Publicans* and *Sinners* ſo often joined together, and our bleſſed Lord ſo often reproach'd for converſing with them.

III. It was in the ſame Year while this was a doing, that *Jeſus Chriſt*, being then in the twelfth Year of his Age, went up to *Jeruſalem* with *Joſeph* and *Mary* at the Paſſover, and there firſt appeared in the Prophetic Office, and the Buſineſs of his Father, by ſitting among the Doctors in the Temple, and declaring to them the Truth of God, as has been related in the Chapter immediately preceding this Diſſertation. This, ſays [k] Dr. *Prideaux*, was his firſt Signal Coming to his Temple, [l] foretold by the Prophet *Malachi*, whereby, according to the Prophet *Haggai*, [m] the Glory of the latter Houſe was made to be much greater than that of the former. By the latter Houſe the Prophet meant the Temple from the Time that it was rebuilt by *Zerubbabel*, when the *Jews* returned from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, till it was finally deſtroyed by *Titus*: For tho' it was again rebuilt by *Herod* within this Period of Time, and made more noble than before, yet as he made uſe of many of the ſame Materials, and preſerved ſome Parts of the antient Structure, his Building was confounded with that of *Zerubbabel*, and the Temple was ſtill called the ſecond or latter Houſe, as it had always before been from the Time of its firſt Rebuilding. Our Lord had been perſonally preſent at the Temple before, in ſpeaking of which Circumſtance, [n] we obſerv'd, that theſe Prophecies then began to be fulfilled; but as this was the firſt Time that he was miniſterially preſent, as the Meſſenger of the Covenant whereby Life and Salvation were revealed to Men, they now received a more eminent Completion. And at the ſame Time, according to [o] ſome, and not before, began the Accompliſhment of that Signal Prophecy of *Jacob*, which we have ſo often mention'd, [p] *The Sceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah, *nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet, until* Shiloh *come*. We have ſomewhere promiſed a more full Explanation of this Prophecy, than has been already given in the preſent Work, and ſhall now endeavour to perform our Word, by tranſcribing, or extracting, the Opinions of two very learned and eminent Perſons, who have written upon the Subject.

IV. *Baſnage* tells us, [q] That there is at preſent no Difficulty in this Oracle. It might be ambiguous, ſays he, in the Time of *Jeſus Chriſt*, when the *Jews* flattered themſelves, that the Sceptre, which was in the Hands of a Foreigner, ſhould return to the Houſe of *David*; that the Yoke of the *Romans* ſhould neither be harder, nor longer, than that of the Kings of *Syria*, who made *Judea* tributary to them; and that if *Jeruſalem* and its Temple were deſtroy'd, God would glorioufly raiſe them up again from their Ruins at the End of ſeventy Years, after an Age of Puniſhments and Calamities. But a Nation which groans under a Captivity of 1700 Years, and is diſperſed, without a City, without a Temple, without Victims, without a King, without a Chief, and without a ſupreme Authority in any Part of the World, cannot fondly imagine, that this is only an Interruption of their Liberty, or deny that God hath wreſted from *Judah* the Sceptre, which that Tribe ſo long wielded. This general Reflection, if duly weighed by the *Jews*, would be ſufficient to take away the Prejudices of that People. For if we ſet aſide the Meſſiah of the Chriſtians, and only keep to the main Queſtion, At what Time the promiſed Meſſiah was to come, we ſhall ſoon perceive that he muſt neceſſarily have come a long Time ago. *Jacob* teaches, that the Sceptre ſhould not depart from *Judah* till the Advent of *Shiloh*: But does this Sceptre ſubſiſt any where at preſent? Above ſixteen Centuries and a half are paſt and gone ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and the Tribe of *Judah*, ſcattered and fugitive over the Face of the whole Earth, has not, for ſuch a long Courſe of Ages, ever been ſeen in one Body or Society. It appears no where, and its very Genealogies are confounded and out of Order, ſo that even the Family of *David* is not certainly known: And can it now be ſaid, that the Sceptre is in the Hand of *Judah*?

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[b] Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

[c] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1.

[d] John xviii. 31. See Lightfoot on the Place.

[e] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 1, 2. & De Bell. l. ii. c. 12.

[f] Deut. xvii. 15.

[g] Joſeph. ubi ſupra.

[h] Acts v. 27.

[i] Matt. xxii. 17.

[k] Connect. Part. II. b. 9.

[l] Malach. iii. 1.

[m] Hag. ii. 9.

[n] See Page lxi. of this Work.

[o] Prideaux maintains this Opinion, but he is not the Author of it. See it in Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews, b. i.

[p] Gen. lxix. 10.

[q] Hiſt. of the Jews, b. iv. c. 20.

The Author [r] above quoted propoſes four Things to be enquired into, in order to prove the Accompliſhment of *Jacob*'s Prophecy about the Time of *Chriſt*: 1. Who was the *Shiloh* that was to come; 2. The Nature of that Authority, which *Jacob* promiſes to his Son *Judah* till the coming of *Shiloh*; 3. How the Tribe of *Judah* preſerv'd that Authority; and 4. at what Time ſhe utterly loſt it. We ſhall give the Subſtance of what he has ſaid on each of theſe Heads, and of his Anſwers to the moſt material Objections againſt this Prophecy. After that we ſhall add the Syſtem of *Prideaux*, which is ſomewhat different from that of *Baſnage*. Our own Reflections, if we make any, ſhall be few and ſhort. And having gone thro' with this very important Teſtimony of our Lord's Meſſiahſhip, we ſhall return to give ſome further Account of *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, the other Sons of *Herod the Great*, who reigned after their Father, and who are both mentioned in the New Teſtament.

Let us firſt obſerve, that *Baſnage* hath not fix'd the Accompliſhment of this Prophecy to the Depoſition of *Archelaus* ſo poſitively as *Prideaux* hath done. 'Tis more reaſonable, ſays he, to admit that the Sceptre was departing from *Judah*, and his Kingdom breaking, from the Beginning of *Herod the Great*, becauſe *Judea* was tributary under him, as well as under the Ethnarchs, and he himſelf was a Vaſſal to the Emperor, whoſe Commands he was obliged to obey. Theſe are not directly his Words, but the Senſe of what he ſays is herein contained. He adds, that when *Archelaus* was baniſh'd, and *Judea* made a Province, this Accompliſhment was brought very forward: For the ſupreme Power then devolved upon the *Romans*, and at the Death of *Chriſt* appears to have been entirely in their Hands. The Opinion of *Prideaux* was the Occaſion of our ſpeaking of *Jacob*'s Prophecy in this Place before another, and it may certainly be as properly treated of here as any where elſe: For, after all, the Reader will be at Liberty to acquieſce where he pleaſes. Theſe Authors ſeem to have collected the Subſtance of what has been ſaid on the Queſtion before us, at leaſt they have introduced the moſt ſolid Arguments; and for that Reaſon we ſhall keep to them only. The four Enquiries of *Baſnage* are firſt in Order, according to the Method above propoſed.

V. Paſſing over all ſtrained Interpretations, the *Chaldee* Paraphraſts have explained the Word *Shiloh* by that of Meſſiah, *to whom the Kingdom belongeth, and whom the Nations ſhall obey*. Theſe Paraphraſts lived before the Controverſy about this Oracle aroſe. But admitting that they ſhould be of ſo old a Standing as is commonly thought, the Argument here drawn from them would be but ſo much the ſtronger: For it would prove that they were forced to tranſlate the Words of *Jacob* as we do, even when they knew that the Chriſtians apply'd them to *Jeſus Chriſt*. No doubt but they would have deprived their Adverſaries of this Proof, had it been in their Power to do it. Beſides *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, there is another pretty antient *Hebrew* Commentator on *Geneſis*, who tells us that [ſ] *Shiloh is the King Meſſiah*; ſo that we have the Conſent of the old Commentators. The *Talmudiſts*, whoſe Intereſt it was here to deny the Truth, [t] have acknowledged it. And the *Cabbaliſts* find the ſame Number [v] of 358 in the Words *Shiloh ſhall come*, as in the Name *Meſſiah*. A multitude of other *Jewiſh* Authors might be introduced on this Occaſion, if it would not ſeem too much like Affectation. Theſe Interpreters ought to be preferr'd to all others, becauſe they are not blinded by Prejudices, nor hurried away by Paſſions, on the Side of the Chriſtians. They appear to embrace this Opinion merely becauſe they know, and love, the Truth; for it is acting contrary to their own Intereſt. They are Men of Reach, open Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore cannot be ſuſpected; whereas others may either invent, or follow ſome very remote Explications. The *Jews* can have no Reaſon to complain, when they are condemned out of the Writings of their greateſt Maſters, and our moſt virulent Enemies. We need not take notice, after all this, that the Chriſtians in general come into this Interpretation, which is ſo much to their Advantage. Let us therefore conclude in Brief, that *Shiloh* is the Meſſiah.

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[r] Baſnage. [ſ] Melech Hamaſchiach. [t] Tract. Sanhedrim. c. xi. Vide plura apud Morinum in Appendice de locis Hebræi textus reſtitutis. c. 2. 3.

[v] This Kind of Study was common among the Jews, and an Argument from it againſt themſelves is not improper.

VI. Since *Jacob* gave his Bleſſing to every one of his Children, there is no doubt but he promiſed ſome peculiar Advantage to the Tribe of *Judah* in this Place; and though that Opinion may not appear favourable to Chriſtians, yet Truth ſhould always be preferr'd to Intereſt. But thoſe who are dazzled at the Word Sceptre, and aſcribe a royal Authority to it, throw themſelves into an inextricable Labyrinth; for there were no Kings in *Judah* from *Moſes* to *David*, nor from the Return out of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity till the Deſtruction of the ſecond Temple. The regal Authority began ſix hundred Years after the Oracle of *Jacob*, and ended five hundred Years before *Jeſus Chriſt*; ſo that, notwithſtanding this Prophecy, they ſaw eleven hundred Years paſs away without a King. For this Reaſon a [w] learned *Annaliſt* tranſlates the Paſſage thus: *The Sceptre ſhall not fail for ever, becauſe* Shiloh *ſhall come.* The Sceptre, ſays he, ſhall fail during the Captivity, and for ſome Time after their Return, but not for ever, becauſe the Meſſiah ſhall reſtore it. This Interpretation removes the Difficulty, but it changes the common Uſe of the Terms: For *Jacob* ſpeaks of a temporal Sceptre; and the Sceptre of the Meſſiah was ſpiritual and myſtical only. 'Tis therefore neceſſary to embrace a more natural Explication, and which is better grounded upon Hiſtory. By the Sceptre we muſt underſtand a Degree of Preheminence, which diſtinguiſhed the Tribe of *Judah*, as Kings are diſtinguiſhed in their own Dominions. Conſonant hereunto *David*, [x] alluding to this Oracle of *Jacob*, gives the Title of Lawgiver to *Judah*, though that Tribe preſcrib'd no Laws to the reſt; for *Moſes* was of the Tribe of *Levi*.

Judah therefore was the Lawgiver in an improper Senſe, becauſe his Inheritance was always the Center of Religion, and the Habitation of the Church. There it was that the Ark reſted, that the Temple was built, and there alone that Sacrifices were to be offered up. There is no neceſſity that this Tribe ſhould always have ſupplied the Nation with Kings. 'Tis enough that it was preferr'd to the reſt, and accounted the Head of the twelve. Sacred Hiſtory muſt be conſulted, to learn particularly the Privileges of *Judah*; for the Event is the ſureſt Interpreter of a Prophecy: And here we ſhall find, 1. That his Number and Portion were always to be conſiderable. Theſe, together with his Proſperity, gave him always a Preheminence above the other Tribes, and were to him advantageous Marks of Diſtinction: He went at the Head of the Nation, and alone maintain'd his Ground againſt the Attempts of neighbouring Kings, Schiſmatics, and Rebels. 2. God was always to preſerve this Tribe from that Diſperſion and Confuſion which attended the others. And agreeably to this ſome read, *The Tribe of* Judah *ſhall not fail till* Shiloh *come*, in the room of, *The Sceptre ſhall not depart from* Judah. This was evidently true till the coming of *Chriſt*; but ſince that God has taken this Tribe out of the Sight of Men; for its Genealogies are confounded, and its Children are no more known. Such a Tranſlation as this is not unwarrantable, ſince *Moſes* often uſed the *Hebrew* Word, [y] which is here tranſlated Sceptre, to ſignify a Tribe: And according to this, the Interpretation of *Jacob*'s Prophecy, and the Application of it to *Chriſt*, would be very eaſy and natural. 3. *Judah* was to be the Seat of Religion, (as we have juſt now obſerved it was in fact:) For *Jacob* foretold, *That the Lawgiver ſhould not depart from between his Feet.* Let us now briefly run over the Hiſtory of this Tribe, in order to examine more particularly how far it has enjoy'd theſe Privileges, and whether it can be ſaid to have borne the Sceptre in a preciſe and literal Senſe. This is the third Enquiry propoſed.

VII. When the Children of *Iſrael* went out of *Egypt* towards the Holy Land, no King came out of *Judah* to be their Deliverer and Leader. *Moſes*, who put himſelf at their Head, was of the Tribe of *Levi*. All that is obſerv'd concerning *Judah*, is only this, that it was the moſt numerous of all the Tribes, and had the moſt honourable Poſt in the Camp; and that *Naaſſon*, Chief of that Tribe, offered his Preſents and Sacrifices at the Tabernacle before any of the reſt. After they were enter'd into *Canaan*, a great many Heroes aroſe among the People of *Iſrael*, but few of them were of the Tribe of *Judah*, which only furniſh'd a greater Quota of Soldiers for the War. *Saul* the firſt King of *Iſrael* was a *Benjamite*; and though *David* afterwards introduc'd the ſupreme Authority into his Family and Tribe, yet ſo many Ages had paſt from *Jacob*'s Promiſe, or even from [z] the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Egypt*, to the Time of *David*, and the Reign of *David*'s Family was comparatively ſpeaking ſo ſhort, that 'tis unnatural to think the Patriarch promiſ'd a Kingdom which was to begin ſo late, and end ſo ſoon. But *Judah* was always more numerous than the reſt of the Tribes, and held out longeſt againſt the Kings of *Aſſyria*; and therefore 'tis eaſy to perceive that the Preheminence foretold by *Jacob* was to be ſomething of this kind, which ſhould vary according to the Times. Under an ariſtocratical Government it had the firſt Poſt, and march'd at the Head of the other Tribes. When Monarchy was preferr'd to a republican State, the Kings were chiefly taken out of it. When the Adminiſtration of important Affairs was entruſted to a Council, the Tribe of *Judah* compos'd, or at leaſt made up the greateſt Part of, the Sanhedrim. During all theſe Forms of Government, this Tribe was the Depoſitary of Religion, and had alone its Temple, Altars, and Sacrifices. Can any other ſingle Tribe be produc'd, with all theſe Advantages?

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[w] Baſnagii Flottemanvillæi Annales Eccleſiaſtico-Polit. Anno 40 ante Chriſt. N. 24. T. 1.

[x] Pſalm lx. 7.

[y] Shebeth.

[z] Four hundred and forty Years are reckon'd from this laſt Event to David's Reign.

By recurring to this Principle, all the other Difficulties concerning the Sceptre of *Judah* may be removed. For Inſtance, 'tis objected, that *Judah* ſeemed entirely to loſe all its Privileges during the Captivity, in that it was carried away as well as the other Tribes into *Aſſyria*; that *Cyrus*, who ſent it back, and his Succeſſors, who favoured it, kept it ſubject to them, and made it pay them Tribute; that the Kings of *Syria*, who after the Conqueſts and Death of *Alexander the Great*, became Maſters of it, did the ſame as the *Perſians* had done; that the *Maccabees*, who became the High-prieſts of their Nation, were of the Tribe of *Levi*; and finally, that *Herod*, an *Idumean*, was King in *Judea* when *Jeſus Chriſt* was born. But there is no great Matter in all this; for if *Jacob* did not promiſe to *Judah* a ſupreme and regal Authority, but only ſuch a Preheminence above the reſt of the Tribes as hath here been deſcrib'd, it may be eaſily proved, that *Judah* was ſo far from ever loſing the Sceptre, during the Times enumerated above, that he enjoy'd his Preheminence much more ſenſibly after the Captivity than he had ever done before. This Tribe did not abſolutely diſappear even during the Captivity itſelf, and was all found entire at the Return from it, which is more than can be ſaid of any other Tribe, little *Benjamin* only excepted, who is frequently confounded with *Judah*. It was no more ſtrange, after this Return, to ſee the High-prieſts, or the *Maccabees*, govern the People, than it was to ſee *Moſes* put himſelf at the Head of that Nation many Ages before. This did not hinder the Preheminence of *Judah*, who ſettled again at *Jeruſalem*, the Capital of the Country, whilſt in other Parts of *Judea* there were only ſome Families of the ten Tribes. *Judah* then gave its own Name to the whole Nation, every Part of which paid a Kind of yearly Homage to it, by coming to worſhip in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and to ſacrifice upon her Altars. But we need not repeat all the Particulars of this Preheminence.

VIII. The laſt Thing to be conſidered, is, at what Time the Tribe of *Judah* loſt its Authority. Upon a juſt Determination of this depends the whole Weight of *Jacob*'s Words, as they are brought by Chriſtians to prove that *Jeſus Chriſt* was *Shiloh*, the Meſſiah. In general then, 'tis eaſily proved that this Tribe, confounded as it is with the others, and diſperſed throughout the World in ſo many Places, has not at this Day the leaſt Shadow of Preheminence, nor doth it now make a numerous or diſtinct Body. To find when this Privation of Authority firſt began, let us return a little to their Hiſtory. *Herod the Great*, who was neither of the Tribe of *Judah*, nor of any of the other Tribes, but an *Idumean*, was King of the *Jews* when *Chriſt* was born, and the firſt King of that Nation who had been tributary to the *Romans*. From his Time the Caſe of the *Jews* grew worſe and worſe. When *Archelaus* his Son was baniſhed out of *Jeruſalem*, that City, with all the neighbouring Country, was joined to *Syria*, and became a *Roman* Province. The *Sanhedrim* loſt the Power of Life and Death, which they had preſerved even under the Kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*; and when the *Jews* wanted to crucify *Jeſus Chriſt*, they acknowledged the Sceptre to be departed from *Judah*, by ſaying to *Pilate* that[a] *it was not lawful for them to put any Man to Death*. Af- this their Condition grew ſtill worſe: For *Jeruſalem* was deſtroy'd, all the Advantages of *Judah* vaniſh'd, and that Tribe was involved in the ſame Calamity with the reſt. The Inhabitants of *Judea* were diſperſed, and ſold like Cattle in the Markets, nor do we yet ſee the leaſt Shadow of their Coming together again. There is now no Country where the Tribe of *Judah* makes a Figure, or is even known; and ſo much perplex'd are their Genealogies, that not a ſingle Family of the *Jews*, for many Hundreds of Years paſt, have been able to ſhew from whom 'tis deſcended. For though thoſe of them who inhabit *Spain* pretend to be the Remains of the Tribe of *Judah*, they offer only ſome uncertain Preſumptions to make good what they ſay; and theſe are far from giving Satisfaction, eſpecially ſince the Preſumptions are ſtronger on the other Side. But if it could even be proved that ſome Families of *Judah* remain entire to this Day, what could be inferred from thence in relation to *Jacob*'s Oracle? It muſt be alſo proved, that theſe Families have ſome Preheminence over the reſt of the *Jews*, and that they make a ſeparate and diſtinct Body, before we can admit that the Oracle of *Jacob* is not fulfilled, and that the Sceptre ſtill remains in the Tribe of *Judah*.

Mean while what ſhould hinder our concluding poſitively, That his Oracle was fully accompliſhed in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that conſequently he was the true *Shiloh*? Some kind of Authority remained with the *Jews* till his Time, but then viſibly began to depart, and in forty Years after his Crucifixion was entirely loſt. Do theſe Circumſtances fall in ſo well with the Birth of any Pretender? Whoſe Birth beſides was ever foretold ſo long before, and pointed out by ſuch clear and undeniable Characters? Abundance of Heroes among the Heathens have been dignify'd after their Deaths, on account of their Conqueſts and brave Archievments; but has there ever been one of theſe, whoſe Birth, with all its attendant Circumſtances, was predicted, and whoſe Appearance was expected, for many Ages before it came to paſs? Has the Birth of Impoſtors, who have either broached new Religions, or changed the eſtabliſhed ones, been foretold? But theſe Things were true of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and therefore he was the Meſſiah. In a word, ſince we find that it was in the Power of *Jeſus Chriſt* to live at the Time[b] when the Tribe of *Judah* was loſing its Authority, and dependant on a *Roman* Governor, while the reſt of *Judea* had the good Fortune to be kept under the Direction of the *Herod*'s; ſince it was in his Power, after he was crucify'd, to take away the Sceptre from the Tribe of *Judah*, and for the Space of ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred Years to diſperſe that as well as the reſt of the Tribes, as *Jacob* had predicted; ſince all this, I ſay, is demonſtrable, 'tis evident that he muſt not only be the Meſſiah foretold by this Oracle, but muſt alſo have been inveſted with a divine Power, to ſcatter the Unbelievers, and reduce the Nations to the Obedience of the Goſpel.

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[a] John xviii. 31.

[b] This was the State of the Jews for ſome Time after Archelaus, Antipas and Philip ſtill reigning in their reſpective Provinces.

IX. Some of the Rabbies pretend, in order to evade the Arguments above, that *Shiloh* in the Oracle of *Jacob* ſignified only the City which bore that Name. *Saul* and *Jeroboam*, ſay they, were crown'd at this Place. The former of theſe was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and the latter founded his Kingdom upon the Diviſion of *Iſrael*, and the Revolt of the Ten Tribes from their Subjection to *Judah*. The Senſe of *Jacob's* Words, therefore, according to theſe Interpreters, is, that the Sceptre ſhall be taken from *Judah*, *when a King ſhall be crowned at* Shiloh, which was the Caſe of *Saul* and *Jeroboam*. But the Fact itſelf is certainly falſe, with regard to *Saul*; for the Ark was not at *Shiloh* when *Saul* was choſen King, neither was he anointed in that Town, but in *Miſpat*: And as to *Jeroboam*, we ſhall have no Reaſon ever to believe he was crowned at *Shiloh*, till we are informed of that Particular upon better Authority than that of the Rabbies.

Other *Jews* have endeavoured to elude this Oracle, by maintaining, that by the Word Sceptre, which properly ſignifies a Rod, *Jacob* foretold to *Judah* a long Train of Afflictions till the coming of the Meſſiah, and that the Prophecy is now fulfilled by the diſmal Diſperſion of all the Poſterity of that Patriarch. Thus, they ſay, the Words of *Jacob* are ſo far from demonſtrating the Meſſiah to be already come, that they prove it to be their Duty ſtill to expect him. This Expoſition is found in the Writings [c] of *Jacob* the Son of *Amram*; and alſo in a [d] Book written on purpoſe to explain the difficult Words of Scripture to their Women and Children, wherein 'tis expreſly aſſerted, that the Sceptre ſignifies the Rod or Afflictions of the *Jewiſh* People. But the Seventy Interpreters have overthrown all this, in tranſlating the Term by that of Prince. Beſides, it would have been ridiculous in *Jacob*, who deſigned to raiſe the Tribe of *Judah* above the reſt, to have foretold nothing but Calamity and Miſery to attend it. Neither does it appear that *Judah* hath undergone any peculiar Misfortunes, but only ſuch as were common to all the *Iſraelites*.

Again, 'tis inſinuated by ſome, that if we underſtand by the Sceptre a ſupreme and regal Authority, there needs only a ſmall Change in the Punctuation to overſet all the Notions of the Chriſtians. The putting of only a ſingle Point after one of the *Hebrew* Letters, they inform us, will make the Paſſage ſignify, not that *Judah* ſhall reign till the Coming of the Meſſiah, but that he ſhall reign eternally *after* the Meſſiah's Advent. But is there any Text, either in the Bible or any other Book, that might not be perverted by ſo bold a Criticiſm as this? However the Expoſition founded upon it happens to claſh with the *Jewiſh* Paraphraſts and Fathers, who aſſert plainly that the Sceptre ſhall not be broken *till the Time* that the Meſſiah become. Thus by taking the *Jewiſh* Interpreters for Judges, the Senſe of this Oracle becomes fixed, and the fulfilling of it in *Jeſus Chriſt* is alſo palpable; for *Judah* has not reigned ſince his Appearance on Earth.

Theſe are the moſt material Things in the Account of *Jacob's* Prophecy by *Baſnage*. We now proceed to our other Author, whoſe very Words we ſhall uſe, becauſe he has not run to any great Length on the Subject.

X. After introducing the Words of *Jacob*, in ſpeaking of our Lord's Aſcent to *Jeruſalem*, and his Diſputation with the Doctors there, he goes on thus: That by *Shiloh* is here meant the Meſſiah is on all Hands agreed. And at the Time of this his Coming, *Cyrenius* having reduced *Judæa* into the Form of a *Roman* Province, and inſtead of their former Governors of their own Nation placed a *Roman* Procurator over them, then began the fulfilling of this Prophecy, which ſixty two Years after was fully compleated in the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. For then, that is, at the Time of this Reduction of *Judæa* to a *Roman* Province, the Sceptre and the Lawgiver from between their Feet began to be taken from them, of which in the Deſtruction of the Temple and City of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus* they were wholly deprived, and have never ſince had them again reſtored.

For the fuller Explication of this Prophecy, and of the Manner of its Completion, theſe following Particulars are to be obſerved. 1ſt, By the Sceptre in *Judah* is meant the Sovereignty in it, and by a Lawgiver from between his Feet the Adminiſtration of Juſtice by thoſe of that ſame Nation, and according to their own Laws; and both put together imply ſuch a political Conſtitution of Government, as that whereby a Nation is governed by its own Princes, and by its own Laws, and this was that which was not to depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh* ſhould come. 2dly, This Conſtitution of Government all *Iſrael* was poſſeſſed of from their coming out of *Egypt* to the Time of the prevailing of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, they being till then under their own Princes (that is firſt Judges, and afterwards Kings) and governed by their own Laws. But 3dly, When the Kings of *Aſſyria* had extended their Empire on this Side the *Euphrates* as far as *Paleſtine*, Ten of the Tribes of *Iſrael* being carried into Captivity, the Sceptre then departed from thoſe Tribes, and the Lawgiver from between their Feet. For their Princes and their Laws being then taken away from them, they were never after that any more a People, but being ſcattered among the Heathen Nations of the Eaſt, their Name and their Nation were abſorbed and loſt in them, and they have never ſince been any more heard of. But 4thly, the Tribe of *Judah*, though they fell under the like Captivity, yet afterwards returned from it into their own Land, and had there their Sceptre and Lawgiver again reſtored to them. For being there imbodied again under the ſame Conſtitution of Government, they had again Princes of their own to be Rulers over them, and [e] the Adminiſtration of Juſtice under them by their own Laws in the ſame Manner as before, and ſo they continued to have without Interruption (excepting only the three Years and an half of *Antiochus*'s Perſecution) till the Time that *Coponius* was made Procurator of *Judæa*. But then [f] the Power of Life and Death being taken from them, and placed in a foreign Governor, and Juſtice being thenceforth adminiſtred by the Laws of *Rome*, inſtead of thoſe of their own Nation, then truly began the Sceptre to depart from *Judah*, and the Lawgiver from between his Feet; and this Departure was fully compleated in the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* ſixty two Years after, and therein this Prophecy had its intire Accompliſhment. Till then ſome few Remains of their Power were ſtill left among them: For they had ſtill their Sanhedrim or national Council, and they had ſtill their High-Prieſt, with ſome Shadow of Authority ſtill lodged in both, and in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice ſome Regard was ſtill had by the *Roman* Governors to their old national Law. But after the Temple and City of *Jeruſalem* were deſtroyed by *Titus*, all this was abſolutely and wholly aboliſhed, and from that Time neither the Sceptre nor the Lawgiver hath been any more found among them. For although near 1650 Years are now paſt ſince that Deſtruction, and great Numbers of this People ſwarm all over the World, yet they have never been able to imbody again into a Nation either in their own, or any other Land; or have they to this Day ever found a Place, where they could re-eſtabliſh their old Conſtitution of Law, or have a Prince of their own to govern them by it. As to their [g] *Æchmalotarcha* at *Babylon*, if that Officer be ſtill there in being, he is no more than what their *Alabarcha* was at *Alexandria*, their *Ethnarcha* at *Antioch*, or their *Epiſcopus Judæorum* in *England*, that is, the Head of that Sect in that Place, without Sword or Sceptre, or any Power of Coercion, or Authority of Juriſdiction, but what he hath by the voluntary Submiſſion of the *Jews* of that Country, which was the old *Babylonian* Province. And therefore nothing can be more vain, than what the *Jews* urge as to this Matter, that is, that in this *Æchmalotarcha* is ſtill preſerved both the Sceptre and the Lawgiver in the Tribe of *Judah*, and that therefore the Prophecy of *Jacob* above mentioned is not yet fulfilled, nor the Meſſiah as yet come.

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[c] In a Book called, The Gate of Truth.

[d] Liber Beer Moſche.

XI. But againſt what I have here ſaid of the Explication and fulfilling of this Prophecy it may be objected, that after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity we find none, excepting *Zerubbabel*, to have had the Government of the *Jewiſh* Nation, that were of the Tribe of *Judah*; that the High-Prieſts had moſtly the Regency of the Land, who were of the Tribe of *Levi*; and that after the *Aſmonæan* Princes *Herod* and *Archelaus* his Son reigned in *Judæa*, who were Deſcendants of the *Idumæans*, and not of any of the Tribes of *Iſrael*. To this I anſwer, That after the Captivity, the Tribe of *Judah* ſwallowed all elſe that were left of the other Tribes of *Iſrael*, and all from that Time were called *Jews*, and reckoned as of the Sons of *Judah*. And as to *Herod*, [h] *Nicolas of Damaſcus*, who lived in that Court, atteſts him to have been deſcended from one of thoſe *Jewiſh* Families which returned from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. But whether this were ſo or not, it is no where denied, but that he was deſcended from Anceſtors, who had by Proſelytiſm been long ingrafted into the Name and Nation of the *Jews*, and thereby been made at leaſt adopted Sons of the Tribe of *Judah*, and therefore he cannot be reckoned as a Stranger to it.

The Sum therefore is; The Sceptre and the Lawgiver remained among the *Jews* till both began to be taken from them by the *Romans* on their reducing *Judæa* into the Form of a *Roman* Province, and then *Chriſt*, the *Shiloh* promiſed, began his Coming as the Meſſiah, by then firſt entering on his Father's Buſineſs, for which he was ſent. And that this exactly fell in with the Time of this Change plainly appears: For *Chriſt* was then in the [i] twelfth Year of his Age, and the twelfth Year from *Chriſt*'s Birth was that whereon *Coponius* entered on his Government. For *Herod* lived one Year after the Birth of *Chriſt*, and after the Death of *Herod*, [k] *Archelaus* reigned ten Years, and the next Year after the *Romans* ſeized *Judæa*, and made it a Province of the Empire. *Chriſt* therefore firſt appeared in the Temple as the Meſſiah at that very Time, when the Sceptre of the Lawgiver firſt began to depart from *Judah*, and ſixty two Years after that, this Departure was fully compleated in the Deſtruction of the Temple and City of *Jeruſalem*, and the utter aboliſhing of the whole *Jewiſh* Policy and Conſtitution of Government in that Land, which hath never ſince either there or any where elſe been again revived. —— Thus far have we followed our Authors.

XII. The greateſt Difference between the two Interpretations here introduced ſeems to lie in this: That the firſt makes it neceſſary to underſtand the Word *Judah* in a ſtrict and limited Senſe, for the particular Tribe which bore that Name; whereas the other applies it looſely to the whole Nation, which from that Tribe were called by the common Name of *Jews*. It cannot be denied that the former Method is by much the moſt literal; and we ſhould venture to ſay, that it ought to be preferred for that Reaſon, if there were not another ſtronger reaſon to make us approve the latter. There is here much the ſmalleſt Number of Difficuties to obviate; for nobody can pretend to maintain, that the *Jewiſh* Nation had not always, before their abſolute Subjection to the *Romans*, a kind of Sovereignty within themſelves. And that this Sovereignty was loſt in the Time of *Jeſus Chriſt*, is alſo very plain and demonſtrable, becauſe then the *Romans* impoſed a Ruler on them, and even took away the Power of Life and Death, the moſt indiſputable Mark of ſupreme Authority. Even during the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, they lived but as the *Greek* Chriſtians of this Day do among the *Mahometans*, who never deny them to keep up their Biſhops and Patriarchs in the ſame Manner as under Chriſtian Monarchs. But when the *Jews* were under the *Romans*, before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* they had no more than the bare Shadow of Power, and after that not even ſo much as the Shadow itſelf. All this is demonſtrably true of the *Jewiſh* Nation in general; but whether or no it be ſufficiently proved of the Tribe of *Judah*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, we will not pretend to ſay. It has been already obſerved, that Prophecies are beſt interpreted by the Events that accompliſh them; and if ſo, we muſt explain *Jacob*'s Oracle by the Hiſtory of his Deſcendants, of whom it was ſpoken. This Hiſtory proves, that the Tribe of *Judah* had ſome Kind of Preheminence till the Deſtruction of the ſecond Temple, when it was entirely loſt. It alſo proves, that among the *Jews*, conſidered as a Nation, there always ſubſiſted a Kind of independant Sovereignty with very little Interruption, till the twelfth Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*, after which it was never recover'd. The Queſtion is only, Which of theſe Particulars we ſhould ſtick to? If we allow any Kind of Preheminence ſhort of Sovereignty to be underſtood by the Word Sceptre, then we may keep cloſe to the Tribe of *Judah*, and find this Oracle ſufficiently explained. But if we will needs have the ſupreme Authority to be meant by Sceptre, it will follow, that the Word *Judah* ſtands for the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, becauſe the ſupreme Authority in the Tribe of *Judah* did not continue half the Time, which paſſed between the Delivery of this Oracle and its final Accompliſhment.

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[e] See the Charter they had for this from Artaxerxes Longimanus King of Perſia, Ezra vii.

[f] John xviii. 31.

[g] i. e. The Head of the Captivity. Such an Officer the Babyloniſh Jews had, to whom they paid a voluntary Submiſſion. He was always choſen by them out of the Houſe of David. But this Office hath been long ſince antiquated, though ſome of the Jews pretend, that it is there ſtill in being even to this Day.

[h] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 2.

[i] Luke ii. 42.

[k] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 15.

But it is of the leſs Moment, which of theſe Interpretations is the beſt founded, becauſe either of them will ſerve our preſent Purpoſe, and fix the Names of *Shiloh* and Meſſiah upon *Jeſus Chriſt*. Whether the Sceptre in the Hands of *Judah* may ſignify only ſome Advantages peculiar to that Tribe, or more generally the Sovereignty which the *Jewiſh* Nation, ſo called from *Judah*, was in Poſſeſſion of, the Conſequence will be equally the ſame, if it has been proved that they both ſubſiſted till the Time of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that they both departed about that ſame Time; ſo that neither has been ever ſince diſcovered. One would think here was enough to convince any Man, who believes the divine Original of the ſacred Writings, that *Jeſus* was truly the *Shiloh* of *Jacob*, and the Meſſiah of the Prophets, which Words are generally thought to ſignify the ſame Perſon. There is no Way of eluding the Teſtimony of that particular Prophecy before us, but by ſome ſuch Shifts as thoſe that have been here introduced and exploded. It is not found that any of the *Jews* underſtood theſe Words differently from the preſent Chriſtians; till being hardly preſſed by the Force of ſo plain a Character, they choſe rather to give up one of their favourite Promiſes, or at leaſt to weaken it by ſtrained Interpretations, than to own for their Meſſiah a Perſon whom their Nation had deſpiſed and crucify'd. This is certainly a plain State of the Caſe, and will appear as ſuch to every unprejudiced Perſon. But we ſhall not add any Thing more to theſe Remarks.

XIII. The holy Penmen ſpeak often of *Herod* II. who was ſirnamed *Antipas*. It was he that run away with *Herodias*, and put to Death *John the Baptiſt* at the Requeſt of that infamous Woman. Our Lord called [l] him a Fox, and [m] was made to appear before him at *Jeruſalem*, though *Herod* had no Authority in that City, and came thither only as a Stranger to the Feſtival of the Paſſover. But *Pilate* ſent him the Son of God out of Complaiſance, being informed that he was a Native of *Galilee*, which belonged to *Herod*'s Juriſdiction. The Evangeliſts ſtile him a King, and the *Jews* relate, conformably thereto, that the *Romans* having ſent a powerful Army to carry *Archelaus* away, *Herod* II. whom they call his Son, reigned in his ſtead with as much Power as his Grandfather. The Evangeliſts call him King only out of Reſpect, and perhaps in Conformity to the Language of his Court. But the *Jews* are palpably miſtaken; for he never was a King in reality, neither did he ſucceed *Archelaus*, but was only Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, according to his Father's laſt Will. This is ſo evident, that *Herod* appears to have ruined himſelf at laſt by coveting a Crown: For *Herodias*, of whom he was always very fond, not enduring that *Agrippa* ſhould wear a Diadem, and have the Retinue of a King, whilſt her Husband wanted both, prevailed upon him by her Perſuaſions to go to *Rome*, and beg the ſame Privileges of the Emperor. But *Agrippa*, againſt whom this Petition was levelled, having proved that his Uncle was provided with Arms for ſeventy thouſand Men, that he was making a League with the King of *Parthia*, and that he had plotted with *Sejanus* againſt *Tiberius*, *Herod* was thereupon baniſhed to *Lyons*, from whence he went into *Spain*, and there died of Grief; notwithſtanding that the *Jews* have a Tradition among them, that he made he made himſelf Maſter of that Country, and expelled thence its true King. In ſhort, *Herod* II. was Son of *Herod* I. as before related, and Brother of *Archelaus*, but never his Succeſſor. He was no King, but only a Tetrarch, and ſo far from being a ſovereign Prince, that he was obliged to receive his Tetrarchate, which was very ſmall, from the Hands of *Auguſtus*.

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[l] Luke xiii. 32.

[m] Luke xxiii. 7.

The *Jews*, who maintain the contrary Opinion to this, and will have it that *Herod* reigned over all *Judea*, pretend to prove it by the Murder of the High-Prieſt *Jonathan*, or *Jochatan*, whom he put to Death, becauſe he upbraided him for his Marriage with *Herodias*. But this is aſcribing to their High-Prieſt an Honour which was due to *John the Baptiſt* only. It is certain that in the Time of *Herod* there was a High-Prieſt named *Jonathan*, but that Prince did him no Harm, neither could he, becauſe being only Tetrarch of *Galilee*, he had no Authority in *Jeruſalem*. This *Jonathan* was depoſed by *Vitellius*. There was ſome Time after another High-Prieſt of the ſame Name, whom *Felix* put to Death, perhaps for taxing *Druſilla* with having baſely abjured the Law, and eloped from her Huſband, to marry a Pagan Governor. The *Jews*, who are far from exact Chronologers, have confounded theſe two *Jonathans*, and the Elopement of *Druſilla* with that of *Herodias*, becauſe they were like one another in Circumſtances; and from hence they have been led to think that it was *Herod*, and not *Felix*, who put the High-prieſt to Death; but the contrary is very evident from Hiſtory.

XIV. *Philip* the Tetrarch, third Son of *Herod the Great*, has mightily embroiled the Hiſtory of this Family, becauſe 'tis found difficult to reconcile the holy Writers and *Joſephus* in their Accounts of *Herodias*, who has commonly been thought the Wife of this *Philip*. The Evangeliſt *Matthew*,[n] makes *Herodias* the Wife of one *Philip* the Brother of *Herod*; but *Joſephus*, who certainly was well acquainted with this Family, affirms that ſhe was another *Herod*'s Wife, when ſhe was taken away from her Huſband by *Herod* the Tetrarch. To reconcile this, the beſt Commentators have introduced a fourth Son of *Herod*, who had no Share in the Diſtribution of the Tetrarchates, and lived privately till *Veſpaſian*'s Time, when being eighty Years of Age, *Joſephus* ſent him his Works to be examined. But becauſe others reject this Opinion, let us examine its Merit, and ſee how far it ought to be embraced in this Diſpute. In Truth, upon an exact Scrutiny, there appears to be no Contradiction in *Joſephus* himſelf, nor will there be any ſuch mighty Difficulty to make him agree with the inſpired Penmen. The *Herod* from whom his Brother the Tetrarch took *Herodias*, was Son to *Mariamne* the Daughter of *Simon*; but *Philip*, Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, was *Cleopatra*'s Son: 'Tis therefore plain that they could not be the ſame Perſon. *Joſephus* points out this Diſtinction; for ſpeaking of the Rape of *Herodias*, he obſerves that *Herod* the Tetrarch went to the Houſe of his Brother *Herod* the Son of *Mariamne*; which proves, that it was not the Wife of *Philip* the Tetrarch who was taken away. The plain Truth then ſeems to be this: *Herod the Great* had a Son by *Mariamne* the Daughter of *Simon*, and his Name was *Herod Philip*. *Joſephus* therefore calls him *Herod*, and St. *Matthew* calls him *Philip*, both with equal Propriety, ſince he was known by either of theſe Names ſeparately, as well as by them both together, in like manner as his Brother the Tetrarch is known indifferently by *Herod* and *Antipas*. And for this reaſon we have mentioned *Herod Philip*, the Son of *Mariamne*, among [o]the Children of *Herod the Great* that are taken Notice of in the New Teſtament. Nor need we wonder that this *Herod Philip* is never clearly diſtinguiſhed in antient Hiſtory, nor mentioned in his Father's Will: For his Mother unluckily plotting with *Antipater*, againſt *Herod the Great*, her Huſband and King, ſhe was ſhamefully expelled out of his Palace, and her Son, who till then was allotted a Share in the Succeſſion, had his Name ſtruck out of the Will. As to *Simon*, the Father of *Mariamne*, we are certain he loſt the Prieſthood upon the ſame Occaſion, and all his Family was involved in the common Misfortune. *Herod the Great* never took notice of his Son any more; and how many of *Herod*'s Children have had the ſame Fate? We have little more than the Names of a third *Herod*, his Son by *Cleopatra*, and of *Phaſael*, his Son by *Jallas*, though a [p]certain Critic informs us that he loved this laſt the beſt of all his Children. In a Word, ought it to ſeem ſtrange that *Herod* the Son of *Mariamne* ſhould be alſo called *Philip*, to diſtinguiſh him on Occaſion from the other *Herods* his Brethren? *Herod* the Tetrarch might be called *Antipas* in reſpect to his Grandfather; and where is the Wonder that an additional Name ſhould be given to the other *Herods*, who were born afterwards, either by way of diſtinction only, or in conformity to what had been practiſed with him?

Theſe Obſervations may be ſufficient to defend both the ſacred Writers and *Joſephus*, in regard to what they have ſaid concerning the firſt Huſband of *Herodias*. As to *Philip* the Tetrarch, we find that he was both an honeſter Man, and a more fortunate Prince, than either of his Brothers. What his Territories were has been before-mentioned. When the Deputies of *Judea* had a Mind to turn *Archelaus* out of the Government, *Varus* ſent *Philip* to *Rome* to appear in that Affair: But *Philip*'s real Aim, when he undertook that Voyage, was to obtain *Judea* for himſelf, in caſe his Brother loſt it. However, he could never obtain of *Auguſtus* any more than the little Tetrarchate left him by his Father, and in Poſſeſſion of this he ſpent his Days quietly. He died without Iſſue in the twenty-ſecond Year of *Tiberius*, having govern'd his Territories thirty ſeven Years. His Tetrarchate did not return to any of his Brothers, as is uſual where there is a Right of Inheritance.

XV. As Kings make their Subjects either happy or unhappy, 'tis neceſſary to give a general Character of the laſt Princes that govern'd *Judea*, to have an Idea of the Condition of that Country, and to ſee whether they contributed to the Ruin of a Nation that was under their Command. The *Herods* were the Princes we ſpeak of; a Race odious to the *Jews*, becauſe they were Foreigners, and equally odious to the Chriſtians, becauſe they perſecuted the Church at its Birth. They are not perhaps ſufficiently known; for they are often look'd upon as abſolute Monarchs of *Judea*, whereas the contrary is very evident. We have ſaid as much already concerning one or two of them: Let us now take a general Survey of their Government, from the Time of their obtaining the ſupreme Authority till that Authority entirely vaniſhed. But firſt we ſhould conſider how the Sceptre came into their Hands.

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[n] Matth. xiv. 3.

[o] See the laſt Diſſertation after Chap. iii.

[p] Montacutius.

The *Aſmonean* Princes, the Family that preceded the *Herods*, obtained the [q] Government under *Judas Maccabæus*, who delivered his Nation from its Subjection to the Kings of *Syria*. The Time during which they held the Sovereignty was in all one hundred and twenty Years. At about the Middle of this Period, *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *John Hyrcanus*, weary of being only Head of the People, as his Anceſtors had been, aſſum'd the Title of King. But he died the next Year, and was ſucceeded by his Brother *Alexander Jannæus*, who reigned twenty-ſeven Years with the ſame Title. After him, his Widow *Alexandra* reigned nine Years. Her Death was ſucceeded by Wars between her two Sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, for the Sovereignty of *Judea*. This Contention was the Original of *Herod* the Firſt's Greatneſs, and the Subjection of *Judea* to the *Romans*. *Hyrcanus* the elder Brother, who was naturally weak, ſoon reſign'd the Empire to *Ariſtobulus*; but being afterwards exaſperated by *Antipater*, *Herod the Great*'s Father, who had a ſtrong Influence over him, he renew'd the War, and at laſt by the Aſſiſtance of *Pompey* re-aſſumed the Royal Authority. For both Parties applying to this victorious *Roman*, he, making uſe of ſo fair an Opportunity, by ſiding with *Hyrcanus*, made himſelf in a great meaſure Maſter of their Country. He took *Jeruſalem*, profaned the Temple, and placed *Hyrcanus* upon the Throne; who thereupon became a Kind of Vaſſal to the *Romans*, being ſupported by them, and the Counſels of *Antipater*, through a Reign of twenty-four Years. *Herod* made his Fortune during the Adminiſtration of his Father; and tho' he was afterwards obliged to fly, whilſt *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* prevailed, yet being backed by the *Romans*, he returned with double Force, re-took *Jeruſalem* again, and became, under *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*, the Sovereign of *Judea*. We will not repeat any Thing that has been ſaid concerning this Prince and his three Sons, but proceed with the reſt of the Family, mentioned in Scripture, with whom ended the Government of the *Herods*.

Agrippa the firſt, who is called *Herod* in the [r] Scripture, was Grandſon of *Herod the Great*, by *Ariſtobulus*, the Son of his beloved *Mariamne*. This Prince obtained the Kingdom of *Judea* from *Claudius*, and reigned there in the ſame Manner as his Grandfather had done, aſſuming alſo the Title of *Great*. He was a *Jew*, zealous for his Religion, and a Perſecutor of the Chriſtians. He reign'd in all ſeven Years, three of which was in *Jeruſalem*, where he was ſmitten of God by an Angel, and eaten of Worms, as the Fact is related [s] in the Acts of the Apoſtles. After him there was but one King more of the *Jews*, which was *Agrippa* the ſecond, Son of the firſt, and as well as he, mentioned [t] in the Acts of the Apoſtles. This Prince ſaw *Jeruſalem* taken, and ſurvived the Ruin of his Country, which he would gladly have prevented by his Councils. He preſerved his Friendſhip to the *Romans*, who enlarged his Territories after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. He lived till the ninety-fourth Year of the Chriſtian Æra, and the Fourteenth of the Reign of *Domitian*. His Siſter *Berenice* was Miſtreſs to *Titus*: She was a Queen by Marriage, but not a Sovereign of the *Jews*.

What [v] we have endeavoured to prove is very apparent from this brief Summary. The *Herods*, who obtained the Kingdom when the Oracle of *Jacob* was near its Accompliſhment, were Vaſſals to the *Roman* Empire. This Subjection began in the Time of the *Aſmoneans*, when *Pompey* dethroned *Ariſtobulus*, and ſet up *Hyrcanus*; but it was never abſolute till the Reign of *Herod the Great*. During the Life of this Prince, *Auguſtus* was Umpire even in the Diſputes of his Family; and no ſooner was he dead, but the Emperor's Agent in *Syria* ſet out to take an Account of his Goods, and ſeal them up. This moſt ſignal Token of the *Jews* Subjection was the more remarkable, as it appeared the very Year after the Saviour of the World was born. None of the Sons of *Herod the Great* were Kings; and though his Grandſon *Agrippa* was honoured with a Diadem, he was ſtill an humble Servant to the Emperors as much as the reſt, if not more ſo; for 'tis not unlikely that his more than ordinary Submiſſion might procure this empty Favour. His three Years Reign in *Jeruſalem*, ſo long after the Death of *Chriſt*, had it been ever ſo abſolute, and himſelf ever ſo much of the Tribe of *Judah*, could not have been called a Continuation of the Sceptre: And it was much leſs ſo, as Affairs really ſtood at that Juncture. In fine, Kings diſappeared at *Jeruſalem*, whilſt he, who was ſo long expected there, made his Entry; and the People ought to have been ſenſible, by the Bondage they groan'd under, that the Sceptre was departed from *Judah*. The Reign of the *Herods* was diſadvantageous to the *Jewiſh* Nation; becauſe having but a Shadow of Authority, and always depending upon the *Roman* Emperors, who alter'd, put up, and depoſed them as they pleaſed, they were obliged to keep the People in a ſervile Dependance. They were the Leeches that ſucked the Blood of that poor Nation, to enrich their Maſters Favourites. They were obliged to build Cities and Citadels, in honour of their Benefactors, and to ſoften by Preſents and vaſt Sums thoſe that ſeemed to be exaſperated. They were to contribute to the Pleaſures and Expences of thoſe on whom they depended, and to bear the Burden of a Crown without enjoying the Advantages of it. This undoubtedly was the Time to which the holy Patriarch referred, and the Saviour of the Chriſtians was the true *Shiloh* of the ancient *Jews*.

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[q] See the Hiſtory of this Affair in the Books of the Maccabees.
[r] Acts xii.
[s] Chap. xii. 23.
[t] Acts xxvi. & xxvii.
[v] Baſnage.

DISSERTATION II.

On the Life, Excellence, and perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, the Mother of our Bleſſed Lord.

I. *Introduction.* II. *The bleſſed Virgin's Name.* III. *Her Parents, and Nativity.* IV. *Her Excellence.* V. *Her Education and Marriage.* VI. *Her Virginity after Marriage.* VII. *The Annunciation,* &c. VIII. *The Virgin preſent with Chriſt at* Cana. IX. *And elſewhere.* X. *At our Lord's Paſſion.* XI. *Her Death.* XII. *Her Perſon.* XIII. *Revelations from her.* XIV. *Her perpetual Virginity.* XV. *Quotation from* Pearſon. XVI. *Sects concerning her.* XVII. *Her Aſſumption.* XVIII. *Some additional Remarks concerning her.*

I. THE bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of our Lord, and her Husband *Joſeph*, have hitherto made a conſiderable Figure in this Hiſtory; but from the Period to which we have now brought our Narration, to the Death of Chriſt, the Virgin is but now and then occaſionly mentioned, and *Joſeph* not at all. Hence it is concluded that *Joſeph* died before our Lord entered upon his public Miniſtry, as we have before obſerved: And as to *Mary*, the Reader will hardly be able to collect a tolerably perfect Account of her Life from the few Paſſages concerning her, which may occur, unleſs they are thrown together in one View. A Work of this kind has been ſucceſsfully attempted by ingenious Perſons, who have intermix'd with their Relations ſeveral Theological and Critical Queſtions, together with their Diſcuſſions. Probably the Collection on this Head, which a certain [a] learned Divine has made, cannot eaſily be mended in the main, and therefore we may hope to be excuſed, both by him, and our Readers, if we copy his Piece, which is not of any great length, juſt as it ſtands, or at leaſt keep to his Words more cloſely than ſuits with our uſual Method.

II. As we are taught by the Predictions of the Prophets, that a Virgin was to be the Mother of the promiſed Meſſiah, ſo we are aſſured by the unanimous Relations of the Evangeliſts, that this Virgin's Name was *Mary*. Which Name ſome have thought to be expreſſive of her Dignity, and to denote Illumination, Grace, Dominion, and the like. But it was common to the Female Sex, both among ancient and modern *Jews*. For as the Name of *Jeſus* is the ſame with *Joſhua*, ſo this of *Mary* is the ſame with *Miriam*; of whom we read that ſhe was the Daughter of *Amram*, the Siſter of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, a Propheteſs; to whom the bringing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt* is attributed, as well as to her Brethren. [b] *I brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt*, ſaith the Lord, *and redeem'd thee out of the Houſe of Servants; and I ſent before thee* Moſes, Aaron, *and* Miriam. And as *Miriam* had the Honour to be one of thoſe who brought the People of God out of the *Egyptian* Bondage, ſo was this *Mary* highly favour'd to bring Him into the World, who hath redeem'd us from the Slavery of Sin and Satan, of which the other was but a Type. The Derivation of this Name is from the Hebrew *Marah*, ſignifying *Bitterneſs*, becauſe *Amram*'s Daughter, who was the firſt ſo named, was born at a Time when the *Iſraelites* Lives were very much embitter'd by their grievous Oppreſſions.

III. The Evangeliſts have told us no more of the Bleſſed Virgin's Parents, but that ſhe was of the Family of *David*, and of the Town of *Bethlehem*. St. *John* ſays, *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, who was probably the Mother of thoſe whom the Goſpel ſtiles our Lord's Brethren, was her Siſter: Which St. *Jerom* and others of the Ancients underſtand in the plain and common Senſe. She was likewiſe allied to the Family of *Aaron* by her Couſin *Elizabeth*, the Mother of *John the Baptiſt*. The *Latin* Church has (in conformity to the *Greeks*) for ſome Centuries paſt, honour'd St. *Joachim* as the Father, and St. *Anne* as the Mother of the Bleſſed Virgin; but the Evidence for this is no better than Apocryphal.

And tho' God hath not been pleaſed to acquaint us with the Particulars of her Birth, yet the Church, in a grateful Senſe of the infinite Bleſſings ſhe has convey'd to us by *Jeſus Chriſt*, hath long celebrated her Conception on the 8th of *December* in the Weſt, and the 9th in the Eaſt; and her Nativity on the 8th of *September*. There is likewiſe an anniverſary Feaſt of her Preſentation in the Temple, kept *November* 21, when 'tis commonly believ'd ſhe was conſecrated to God at the Age of three Years.

IV. But not to build upon Uncertainties, thus much we are aſſured by the Teſtimony of an Angel, that ſhe was happy above all other Women in the Divine Favour; that ſhe was full of Grace, and that the Lord was with her in a peculiar manner.

For ſince the Son of God, in order to become Man, and to dwell amongſt us, was obliged to take a Body of ſome Woman, it was agreeable to that Infinite Wiſdom which he has conſtantly demonſtrated in all his Works, that he ſhould chuſe for this Purpoſe one whoſe Imployment was holy and pious, whoſe Endowments of Body and Mind were moſt ſweet and lovely, who excelled the reſt of her Sex in chaſte and virtuous Diſpoſitions, and who was, in ſhort, a Repoſitory of all Divine Graces.

The Exceſſes of that Devotion which has been paid to the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Legendary Tales and lying Viſions of Monks, cannot in Reaſon blemiſh her real Excellencies; no more than the Idolatries of the Pagans obſcured the Light of the Sun, which they deified. Tho' ſome Men's Zeal againſt Idolatry hath carried them to the Commiſſion of Sacrilege, yet if they ſhould grow too general in it, and reject every Bleſſing which hath been idolized, they muſt ſoon deprive themſelves of all the Neceſſaries and Comforts of Life. After all the Abuſes of Superſtition or Prophaneneſs, the Extreams of Honour and Diſhonour, there will ever be a very high Eſteem and Veneration due to the *Mother of God*.

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[a] Reading.

[b] Micah vi. 4.

V. For the Security of her Virtue in her tender Years, we need not have recourſe to that ancient, but uncertain Tradition, that ſhe was educated in the Temple, in the manner of a *Recluſe*. Though ſuch an Education ſeems not to have been impoſſible for an Infant of the other Sex; ſince young *Joaſh* was concealed and educated there, during the ſix Years Uſurpation of his Grandmother *Athaliah*: Nor for This, if it be true that young Virgins were conſecrated for the Service of the Temple, and lodged in Apartment there, as ſome have concluded from [c] certain Paſſages of Scripture.

But that Tradition of the Ancients, that ſhe was eſpouſed to *Joſeph* at fifteen Years old, may with Reaſon enough be admitted; that being the uſual Time of marrying young Women among the *Jews*. That *Joſeph* was then a Widower, and had ſeveral Children by a former Wife, is the unanimous Opinion of all the *Greek* Fathers for the firſt Ages, and of many of the *Latins*; they generally ſuppoſing that ſuch Children are meant by thoſe call'd in the Goſpel, *our Lord's Brethren*. But after all, St. *Jerom* ſays, there is no Authority for this Aſſertion, and that our Lord's Brethren were only his Couſin-Germans by his Mother's Siſter, *Mary* Wife of *Cleophas*.

VI. That the Mother of our Lord, notwithſtanding her Marriage, was even in that State to remain a pure Virgin, and to conceive Chriſt in a miraculous manner, is the clear Doctrine of Holy Scripture. *Behold*, ſays *Iſaiah*, prophecying of this myſterious Incarnation, *a Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son.*[d] The *Hebrew* Word *Almah* moſt properly ſignifies a Virgin, and ſo is tranſlated here by all the ancient Interpreters; and is never once uſed in the Scripture in any other Senſe, as ſeveral learned Men have proved, againſt the Pretenſions of the modern *Jews*. It primarily ſignifies *hid* or *concealed*; from whence it is uſed to ſignify a Virgin, becauſe of the Cuſtom in the *Eaſtern* Countries to keep their Virgins concealed from the View of Men, never ſuffering them to ſtir out of the Women's Apartment.

Though we cannot doubt but that God, who ordain'd this Myſtery, provided for all Circumſtances requiſite to the accompliſhing of it, yet we may conſider which way a *decorum* was preſerved in this Caſe of Marriage. St. *Matthew* ſays, *the Virgin was eſpouſed to* Joſeph, and that *before they came together, ſhe was found to be with Child of the Holy Ghoſt.* Whence we may conclude, that it was not a conſtant Cuſtom for the Bride to go and live at the Bridegroom's Houſe, immediately upon her being affianced to him; though St. *Chryſoſtom* affirms it was, being induced to think ſo, becauſe he ſaw it done in his own Time at *Antioch*. Indeed, the *Jews* Practice was not uniform in this Reſpect; and therefore we may well ſuppoſe that it was free for the eſpouſed Couple to do as they found moſt convenient. *Rebecca* was brought home to *Iſaac* before Marriage was ſolemnized; becauſe it was inconvenient for him to take a Journey into *Meſopotamia*. On the other hand, *Sampſon*'s Spouſe remain'd in her Father's Houſe. And that this was moſt uſual, [e] ſeems very probable. And *Modeſtinus* reckons it among the *Roman* Cuſtoms, that the Bride went not to her Huſband before the Ceremony of Marriage was over. This is certain, that the Bride remain'd untouch'd, 'till Marriage had been ſolemnized and ſanctified by Prayer in the Congregation; and ſuch is the Practice of the *Jews* at this Day. So that tho' the Bridegroom took upon him the Care of his Bride's Chaſtity, yet ſhe remain'd till the Day of Marriage in the Women's Apartment, as much ſequeſter'd from the Bridegroom, as if ſhe had been in another Houſe. This the Words of *Moſes* ſeem to import,[f] where *Iſaac* is ſaid to have married her. And upon this Uſage is that Law grounded, concerning the captive Woman.[g] For theſe Reaſons learned Men have determined, that whereas *their coming together* may ſignify their living in the ſame Houſe, or lying in the ſame Bed, the former of theſe Senſes is to be preferr'd in this Place; and we muſt ſay, that before *Joſeph* and *Mary* cohabited together, *ſhe was found with Child of the Holy Ghoſt*.

VII. This was revealed firſt to her, and afterwards to her Huſband, in a miraculous Way, by the Appearance of an Angel; who addreſs'd himſelf to her in Terms of the higheſt Reſpect, importing, that ſhe had a Share in the Divine Favour above all her Fellows. After ſome Conſternation at this unuſual Appearance and Addreſs, ſhe attended to his Meſſage; which was, that *ſhe ſhould conceive and bring forth the Son of the moſt High, who ſhould reign over the Houſe of* Iſrael, *and of whoſe Kingdom there ſhould be no end.* The Reply ſhe makes to this, hath ſomething of Difficulty in it: *How ſhall this be, ſeeing I know not a Man?* This was ſomewhat extraordinary, to come from one who was affianced to a Huſband, and ſpeedily to cohabit with him. The *Roman* Church believes, that ſhe had (notwithſtanding her Marriage) obliged herſelf by a Vow to perpetual Virginity. And *Grotius* is very inclinable to the ſame Opinion, which is the beſt Way of accounting for the Reaſon of her Demand. “ If, ſays he, it be true which *Epiphanius* has deliver'd from ancient Tradition, that “ *Joſeph* was ſuperannuated when *Mary* was

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[c] Exod. xxxviii. 8. and 1 Sam. ii. 22.

[d] Iſaiah vii. 14.

[e] Deut. xx. 7.

[f] Gen. xxiv. 67.

[g] Deut. xi. 13.

“ eſpouſed to him, it will be the more probable “ what the Ancients generally thought, that theſe “ Words proceeded from a Reſolution ſhe had “ taken of continuing a Virgin; and that ſhe “ married herſelf to an aged Man, not with a “ Proſpect of having Children, but that ſhe “ might enjoy a Protection from thoſe Injuries “ to which her Sex was expoſed. Nor were “ ſuch Reſolutions ſo unknown to the *Jews*, as “ ſome have imagined;” as he proves from a notable Paſſage in *Philo*, and of which he gives an Inſtance in *Jephtha*'s Daughter. *Mary* then might be reſolute in her Purpoſe of Virginity, and yet become a Wife for the Reaſons aforeſaid. But the Deſign of God in her Marriage, was to ſecure her Reputation under the Circumſtances of her ſupernatural Conception, and to conceal the Myſtery of it for the preſent. And *Joſeph* being certified of the Divine Purpoſe herein, obediently comported with it, and obſerv'd ſuch a Chaſte and Holy Converſation as was ſuitable to ſo high a Myſtery.

Whether the Holy Virgin, immediately after the Annunciation, went up to the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem* (as ſome have imagin'd, this being the Seaſon of the Year for it) we have no Account from St. *Luke*: But this he aſſures us, that ſhe went to viſit her Couſin *Elizabeth*, to congratulate her Pregnancy (which ſhe had learn'd from the Angel) at an Age when ſuch a Bleſſing was not to be expected. No ſooner had ſhe enter'd the Houſe, and begun to ſpeak, but *Elizabeth* felt the Child in her Womb tranſported with ſupernatural Emotions of Joy; and by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt ſhe was acquainted with the Myſtery of the Incarnation, and reſaluted *Mary* by the Title of the *Mother of her Lord*.

After ſhe had tarry'd here about three Months, till *Elizabeth* was brought to Bed, (as St. *Ambroſe* thinks) that ſhe might ſee him on whoſe account chiefly ſhe had made that Viſit, ſhe returned to her own Houſe at *Nazareth*.

I will not run over the Hiſtory of our Lord's Nativity and Infancy, to collect what Paſſages relate to his Mother in it. I ſhall only repeat to her Honour, that common Remark which the Evangeliſts make, that ſhe was more diſpoſed to think than to ſpeak, and obſerved the extraordinary Things which were ſaid of her Son with Silence, and *pondered them in her Heart*. A rare Inſtance of Modeſty and Humility, and a Demonſtration that Talkativeneſs is no inſeparable Infirmity of the Female Sex, but rather the Fault of ill Cuſtom and Education.

VIII. I paſs on therefore to a Circumſtance attending the firſt Miracle of Chriſt, at the Marriage[h] in *Cana* of *Galilee*. At which Entertainment the Proviſion of Wine being ſomewhat ſcanty (probably becauſe the Friends of the marry'd Couple were but mean) Chriſt's Mother tells her Son, who was one of the Gueſts, *that they wanted Wine*; not doubting of his Power to ſupply them. He anſwer'd her in Terms which look'd like a Rebuke; *Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine Hour is not yet come.* The *Manichees* pretended to argue from hence, that *Mary* was not indeed the Mother of *Chriſt*. And we confeſs ſhe was not the Mother of his Divinity, by which he was empower'd to do what ſhe requeſted. Some think that this Anſwer was intended for more general Uſe than that Occaſion; to teach us to wait God's Time of doing his own Works. And certainly our Lord deſign'd no Affront to his Mother, to whom he always paid a religious and pious Reverence; but only intimated, that the Time of his working Miracles did not properly commence now; and that when it did, it muſt not be for private and civil Reſpects; but in purſuance of that great End he had in Charge, the Converſion and Salvation of Mankind. And ſo his Mother underſtood him, receiving the Anſwer with Meekneſs, and charging the Servants to attend him, and do whatever he commanded.

IX. From hence our Lord went to *Capernaum*, in order (as St. *Chryſoſtom* thinks) to fix his Mother in a ſettled Habitation, while he travelled about the Country in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry. *Epiphanius* on the contrary believ'd, that ſhe accompanied him in his ambulatory Courſe of Life. And ſince it is certain, that ſeveral other Women in *Galilee* waited on him, and miniſter'd unto him, who could deſerve this honourable Service more, or diſcharge it better, than his Holy Mother? However, we find nothing of this upon Record. We learn indeed, that on a certain Day, as he was teaching in a Houſe, and a vaſt multitude of People about him, ſo that neither he nor his Diſciples could take any Refreſhment, a Report was ſpread abroad, that *he was fallen into a Swoon*. So *Grotius* interprets the original[i] Word. Our Tranſlators have render'd it, as 'tis in the vulgar *Latin*, *they ſaid he was beſides himſelf*. And ſo it may ſtand, without any Reflection on our Lord's Kindred, provided that by the Word *They*, we underſtand the Multitude, (among whom an uncertain Rumour was ſpread about him) as we may very well. In either Senſe it was natural for his Relations, when they heard of it, to come and look after him, and endeavour to get him out of that ſtifling Place, that he might have ſome Relief.

They came, as we are inform'd by[k] St. *Mark*, and when they could not get into the Houſe for the Throngs of People, they got a Meſſage to be convey'd from one to another, till it was told Jeſus, *that his Mother and his Brethren were at the Door, and deſired to ſpeak with him*. Our Lord being at this Inſtant in the Work of his Miniſtry, preaching the Word of God, he turn'd this, as he did all other Occaſions, to a ſpiritual Uſe, declaring, *that whoſoever did the Will of his Heavenly Father, the ſame was his Mother, and Siſter, and Brother*. This was the Practice of what he had taught in another Place, That we muſt prefer God before all human Relations, and give the firſt Place to his Service. But this Saying could not bear hard upon his Mother, who was the chief of thoſe, who did the Will of his Heavenly Father.

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[h] John ii.

[i] ἐξέστη.

[k] Chap. iii. ver. 31.

Immediately upon her Approach, a Woman of the Company ſaid with a loud Voice, directing her Words to *Jeſus*; *Bleſſed is the Womb that bare thee, and the Paps which thou haſt ſucked.* To which he replied, *Yea rather, bleſſed are they that hear the Word of God and keep it:* Not intimating that ſhe who had the Honour to bear him, did not deſerve to be called happy throughout all Generations; but that even her Happineſs conſiſted more in doing the Will of Chriſt, than in giving him a Body.

X. From this Place we have no farther Account of the Holy Virgin, till we find her at the Paſſion of her Bleſſed Son, ſtanding cloſe by his Croſs. We cannot doubt but her Soul at this Time was pierced through (as *Simeon* had propheſy'd) with the moſt acute Pains, for the Death of ſuch a Son. Yet her Conſtancy was remarkable: For when the Apoſtles were all frightned away from their Maſter, ſhe continued undaunted amongſt the Executioners, being prepared to die with her Son. The Author of the One hundred and twenty ſeven Queſtions in the *Appendix* to St. *Auſtin* ſays, ſhe doubted as well as others, whether *Jeſus* were the *Chriſt*, till his Reſurrection had confirm'd her. St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria* ſays, ſhe would ſcarce believe that he who hung upon the Croſs, was of ſuch a Divine Original, as the Angel had told her. But St. *Ambroſe*, upon *Luke*, ſuppoſes her to be affected on this Occaſion with Sentiments more fit for one who had ſo miraculouſly conceived, and ſo carefully obſerved and laid up in her Mind all Occurrences that related to, the Son of God.

Jeſus Chriſt, who came to ſet us a Pattern of all Virtue, was pleas'd, in his laſt Moments, to teach us, that in what Circumſtances ſoever we are, we muſt never caſt off that Love and Care, which God's Law obliges us to have for thoſe who gave us Life. Being now ready to leave his Mother,[l] he bequeath'd her (by his laſt Will and Teſtament, as I may ſay) to his beloved Diſciple St. *John*, who being himſelf in the State of Virginity, was the fitter to be conſtituted Guardian to a Virgin. From that Time St. *John* took her to his own Home, a plain Argument, that ſhe had neither Husband nor Child then alive.

St. *Luke* acquaints us, that the Virgin Mother was with the Apoſtles and others, when they were aſſembled after Chriſt's Aſcenſion, waiting for the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. And it is highly probable that from her they learn'd the whole Hiſtory of our Lord's private Life, before his Baptiſm: Though St. *Chryſoſtom* will have them taught it by Revelation; but I know not upon what Grounds he advances this unneceſſary Notion.

XI. *Andreas Cretenſis*, an Author of the ſeventh and eighth Century, ſays, it was believ'd the Holy Virgin died in an extreme old Age. And this agrees well with what *Baronius* obſerves,[m] that ſhe probably accompanied St. *John* and *Mary Magdalen* to *Epheſus*; and farther, it was an Opinion in the fifth Century, that ſhe was bury'd there, as appears by a Letter of the General Council of *Epheſus*. But to ſay the Truth, what *Baronius* and *Cretenſis* write of her Death and Burial, is all but Conjecture, grounded upon no authentick Records. As it pleaſed God to continue her (even after the Birth of her Son) in a low and humble State of Life, ſo he hath concealed her Sepulchre from us, as he did that of *Moſes* from the *Jews*, leſt an idolatrous Uſe ſhould be made of her Reliques. *Epiphanius*, the moſt learned Father of the fourth Century, declares he could not tell whether ſhe dy'd a natural Death, or by Martyrdom; or whether ſhe remain'd Immortal. "None, ſays he, knows any thing of her Deceaſe; but that it was glorious, cannot be doubted. That Body which was perfectly Chaſte and Pure, enjoys a Happineſs worthy of her, through whom the Son of Righteouſneſs aroſe, and ſhone upon the World."

A learned modern Writer has added to the fore-cited Paſſage of the Council of *Epheſus*, another Remark from the Acts of the ſame Council, "That the Cathedral Church of *Epheſus* was dedicated under the Name of the Virgin *Mary*; and that we find no other Church of her Name at that Time, in any approved Writer." For tho' the Holy Virgin was always held in great Veneration, yet it was not the Cuſtom of the firſt Ages to give the Name of any Saint to a Church, except they had ſome of the Reliques, or built it in the Place of the Martyrdom of ſuch a Saint; or for ſome Reaſon of the like Nature. The *African* Church hath a particular Canon to this Purpoſe.

St. *Gregory* of *Tours* mentions ſome Reliques of the Virgin *Mary*, which were kept in his Time in a Church of *Auvergne*; he means undoubtedly ſomething of her Cloaths. A great many more Places pretend to ſuch Things, which it would be endleſs to recount here.

There is a Letter ſtill extant, ſaid to be writ by the Bleſſed Virgin to *Ignatius*, together with his Anſwer; but theſe Pieces, as well as that pretended to be writ by her to the Church of *Meſſina* in *Sicily*, and another to the *Florentines*, and all other Writings which bear her Name, are agreed on all Hands to be Fictions and Impoſtures.

XII. *Nicephorus* has copied from *Epiphanius* a Deſcription of the Bleſſed Virgin's Perſon; which we could well admire, if there were good Authority for it. But there is great Reaſon to think the Author has repreſented her rather ſuch as he would fancy her to have been, than ſuch as he knew ſhe really was. What he ſays of her Features, might be taken from a Picture, which *Theod. Lector*, an Hiſtorian of the ſixth Century, ſays was drawn for her by St. *Luke*, and ſent from *Jeruſalem* to the Empreſs at *Conſtantinople*.

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[l] John xix. 26, 27.

[m] Anno 44.

But we need not be in much Pain about this. The true Images of Saints are the Ideas of their Virtues, which we ſhould form in our Minds, and expreſs in our Actions.

XIII. The Viſions and Revelations which ſome *Romiſh* Monks pretend to have had of the Bleſſed Virgin, do ſufficiently deſtroy themſelves, as being inconſiſtent with her Honour and Sanctity. Probably we ſhould not conclude from hence, that ſhe never appeared to any Holy Perſons. The Reputation of the following Authors may excuſe our repeating their Stories, which muſt, however, be ſubmitted to the Reader's Judgment. St. *Gregory Nyſſen* reports of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that he being made Biſhop of *Neo-Cæſarea* in *Pontus*, and very ſollicitous concerning the Doctrine which he ſhould preach to his People, the Bleſſed Virgin appeared to him in a Form more glorious than any Thing upon Earth, with St. *John* the Apoſtle in her Company; to whom ſhe recommended the inſtructing of *Gregory* in the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion. Whereupon the Apoſtle dictated to him a ſhort Confeſſion of Faith, which *Gregory* forthwith committed to Writing. This was preſerved afterwards with the greateſt Care; and *Gregory Nyſſen* aſſures us that it became the ſtanding Creed of *Neo-Cæſarea*, and kept that Church clear from *Arianiſm*, while all other Places were infected with it.

Gregory Nazianzen likewiſe gives us the following Relation: That St. *Juſtina* the Virgin, who ſuffer'd Martyrdom under *Diocleſian*, ſeeing herſelf attacked by the Magick Arts which *Cyprian* employ'd againſt her, had recourſe to the Virgin *Mary*, and conjured her to ſuccour a helpleſs Maid againſt the infernal Powers. Her Prayers were heard, the Devils vanquiſhed, *Cyprian* was hereupon converted, and embraced the Chriſtian Faith, and was afterwards an illuſtrious Biſhop, and obtained the Crown of Martyrdom with St. *Juſtina*. This Story, ſays *Photius*, was largely ſet forth by the Empreſs *Eudocia*, in an Heroic Poem of three Books. There is extant in *Latin* a penetential Confeſſion of this *Cyprian*'s, wherein he very much bewails the Sins of his former Life. Biſhop *Fell* has publiſhed it, in his Edition of St. *Cyprian*'s Works; and thinks this Story is told of him, much interpolated, or rather invented by one of thoſe who took Pleaſure in improving the Lives of the Martyrs with ſome new Matters. Dr. *Cave* juſtly ſuſpects this *Cyprian* to be a different Perſon from the great Biſhop of *Carthage*, and by Miſtake confounded with him by *Nazianzen*, *Prudentius*, *Metaphraſtes*, and others. However, he truly obſerves, that the Hiſtory is older than the Times of *Nazianzen*. But to return.

XIV. The perpetual Virginity of our Lord's Mother was oppoſed by ſome, towards the End of the fourth Century. *Epiphanius* gives them the Name of *Antidicomarianiſts*, or Enemies to *Mary*. They held, that after the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Joſeph* had other Children by her, whom the Goſpel ſtiles the Brethren of our Lord. This Conceit, which came originally from the *Eunomians* and *Appollinariſts*, ſpread itſelf more particularly in *Arabia*. A while after, it was carried to *Rome* by *Helvidius*, and entertained by a certain Biſhop, who is thought to be the Hereſiarch *Bonoſus*. But it pleaſed God to ſuppreſs it by three the greateſt Men of that Age, St. *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and *Ambroſe*; to ſay nothing of St. *Auſtin* and others, who did not write profeſſedly againſt it, but encountered it by-the-by. It is not neceſſary to recite here the Arguments which they made uſe of on this Occaſion. It may ſuffice to conclude with St. *Baſil*, that though this Opinion affects not the Foundations of Religion, which only requires us to believe that *Mary* continued a Virgin 'till the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the Goſpel aſſures us, yet it grates the Ears of pious Chriſtians, for any to affirm that ſhe ever ceaſed to be ſuch. The ancient Fathers of the Eaſt and Weſtern Churches aſſerted her perpetual Virginity; and St. *Auguſtine* tells us, this is one of thoſe Points which we ought to receive as of Apoſtolic Tradition, since the Holy Scripture gives us no more account of it, than by only remarking, how fully the Bleſſed Virgin was reſolved to ſerve God with an entire Purity. The Title which hath been conſtantly appropriated to her in all Ages, as oft as ſhe is mentioned, is a good Argument to confirm this Belief.

XV. Biſhop *Pearſon* is wholly of this Opinion, in his Expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed. We believe, (ſays he) the Mother of our Lord to have been, not only before and after his Nativity, but alſo for ever, the moſt immaculate and bleſſed Virgin. For although it may be thought ſufficient, as to the Myſtery of the Incarnation, that when our Saviour was conceived and born, his Mother was a Virgin; though whatſoever ſhould have followed after, could have no reflective Operation upon the firſt Fruit of her Womb; tho' there be no farther mention in the Creed, than that he was *born of the Virgin Mary*: Yet the peculiar Eminency and unparallel'd Privilege of that Mother, the ſpecial Honour and Reverence due to that Son, and ever paid by her, the Regard of that Holy Ghoſt who came upon her, and the Power of the Higheſt which overſhadow'd her, the ſingular Goodneſs and Piety of *Joſeph* to whom ſhe was eſpouſed, have perſuaded the Church of God in all Ages to believe, that ſhe ſtill continued in the ſame Virginity; and therefore is to be acknowledged *The perpetual Virgin*, as the [n] *Greek* Church always called her, and from them the [o] *Latin*. As if the Gate of the Sanctuary in the Prophet *Ezekiel* were to be underſtood of her. [p] *This Gate ſhall be ſhut; it ſhall not be opened, and no Man ſhall enter in by it: becauſe the Lord, the God of* Iſrael, *hath entered in by it, therefore it ſhall be ſhut*.

Many indeed have taken the Boldneſs to deny this Truth, becauſe not recorded in the Sacred Writ: And not only ſo, but to aſſert the contrary as delivered in the Scriptures: But with no Succeſs.

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[n] Ἀειπαρθένος.

[o] Semper Virgo.

[p] Ezek. xlv. 2.

[q] Gen. xxxviii. 15.

ceſs. For though, as they object, St. *Matthew* teſtifieth that Joſeph *knew not* Mary, *until ſhe had brought forth her firſt-born Son* (from whence they would infer, that afterwards he knew her) yet the Manner of the Scripture-Language produceth no ſuch Inference. When God ſaid to *Jacob*, [q] *I will not leave thee, until I have done that which I have ſpoken to thee of,* it follows not that when that was done, the God of *Jacob* left him. When the Concluſion of *Deuteronomy* was written, it was ſaid of *Moſes*, *No Man knoweth of his Sepulchre unto this Day*; but it were a weak Argument to infer from thence, that the Sepulchre of *Moſes* hath been known ever ſince. — Again, 'tis true that Chriſt is term'd the *firſt-born* Son of *Mary*, from whence they infer ſhe muſt needs have a ſecond; but might as well conclude, that whereſoever there is one, there muſt be two. For in this particular, the Scripture Notion of Priority excludeth an Antecedent, but inferreth not a Conſequent; it ſuppoſeth none to have gone before, but concludeth not any to follow after. *Sanctify unto me*, ſaith God, *all the Firſt-born*; which was a firm and fixed Law, immediately obliging upon the Birth. Whereas if the Firſt-born had included a Relation to a Second, there could have been no preſent Certainty, but a Suſpenſion of Obedience; nor had the Firſt-born been ſanctified of itſelf, but the ſecond Birth had ſanctified the firſt." As to the Brethren of our Lord, I hinted before, in what Senſe they are ſo call'd.

XVI. Some, inſtead of leſſening, have over-magnified the Bleſſed Virgin, reſpecting her as a Goddeſs, and offering up Prayers and Oblations in her Name; and particularly a kind of Bread which the *Greeks* call *Collyride*, whence theſe Hereticks were named *Collyridians*. They were chiefly a Set of Women in *Arabia*, who fell into this Idolatry. *Epiphanius* wrote on Purpoſe to confute this Superſtition, ſhewing how we ought to diſtinguiſh the Honour due to the Bleſſed Virgin, from that Adoration and Worſhip which is proper to God alone; leſt we ſhould glorify the Creature inſtead of the Creator.

The *Neſtorians* came next in order of Time, and attributed too little to the Bleſſed Virgin, denying her the honourable Appellation which the Church then, and long before, had given her, of [r] *the Mother of God*, becauſe they would not allow that her Son was God incarnate. They were condemned by a General Council held at *Epheſus* in the Year 431.

The *Eutychian* Heretics, who quickly followed the *Neſtorians*, ran into the contrary Extreme. For pretending to draw an Argument for their Hereſy from the Quality of the Mother of God, they gloried in rendering her more Honour than the Catholics. And *Peter Fullo*, one of the worſt of them, who three Times uſurped the See of *Antioch*, was the firſt that began to name her by way of Invocation in Prayer; wherein he is too goſly imitated by thoſe who otherwiſe condemn him as a Heretic, I mean thoſe of the *Romiſh* Communion.

XVII. Some Writers (ſays Dr. *Nichols*) both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, tell a ſtrange Story about the Bleſſed Virgin's Aſſumption into Heaven, and that with great Variety in their Relations; ſome affirming her to be convey'd thither alive, like *Enoch* and *Elias*. [s] Others, that after her Death ſhe roſe again, and was carried triumphantly into Heaven. But as all the Hiſtory of this Tranſlation is taken out of Apocryphal Books, it deſerves not much Credit: And tho' the Church of *Rome* has adopted this Story into her Worſhip (and celebrates it annually with a particular Service, *Auguſt* 15.) yet the Authors which ſupport this Hiſtory are condemned by all the learned Men of that Church. I muſt needs ſay this Notion is of conſiderable Antiquity, for 'tis undoubtedly as old as *Epiphanius*, who in his Relation of it ſays, "[t] *He will do nothing to depreciate the Honour of the Virgin, and therefore will neither give his Aſſent to that Opinion, nor yet contradict it; but rather acquieſce in the Scriptures, which ſay nothing of it.*"

XVIII. Theſe Reflections ſeem to carry the Veneration due to the Bleſſed Virgin as high as the Faith of Proteſtants will permit. 'Tis indeed a nice Point to treat of theſe Matters with Safety; for as, on the one hand, the general Conſent of Chriſtians gives a great deal to the Mother of our Redeemer, ſo, on the other, the Readineſs of ſome People, the *Roman* Catholics in particular, to run into Idolatry and Superſtition, makes it neceſſary to be very cautious in ſpeaking of a Perſon, who, though the happieſt of her Sex, was nevertheleſs a Creature. St. *Ambroſe* reports of the Virgin *Mary*, that ſhe had ſo much Piety and Religion in her Countenance and Deportment, that divers Perſons, moved by a Regard and Reverence for her Perſon, have in her Preſence firſt commenced their Reſolutions of Chaſtity and Sober-living. To affirm ſo much as this concerning her, though the Tradition by which it was delivered down were only apocryphal, could not be at all ſhocking; for her Perſon certainly bore in it the expreſs Characters of Sanctity and Devotion, the Ideas of which muſt be raiſed in the Minds of all who knew how greatly ſhe had been favoured of Heaven. But 'tis carrying the Point much too far, when a kind of Divinity is given her, without the leaſt Authority for it in the ſacred Writings. Let us content ourſelves therefore with attributing to her ſo much Honour as the Scripture allows her; and to her Son, who was God manifeſt in the Fleſh, let us give, as the ſame Scripture directs, all the Praiſe and Homage that is due from miſerable Creatures to their great Creator and Redeemer, who is over all, bleſſed for evermore.

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[q] Gen. xxviii. 15.

[r] Θεοτόκος.

[s] Mel. de Tranſl. Virg. Niceph. Hiſt. lib. II. cap. 21.

[t] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 78. Sect. 11.

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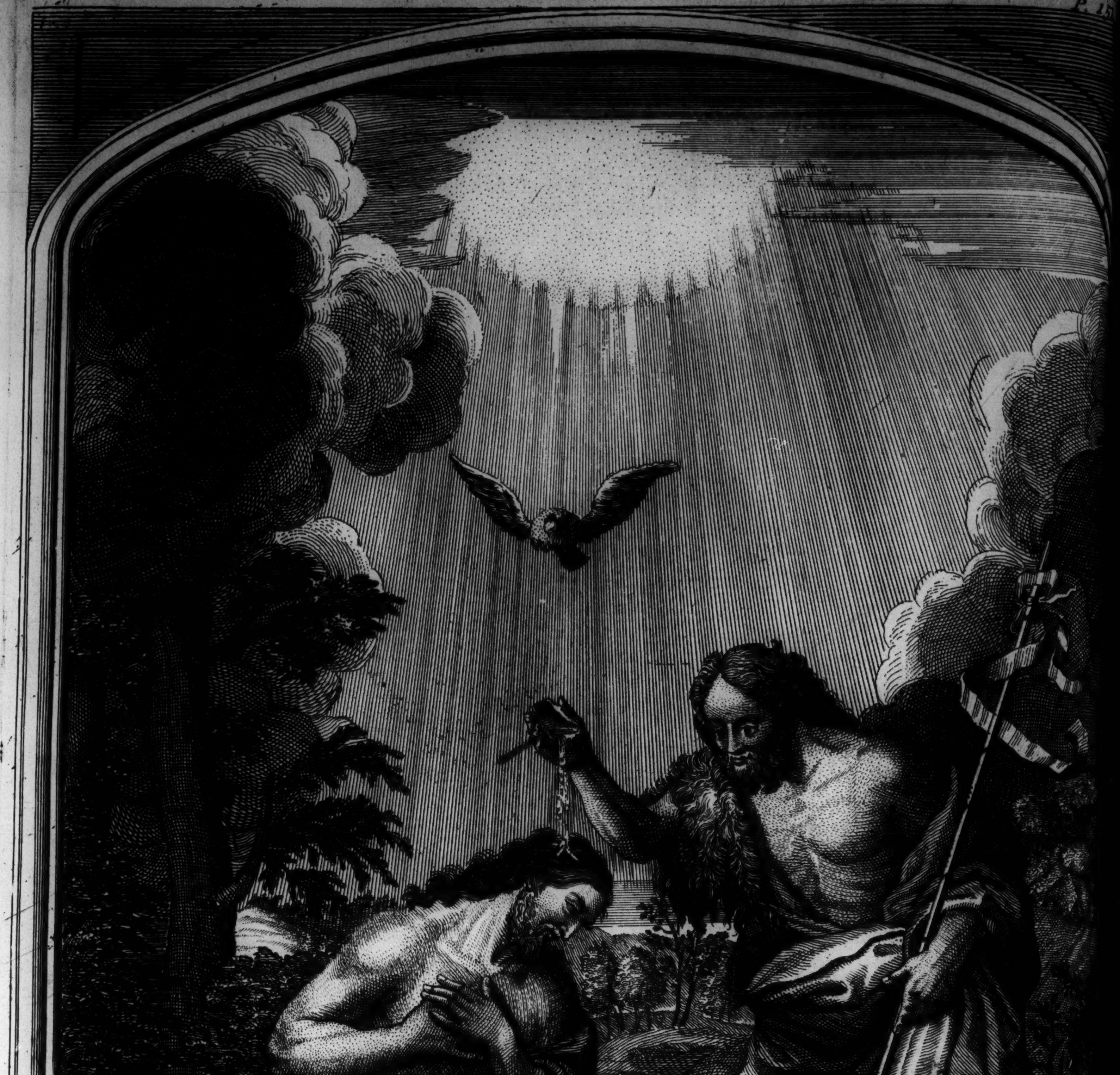

The Baptiſm of Jeſus & Deſcent of ye Holy Ghoſt.

Math. III. 13-17.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and DEATH OF OUR Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR *JESUS CHRIST.*

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

I. The Beginning of the Goſpel. II. Time of the Year when *John* began to preach. III. *John*'s Character and Commiſſion. IV. Where he taught, and the Subſtance of his Doctrine. V. Great Numbers reſort to him. VI. His Diſcourſe to the Phariſees, *&c.* VII. To the Publicans and Soldiers. VIII. He declares that he is not the Meſſiah. XI, X. Reaſons of *John*'s Succeſs in the Miniſtry, deduced from his Method of Teaching and his Converſation.

I. F*ROM his Diſputation with the Doctors in the Temple, till the Time of his Manifeſtation to* Iſrael, *that is from the 12th to the 30th Year of his Age, we have no other Account of the Life of* Chriſt, *than only that he dwelt at* Nazareth, *and was obedient to his Parents. But having thus paſt over in Silence eighteen Years of his Life, all the Evangeliſts agree in giving the Hiſtory of his Entrance on the Miniſtry, and the preparatory Preaching and Baptiſm of his Fore-runner,* John *the Son of* Zacharias, *of whoſe miraculous Conception, Birth, and Education, we have already ſpoken. The Beginning of this Publication of the Goſpel was in* [a] *the 15th Year of* Tiberius Cæſar, *commonly reckoned the third Emperor of* Rome. Pontius Pilate *was at that Time the* Roman *Governor of* Judea, *with the Title of Procurator;* Herod Antipas *was Tetrarch of* Galilee, *which Dignity he had enjoy'd twenty-eight Years; his Brother* Philip *being alſo Tetrarch of* Iturea *and* Trachonitis, *and* Lyſanias *of* Abilene. *The Dignity of the High-prieſthood was then veſted in* Annas *and* Caiphas, *who executed that Office jointly. And this was the bleſſed Seaſon, appointed by* God, *predicted by the Prophets, and expected by all the Faithful, in which* [b] *Life and Immortality were to be brought to Light thro' the Goſpel: For which Reaſon St.* Mark *emphatically calls the Time of* John's *Baptiſm,* [c] *The Beginning of the Goſpel of* Jeſus Chriſt.

II. *Some have conjectured that* John *had this Commiſſion given him in the Month of* September, *about the Feaſt of Trumpets, which was* [d] *the Beginning of the Civil Year of the* Jews; *and alſo that the Year which then commenced, was a Year of Jubilee, when there was always a very great Concourſe of People from foreign Parts into* Judea; *agreeable to the* [e] *Prophecy of* Iſaiah, *which, among other Characters of* John's *Miniſtry, calls it a Proclaiming the acceptable Year of the Lord. But we do not find all this aſcertained by Chronologers in general: For according to the Vulgar Computation, the Time was about* Midſummer. *Biſhop* Uſher *and his Followers are thought to have* been the moſt exact of any in this Particular: They agree with thoſe who fix the Beginning of John's Miniſtry to the Proclamation of a Jubilee, but change the Month from September to October. The Preaching of John, ſay they, commenced on the 10th Day of the 7th Month, five Days before the Feaſt of Tabernacles, upon the great Day of Expiation, when the High-prieſt entered into the Holy of Holies. This was a penitential Day, and joined with ſo ſolemn a Faſt, that whoſoever did not afflict his Soul thereon, was to be cut off from the People. It anſwered to the 19th of our October, and was likewiſe the Day whereon, by a ſolemn ſounding of Trumpets, the 30th Jubilee of the Jews, and the laſt that ever they ſaw, was proclaim'd. Which Seaſon, as one remarks, agrees with the Nature and Freedom of the Goſpel, of which the Jubilee was a Type.

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[a] Luke iii. 1. [b] 2 Tim. i. 10. [c] Mark i. 1. [d] Levit. xxiii. 24. xxv. 9. [e] Iſai. lxi. 2.

III. The Baptiſt had till this Time lived in the Wilderneſs, under the Diſcipline of the Holy Ghoſt and the Tuition of Angels, in Converſation with God, and in great Mortification to the World. His Clothing, according to the manner of the ancient Prophets, was [f] a rough Garment of Camel's Hair, girt about him with a Leathern Girdle; and his Food was plain, neceſſary, and without Variety, for the moſt part only Locuſts and wild Honey. This retired, cheap, and abſtemious Way of Living, gave him the beſt of Opportunities for Prayer and Meditation, and the Exerciſe of all holy Duties, till his bodily Affections were abſolutely ſubdued, and he was in no Danger of being corrupted by the Temptations, or daunted by the Frowns, of the World: So that now, in the 30th Year of his Age, he was perfectly well qualified to enter upon the actual Adminiſtration of his Office. This alſo was the Age at which the Prieſts and Levites, of whoſe Number the Baptiſt was one, [g] were permitted by the Law to begin the Exerciſe of their Functions. And now the Word of the Lord came [h] to John in the Wilderneſs, commanding him to go to the Jews, and declare to them the Neceſſity of a Reformation and a holy Life, in as much as the Kingdom of the Meſſiah was at hand.

IV. John did not upon this come forth immediately to Jeruſalem, or the other Cities of Judea, but into the [i] Country about Jordan, which was convenient for his Purpoſe. Here it was that the Iſraelites found that Paſſage through the River, which was typical of Baptiſm, when they came out of Egypt; and by the ſame Way they were afterwards carried Captive to Babylon, it being the High-road from Judea into the Eaſt. It was near the ſame Place alſo that Elias, that eminent Type of John, after paſſing over this Jordan, was taken up in a fiery Chariot. What could be more remarkable than that the Baptiſt, who was the Elias ſpoken of by Malachi, ſhould firſt diſcover the Spirit of that great and antient Prophet, near the Spot where he had dropt his Mantle for his Servant and Succeſſor Eliſha? Here [k] he began to proclaim the near Approaches of the Meſſiah: And in order to prepare his Nation for the Reception of ſo great and holy a Prince, he exhorted them to Confeſſion and Repentance of their Sins, and a ſpeedy Reformation of their Lives; for that now the Lord was coming with his Fan in his Hand, and would thoroughly purge his Floor, gathering the Wheat into his Garner, but burning up the Chaff with unquenchable Fire. And the better to ſet forth this pure, regenerate State of Life, and bind his Diſciples to it, he admitted them by a ſolemn and religious Waſhing of their Bodies with clear Water, on which account the Epithet of Baptiſt was added to his proper Name. The ſame Rite had been uſed before amongſt the Jews, which was the Reaſon that we do not find him accuſed of Innovations; but no Baptiſm before his had ſo great and myſtical a Signification. It now repreſented to them, that their Minds ought likewiſe to be cleanſed from the vitious Habits they had contracted, if they ſeriouſly hoped to obtain Pardon for their Sins, and be made Partakers of that heavenly Kingdom, which he aſſured them was very ſhortly to be eſtabliſhed by the Meſſiah. And by this Baptiſm and Doctrine of his were eminently fulfilled ſeveral antient Prophecies, which are therefore applied hereto by the Evangeliſts, they being underſtood of the Meſſiah's Fore-runner by all the Jewiſh Nation.

V. The Fame [l] of this new Preacher extended itſelf over all the Country; and the Doctrine which he taught and inculcated was ſo conformable to right Reaſon, and the Evidence of its Truth ſo clear and powerful, that a prodigious Concourſe of People reſorted to him, from Jeruſalem, and from all the other Parts of Judea, and even from Galilee. Theſe being deeply affected with his Diſcourſes, and dreading the Puniſhments, which God would ſhortly inflict on the Unbelievers, began to acknowledge their Crimes, that had made them juſtly incur the Divine Diſpleaſure: And profeſſing their Repentance for what was paſt, and their Reſolutions to live for the future in a ſtricter Conformity to God's Law, in order to confirm their Sincerity, they ſubmitted themſelves to be baptiſed by him in the River Jordan. John was now acknowledged by all Men for a Prophet, and became the Oracle of People of all Profeſſions. The Publicans, the Soldiers, and thoſe that were eſteemed the greateſt of Sinners, thronged to hear his Sermons of Repentance, and take Directions of Amendment from his own Mouth. Nay, ſo univerſal was his Reputation, that we read of ſome [m] Brethren at Epheſus, and of Apollos of Alexandria, who had received the Baptiſm of John; which proves that he was reſorted to from foreign Countries, and that this Dawn of the Sun of Righteouſneſs was ſeen beyond the Limits of Paleſtine.

VI. Among the great Numbers of People that came from all Parts to hear him, there appeared not a few [n] of the Sadducees and Phariſees: Whether out of pure Curioſity, or from ſome other Reaſon, is not recorded. The former of theſe Sects denied that there is any Life after this; and the

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[f] Matt. iii. 4. Mark i. 6.
[g] Numb. iv. 3. 23.
[h] Luke iii. 2.
[i] Luke iii. 3.
[k] Matt. iii. 1. 4. Mark i. 2, 3, 4. Luke iii. 3.—6.
[l] Matt. iii. 5, 6. Mark i. 5.
[m] Acts xix. 3.
[n] Matt. iii. 7. 10. Luke iii. 7. 11.

latter, though they profeſſed to believe a future State, had ſeldom much true Religion, but for the moſt Part impoſed upon the People under a formal Shew of Piety. As ſoon as John *beheld theſe among his Auditors, being acquainted with their inward Hypocriſy, inſtead of ſhewing them that Reſpect which they commonly received from the Vulgar, he addreſſed himſelf to them in a very ſharp Invective before all the People preſent; as knowing this, if any, to be the proper Way to effect their Cure. The Senſe of what he then delivered to them may be thus expreſſed:*——

[o] O you whoſe vitiated Nature may be juſtly compared to the deadly Poiſon of Vipers, you are quite miſtaken if you think to eſcape God's Vengeance by a mere out-ſide waſhing only, without an Amendment of your Lives. This is none of my Doctrine, nor have you learned it from any who have right Notions of internal Holineſs. If you deſign to make this Baptiſm of mine uſeful to you, you muſt ſo behave yourſelves for the future, as that the Reformation of your Minds may be demonſtrated by a Conformity of Manners. By this Change of Life you may become acceptable to God, and not on account of your Deſcent from *Abraham*, as you vainly imagine; preſuming that God, without any reſpect to their Actions, had confined his Favours to one particular Race of Men. The Almighty, if he pleaſes, can make to himſelf a choſen People out of any Nation, who imitating the Piety and Righteouſneſs of your Father *Abraham*, may be entitled to all the Benefits promiſed to his Offspring: For the Time is near, in which God will inflict his Puniſhments on the *Jews*; his Judgments are coming home to this Nation, and will actually fall on every unrepentant Sinner among you.

VII. *His Hearers then demanded of him,* [p] *What they ſhould do to avoid thoſe terrible Judgments with which he threatened their Nation? To which he anſwered,* He that hath two Coats, let him impart to him that has none; and he that hath Meat, let him do likewiſe: *Thus recommending above all Things, an extenſive Charity, and the retrenching of their ſuperfluous Expences, that they might have wherewithal to contribute more liberally to the Support of the Needy. Then the* Jewiſh *Tax-gatherers, a covetous, griping, unjuſt Sort of Men, came likewiſe to his Baptiſm, and demanded of him What they alſo were to do. Theſe he anſwered by telling them,* That they ought not to exact any Thing beyond what the Edicts of the Magiſtracy gave them Power to collect. *After theſe came the Soldiers alſo, that is ſuch Perſons in the Army as were addicted to the* Jewiſh *Religion, and enquired of him, What were the principal Vices to be avoided by Perſons of their Profeſſion? He told them,* That they ought to do no manner of Injuſtice, neither by open Violence, nor ſecret Fraud, but be content with the Pay allotted them by the Government, and out of it provide themſelves Neceſſaries for their daily Subſiſtence. *Thus did this excellent Perſon ſuit his Admonitions to all Ranks and Degrees of Men, being taught by the Holy Spirit, without ever converſing in the World, what was the moſt grievous Weight in every Circumſtance of Life, and the Sin that did moſt eaſtly beſet the Profeſſors of every Occupation. Such an Inſtructor as this could but command Veneration.*

VIII. *This Courſe of honeſt and ſalutary Doctrine, delivered with the greateſt Zeal and Vehemence of Expreſſion,* [q] *and accompanied with the cleareſt Innocency of Manners and moſt becoming Gravity of Behaviour, ſo far prevailed upon the People, that they would willingly have perſwaded themſelves, that* John *was actually the Meſſiah. But to prevent them from running into this Error, he freely declared,* That he only baptiſed them with Water to Repentance; but that one was coming after him, who ſhould baptiſe them with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire: A Perſon ſo far exceeding himſelf in Dignity and Power, that he was not worthy to ſerve him in the meaneſt Offices, ſuch as bearing or unlooſing his Shoes. *Here, as our bleſſed Lord afterwards intimated,* [r] *was an End of the Law and the Prophets, that is of all that Part of the* Moſaical *Diſpenſation, which was of a poſitive Nature only, and of that diſtant prophetical Relation, which the Writers of the Old Teſtament had to the Meſſiah, to whom* John *now pointed as to a Perſon preſent in the World, and ſhortly to make his public Appearance.* And from this Time the Kingdom of Heaven ſuffered Violence, and the Violent took it by Force: *Multitudes of Gentiles, Publicans, Soldiers, Harlots, and others the moſt unpromiſing of Mankind, flock'd to the Miniſtry and Baptiſm of* John, *believed in the approaching Meſſiah, and by their importunate Zeal, like violent Invaders, ſnatched the Kingdom from the* Scribes, Phariſees, *and Heads of the Nation, to whom it was firſt offered.*

IX. *There are ſeveral Things obſervable in the Doctrine and Converſation of* John, *which gave him ſuch a commanding Influence over the Minds of his Hearers; ſome of which might well be imitated by the Preachers of our Days. He reproved the Miſcarriages of all Orders of Men, with impartial Freedom and Authority; the Hypocriſy of the* Phariſees, *the Prophaneneſs of the* Sadducees, *the Extortion of the* Publicans, *the Rapine of the* Soldiers; *and the Lewdneſs and Inceſt of* Herod *himſelf, as we ſhall find hereafter. On the other Side, he enforced his Exhortations to Repentance by a lively Repreſentation of that approaching Happineſs, to which true Penitents ſhould certainly be admitted.* Repent, *ſays he,* for the Kingdom of God is at hand. *But the moſt effectual Means whereby this Prophet of the Higheſt prepared the Way of the Lord, was peculiar to himſelf, and conſiſted in ſetting the Meſſiah before the Eyes of the People, and convincing them that the Son of God was now manifeſted in the Fleſh. The Coming of* Chriſt *had been always underſtood as ſuch a great and general Bleſſing to Mankind, that he was ſtiled not only the* Hope of Iſrael, but the [ſ] Deſire of all Nations. *His Preſence had been longed for by many Generations: Even* [t] *Prophets and*

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[o] See the Texts laſt referred to.

[p] Luke iii. 10—14.

[q] Matt. iii. 11, 12. Mark i. 7. 8. Luke iii. 15, 16.

[r] Matt. xi. 12. 13.

[ſ] Hagg. ii. 7.

[t] Luke x. 24.

Kings had deſired to ſee him, tho' it were but for one Day. And therefore his immediate Fore-runner, who propheſy'd not of him at a Diſtance, but brought him as it were by the Hand, and introduced him to his Office before all the People, muſt needs have been very acceptable to all thoſe who had juſt and true Notions of their Reedemer.

X. *If to theſe Qualifications and Advantages, which were peculiar to, or attendant on, the Miniſtry of the* Baptiſt, *we alſo add thoſe of his Perſon and Deportment, we ſhall diſcover more of that mighty Energy which recommended his Office, and made it ſo proſperous and prevalent among the People. We ſhall not here repeat all that is remarked of him by the Evangeliſts, but inſtance only in one Particular, which was taken notice of above, His Humility and Freedom from Arrogance in the Diſcharge of his Commiſſion. He preached not Himſelf, but* Chriſt Jeſus the Lord; *and had no Vanity in him for popular Applauſe to work upon.*[u] *For when the People were in Expectation, and all Men muſed in their Hearts of him, whether he were the* Chriſt *or not, He anſwered, ſaying unto them all,* I indeed baptiſe you with Water; but one mightier than I cometh, the Latchet of whoſe Shoes I am not worthy to unlooſe, he ſhall baptiſe you with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire. *The People were ſo charmed with his Doctrine and Converſation, that they thought no Honour too great for him. Here was a ſtrong Temptation to Pride and Vanity, which might have had an ill Effect on ſome ambitious Minds; but it had none other on him, than only to render his Humility the more conſpicuous. This is an excellent Leſſon for thoſe Miniſters, who forget that unaffected Simplicity with which the Goſpel was firſt planted, and by which alone it can be ſucceſsfully recommended.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Corruption of the *Jewiſh* Church, and the Introduction and Excellence of the Goſpel Diſpenſation.

I. *State of the* Jewiſh *Church at the Beginning of the Goſpel Diſpenſation.* II. *Depravation of the Law by falſe Gloſſes.* III. *Oral Tradition; its Original, Succeſſion, &c.* IV. *The Vow of* Corban. V. *Sects in the Church: The* Phariſees. VI. *The* Sadducees. VII. *The* Eſſenes. VIII. Herodians, Samaritans, Caraites, Zelotes, *&c.* IX. *Character and Commiſſion of* John. X. *Baptiſm in uſe among the* Jews. XI. *Evangelical Diſpenſation preferred to the* Moſaical: *For its Perſpicuity and Agreeableneſs to human Nature.* XII. *For the Excellence of its Promiſes.* XIII. *For the Aids of the Spirit under it; and its admirable Confirmation.* XIV. *For its great Extent and Comprehenſiveneſs.* XV. *For its eternal Duration.* XVI. *A Review of ſeveral Particulars; and the great Happineſs of Chriſtians inferred.*

I. AT the beginning of the former Book we diſcourſed on the two great Diſpenſations which preceded the Coming of *Chriſt*; and in ſo doing gave a general View of Religion from the Creation down to the Times of the Goſpel. We thought what was then ſaid ſufficient for the Place where it was introduced; but having now gone thro' the Hiſtory of our Lord's Infancy and Youth, and brought this Work to the very Time of his Entrance on the Publick Buſineſs of his heavenly Father, 'tis very neceſſary, before we proceed, that we ſhould take a more particular View of the State of the *Jewiſh* Church, as it then ſtood, in order to procure as much Light as poſſible to the remaining Parts of the Life of *Chriſt*, and the Lives of his Apoſtles.

And alas! how degenerated, how deformed, were all Things at this Time! how was the *Jewiſh* Religion changed from its Primitive Inſtitution! The ſecond Temple, after all the infinite Coſt that was beſtowed upon it, was vaſtly inferior to that of *Solomon* in Magnificence and Glory: Not to mention that it wanted the Ark of the Covenant, the Divine Preſence, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the Holy Fire upon the Altar, and the Spirit of Prophecy, every one of which contributed more to its Glory than all the outward Ornaments in the World could do; not to mention theſe, I ſay, becauſe they had been wanting ſeveral hundreds of Years; it was remarkable, that the Structure itſelf had been ſeveral times expoſed to Rudeneſs and Violence. Beſides the horrible Prophanations of *Antiochus*, it had been lately invaded by *Pompey*, who boldly ventured into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and without any Scruple contemplated the Myſteries of that Place, tho' he ſuffered no Injury to be offered it. A few Years after came *Craſſus*, who to the Boldneſs of *Pompey* added Sacrilege, ſeizing all the vaſt Treaſure and Wealth, which the other's Piety and Modeſty had ſpared. Theſe Actions of two *Roman* Generals, were as Fore-runners of the final Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* and the Temple together by the *Roman* People; which happened ſoon after the *Moſaical* OEconomy was finally abrogated by the Satisfaction of *Jeſus Chriſt*, when the Impiety and Unbelief of the *Jews* had expoſed them to God's utmoſt Diſpleaſure. After *Craſſus* came *Herod*, who having procured a Grant of the Kingdom, beſieged and took the City and the Temple; and tho' to ingratiate himſelf with the People, he did what in him lay to ſecure it from Rapine, and afterwards expended incredible Sums in its Reparation, yet did he not ſtick to make it truckle to his wicked Policies and Deſigns, prophaning it with a golden Eagle, in order to make his Court to *Auguſtus*. 'Tis true that all theſe Perſons, who thus impiouſly abuſed the Houſe of God, were viſited with extraordinary Tokens of his Diſpleaſure. The troubleſome Life and painful Death of *Herod*, have been already related; and the Judgments that fell upon *Antiochus*, were much of the ſame Nature. *Pompey*, though much more favourable than either *Antiochus* or *Craſſus*, from being the moſt ſucceſsful Perſon in the World, became the moſt unfortunate; and as for *Craſſus*, who entered the Temple only to plunder it, he was ſoon after ſlain by the *Parthians*, and had melted Gold poured into his Throat by way of Mockery, as if they would ſatiate his greedy Thirſt after Riches even when he was dead.[a] But tho' God thus ſignally puniſh'd the Authors of theſe Prophanations, yet his ſuffering ſo many of them to follow upon the Neck of one another, was an Indication that he was about to withdraw his peculiar Protection from his antient Sanctuary, and publiſh his Grace to all Mankind. In a word, the Temple was now become an Exchange or Market; the Place where Men were wont to meet with God, and trade with Heaven, was now turned into a Market-houſe for Merchants, and a Shop for Uſurers, and *the Houſe of Prayer* was become a Den of Thieves. The Worſhip which was formerly wont to be performed there with pious and devout Affections, was now ſhrunk into a mere outſide Shew. *They* [b] *drew near to God with their Mouths, and honoured him with their Lips, but their Hearts were far from him.* Rites of human Invention had juſtled out thoſe of divine Inſtitution, and their very Prayers were only Traps to catch the unwary People, and, as our Lord expreſſed it, to devour the Widows and the Fatherleſs. Their Prieſthood was ſo changed and altered, that it retained little of its antient Inſtitution but only the Name. The High-prieſts, who by their original Charter were lineally to ſucceed each other, and to hold their Place for Life, were now become almoſt annual, ſcarce a Year paſſing over wherein one was not thruſt out, and another put in, as *Euſebius* teſtifies[c] from their own Hiſtorian: And, which was far worſe, it was not annual, but venal, *Herod* expoſing it to ſale, and ſcarce admitting any Man to the ſacerdotal Office, who had not firſt ſufficiently paid for his Patent; by which means the Place was filled by the Refuſe of the People, Men of mean Abilities and debauched Manners, who had neither Parts nor Piety, nor any Thing but their Money to rcommend them. Nay, into ſo ſtrange a Degeneracy were they fallen in this Matter, that *Joſephus* reports,[d] that one *Phannias* was elected High-prieſt, who was not only not of the ſacerdotal Order, but a ruſtic illiterate Fellow, ſo miſerably ſtupid and ignorant, that he knew not what the High-prieſthood meant. And beſides this, the Prieſthood fell out among themſelves, the Heads of them quarrelling with the inferior Orders, and both Parties going about with armed Retinues to oppoſe one another wherever they met.

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[u] Luke iii. 15. 16.

II. The Law, which had been delivered with ſo much Majeſty and Magnificence, and for which the *Jews* pretended ſo great a Reverence, was now miſerably deprav'd and corrupted, the moral Part of it eſpecially; and that by two Ways: The firſt, was the groſs and abſurd Interpretations, which the Teachers of thoſe Times had put upon it. The Scribes and Phariſees, who ruled in the *Jewiſh* Church, had by falſe Gloſſes debaſed the Majeſty and Purity of the Law, and made it to ſerve the Purpoſes of an evil Life. Dr. *Cave*, whom we follow in this Place, carries this Depravity ſo far, that we think it proper to uſe his very [e] Words. "They had taught the People, ſays he, that the Law required no more than external Righteouſneſs; that if there was but a viſible Conformity of Life, they needed not to be ſolicitous about the Government of their Minds, or the regular Conduct of their Thoughts and Paſſions; that ſo Men did but carry themſelves fair to the Eye of the World, it was no great Matter how Things went in the ſecret and unſeen Retirements of the Soul; nay, that a punctual Obſervance of ſome external Precepts of the Law, would compenſate and quit Scores with God for the Neglect or Violation of the reſt. They told Men, that when the Law forbad Murder, ſo they did not actually kill another, and ſheathe their Swords in their Brother's Bowels, it was well enough: Men were not reſtrained from intemperate Paſſions; they might be angry, yea though by peeviſh and uncomely Speeches, they betray'd the Rancour of their Minds. They confeſſed the Law made it Adultery actually to embrace the Boſom of a Stranger, but would not have it extend to wanton Thoughts and unchaſte Deſires, or that it was Adultery for a Man to luſt after a Woman, and commit Folly with her in his Heart. They told the People, that in all Oaths and Vows, if they did but perform what they had ſworn to God, the Law took no further notice of it; whereas every vain and unneceſſary Oath, all cuſtomary and trifling Uſe of the Name of God, was forbidden by it. They made them believe that it was lawful for them to proceed by the rigorous Law of Retaliation, to exact their own to the uttermoſt, and to right and revenge themſelves; whereas the Law requires a tender, compaſſionate, and benevolent Temper of Mind; and is ſo far from owning the rigorous Punctilio's of Revenge, that it obliges to Meekneſs and Patience, to Forgiveneſs and Charity, and, which is the very Height of Charity, not only to pardon, but to love and befriend our greateſt Enemies; quite contrary to the Doctrine which theſe Men taught, that though they were to love their Neighbours, that is the *Jews*, yet might they hate their Enemies. In theſe and ſuch like Inſtances they had notoriouſly abuſed and evacuated the Law, and in a manner rendered it of no Effect."

This learned Gentleman, [f] in another Place, and in order to magnify the Excellence of the Goſpel Diſpenſation, denies that the moral Law of the *Jews*, which he ſays was compriz'd in the Decalogue, *obliged them to do good to others, to love, aſſiſt, and relieve their Enemies*; and we have elſewhere [g] followed him in this Opinion, which we ſtill think very well founded. 'Tis probable that what he now means by the Law's *requiring theſe Things*, is no more than this, That the negative Precepts of it, which forbid the doing of Hurt to others, might very well be, and were in more antient Times, explained into poſitive Commands of univerſal Charity. No doubt but this was the very Truth of the matter: And therefore our Lord, as the ſame Author obſerves,[h] when he came into the World as the great Prophet ſent from God, in the firſt place, after his Entrance upon his public Miniſtry, took care to cleanſe and purify the Law, and to remove that Rubbiſh which the *Jewiſh* Doctors had caſt upon it. Indeed the foregoing Charge againſt the Scribes and Phariſees, who taught the People, is chiefly to be ſupported from ſome of the Diſcourſes of our Lord, which are very ſevere upon thoſe Doctors, and teach the contrary Doctrines to what they are ſaid to have advanced. We muſt ſuppoſe that our Lord had juſt Occaſion for the particular Applications which he ſo frequently made; and conſequently that the *Jewiſh* Doctors were altogether as erroneous and corrupt as they are here repreſented, becauſe otherwiſe thoſe Occaſions would not always have been ſo pertinent as we ought to believe they were. But he [i] ſhewed the People how infinitely more pure and ſtrict the Command was than theſe Impoſtors had repreſented it, and plainly told them, That if ever they expected to be happy, they muſt look upon the Law with anotherguiſe Eye, and follow it after another Rate, than their blind and deceitful Guides did: [k] *For I ſay unto you, Except your Righteouſneſs exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, you can in no caſe enter into the Kingdom of God.*

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[a] For the Preceding Hiſtories ſee Joſephus, Plutarch, and other Writers upon thoſe Times.

[b] Iſai. xxix. 13.

[c] Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 10.

[d] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 12.

[e] Apparatus to Taylor. Sect. ii. v. 19.

[f] Apparatus Sect. ii. v. 4.

[g] See Page 11. of this Work.

III. But beſides this Introduction of corrupt Gloſſes, there was another way by which the *Jewiſh* Teachers diſhonoured the Law of God, and weakened the Power and Reputation of it; and that was, by preferring before it their oral and unwritten Law. For over and above the Law conſign'd to Writing, they had their Law deliver'd by word of Mouth, which they believed was given to *Moſes*, during his forty Days Days Converſe with God, [l] as much as the written Law itſelf. This is the Opinion of the preſent *Jews*, as it was alſo of the *Jews* in the Days of our Saviour, and had been from the Time of *Simon the Juſt*, their High-prieſt and Ruler, who lived near three hundred Years before the Vulgar Æra. It was under the Preſidency of this Man, and chiefly by his Direction, that the Canon of the holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, by which we now receive them, was perfected and finally ſettled in the *Jewiſh* Church. After this followed the *Miſhnical* Times, or the Times of Traditions: For whereas the Holy Scriptures had till then been the only Rule of Faith and Manners, it followed thenceforth, when the Word of God was certain and fixed, that Traditions were regarded, as Men are always ſeeking after ſomething new; and they ſo far prevailed, that in the Times of our bleſſed Lord, they overbore even the Word of God itſelf. An Account of the Origin, Succeſſion, and Character of theſe Traditions, has been given us by the learned Dr. *Prideaux*,[l] from whom we ſhall here inſert it, as containing many curious Particulars, which will be of great Service in the underſtanding ſome Parts of the Evangelical Hiſtory.

"The antient and approved Uſages of the *Jewiſh* Church, which had been in Practice before the Captivity, had, by *Jeſhua* and *Zerubbabel*, with the chief Elders their Contemporaries, and by others that after ſucceeded them, been a gathering together from their firſt Return to *Jeruſalem*, as they could be recovered from the Memories of the Ancients of their Nation, who had either ſeen them practis'd themſelves before the Captivity, or had been inform'd concerning them by their Parents or others, who had lived before them. All theſe, and whatſoever elſe was pretended to be of the ſame Nature, *Ezra* brought under a Review,[m] and having after due Examination allow'd ſuch of them as were to be allow'd, and ſettled them by his Approbation and Authority, they gave Birth to what the *Jews* now call their Oral Law. For they [n] own a twofold Law, the firſt the Written Law, which is recorded in the holy Scriptures, and the ſecond the Oral Law, which they have only by the Tradition of their Elders. And both theſe they ſay were given them by *Moſes*, from Mount *Sinai*, of which the former only was committed to Writing, and the other delivered down to them from Generation to Generation by the Tradition of the Elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the ſame Authority, as having both of them the ſame divine Original, they think themſelves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more. For the written Law is, [o] they ſay, in many Places obſcure, ſcanty, and defective, and could be no perfect Rule to them without the Oral Law, which containing, according to them, a full, complete, and perfect Interpretation of all that is written in the other, ſupplies all the Defects, and ſolves all the Difficulties of it. And therefore they obſerve the written Law no otherwiſe, than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral Law. And hence it is a common Saying among them, that the Covenant was made with them, not upon the written Law, but upon the oral Law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aſide the former to make room for the latter, and reſolve their whole Religion into their Traditions, in the ſame manner as the *Romaniſts* do theirs; having no farther regard to the written Word of God, than as it agrees with their traditionary Explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many Particulars they are quite contradictory to it; which is a Corruption that had grown to a great Height among them even in our

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[h] Apparatus Sect. ii. v. 19.

[i] Cave ubi ſupra.

[k] Matth. v. 20.

[l] Connect. Part I. b. v.

[m] All this was again review'd by Simon the Juſt, who made ſuch Additions as were dictated by the Spirit of God, and completed the Canon of the Scriptures, as above noted. It was not till after this that what has been ſince called Oral Tradition actually came into Repute. Prid. Connect. Part I. b. viii.

[n] Vide Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, & Synagogam Judaicam ejuſdem, & Maimonidis præfationem ad Seder Zeraim.

[o] Maimonides Præfatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica c. iii. & ejuſdem Recenſio operi Talmudici. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim Diſp. 1. Sect. 1. Hottingeri Theſaurus, l. ii. c. 3. §. 3. Lightfoot's Harmony of the four Evangeliſts, §. 23.

Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them [p] expreſly, that *they made the Word of God of none effect through their Traditions.* But they have done it much more ſince, profeſſing a greater Regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it ſo often ſaid in their Writings, That the Words of the Scribes are lovely above the Words of the Law; that the Words of the Law are weighty and light, but the Words of the Scribes are all weighty; that the Words of the Elders are weightier than the Words of the Prophets; (where by the Words of the Scribes, and the Words of the Elders, they mean the Traditions delivered to them by their Scribes and Elders.) And in other Places; that the written Text is only as Water, but the *Miſhnah* and *Talmud* (in which are contained their Traditions) are as Wine and Hippocras. And again, that the written Law is only as Salt, but the *Miſhnah* and *Talmud* as Pepper and ſweet Spices. And in many other Sayings very common among them, do they expreſs the high Veneration, which they bear towards the Oral or Traditionary Law, and the little Regard which they have to the written Word of God in compariſon of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former; as if the written Word were no more than the dead Letter, and the Traditionary Law alone the Soul, that gives the whole Life and Eſſence thereto. And this being what they hold of their Traditions, which they call their Oral Law, the Account which they give of its Original, is as followeth.

For they tell us, that at the ſame Time [q] when God gave unto *Moſes* the Law in Mount *Sinai*, he gave unto him alſo the Interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to Writing, but to deliver the other only by Word of Mouth, to be preſerved in the Memories of Men, and to be tranſmitted down by them from Generation to Generation by Tradition only; and from hence the former is called the Written, and the other the Oral Law. And to this Day all the Determinations and Dictates of the latter are termed by the *Jews* Conſtitutions of *Moſes* from Mount *Sinai*, becauſe they do as firmly believe, that he received them all from God in his forty Days converſe with him in that Mount, as that he then received the written Text itſelf: That on his return from this Converſe he brought both of theſe Laws with him, and delivered them unto the People of *Iſrael* in this manner. As ſoon as he was returned to his Tent, he called *Aaron* thither unto him, and firſt delivered to him the Text, which was to be the written Law, and after that the Interpretation of it, which was the Oral Law, in the ſame Order as he received both from God in the Mount. Then *Aaron* ariſing and ſeating himſelf at the Right-hand of *Moſes*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* his Sons went next in, and being taught both theſe Laws at the Feet of the Prophet in the ſame manner as *Aaron* had been, they alſo aroſe and ſeated themſelves, the one on the Left-hand of *Moſes*, and the other on the Right-hand of *Aaron*; and then the ſeventy Elders, who conſtituted the Sandedrim, or Great Senate of the Nation, went in, and being taught by *Moſes* both theſe Laws in the ſame manner, they alſo ſeated themſelves in the Tent; and then entered all ſuch of the People as were deſirous of knowing the Law of God, and were taught it in the ſame manner. After this *Moſes* withdrawing, *Aaron* repeated the whole of both Laws, as he had heard it from him, and alſo withdrew; and then *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* repeated the ſame, and on their withdrawing the ſeventy Elders made the ſame Repetition to the People then preſent; ſo that each of them having heard both theſe Laws repeated to them four Times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their Memories: And that then they diſperſed themſelves among the whole Congregation, and communicated to all the People of *Iſrael* what had been thus delivered unto them by the Prophet of God: That they did put the Text into Writing, but the Interpretation of it they delivered down only by Word of Mouth to the ſucceeding Generations: That the written Text contained the ſix hundred and thirteen Precepts, into which they divide the Law, and the unwritten Interpretations all the Manners, Ways, and Circumſtances, that were to be obſerved in the keeping of them: That after this, towards the End of the fortieth Year from their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*, in the beginning of the eleventh Month (which fell about the Middle of our *January*) *Moſes* calling all the People of *Iſrael* together, acquainted them of the approaching Time of his Death, and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot ought of what he had delivered to them, they ſhould repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had ſlipp'd their Memories, and farther explain unto them every Difficulty and Doubt, which might ariſe in their Minds concerning what he had taught them of the Law of their God: And that hereon they applying to him, all the remaining time of his Life, that is from the ſaid beginning of the eleventh Month, till the ſixth Day of the twelfth Month, was employed in inſtructing them anew in the Text, which they call the Written Law, and in the Interpretations of it, which they call the Oral Law: And that on the ſaid ſixth Day having delivered to them thirteen Copies of the Written Law, all copied out with his own Hand from the beginning of *Geneſis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*, one to each of the Twelve Tribes, to be kept by them throughout their Generations, and the thirteenth to the *Levites* to be laid up by them in the Tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the Oral Law to *Joſhua* his Succeſſor, he went on the ſeventh Day up into Mount *Nebo*, and there died: That after his Death *Joſhua* delivered the ſaid Oral Law to the Elders, who after ſucceeded him, and they delivered it to the Prophets, and the Prophets tranſmitted it down from each other, till it came to *Jeremiah*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and *Baruch* to *Ezra*, by whom it was delivered to the Men of the great Synagogue, the laſt of whom was *Simon the Juſt*: That by him it was delivered to *Antigonus of Socho*, and by him to *Joſe the Son of Jochanan*, and by him to *Joſe the Son of Joezer*, and by him to *Nathan the Arbelite* and *Joſhua the Son of Perachiah*, and by them to *Judah the Son of Tabbai* and *Simeon the Son of Shatah*, and by them to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and by them to *Hillel*, and by *Hillel* to *Simeon* his Son, who is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame that took our Saviour into his Arms, when he was brought to the Temple to be there preſented to the Lord at the Time of his Mother's Purification; and by *Simeon* it was delivered to *Gamaliel* his Son (the ſame at whoſe Feet *Paul* was brought up) and by him to *Simeon* his Son, by him to *Gamaliel* his Son, and by him to *Simeon* his Son, and by him to *Rabbah Judah Hakkadoſh* his Son, who wrote it into the Book which they call the *Miſhnah*.

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[p] Mark vii. 13.

[q] Perke Avoth. cap. 1. Præfatio Maimonides in Seder Zeraim in Pocockii Porta Moſis. p. 5, 6, &c. Buxtorfii recenſio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz. Zacutus in Juchaſin, &c.

But all this is mere Fiction, ſpun out of the fertile Invention of the *Talmudiſts*, without the leaſt Foundation, either in Scripture or in any authentic Hiſtory, for it.——

For the Truth of the Matter is this: After the Death of *Simon the Juſt*[r], there aroſe a ſort of Men, whom they call the *Tannaim*, or the *Miſhnical* Doctors, that made it their Buſineſs to ſtudy and deſcant upon thoſe Traditions, which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the Men of the great Synagogue, and to draw Inferences and Conſequences from them; all which they ingrafted into the Body of theſe ancient Traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which Example being followed by thoſe who after ſucceeded them in this Profeſſion, they continually added their own Imaginations to what they had received from thoſe that went before them, whereby theſe Traditions becoming as a Snow-ball, the farther they rouled down from one Generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the Bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the Middle of the Second Century after Chriſt, when *Antoninus Pius* governed the *Roman* Empire, by which Time they found it neceſſary to put all theſe Traditions into Writing. For they were then grown to ſo great a Number, and enlarged to ſo huge a Heap, as to exceed the Poſſibility of being any longer preſerved by the Memory of Men. And beſides, on the ſecond Deſtruction, which their Country had undergone from the *Romans* a little before, in the Reign of *Adrian* the preceding Emperor, moſt of their learned Men having been cut off, and the chiefeſt of their Schools broken up and diſſolved, and vaſt Numbers of their People diſſipated and driven out of their Land, the uſual Method of preſerving their Traditions had then in a great Meaſure failed. And therefore there being Danger, that under theſe Diſadvantages they might be all forgotten and loſt, for the preventing hereof it was reſolved, that they ſhould be all collected together, and put into a Book; and *Rabbi Judah the Son of Simeon*, who from the reputed Sanctity of his Life was called *Hakkadoſh*, that is the Holy, and was then Rector of the School which they had at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and Preſident of the *Sanhedrim* that there ſat, undertook the Work, and compiled it in ſix Books, each conſiſting of ſeveral Tracts, which all together make up the Number of Sixty-three; in which, under their proper Heads, he methodically digeſted all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their Law and their Religion, by the Tradition of their Anceſtors. And this is the Book called the *Miſhnah*; which Book was forthwith received by the *Jews* with great Veneration throughout all their Diſperſions, and hath ever ſince been held in high Eſteem among them; for their Opinion of it is, that all the Particulars therein contained were dictated by God himſelf to *Moſes* from Mount *Sinai*, as well as the written Word itſelf, and conſequently muſt be of the ſame divine Authority with it, and ought to be as ſacredly obſerved. And therefore, as ſoon as it was publiſhed, it became the Subject of the Studies of all the learned Men, and the chiefeſt of them both in *Judea* and *Babylonia* imployed themſelves to make Comments on it; and theſe with the *Miſhnah* make up both their *Talmuds*, that is the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, and the *Babyloniſh Talmud*. Theſe Comments they call the *Gemara*, *i. e.* The Complement, becauſe by them the *Miſhna* is fully explained, and the whole traditionary Doctrine of their Law and their Religion compleated. For the *Miſhnah* is the Text, and the *Gemara* the Comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. That made by the *Jews* of *Judea* is called the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, and that made by the *Jews* of *Babylonia* is called the *Babyloniſh Talmud*. The former was compleated about the Year of our Lord Three hundred, and is publiſhed in one large Folio; the latter was publiſhed about Two hundred Years after, in the beginning of the Sixth Century, and hath had ſeveral Editions ſince the Invention of Printing; the laſt publiſhed at *Amſterdam* is in twelve Folio's. And in theſe two *Talmuds* (the Law and the Prophets being in a manner quite juſtled out by them) is contained the whole of the *Jewiſh* Religion that is now profeſſed among them. But the *Babyloniſh Talmud* is that which they chiefly follow. For the other, that is the *Jeruſalem Talmud*, being obſcure and hard to be underſtood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the *Miſhnah* being the ancienteſt Books which they have (except the *Chaldee* Paraphraſes of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*) and both written in the Language and Stile of the *Jews* of *Judea*, our Countryman Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made very good Uſe of them in explaining ſeveral Places of the *New Teſtament*, by parallel Phraſes and Sayings out of them. For the one being compoſed about the One hundred and fifteenth Year of our Lord, and the other about the Three hundredth, the Idioms, Proverbial Sayings, and Phraſeologies, uſed in our Saviour's Time, might very well be preſerved in them. But the other *Talmud* being written in the Language and Stile of *Babylonia*, and not compiled till about the five hundredth Year of our Lord, or as ſome will have it much later, this cannot ſo well ſerve for this Purpoſe. However, it is now the *Alcoran* of the *Jews*, into which they have reſolved all their Faith and all their Religion, altho' framed (almoſt with the ſame Impoſture as that of *Mahomet*) out of Doctrines falſly pretended to be brought from Heaven. And in this Book all, that now pretend to any Learning among them, place their Studies, and no one can be a Maſter in their Schools, or a Teacher in their Synagogues, who is not well inſtructed and verſed herein, that is, not only in the Text, which is the *Miſhnah*, but alſo in the Comment thereon, which is the *Gemara*. And this Comment they ſo highly eſteem beyond the other, that the Name of *Gemara* is wholly engroſſed by it; the *Gemara* of the *Babyloniſh Talmud* being that only, which they now uſually underſtand by that Word. For this with the *Miſhnah* to which it is added, they think, doth truly compleat, and made up the whole of their Religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the Doctrines, Rules, and Rites thereof; and therefore it is in their Opinion the moſt deſerving of that Name, which ſignifieth what compleats, fills up, or perfects, for this is the Meaning of the Word in the *Hebrew* Language. Out of this *Talmud*, *Maimonides* hath made an Abſtract, containing only the Reſolutions or Determinations made therein on every Caſe, without the Deſcants, Diſputes, Fables, and other Traſh, under which they lay buried in that vaſt Load of Rubbiſh. This Work is intitled by him, *Yad Hachazakah*, and is one of the compleateſt Digeſts of Law that was ever made, I mean not as to the Matter, but in reſpect only of the Clearneſs of the Stile and Method, in which it is compoſed, the filthy Maſs of Dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehenſive Manner in which he hath digeſted the Whole. Others among them have attempted the like Work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his Writings he is deſervedly eſteemed the beſt Author among them. They who profeſſed this ſort of Learning, that is, taught and propagated theſe traditionary Doctrines among them, have been diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral different Titles and Appellations, according to the different Ages in which they lived. From the Time of the Men of the Great Synagogue to the publiſhing of the *Miſhnah*, they were called [ſ] *Tannaim*, and they are the *Miſhnical* Doctors, out of whoſe Doctrines and Traditions the *Miſhnah* was compoſed. And from the Time of the publiſhing of the *Miſhnah*, to the publiſhing of the *Babyloniſh Talmud*, they were called [t] *Amoraim*, and they are the *Gemarical* Doctors, out of whoſe Doctrines and Traditions the *Gemara* was compoſed. And for about an hundred Years after the publiſhing of the *Talmud*, they were called [v] *Seburaim*, and after that [w] *Geonim*. And theſe were the ſeveral Claſſes in which their learned Men have been ranked, according to the ſeveral Ages in which they formerly lived. But for theſe later Times the general Name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned Men are called, there being no other Title whereby they have been diſtinguiſhed for near ſeven hundred Years paſt. For about the Year 1040, all their Schools in *Meſopotamia*, where only they enjoyed theſe high Titles, being deſtroyed, and all their learned Men thence expelled and driven out by the *Mahometan* Princes, who then governed in thoſe Parts, they have ſince that, with the greateſt Number of their People flocked into theſe Weſtern Parts, eſpecially into *Spain*, *France*, and *England*. And from that Time all theſe pompous Titles, which they affected in the Eaſt, being here dropp'd, they have retained none other for their learned Men from that Time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only that thoſe of them, who miniſter in their Synagogues, are called [x] *Chacams*, i.e. Wiſe-Men." —Thus far the Reverend and Learned Dean of *Norwich*.

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[r] Zemach David. Juchaſin Shalſheleth Haccabbala. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, & 2611.

Dr. *Cave* mentions yet more of the extravagant, and even blaſphemous, Encomiums, which the modern *Jews* give to theſe Writings, and the Authors or Compilers of them.[y] All the Words of the *Rabbis*, ſay they, are the very Words of the living God, from which a Man might not depart, though they ſhould tell him that his Right-hand were his Left, and his Left his Right: Nay they bluſh not, nor tremble, to aſſert, that to ſtudy in the holy Bible is nothing elſe but to loſe our Time; and yet at the ſame time they impiouſly maintain, that he that diſſents from his *Rabbi*, or Teacher, diſſents from the divine Majeſty; but he that believes the Words of the Wiſe-men, believes God himſelf.[z] Strange! that Men ſhould ſo far offer Violence to their Reaſon, ſo far conquer and ſubdue their Conſcience, as to be able to talk at this wild and extravagant Rate: And ſtranger it would ſeem, but that we know a Generation of Men, at this Time Profeſſors of Chriſtianity in another Church, who endeavour to debaſe and ſuppreſs the Scriptures, and value their unwritten Traditions at little leſs Rate than this. 'Tis indeed ſurprizing to hear a *Romaniſt*, and a moderate one too, after cenſuring the *Jews* for what he calls *an extravagant Veneration for theſe Fables*, proceed very gravely to tell us, That the Chriſtians alſo have their Traditions, which they have received from *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Apoſtles; That they look upon them with very good Reaſon, as a ſacred and inviolable Depoſitum, and as an infal-

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[ſ] The Word Tannaim hath its Derivation from Tanah, which ſignifieth, To deliver by Tradition, and is the ſame in Chaldee with Shanah in the Hebrew, from whence the Word Miſhnah is derived.

[t] i. e. Dictators; becauſe they dictated thoſe Explications upon the Miſhnah, which are contained in the Gemara.

[v] i. e. Opinioniſts; for they did not dictate any Doctrines, but only inferr'd Opinions by Diſputation, and probable Arguments from what had been afore dictated and received in the Miſhnah and Gemara.

[w] i. e. The ſublime or excellent Doctors; they were ſo called from the Sublimity of their Learning.

[x] Chacam in the Hebrew Language ſignifieth a Wiſe-Man.

[y] Apparatus, Sect. ii. v. 20.

[z] Cave, v. 21.

lible Rule of Faith and Obedience, ſince they are derived from the ſame Fountain and from the ſame Spirit, that dictated the Scriptures themſelves. But the Church of *England* has wiſely guarded againſt this Foundation of Error, in her [a] Article concerning Tradition; and by declaring in [b] another Place, *That the Holy Scripture containeth all Things neceſſary to Salvation*; *ſo that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it ſhould be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation.* And this is univerſally the Doctrine of Proteſtants.

In a word, though the *Jews* may have carried this Humour of theirs farther in latter Ages than they did before, according to the Obſervation of Dr. *Prideaux* above recited, 'tis nevertheleſs plain that they were notoriouſly guilty of it in our Saviour's Days, which is the main thing we had to prove. Our Lord frequently charges them [c] with their ſuperſtitious Obſervances of many little Rites and Uſages derived from the *Traditions of the Elders*, wherein they placed the Main of Religion, and for which they had a far more ſacred Regard, than for the plain and poſitive Commands of God. Such [d] were their frequent *Waſhings* of their *Pots* and *Cups*, their *brazen Veſſels* and *Tables*, the Purifying themſelves after they came from Market, the waſhing their Hands before every Meal, and *many other Things which they had received to hold*: In all which they were infinitely nice and ſcrupulous, making the Neglect of them of equal Guilt with the greateſt Immorality: Some of their Rabbies not ſticking to affirm, [e] that he who eats Bread with unwaſhen Hands, is as if he had lain with an Harlot. This, 'tis plain, they thought a ſufficient Charge againſt our Lord's Diſciples, that they were not diligent Obſervers of theſe Things. [f] *When they ſaw ſome of his Diſciples eat Bread with defiled* (*that is to ſay, with unwaſhen*) *Hands, they found Fault, and asked him, Why walk not thy Diſciples according to the Tradition of the Elders, but eat Bread with unwaſhen Hands?* But our bleſſed Saviour ſmartly replied, That they were the Perſons of whom the Prophet had ſpoken, *who honoured God with their Lips, but their Hearts were far from him*; that *in vain did they worſhip him, whilſt for Doctrines they taught the Commandments of Men, laying aſide and rejecting the Commandments of God, that they might hold the Traditions of Men.* This proves that at that Time, they were not content with making Tradition of equal Value and Authority with the Scriptures of God, but made it a Means even to evacuate and ſuperſede thoſe divine Oracles.

IV. Our Lord gives a remarkable Inſtance of their Contempt of both Scripture and Morality, in compariſon of this traditionary Religion, by taking notice of their little Regard for one of the firſt of natural Duties, a Veneration for their Parents. They could not ſay but that the Law obliged Children to honour and revere their Parents, and to adminiſter to their Neceſſities in all Straits and Exigencies; they could not deny that Nature directed them to do this; but they had found out a fine Way to evade the Force of the Command, and harden themſelves againſt the Impulſes of Humanity, and that under a pious and plauſible Pretence. [g] *God commanded, ſaying Honour thy Father and thy Mother; and whoſo curſeth Father or Mother, let him die the Death. But ye ſay, if a Man ſhall ſay to his Father or Mother, It is* Corban, *that is to ſay, a Gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by me, he ſhall be free: And ye ſuffer him no more to do ought for his Father or his Mother.* By theſe Words, ſays the learned *Cave*, is commonly underſtood, that when their Parents required Relief and Aſſiſtance from their Children, they put them off with this Excuſe, that they had conſecrated their Eſtate to God, and might not divert it to any other Uſe. But though this ſeems a ſpecious and plauſible Pretence, yet it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that either they had, or would pretend that they had, entirely devoted to God whatever they poſſeſſed. It muſt therefore refer to ſome other Cuſtom. Now among the many Kinds of Oaths and Vows that were among the *Jews*, they had one which they called, *The Vow of Interdict*; whereby a Man might reſtrain himſelf as to this or that particular Perſon, and this or that particular Thing: As for Inſtance, He might vow not to accept of ſuch a Courteſy from ſuch a Friend, Neighbour, or Relation; or that he would not part with this or that Thing of his own towards the Relief or Maintenance of ſuch an one; and then, in either of theſe Caſes, the Thing became utterly unlawful, and might not be done upon any Conſideration whatſoever, leſt the Man became guilty of the Violation of his Vow. Thus were they taught to diſpenſe with the neareſt Offices of Humanity by pretending Religion for what they did. The Form of this Vow frequently occurs in the *Jewiſh* Writings, and even in the very ſame Words wherein our Lord expreſſes it. *Be that* Corban, *or a Gift*, that is a thing ſacred, *whereby I may be any wiſe profitable to thee*: Which is as much as to ſay, Be that Thing unlawful and prohibited to myſelf, which I might by any ways make helpful or aſſiſtant to thee. And nothing more common than this Way of Vowing in the particular Caſe of Parents, whereof there are abundant Inſtances in the Writings of the *Jewiſh* Maſters. The Explanation they give of the fore-mentioned Vow, is to the ſame Effect as that above. *Whatever I ſhall gain hereafter ſhall be ſacred*, as to the *Maintenance of my Father*: Or, as *Maimonides* expreſſes it, *What I provide, my Father ſhall eat nothing of it, nor receive any Profit by it.* And then they tell us, *He that had made this Vow, might not by any Means tranſgreſs, or make void what he had vow'd.* So that when indigent Parents craved Relief and Aſſiſtance from their Children, and probably wearied them with Importunity, it was but vowing in a paſſionate Reſentment, that their Father or Mother ſhould not be the better for what they had, and then they were ſafe, and might no more diſpoſe any Part of their Eſtate to that Uſe, than they might touch the *Corban*, which was moſt ſolemnly conſecrated to God. By which Means they were taught to be unnatural, under a Pretence of Religion, and to ſuffer their Parents to ſtarve, leſt themſelves ſhould violate a ſenſeleſs and unlawful Vow: For tho' they were under the precedent Obligations of a natural Duty, and a Duty as clearly commanded by God as Words could expreſs it, yet this blind Tradition, this raſh and impious Vow, made for the moſt part out of Paſſion or Covetouſneſs, was ſuffer'd to cancel and ſuperſede all theſe Obligations, they not being permitted afterwards to give them one Penny towards their Relief, tho' their Neceſſity appeared to be never ſo great and preſſing. Thus they made the written Word of God, as well as the great and original Law of Nature, of none Effect, through the Traditions deliver'd down amongſt them.

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[a] The 34th.

[b] In the 6th Article.

[c] Cave ubi ſupra.

[d] Mark vii. 2, 3, 4.

[e] Talm. Tract. Sota.

[f] Matth. xv. Mark. vii.

[g] Ibidem. Vid. Grot. in Loc. Lud. Capell. Diatrib. de Corban.

The above is a better Explanation of this Cuſtom, than that which ſuppoſes that theſe unnatural Children actually devoted their Poſſeſſions to God, or made them *Corban*; which ſignifies an Offering, Gift, or Preſent, that muſt never afterwards be touched. For 'tis unlikely that Perſons, who from a Spirit of Covetouſneſs refuſed to relieve their Parents, ſhould at the ſame Time conſecrate all their Subſtance to religious Uſes: Certainly they would ſooner have parted with a little to their Parents, than with their All to the Prieſts. But the corrupt Teachers of that Time had found out this Way of being unnatural, and of trifling with the Vow of *Corban* at the ſame time. With reſpect to thoſe whom they were determined not to aſſiſt, it was *Corban*, tho' the Uſe of it to themſelves continued as before: And to facilitate this Practice, ſo contrary to Charity and Religion, the Doctors did not require them to pronounce the Vow in the moſt full and formal Manner; but with ſuch Salvos, Alterations, and Reſtrictions, as were peculiarly ſuited to the Caſe.[h] And by the ſame Method Debtors were permitted to defraud their Creditors; which they could do as effectually this Way as by making over their Subſtance to a Friend or Relation, who binds himſelf to reſtore it again when Matters are made up. Perhaps ſome ſuperſtitious Bigots among the *Jews* might really give their Subſtance to the Temple Treaſury, rather than relieve their Parents: And indeed we ought to ſuppoſe that ſome Way or other the Prieſts found their Account in Vows of this Kind, becauſe otherwiſe they would never have encouraged them: For let the Minds of a People be ever ſo wicked and deprav'd, 'twas never known that Inhumanity and Impiety were taught for Religion, without ſome Proſpect of Advantage to the Teachers. But this could be only in particular Inſtances; for we cannot doubt but that the common Reaſon why People pretended theſe Vows, was only that they might keep their Subſtance to themſelves without Interruption.

V. The next Inſtance of the Corruption and Degeneracy of the *Jewiſh* Church, may be taken from the many Sects and Diviſions that were in it, a Thing which the *Jews* themſelves, in their Writings, confeſs would happen in the Days of the Meſſiah, whoſe Kingdom ſhould be over-run with heretical Opinions. For the Hiſtory of theſe Diviſions, their Occaſion and Progreſs, with an Account of what was peculiar to every Sect, take the following Extracts.

The *Jews*, after their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and the full ſettling of their Church again in the Land of *Iſrael*, appear to have been divided chiefly into two Parties. The one,[i] adhering to the Written Word only, believed that in the Obſervance of that alone, they fulfilled all Righteouſneſs, and upon this Foundation thought themſelves ſufficiently entitled to the Name of *Zadikim*, or *The Righteous*. The other,[k] over and above the Written Law, ſuperadded the traditional Conſtitutions of the Elders, and other rigorous Obſervances, to which they voluntarily devoted themſelves; and from hence, reckoning themſelves poſſeſſed of a Degree of Holineſs ſuperior to that of their Brethren, they aſſum'd the Name of *Chaſidim*, or *The Pious*. Theſe latter are mentioned in [l] the *Maccabees* by the Name of *Aſſideans*. From the former Sect, that is the Sect of Zadikim, proceeded the *Samaritans*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Caraites*, or *Karraites*; and from the latter, to wit the *Chaſidim*, ſprung the *Phariſees* and *Eſſenes*. All theſe Subdiviſions were in being at the Time of our Lord, and are all mentioned in the New Teſtament, except the *Eſſenes*. But then we have another Sect, that of the *Herodians*, taken notice of in the Goſpels, which had its Riſe after the others, and from a different Cauſe. We ſhall enquire into the particular Tenets of them all in ſome following Paragraphs, and why ſome of them are ſo very ſeverely cenſured by our Lord, whilſt the *Eſſenes*, though pretty numerous, are not at all mentioned. And in this we ſhall chiefly follow Dr. *Prideaux*, as finding in no other Author an Account of them in ſo few Words, ſo very good, full, and ſatisfactory.

The greateſt of all the *Jewiſh* Sects, was that [m] of the *Phariſees:* For they had not only the Scribes, and all the learned Men, of their Party, but alſo the Bulk of the common People. It is ſaid of them in Scripture, that [n] *whereas the Sadducees ſay, that there is no Reſurrection, neither Angel, nor Spirit, the Phariſees confeſs both*; that is firſt, that there is to be a Reſurrection from the Dead; and ſecondly, that there are Angels and Spirits. But according to *Joſephus* [o] this Reſurrection of theirs was no more than a *Pythagorean* Reſurrection, that is a Reſurrection of the Soul only by its Tranſmigration into another Body, dy, and being born a-new with it. But from this Reſurrection they excluded all, that were notoriouſly wicked. For of ſuch their Notion was, that their Souls, as ſoon as ſeparated from their Bodies, were tranſmitted into a State of everlaſting Woe, there to ſuffer the Puniſhment of their Sins to all Eternity. But as to leſſer Crimes, their Opinion was, that they were puniſhed in the Bodies, which the Souls of thoſe that committed them were next ſent into. And according to this Notion was it, that *Chriſt*'s Diſciples asked him in the caſe of the Man that was born blind, [p] *Who did ſin, this Man or his Parents, that he was born blind?* For this plainly ſuppoſeth an antecedent State of Being, otherwiſe it cannot be conceived, that a Man could ſin before he was born. And when the Diſciples told *Chriſt*, [q] that ſome ſaid of him, that he was *Elias*, and others *Jeremias*, or one of the Prophets, this can be underſtood no otherwiſe, but that they thought, according to the Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls, that he was come into the World with the Soul of *Elias*, or of *Jeremias*, or of ſome other of the old Prophets, tranſmitted into him, and born with him. Theſe two Inſtances put together, plainly prove what *Joſephus* ſaith, that is, that the Reſurrection held by the *Jews* in thoſe Times was no other than a *Pythagorean* Reſurrection of the ſame Soul in another Body. But when *Chriſt* came, who brought Life and Immortality to Light, he firſt taught the true Reſurrection of the ſame Body and Soul together, and ſoon after the *Jews* learned it from his Followers, and ever ſince have taught it in the ſame Manner as they did. For all their Books now extant, ſpeak of the Reſurrection of the Dead, and the laſt Judgment thereon to follow, no otherwiſe in the main Particulars, than as the Chriſtians do.

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[h] Cave's Apparatus §. ii. v. 22.

[i] Vide Grotii Comment. in 1. Maccab. ii. 42.

[k] Grotius ibid. Scaliger in Elencho Trihæreſ. c. 22.

[l] Maccab. ii. 42.

[m] Joſephus.

[n] Acts xxiii. 8.

[o] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 12.

As to what the *Phariſees* held of Predeſtination and Freewill, it is hard to ſay what their Doctrine was as to this Matter. For according to [r] *Joſephus*, they held abſolute Predeſtination with the *Eſſenes*, and Freewill with the *Sadducees*, jumbled both together. For they aſcribed to God and Fate all that is done, and yet left to Man the Freedom of his Will. But how they made theſe two apparent Incompatibles conſiſt together, is no where ſufficiently explained; perchance they meant no more, than that every Man freely chuſeth, what he is unalterably predeſtinated to. But if he be predeſtinated to that Choice, how freely ſoever he may ſeem to chuſe, certainly he hath no Freewill, becauſe he is, according to this Scheme, unalterably neceſſitated to all that he doth, and cannot poſſibly chuſe otherwiſe.

But the main diſtinguiſhing Character of this Sect was their Zeal [s] for the Traditions of the Elders, which they derived from the ſame Fountain with the written Word itſelf, pretending both to have been delivered to *Moſes* from Mount *Sinai*, and therefore they aſcribed equally to both the ſame Authority. How theſe Traditions had their Riſe after the Time of *Ezra*, I have [t] already ſhewn. This Sect of Men (who made it their main Buſineſs to propagate them and promote their Obſervance) had its Birth at the ſame Time with them, and they grew up together, till at length they came to ſuch a Maturity and Aſcendency, that the traditional Law [v] ſwallowed up the written Law, and theſe who were the Propagators of it the whole Bulk of the *Jewiſh* Nation. Theſe Men,[w] by reaſon of their Pretences to a more nice and rigorous Obſervance of the Law according to their Traditions, which they had ſuper-added to it, looked on themſelves as more holy than other Men, and therefore ſeparated themſelves from thoſe whom they thought Sinners, or Prophane, ſo as [x] not to eat nor drink with them; and hence from the *Hebrew* Word *haras*, which ſignifieth to ſeparate, [y] they had the Name of *Phariſees*, which is as much as to ſay, *Separatiſts*. And although their chiefeſt Separation was from the common People, whom they called *Am Haaratz*, i. e. *The People of the Earth*, and reckon'd them no other than as the Dung thereof, yet by reaſon of their hypocritical Pretences to greater Righteouſneſs than others, in the Obſervance of the Law, they [z] drew the common People after them, they being above all others in their high Eſteem and Veneration. This Hypocriſy our Saviour [a] frequently chargeth them with, as alſo [b] with their making the Law of God of none Effect by their Traditions. Several of theſe Traditions he particularly mentioned and condemned, as appears in the Goſpels, but they had a vaſt Number more. To go thorough them all would be to tranſcribe the *Talmud*, a Book of twelve Volumes in *Folio*. For the whole Subject of it is to dictate and explain all thoſe Traditions, which this Sect impoſed to be received and obſerved. And although many of them are very abſurd and fooliſh, and moſt of them very burthenſome and heavy to be born, yet this Sect hath devoured all the reſt, they having had for many Ages none to oppoſe them among that People, ſaving only thoſe few *Karraites* which will be mentioned. For excepting them only the whole Nation of the *Jews*, from the Deſtruction of the Temple to this preſent Time, have wholly gone in unto them, and received all their Traditions for divine Dictates, and to this Day obſerve them with much greater Regard and Devotion, than the written Word itſelf. So that it is now only according to the Traditions of the *Phariſees*, not according to the Law and the Prophets, that the preſent *Jewiſh* Religion is wholly formed, whereby they have corrupted the old *Jewiſh* Religion, juſt in the ſame manner as the *Romaniſts* have the Chriſtian.

In Conjunction with the *Phariſees* the *Scribes* are often mentioned in the Scriptures of the New

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[p] John ix. 2.

[q] Matt. xvi. 14.

[r] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & l. xviii. c. 2. De Bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 12.

[s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. & l. xviii. c. 2.

[t] Part I. Book V.

[v] Matth. xv. 1.—6. Mark vii. 3, 4.

[w] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xvii. c. 3. & l. xviii. c. 2. & De Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 4.

[x] Matth. ix. 2. Luke v. 30. & xv. 2.

[y] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbin. 1851, 1852. Lightfoot Vol. I. p. 656. Druſius de Trib. Sect. Jud. l. ii. c. 2 & 3.

[z] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. & l. xviii. c. 2.

[a] Matt. xxiii. 13.—33. Luke xi. 39.—52.

[b] Matt. xv. 6.

Teſtament. But they were not a Sect, but a Profeſſion of Men following Literature. They were of divers Sorts. For generally all that were any way learned among the *Jews*, were in the Time of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, called *Scribes*; but eſpecially thoſe, who by reaſon of their Skill in the Law and Divinity of the *Jews* were advanced to ſit in *Moſes*'s Seat, and were either Judges in their [d] Sanhedrims, or Teachers in their Schools or Synagogues. They [e] were moſtly of the Sect of the *Phariſees*, moſt of the Learning of the *Jews* in thoſe Times lying in their Phariſaical Traditions, and their Way of interpreting (or we may rather ſay wreſting) the Scriptures by them. And they being the Men that dictated the Law both of Church and State, hence Lawyers and *Scribes* are convertible Terms in the Goſpels, and both of them do there ſignify the ſame ſort of Men. For the ſame Perſon, who by one [f] Evangeliſt is called a Lawyer, is by [g] another ſaid to be one of the *Scribes*." To this Account of the *Phariſees*, we ſhall add only one Remark from another Author. [h] Some great Men of the Church of *Rome* ſay, with a kind of boaſting, that ſuch as were the *Phariſees* among the *Jews*, ſuch are the Monaſtical Orders among Chriſtians. Much good may the Compariſon do them: We muſt confeſs ourſelves ſo far of their Mind, as to believe there is too great a Conformity between them.

VI. The next Sect in Order to be mentioned, is that of the *Sadducees*, as oppoſite to the *Phariſees* as poſſible, both in Temper and Principles. They had their Name, according to *Epiphanius* and others, from a *Hebrew* Word ſignifying *Righteouſneſs*, or *Juſtice*. But the moſt common Opinion is, that they were ſo called from *Sadoc*, the Scholar of *Antigonus* of *Socho*, who was Preſident of the Sanhedrim, and Maſter of the principal Divinity School at *Jeruſalem*, after the Death of *Simon the Juſt*. This *Antigonus* was alſo the firſt of the *Miſhnical* Doctors, who taught the Authority of Oral Tradition; and he gave Riſe by his Lectures to the Sect of the *Sadducees*. For [i] having inculcated to his Scholars, that they ought not to ſerve God with reſpect to the Reward, but only out of that filial Love and Fear which they owed him, *Sadoc* and *Baithus*, two of his Scholars, hearing this from him, inferred from hence, that there were no Rewards at all after this Life: And therefore ſeparating from the School of their Maſter, they taught that there was no Reſurrection, nor future State; but that all the Rewards which God gave to thoſe that ſerved him, were in this Life only. And many being perverted by them into this Opinion, they began that Sect among the *Jews*, which from the Name of *Sadoc* were called *Sadducees*. This is the *Talmudic* Story of their Original, and what is commonly received concerning them: But it does not appear to be well founded; and the diſcerning Dr. *Prideaux* upon this Occaſion, aſſures us, that *Talmudic* Stories are with him of very little Credit. Take this Gentleman's Account of the *Sadducees* in the following Words.

"The *Sadducees* at firſt were no more, than what the *Karraites* are now, that is, they would not receive the Traditions of the Elders, but ſtuck to the written Word only. How theſe Traditions grew upon the *Jews*, I have [k] already given a full Account, and the *Phariſees* being the grand Promoters of them, hence they and the *Sadducees* became Sects directly oppoſite to each other. And as long as the *Sadducees* oppoſed them no further than in this Matter only, they were in the Right; but afterwards they imbibed other Doctrines, which rendred them a Sect thoroughly impious. For firſt, They [l] deny'd the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Being of the Angels, and all Exiſtences of the Spirits or Souls of Men departed. For [m] their Notion was, that there is no Spiritual Being but God only; That as to Man this World is his all; That at his Death Body and Soul die together, never to live more, and that therefore there is no future Reward or Puniſhment. They acknowledged that God made this World by his Power, and governs it by his Providence, and for the carrying on of this Government hath ordained Rewards and Puniſhments, but that they are in this World only; and for this Reaſon alone was it, that they worſhipped him, and paid Obedience to his Laws. In ſum, they were *Epicurean Deiſts* in all other Reſpects, excepting only that they allowed, that God made the World by his Power, and governs it by his Providence. But that they were not led into this Impiety by *Sadoc* the Scholar of *Antigonus*, according to the Story above, appears from the following Inſtance. When *John Hyrcanus* deſerted the Sect of the *Phariſees*, and went over to the *Sadducees*, no [n] other Alteration is mentioned then to have been made by him in that Change, but his rejecting and annulling all the traditional Conſtitutions of the *Phariſees*; which makes it probable, that the *Sadducees* were at that Time gone no further in the Tenets of their Sect, than to the denying of theſe Conſtitutions. And moreover, *Hyrcanus* having [o] the Character of a juſt and religious Prince, and all his Actions ſpeaking him ſuch, it is not likely that he ſhould embrace ſo impious a Doctrine, as that of denying the Reſurrection and a future State, eſpecially when he was going into that State. (For it was in the latter End of his Life that this was done.) All which put together, gives good Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that this Impiety had not then infected this Sect. Whenever it was introduced among them, this much we may be aſſured of, that Vice and Wickedneſs were the only Cauſes of its Birth; and wherever it is elſewhere found, it always hath the ſame Parents. When Men live ſuch Lives, that they cannot give God an Account of them, they greedily lay hold of any Scheme, how falſe and fooliſh ſoever, that ſhall exempt them from it. *Epicurus*'s Brag was, that he had delivered the World from the Fear of the Gods. And to lay aſleep the Conſcience, and deliver Mens Minds from the Fear of God, and his Judgments, ſo as to be at Liberty to ſin on without Reluctancy or Regret, is the only Reaſon that makes any to be *Epicurus*'s Diſciples. And it is moſt likely that this Impiety among the *Jews* had the ſame Original. Under the *Aſmonean* Princes the *Jews* grew proſperous, powerful, and rich, and their Riches produced great Luxury and Vice; and to free their Conſciences from the Fear of a future accounting for the Enormities, which grew up from this Root, was the true Cauſe that introduced this Doctrine againſt a future State among them. And this is confirmed by what *Joſephus* writes of this Sect; [p] he tells us, that they were Men of Quality and Riches only, that were of it. But ſince the Generality of learned Men admit the *Talmudic* Story abovementioned, concerning the firſt Introduction of this Doctrine among them by *Sadoc* the Diſciple of *Antigonus of Socho*, I will enter into no further Conteſt about it, but having offered my Conjectures to the contrary, I leave it to the Reader to make his Judgment about it, as he ſhall ſee Cauſe.

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[d] There were two Sorts of Sanhedrims among the Jews, one of twenty-three Perſons in every City, and one for the whole Nation of ſeventy-two Perſons ſitting at Jeruſalem.

[e] Joſeph. de Bell. Judaico, lib. ii. cap. 12.

[f] Matth. xxii. 35.

[g] Mark xii. 28.

[h] Cave ubi ſupra.

[i] Pirke Avoth. Juchaſin. Zemach David. Shalſheleth Haccabala. R. Abraham Levita in Cabbala Hiſtorica. See Lightfoot's Works in Engliſh, Vol. I. p. 457, 655, 656. & Vol. II. p. 425. 126, 127.

[k] Part I. Book V. See above.

[l] Matth. xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Acts xxiii. 8.

[m] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 2. & Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12.

[n] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 18.

[o] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 3.

2. The *Sadducees* not only rejected all unwritten Traditions, but alſo [q] all the written Word, excepting only that of the five Books of *Moſes*. And if it be true what the *Talmudic* Story abovementioned relates, that *Sadoc* on his firſt venting of his Doctrine againſt a future State, was forced for the Impiety of it to flee to the *Samaritans* for Refuge, perchance he might learn this Part of his Hereſy from them. For they admitted only the five Books of *Moſes*, rejecting all the other Parts of Holy Scripture, as well the Prophets as the Hagiographa. But it ſeems moſt probable, that the *Sadducees* rejected theſe Books, becauſe they found them inconſiſtent with their Doctrine. There are many Places in the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, which plainly and undeniably prove a future State, and the Reſurrection from the Dead; and therefore having embraced the Doctrine of denying both, they did what uſually all Heretics do, that is, reject right or wrong whatſoever did make againſt them. Some learned Men, and among them [r] *Scaliger* for one, hold that they did not reject the other Scriptures, but only gave a Preference above them to the five Books of *Moſes*. But the Account which is given in the Goſpels of the Diſputation which *Chriſt* [s] had with the *Sadducees,* plainly proves the contrary. For ſeeing there are ſo many Texts in the Prophets, and Hagiographa, which plainly and directly prove a future State, and the Reſurrection from the Dead, no other Reaſon can be given, why *Chriſt* waved all theſe Proofs, and drew his Argument only by Conſequence from what is ſaid in the Law, but that he knew they had rejected the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, and therefore would admit no Argument, but from the Law only. Their agreeing with the *Samaritans* in rejecting all Traditions, and in receiving no other Scriptures than the five Books of *Moſes* only, hath given an Handle to the *Jews* to load the *Samaritans* with the Imputation of agreeing with them alſo in the Denial of a future State, and the Reſurrection from the Dead; whereas in this Article the *Samaritans* are ſounder than the *Jews* themſelves, and ſo continue even to this Day.

3. The third Point of the *Sadducees* Hereſy was [t] about Freewill and Predeſtination. For whereas the *Eſſenes* held all Things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable Concatenation of Cauſes never to be varied from, and the *Phariſees* allowed a Freewill in Conjunction with Predeſtination, the *Sadducees* differing from both [v] deny'd all manner of Predeſtination whatever; their Doctrine being, that God had made Man abſolutely Maſter of all his Actions, with a full Freedom to do either Good or Evil as he ſhall think fit to chuſe, without any Aſſiſtance to him for the one, or any Reſtraint upon him as to the other. So that whether a Man doth Good or Evil, it is wholly from himſelf, becauſe he hath it abſolutely in his own Power both to do the one and avoid the other. In ſum, they held the ſame among the *Jews*, that *Pelagius* did afterwards among the Chriſtians, that is, that there is no Help from God, either of his preventing Grace, or his aſſiſting Grace, but that without any ſuch Help every Man hath in himſelf full Power to avoid all the Evil which the Law of God forbids, and to do all the Good which it commands. And therefore looking on all Men to have this Power in themſelves, it is remarked of them, that [w] whenever they ſat in Judgment upon Criminals, they always were for the ſevereſt Sentence againſt them. And indeed, their general Character was, [x] that they were a very ill-natured ſort of Men, churliſh and moroſe in their Behaviour to each other, but cruel and ſavage to all beſides. [y] Their Number was the feweſt of all the Sects of the *Jews*, but they were Men of the beſt Quality, and the greateſt Riches among them. And it is too often found, that thoſe who abound moſt in the Things of this World are the forwardeſt to neglect and disbelieve the Promiſes of a better. All thoſe that were of the greateſt Power and Riches among the *Jews* being cut off in the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*, this whole Sect ſeems then to have periſhed with them. For we find no mention made of them as a Sect in being for many Ages after, till their Name was revived again in the *Karraites*." Of which Sect we ſhall give ſome Account a little lower.

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[p] Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 18. & lib. xviii. cap. ii.

[q] Vid. Grot. in Matth. xxii. 23. Druſium de Trib. Sectis Judæorum, lib. iii. cap. 9. Lightfoot, Vol. II. p. 1278. Qui probant hoc ex Tertull. Hieronymo, aliiſque.

[r] Elench. Trihæreſ. cap. 16.

[s] Matth. xxii. Mark xii. Luke xx.

[t] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9.

[u] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 9. & de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12.

[w] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 8.

[x] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12.

[y] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiii. cap. 18. & lib. xviii. cap. 2.

VII. We come next to the *Eſſenes*, who even out-did the *Phariſees* in the Rigour of their Obſervances. [z]"For being originally of the ſame Sect with them, they reformed upon them, in the ſame manner as among the *Romaniſts*, the *Carthuſians* and the *Ciſtertians* have upon the *Benedictines*, and ſet up for a much more ſevere, and perchance for a much more unblameable Rule of Living, than the others did. [a] As to Fate and Freewill, their Opinion was for an abſolute Predeſtination, agreeable to what is held by the *Supralapſarians* of the preſent Age, without allowing to Man any Freewill at all, or any Liberty of Choice in any of his Actions. And as to the other grand Point, of a future State, and a Reſurrection from the Dead, they alſo differed from the *Phariſees* herein. For although they allowed the former, they denied the latter, their Doctrine being, [b] that the Souls of Men after their Death are tranſmitted into a State of Immortality, therein to live in everlaſting Bliſs or everlaſting Woe, according as their Actions have deſerved, without ever any more returning, either to their own, or any other Bodies, for ever. Altho' our Saviour very often cenſured all the other Sects then among the *Jews*, yet he never ſpoke of the *Eſſenes*, neither is there any mention of them through the whole Scriptures of the New Teſtament. This proceeded, ſome think, from their retired way of living: For their Abode being moſtly in the Country, they ſeldom came into Cities, nor were they in our Saviour's Time ever ſeen at the Temple, or in any public Aſſembly; and therefore not falling in the Way of our Saviour's Obſervation, for this Reaſon, ſay they, he took no notice of them. But it is much more likely, that being a very honeſt and ſincere ſort of People, they gave no reaſon for that Reproof and Cenſure, which the others very juſtly deſerved. Their way of Living was very peculiar and remarkable: To give the Reader a thorough View of it, the beſt way would be to lay before him the whole Accounts of *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and *Pliny*, who are the antienteſt Authors that ſpeak of this Sect, and from whom all elſe that is ſaid of it is taken." This has been done by Dr. *Prideaux* in the Place above referred to, and that for peculiar Reaſons, which we ſhall by-and-by mention: But as theſe Extracts are the longeſt of any in that Author's Works, and as the *Eſſenes* are introduced rather to complete our Syſtem of the *Jewiſh* Church, than to illuſtrate the Goſpel Hiſtory, in which they are not at all mentioned, we muſt content ourſelves with adding to what has been here ſaid, a very ſhort Abridgment of what is largely treated of by thoſe Antients, eſpecially by *Joſephus* and *Philo*, who being *Jews*, could not but be well inform'd. This Abſtract has alſo in it ſome Conjectures of the Author from whom we have borrow'd it.

"[c] Paſſing by the various Conjectures concerning the Derivation of their Name, which when dreſſed up with all Advantages are ſtill but bare Conjectures, they began about the Times of the *Maccabees*, when the violent Perſecutions of *Antiochus* forced the *Jews* for their own Safety to retire to the Woods and Mountains. And tho' in time the Storm blew over, yet many of them were too well pleaſed with theſe undiſturbed Solitudes ever to return, and therefore combined themſelves into religious Societies, leading a ſolitary and contemplative Courſe of Life, and that in very great Numbers, there being uſually above four thouſand of them, as both *Philo* and *Joſephus* tell us. They were remarkable above all others in this, [d] that they lived without Women, without any Embraces, without Money, converſing with nothing but Woods and Palm-trees.[e] Their Number encreaſed every Day as faſt as any died, Perſons flocking to them from all Quarters, to ſeek Repoſe here, after they had been weary'd with the Inquietudes of Fortune. They paid a due Reverence to the Temple, by ſending Gifts and Preſents thither; but yet worſhipped God at home, and uſed their own Rites and Ceremonies. Every ſeventh Day they publickly met in their Synagogue, where the Younger being ſeated at the Feet of the Elder, one of them read ſome Portions out of a Book, which another, eminently ſkilled in the Principles of their Sect, expounded to the reſt, inſtructing them in the Rules of Piety and Righteouſneſs, and all the Duties that concerned God, their Neighbours, and themſelves. They induſtriouſly tilled and cultivated the Ground; they lived upon the Fruits of their own Labours, and had all their Revenues in common, there being neither Rich nor Poor among them. Their Manners were very harmleſs and innocent, they being ſtrict Obſervers of Juſtice, beyond the Practice of other People." What their Principles were in Matters of Speculation has been juſt now obſerv'd in brief; "and more is not material to be enquired, their Inſtitutions chiefly referring to Practice. Out of a great regard to Wiſdom and Virtue, they neglected all Care of the Body, and abſtained very much from Meats and Drinks, ſome of them not [f] eating for three, others for five or ſix Days together; accounting it unbecoming Men of ſuch a philoſophical Temper and Genius, to ſpend any Part of their Time upon the Neceſſities of the Body. In fine, their Contemplations were ſublime and ſpeculative, and of Things beyond the ordinary Notions of others Sects; for they traded in the Names and Myſteries of Angels, and in all their Carriages bore a great Shew of Modeſty and Humility. For this Reaſon ſome think they were the very Perſons, whom St. *Paul* primarily deſign'd, when he charged the *Coloſſians* [g] to *let no Man beguile them of their Reward, in a volunta-*

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[z] Prideaux, Part ii. b. 5.

[a] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. & l. xviii. c. 2. & De Bell. l. ii. c. 12.

[b] Joſeph. de Bell. l. ii. c. 2.

[c] Cave. Apparatus §. ii. v. 24.

[d] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. lib. v. c. 17.

[e] Vide Phil. lib. cui tit. Quod omnis Probus liber. & Joſeph. in locis ſupra cit. Vide etiam Phil. de Vita Contemp. & ejuſdem Apolog. pro Judæis apud Euſeb. in Prepar. Evang. c. xi.

[f] This is aſſerted by Philo.

[g] Col. ii. 18, &c.

ry Humility, and Worſhipping of Angels; intruding into thoſe Things which he hath not ſeen, vainly puffed up by his fleſhly Mind. His Argument is, that *being dead with Chriſt to the Rudiments of the World, they ſhould no longer be ſubject to ſuch Ordinances as forbid to touch, taſte, or handle; which were only the Commandments and Doctrines of Men:* Which Things, ſays he, *have indeed a Shew of Wiſdom in Will, Worſhip, and Humility, and neglecting of the Body, not in any Honour to the ſatisfying the Fleſh.* It muſt be confeſſed, that whether the Apoſtle here meant a particular Reflection upon the *Eſſenes* or no, he has in general Terms condemned their Manner of Life to the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity. To this we will only add, that *Philo* divides the *Eſſenes* into two Branches, both which he largely deſcribes under the Diſtinctions of Practical and Contemplative; but is peculiarly laviſh in praiſing of the latter.

Dr. *Prideaux*, after having quoted at large the Relations of *Joſephus*, *Philo*, and *Pliny*, concerning the *Eſſenes*, aſſures, that his principal Reaſon for ſo doing was to obviate the wrong Uſe that is made of theſe Relations, firſt, by the *Romaniſts*, and, ſecondly, by the Deiſts. What he ſays on this Occaſion is worth our Notice, and we ought not to omit ſo fair an Opportunity of producing Arguments againſt two ſorts of Perſons, who are of all Men the greateſt Enemies to the eſtabliſhed Religion. And this we ſhall do from our Author in very few Words.

Euſebius, from *Philo*'s Account of the *Therapeutæ*, or Contemplative *Eſſenes*, affirms, without Judgment or Truth,[h] that they were Chriſtian Monks of the Order of St. *Mark*; and *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, two of the greateſt Champions of the Popiſh Cauſe, have from hence drawn an Argument for the divine Inſtitution of *Monkiſm*. But if theſe two great Men, who on other Occaſions are forward enough to condemn *Euſebius*, had been free from the Intereſt and Influence of their Party, they would not have followed him in a Particular the moſt abſurd of all: For the Words of *Philo* himſelf, which led *Euſebius* into this Error, are a ſufficient Confutation thereof: 1. They ſpeak of theſe *Therapeutæ*, as of a Sect of long Standing in *Egypt*, and tell us, that they had Hymns and Writings among them of antient Date, compoſed in Times of Old, by ſuch as were principal Leaders of their Sect. Now from *Philo*'s being an elderly Man when he went Ambaſſador to *Caligula*, it ſeems likely that the Book where he ſays this, was written before the Chriſtian Church was erected; at moſt it could not be many Years after; which proves, that when he ſpeaks of a Sect of long Standing, and of antient Writings compoſed by the Elders of that Sect, he cannot mean any Sect of Chriſtians, none of whom could be of above ten or twenty Years ſtanding. Secondly, He mentions their rigorous Obſervance of the ſeventh Day, which not only proves that they were not Chriſtians, but that they were *Jews*, they being the only People to whom ſuch a Deſcription can ſuit; and indeed *Philo* plainly tells us in the Introduction to his Account of them, that they were Diſciples of *Moſes*, which he would never have ſaid of Chriſtians.

The Truth is, *Monkiſm* among Chriſtians, did not begin till the third Century: For about the Year of our Lord 250, one [i]*Paul*, a young Gentleman of *Thebais* in *Egypt*, to avoid the *Decian* Perſecution, fled into the adjoining Deſart; and fixing his Abode in a Cave there, he thus began the Practice of an *Aſcetic* Life, in which he continued ninety Years, being an hundred and thirteen Years of Age when he died. About twenty Years after his Retirement, *Anthony*, another young Gentleman, excited by the Fame which *Paul* had acquired by his religious Life, retired to the ſame Deſart, and there devoted himſelf to the like Courſe. Theſe being followed by many others, who were inſpired with a like Spirit of Devotion, they were formed into a Body by their Leader, who became their Abbot, and govern'd them many Years. And from this Beginning all the *Monkiſm* in the Chriſtian World had its Original.

The Deiſts pretend to find an Agreement between the Chriſtian Religion and the Documents of the *Eſſenes*, and therefore would infer that *Chriſt* and his Followers were only a Sect branched out from thoſe religious *Jews*. But let them ſearch to the utmoſt, all the authentic Accounts of the *Eſſenes*, and they will not be able to find among their Precepts any of the proper Doctrines of Chriſtianity. Is there any thing in them of the two Chriſtian Sacraments? Is there any Thing of the Redemption of the World by the Meſſiah? or of the erecting of his ſpiritual Kingdom here on Earth? Were any of the peculiar Uſages of that Sect ever engrafted into Chriſtianity? Though the common Tables, which were at firſt ſet up by the Apoſtles, bear ſome Reſemblance to thoſe of the *Eſſenes*, yet theſe were never made a Law of the Chriſtian Religion, or ſo much as recommended by it, being only practiſ'd for a ſhort Time in the firſt Gatherings of the Church, but wholly diſcontinued when it encreaſed and grew up. As to moral Duties, the Heathens as well as the *Eſſenes*, practiſ'd and taught in moſt caſes the ſame as the Chriſtians; and therefore nothing in favour of this Opinion can be inferred from thence. Moreover, almoſt all that was peculiar to the *Eſſenes*, was in a lower Degree condemned in the *Phariſees* by *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles; ſuch as their ſuperſtitious Waſhings, and other over-rigorous Obſervances; which being carried higher by the *Eſſenes*, were in them more blameable according to the ſame Principles of Chriſtianity. And then, contrary to the Law of true Chriſtianity, they forbade Marriage, which God had ordained from the Beginning: But, what was moſt of all, they denied the Reſurrection of the Body, in which the main of the Chriſtian Hope conſiſts, and yet abſurdly placed the Felicity of a future Life in the corporal Enjoyments of temperate Regions beyond the Weſtern Ocean. When the Inſtitutions of this Sect are compared with thoſe of Chriſtianity, what Argument of Similitude can be found, ſufficient to prove that the former was Parent of the latter?

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[h] Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 17.

[i] Hieronymus in Vita Pauli.

VIII. The next Sect of the *Jews* which we are to deſcribe, is that of the *Herodians*. They are mentioned more than once in the Goſpel, and doubtleſs had their Name from *Herod the Great*, tho' upon what Occaſion is a Queſtion. Among many other Conjectures, that of *Calmet* is, that they were the ſame with the Followers of *Judas Gaulonites*, who aroſe in Oppoſition to the Taxation made by *Auguſtus*: But the Opinion of Dr. *Prideaux* is quite contrary to this, as will appear from what follows. As to the Reaſon why they were called *Herodians*, this laſt mentioned Author tells us, that "[k] ſome ſay it was, becauſe they held *Herod* to be the Meſſiah; ſo *Tertullian*, ſo *Epiphanius*, ſo *Jerom*, ſo *Chryſoſtom*, ſo *Theophilact*, and ſo ſeveral others of the Ancients held. But it is very improbable, that any *Jews* ſhould in the Time of our Saviour's Miniſtry, above thirty Years after the Death of *Herod*, hold him to have been the Meſſiah, when they had found no one of thoſe Particulars, which they expected from the Meſſiah, performed by him, but rather every thing quite the contrary. Others hold that they were called *Herodians*, becauſe they conſtituted a Sodality erected in the Honour of *Herod*, in the ſame manner as there were Sodalities at *Rome* called *Auguſtales*, *Adrianales*, *Antonini*, conſtituted in the Honour of *Auguſtus*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and the like of other *Roman* Emperors after their Death. And this is the Opinion of [l] *Scaliger*, and [m] thoſe that follow him; but none of theſe Sodalities at *Rome* having been inſtituted till long after the Death of *Herod*, none ſuch could have been inſtituted in Honour of *Herod* in Imitation of them. The earlieſt of theſe Sodalities, and the firſt [n] of this kind, that we any where meet with, were the *Sodales Auguſtales*. But theſe not being inſtituted till after *Auguſtus*'s Death, which happened ſeveral Years after *Herod*'s, this could give no Pattern or Foundation for the like to be inſtituted in Honour of *Herod*, either in his Life-time, or upon his Death, ſince he died many Years before. By what is mentioned of theſe *Herodians* in the Goſpels, they ſeem plainly to have been a Sect among the *Jews* differing from the reſt in ſome Points of their Law and Religion. For they are there named with the *Phariſees*, and in Contradiſtinction from them, and therefore muſt have been a Sect in the ſame manner as the *Phariſees* were. And they are alſo ſaid to have a peculiar Leven, as the *Phariſees* had, that is ſome falſe and evil Tenets, which ſoured and corrupted the whole Lump, with which it was mingled; and therefore *Chriſt* equally warned his Diſciples againſt both. And ſince he calleth it [o] the Leven of *Herod*, this argues, that *Herod* was the Author of it, that is of thoſe evil Tenets, which conſtituted this Sect, and diſtinguiſhed it from the other Sects of the *Jews*, and that his Followers imbibing thoſe Tenets from him, were for this Reaſon called *Herodians*. And theſe being chiefly of his Courtiers, and the Officers and Servants of his Palace, and thoſe that were deſcended from them, hence the *Syriac* Verſion, wherever the Word *Herodians* occurs in the Original, renders it *the Domeſticks of Herod*. And that Verſion having been made very early for the Uſe of the Church of *Antioch*, the Authors of it were neareſt thoſe Times, in which this Sect had its beginning, and therefore had the beſt Means of knowing who they were. Thus far therefore having ſhewn, that theſe *Herodians* were a Sect of the *Jews*, that had its Original from *Herod the Great*, it's next to be enquired into, what were the Tenets whereby it was diſtinguiſhed. The only way to find this out, is to examine, in what Particulars the Founder of it differed from the reſt of the *Jews*. For no doubt the ſame were the Particulars, in which thoſe his Followers differed from them alſo, and thereby conſtituted this Sect; and they will appear to have been theſe two following. The firſt in ſubjecting himſelf and his People to the Dominion of the *Romans*; and ſecondly in complying with them in many of their Heathen Uſages. For both theſe Particulars *Herod* held lawful, and accordingly practiſed them. And therefore theſe I take to have been the Tenets and Opinions, in which theſe *Herodians* his Followers differed from the other *Jews*, and thereby conſtituted this Sect, which from him was called by that Name. It being ſaid, [p] *One from among thy Brethren ſhalt thou ſet King over thee; thou mayeſt not ſet a Stranger over thee, which is not thy Brother*: Hence an Opinion aroſe, which was generally embraced by the *Phariſees*, that it was not lawful to ſubmit to the *Roman* Emperor, or pay Taxes unto him; but *Herod* and his Followers underſtanding the Text to exclude only a voluntary Choice, and not a neceſſary Submiſſion, where Force hath over-powered Choice, were of a contrary Opinion, and held it lawful in this Caſe both to ſubmit to the *Roman* Emperor, and alſo to pay Taxes to him. And therefore the *Phariſees* and the *Herodians* being of Opinion in this Matter quite contrary to each other, thoſe that laid Snares for *Chriſt*, and ſought an Occaſion againſt him, ſent the Diſciples of both theſe Sects at the ſame time together to propoſe this captious

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[k] What follows concerning this People is entirely from Dr. Prideaux, who, after examining what others have ſaid, appears to have introduced the moſt probable Opinion.

[l] In Animadverſionibus ad Euſebii Chronologica, N° 1882.

[m] Caſauboni Exercitationes in Prologomenis ad Exercitationes Baronii.

[n] The Sodales Titii, which Tacitus makes mention of, were of another Kind; for he ſaith (Annal. lib. i. cap. 54.) that they were inſtituted by Tatius retinendis Sabinorum Sacris. In another place (Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 95.) he indeed contradicts himſelf in this Matter; for he there ſaith, that Romulus inſtituted them in Honour of Tatius: But his Contradiction in this Place, to what he ſaith in the other, deſtroys his Authority in both as to this Particular. But however this might be, both Romulus and Tatius were at too great a Diſtance of Time to be within the View of the Jews, for their Imitation in this Matter.

[o] Mark viii. 3.

[p] Deut. xvii. 15.

Queſtion to him, [q] *Is it lawful to give Tribute unto* Cæſar, *or no?* thinking which way ſoever he ſhould anſwer, to bring him into Danger. For ſhould he anſwer in the Negative, the *Herodians* were there ready to accuſe him of being an Enemy to *Cæſar*; and ſhould he anſwer in the Affirmative, the *Phariſees* were as ready on the other Hand to accuſe him to the People, and excite them againſt him, as an Enemy to their Rights, they having poſſeſſed them with their Notion againſt paying Taxes to any Foreign Power: But *Chriſt* knowing their wicked Intentions, gave ſuch an Anſwer as baffled the Malice of both of them. However, the Anſwer then given implying a Juſtification of the Doctrine of the *Herodians* in that Point, that could not be the Leven of *Herod*, which *Chriſt* warned his Diſciples againſt, and therefore that muſt be their ſecond Tenet, that it was lawful, when forced and overpowered by Superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong Practices of Religion. This *Herod* did, and he ſeems to have framed this Sect of purpoſe to juſtify him herein. For [r] *Joſephus* tells us, that to ingratiate himſelf with *Auguſtus*, and the great Men of *Rome*, he in many Things acted contrary to the Law and the Religion of the *Jews*, building Temples, and erecting Images in them for idolatrous Worſhip; and for this [ſ] he excuſed himſelf to the *Jews*, telling them, that he did not do it willingly, but as commanded and forced to it by Powers, whom he was neceſſitated to obey, thinking this ſufficient to excuſe him from Guilt. And for this Reaſon we find him ſometimes called an half *Jew*, and ſuch half *Jews* I conceive were the *Herodians* his Followers, profeſſing the *Jewiſh* Religion, and at the ſame time on Occaſions complying with the idolatrous Heathens, and becoming occaſional Conformiſts to them. The *Sadducees*, who deny'd a future State, did moſtly come into the Opinions of this Sect, and therefore they are reckoned one and the ſame with them. For the ſame Perſons, who in one of the Goſpels are called *Herodians*, [t] are called *Sadducees* in another. But this Sect after our Saviour's Time vaniſhed, and were no more heard of.

[v] The Sect of the *Samaritans* is ſtill remaining in *Samaria*, *Sichem*, and other Towns thereabouts, even at this Day. They have the Law of *Moſes* in a Character peculiar to themſelves, and in a Dialect very little, if at all, different from that of the antient *Jews*. Theſe People are not however of the Deſcendants of the *Iſraelites*, but of thoſe Nations, which *Eſarhaddon* [w] brought from *Babylon*, and from *Cutha*, and from *Avah*, and *Hamath*, and *Sephervaim*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria* in the *Iſraelites* ſtead, when theſe latter were carried thence into Captivity. And for this Reaſon the *Jews* call them by no other Name than that of *Cuthites*, (the Name of one theſe Nations) and have that utter Hatred and Averſion to them, that reckoning them among the worſt of Heretics, they expreſs on all Occaſions a greater Deteſtation of them, than they do even of the Chriſtians themſelves.

Theſe Nations being upon their ſettling in the Cities of *Samaria*, were much [x] infeſted with Lions, and the King of *Babylon* being told it was becauſe they worſhipped not the God of the Country, he order'd that one of the Prieſts who had been carried thence, ſhould be ſent back to teach theſe new Inhabitants how to worſhip the God of *Iſrael*. But they only took him hereupon into the Number of their former Deities, and worſhipp'd him jointly with the Gods of the Nations from whence they came. And in this Corruption of joining the Worſhip of their falſe Gods with that of the true, they continued till the building of the Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, in Oppoſition to that of *Jeruſalem*, when Abundance of *Jews* falling off to them, they reduced them to the Worſhip of the true God only, in which they have ever ſince remain'd ſtedfaſt.

When the *Jews*, by the famous Decree of *Cyrus*, [y] returned to *Judea*, after a Captivity of ſeventy Years, they refuſed the Aſſiſtance of the *Samaritans* in the building of their ſecond Temple; whereupon theſe latter took all poſſible Pains to obſtruct the Work, and by corrupting the Officers of *Cyrus*, prevailed ſo far as that the Undertaking was diſcouraged for ſome Time. At laſt a freſh Decree [z] being obtain'd from *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, not only the Temple was completed, but the Walls of *Jeruſalem* were rebuilt; but all this with ſo much Oppoſition from the *Samaritans*, that there aroſe a mortal Enmity between them and the *Jews*. In this laſt Diſpute the *Samaritans* were chiefly ſupported by one *Sanballat*, the Governor of *Samaria*, who married his Daughter to a Son of the *Jewiſh* High-prieſt. And this Man it was, who finding he could not effectually hinder the *Jews* from reſtoring their Religion to its former State, did ſo far inſinuate himſelf into the Favour of *Darius Nothus*, the next King of *Perſia*, that he obtain'd from him a Grant to build on Mount *Gerizim*, near *Samaria*, a Temple like that at *Jeruſalem*, and to make his Son-in-Law *Manaſſeh* the High-prieſt thereof. And from this Time *Samaria* became the common Refuge and *Aſylum* of the refractory *Jews*; ſo that if any of them were found guilty of violating the Law, as in eating forbidden Meats, breaking the Sabbath, or the like, and were called to account for it, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and found Protection; by which means, after ſome Time, the greateſt Part of that People were made up of apoſtate *Jews*, and their Deſcendants. Soon after this followed a Change in the *Samaritan* Religion: For whereas they had hitherto worſhipped the God of *Iſrael* only in Conjunction with their other Gods, they now conformed themſelves to the Worſhip of the true God only, according to the Rules of the Law that was conſtantly read in their new Temple; and even ſome of the *Jewiſh* Doctors acknowledge, that they were more exact herein than themſelves, though at the ſame Time they hated them above all the Nations of the Earth, both on account of their former Oppoſition to the building of the Temple, and becauſe afterwards they were chiefly made up of Apoſtates.

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[q] Matth. xiii. 16.

[r] Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12.

[ſ] Joſephus, ibid.

[t] See Matt. xvi. 6. & Mark viii. 15. and compare them together.

[v] Prid. Connect. Part. I. b. i.

[w] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2. 10.

[x] 2 Kings xvii.

[y] Before Chriſt 536 Years

[z] Before Chriſt 445 Years.

This Hatred proceeded ſo far, that the *Jews* publiſhed an Anathema againſt them, the bittereſt that ever was denounced againſt any People. They not only forbade all Communication with them, but declared all the Fruits and Products of their Land, and every Thing elſe of theirs, to be as Swines Fleſh, which none of their Nation were ever to taſte: They excluded all the *Samaritans* from ever being received as Proſelytes to their Religion; and laſtly, debarr'd them from ever having any Portion in the Reſurrection to eternal Life, as if that alſo had been in their Power. And ever ſince this, the Conduct of the *Jews* towards the *Samaritans* hath been according to the Tenor of this Anathema, of which we have two remarkable Inſtances in the Goſpel. The Woman of *Samaria* demanded of our Saviour, [a] *How is it that thou, being a* Jew, *askeſt Water of me, who am a Woman of* Samaria? *For the* Jews *have no Dealings with the* Samaritans. And in another Place, when the *Jews* would expreſs their utmoſt Averſion to our Saviour, they ſaid unto him, [b] *Thou art a* Samaritan, *and haſt a Devil*; as if to be a *Samaritan*, and to have a Devil, were Things of equal Reproach. In like Manner the Author of the Book of *Eccleſiaſticus*, when he reckons up the Nations which were moſt deteſtable to the *Jews*, names [c] the *fooliſh People who dwelt in* Sechem, to be thoſe who were chiefly ſo.

The principal Particulars in which the *Samaritans* differ from the *Jews* in their Religion, are theſe which follow: 1. They receive [d] no other Scriptures than the five Books of *Moſes*, rejecting all the other Writings that are in the *Jewiſh* Canon. And theſe five Books they ſtill have among them in the old *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* Character, which was in Uſe among the *Jews* before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and in which all the Scriptures were written, till *Ezra* transferred them into that of the *Chaldæans*. 'Tis indeed doubted by ſome whether the *Samaritans* antiently did abſolutely reject all the other Scriptures beſides the *Pentateuch*, and they found their Opinion upon our Lord's Diſcourſe with the Woman of *Samaria* above-mentioned, which proves that they had the ſame Expectation of the Meſſiah as the *Jews* had, and this, they ſay, could be no where clearly had but from the Prophets. Perhaps, ſays Doctor *Prideaux*, though they read the *Pentateuch* only in their Synagogues, yet antiently they might not have been without a due Regard for the other ſacred Writings, whatſoever their Sentiments of them may be at preſent. 2. The *Samaritans* antiently did, and ſtill do, reject all Traditions, and adhere to the written Word only, in the Obſervance of which they are more exact, as was above obſerved, than the *Jews* themſelves. 3. They differ with them about the Place of their Worſhip; which Matter is rightly ſtated by the *Samaritan* Woman in St. *John*'s Goſpel. *Our Fathers*, ſays ſhe, *worſhipped in this Mountain, but ye ſay that in* Jeruſalem *is the Place where Men ought to worſhip*. They imagine Mount *Gerizim* to be the Place where [e] *Abraham* and [f] *Jacob* built Altars to God, and where *Joſhua* [g] declared the Bleſſings of God to the People, and [h] erected the Altar of twelve Stones after his Paſſage over *Jordan*: Which Altar they believe to be the very ſame upon which they ſacrifice to this Day. To ſupport this Opinion, they are accuſed of having corrupted certain Texts of Scripture, which would otherwiſe have made againſt them, and for that Reaſon their whole Copy of the Scriptures is of leſs Authority than it would elſe have been. In fine, though the other *Jews* will not allow the *Samaritans* to be named as a Sect of their Religion, yet it appears that in Reality they are ſo, and were even before the Time of our Saviour; and for this Reaſon they are treated of as ſuch in the preſent Diſcourſe.

There were two more Denominations among the *Jews*, which according to ſome, ſubſiſted at the Time of our bleſſed Lord; and theſe are the *Caraites* and the *Zelotes*. The Name of the firſt comes from [i] a *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies Perſons conſummate in the Study of Scripture, and who adhere cloſely to the Text and Letter of it. This is indeed the diſtinguiſhing Mark of the *Caraites*, and the great Point of their Oppoſition to the *Rabbiniſts*, who receive all the Traditions of the Elders. The *Caraites* are ſaid to glory in a Deſcent from *Eſdras*, and to prove a long Succeſſion in their Churches: But 'tis much more probable that they did not appear till about the eighth Century of Chriſtianity, at leaſt their Sect was then reſtored by one *Ananus*, who oppoſed the *Talmudiſts* in their Endeavours to eſtabliſh the Divine Authority of their Traditions. In this Particular the *Caraites* of this Age are ſo much like the antient *Sadducees*, that their Brethren the *Talmudiſts* charge them with all the Errors of that Sect, ſuch as denying the Immortality of the Soul, and the Exiſtence of Spirits; but the others have cleared themſelves from theſe Accuſations, and ſhewn the Purity of their Faith, and their particular Senſe of thoſe Articles. We ſhall not enter into a farther Detail of the Tenets and Hiſtory of this Sect, becauſe having no other Authority than that of their own Doctors to prove them of ſo long Standing as the Time of our Lord, we are not certain that they ought to have a Place in theſe Accounts.

The *Zelotes* are frequently mentioned by *Joſephus*, as a Race of Men inſolent, fierce, and ungovernable; mighty Aſſertors of the Honour of the Law, and the Strictneſs and Purity of Religion, though in Reality cruel and ſavage to the laſt Degree. They uſed frequently to execute capital Vengeance upon notorious Offenders, without ſtaying for the Formalities of the Law, pretending therein to be the Succeſſors[k] of *Phineas*, who in a mighty Paſſion for the Honour of God, did immediate Execution on *Zimri* and *Cosbi*. Being at firſt connived at and encouraged in theſe Things both by the Rulers and the People, their Zeal at laſt degenerated into all Manner of Licentiouſneſs and Extravagance, ſo that they not only became the Peſts of the Commonwealth at home, but open'd a Door for the *Romans* to break in upon their Nation and City, to their final and irrecoverable Ruin: For by continually prompting the People to throw off the *Roman* Yoke, and recover their native Liberty, they threw all Things into Hurry and Confuſion, of which themſelves taking Advantage, they became Maſters both of the Lives and Fortunes of the Nobility. The Apoſtle *Simon*, ſirnamed *Zelotes*,[l] is ſuppoſed to have been of this Sect before his Converſion, whence Dr. *Cave* would inſer that ſome of them were of a peaceable and ſober Diſpoſition, but adds, That be this as it will, it reflects no more Diſhonour upon his Apoſtleſhip, than the having been a Publican did upon St. *Matthew*. Thus have we given a particular View of the Diviſions and Diſſentions in the *Jewiſh* Church at the Time of our Lord's appearing, which, with the Inſtances before-mentioned of their Depravity in religious Matters, do ſufficiently prove to what a wretched State they were then reduced, and might at that Time have been, to the *Jews* themſelves, an evident Demonſtration, that the Meſſiah was come, and ſoon after, that he was actually *cut off*, when they ſaw theſe Diviſions terminate in the Ruin of their Nation, and an End put to *Sacrifice and Oblation*,' in the Deſtruction of their City and Temple by the *Romans*.

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[a] John iv.

[b] John viii. 48.

[c] Ecclus. v. 25, 26.

[d] Hieron. adv. Luciferan. Epiphan. de Hæreſ. 9. Benjaminis Itinerarium Eutychius, &c.

[e] Gen. xii. 6, 7. xiii. 4.

[f] Gen. xxxiii. 20.

[g] Deut. xxvi. 12.

[h] Deut. xxvi. 2.—7.

[i] Calmet.

IX. And now the Date of the prophetic Scriptures concerning the Time of the Meſſiah's Miniſtry being run out, and the general State of Affairs in the World being ſuch as was proper for his Reception, his Harbinger, or Fore-runner, began to appear, according to the Promiſe of God by the Mouth of his holy Prophets. Now was to be introduced that new and better Diſpenſation, in compariſon of which the two former were but as the firſt Dawn of Morning Light, to the glorious Splendor of the Sun at Noon-day. We ſhall not enlarge upon the extraordinary Circumſtances that preceded and attended the Birth of *John the Baptiſt*, nor what happened to him from his Birth till the 30th Year of his Age, having already ſaid as much of thoſe Things as we can do upon good Authority: 'Tis ſufficient that he was perfectly qualified for the Commiſſion he was now to receive, that of being Herald to the Holy Jeſus, and Morning-Star to the Sun of Righteouſneſs.[m] He told the *Jews* that the Meſſiah was at hand, and his Kingdom ready to appear; That the eternal Son of God was come down from Heaven, a Perſon as far beyond him in Dignity, as in Time and Exiſtence; That he came to introduce a new and better State of Things, to enlighten the World with the cleareſt Revelations of the Divine Will, to acquaint them with Counſels brought from the Boſom of his Father, to put a Period to all the Types and Alluſions of the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation, to bring in the Truth and Subſtance of all thoſe Shadows, and to open a Fountain of Grace and Favour to Mankind; That this Divine Perſon would remove that State of Guilt into which human Nature was ſo deeply ſunk, and, as the Lamb of God, by the expiatory Sacrifice of himſelf, take away the Sins of the World; putting an End to all other Sacrifices, and particularly to thoſe which were daily repeated for the Houſe of *Iſrael* only, by one ſingle Oblation for *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Barbarian* and *Scythian*, *Bond* and *Free*. He farther told them, That God had for a long time borne with the Children of Men, and would now bring Things to a quicker Iſſue, and that therefore they would do well to break off their Sins by Repentance, and by a ſerious Amendment and Reformation of Life diſpoſe themſelves for the glad Tidings of the Goſpel; That they ſhould no longer bear up themſelves upon their external Privileges, and their being God's ſelect and peculiar People, for that God would raiſe up to himſelf another Generation, a Poſterity to *Abraham* from amongſt the various Nations of the Earth, who ſhould walk in his Steps of unſhaken Faith and ſincere Obedience; and that if all this did not move them to bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance, *the Ax was laid to the Root of the Tree*, totally to extirpate the Church, and to hew them down as Fuel for unquenchable Fire." We before took Notice, that thoſe whom he gained over to be Proſelytes to his Doctrine, he entered into this new Inſtitution of Life by Baptiſm, a ſolemn and uſual Way of initiating Proſelytes, and of great Antiquity in the *Jewiſh* Church. By theſe Diſcourſes and Baptiſm, ſays a [n] certain Author, *John* diſpoſed the Spirits of Men for entertaining the Homilies of the Goſpel: For *John*'s Doctrine was to the Sermons of *Jeſus* as a Preface to a Diſcourſe; and his Baptiſm was to the new Inſtitutions and Diſciple of the Kingdom as Vigils to a Holiday, of the ſame kind in a leſs Degree: But the whole OEconomy of it repreſents to us, that Repentance is the firſt Intromiſſion into the Sanctities of Chriſtian Religion. The Lord treads upon no Paths that are not hollowed and made ſmooth by the Sorrows and Cares of Contrition, and the Impediments of Sin cleared by the ſucceeding Fruits of Emendation. But as it is related to the *Jews*, his Baptiſm did ſignify, by the Alluſion it had to their uſual Ceremony of Waſhing Gentile Proſelytes, that the *Jews* had ſo far receded from that Duty and Holineſs required of them by the Law, that they were in the State of Strangers, no better than Heathens, and therefore were to be treated as themſelves received Gentile Proſelytes, by a Baptiſm and a new State of Life, before they could be fit for the Reception of the Meſſiah, and be admitted to his Kingdom.

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[k] Numb. xxv.

[l] Luke vi. 15.

[m] Cave's Apparatus, Sect. iii. v. 4.

[n] Taylor's Great Exemplar, Part I. Diſcourſe 2d Sect viii. upon the Preaching of John the Baptiſt, v. 8.

The *Romaniſts* pretend, [o] that the Confeſſion required by St. *John the Baptiſt*, of thoſe who were admitted to his Baptiſm, was not only a general Declaration, whereby they acknowledged themſelves to be Sinners, but a definite and particular Enumeration of ſuch Offences as they had committed againſt ſuch and ſuch Precepts of the Law. From hence they deduce an Argument to ſupport the Doctrine of auricular Confeſſion, of which their Church is ſo extremely fond. Indeed [p] a very learned Proteſtant Commentator, in his Note on this Place, ſeems inclined to allow that [q] the Confeſſions of the *Jews* to their Prieſts, in Caſes that did not expoſe the Guilty to Death, were very particular and circumſtantial; and that 'tis credible that the ſame Thing was obſerved with more than ordinary Piety and Confidence by thoſe who reſorted to *John the Baptiſt*. But [r] others are of Opinion that this Confeſſion was not made to *John*, but to God himſelf; much leſs could it be made ſecretly in the Ears of *John*, when ſuch a Multitude was preſent, that the Evangeliſt ſays, *All* Judea *and* Jeruſalem *went out unto him*. Could one Man have ſufficed for ſuch a Work as this? It could not poſſibly have been more than a general Confeſſion, that they were ſenſible of their Sins, and ſo repaired to his Baptiſm profeſſing their Repentance for them. Of this kind were the Confeſſions which we read of in the Old Teſtament. Beſides, the Confeſſion of the *Jews* to *John* was not of Sins committed after Baptiſm, by Perſons before initiated into the new Diſpenſation; but it was made by thoſe who were deſirous of being initiated by Baptiſm; and that freely of their own Accord, without its being required by *John*; in all which Reſpects it differed widely from the auricular Confeſſions of the Church of *Rome*. There is indeed no Support in the whole New Teſtament for this latter Doctrine, the Words of the Apoſtle *James*, [ſ] which command the Chriſtians to *confeſs their Faults one to another*, implying no more than that a Sick Perſon ſhould do thus to thoſe who came to viſit him, in order to obtain their Prayers, that ſo by Virtue of their particular Interceſſion, the Sincerity of this Repentance might be approved, and he might be healed; *For*, ſays the Apoſtle, *the effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much*.

X. [t] The whole Law and Hiſtory of the *Jews* abound with Luſtrations and Baptiſms of different Sorts. *Moſes* enjoined the People [v] to waſh their Garments and purify themſelves, to prepare them for the Reception of the Law. The Prieſts and *Levites*, before they enter'd upon the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, [w] waſhed themſelves with Water. All legal Pollutions were cleans'd by Baptiſm, or by plunging into Water. There are even certain Diſeaſes and Infirmities, natural to Men and Women, which were thought Uncleanneſſes, and were to be [x] purify'd with Water. To touch a dead Body, and to be preſent at a Funeral, made Perſons unclean, and required [y] Purification. But theſe Purifications were not uniform: For though People generally dipped themſelves intirely under Water, according to the natural and ſimple Notion of the Word *Baptize*, yet at ſome Times they were ſatisfy'd with Baptiſm by Aſperſion only, or ſuch a Luſtration as included no more than ſcattering lightly ſome Drops of Blood and Water upon the Perſon." *Calmet* produces ſeveral Inſtances to ſupport this Aſſertion, but they have no Relation to the Baptiſm of which we are now to ſpeak, which is that performed at the Admiſſion of Proſelytes, born of Heathen Parents, into the *Jewiſh* Religion, it being from this that *John* derived his. [z] This Ceremony of Waſhing, *i. e.* Ablution of the whole Body, was perform'd ſolemnly in a River, or ſome other large Receptacle of Waters. The *Talmud* ſays of *Jethro*, the Father-in-Law of *Moſes*, [a] that *he was made a Proſelyte by Circumciſion and Immerſion in Water*: And the Manner of this Immerſion is ſaid to be, that *they ſhould ſit in Water up to the Neck, and in the mean while learn ſome of the Precepts of the Law, both hard and eaſy*. This Ceremony of Initiation, ſay the *Jewiſh* Writers, was never reiterated, and belonged not only to thoſe who being of Years came over from Heatheniſm to the *Jewiſh* Religion, but alſo to the Infants of ſuch, if the Parents did in Behalf of their Children deſire it, and on Condition that the Children when they came to Age ſhould not renounce the *Jewiſh* Religion. Now thoſe that were thus initiated, did not only put off their former Worſhips and Manners, but alſo their Relations of Kindred and Conſanguinity, and came forth as if they had been *new-born*, *of a new Mother*, as the *Talmud* often expreſſes it: So that he who was before a-kin to one of theſe, did from thenceforth ceaſe to be ſo accounted. To which, ſays Dr. *Hammond*, I ſuppoſe our Saviour refers, when he ſpeaks [b] of *leaving Father, and Mother, and Wife, and Children*; and when he talks of [c] *being born again of Water and the Spirit*. And the *Jews* have a Saying, that he that hath married a Wife too near of Kin to him, if he turn Proſelyte to their Religion, and receive their Baptiſm, he is no longer near of Kin to the Woman, and ſo may afterwards lawfully live with her. There is alſo a Paſſage in *Tacitus*, which Dr. *Hammond* refers to this Opinion concerning the Baptiſm of Proſelytes, where ſpeaking of thoſe that went over to the *Jews* Religion, the Hiſtorian [d] ſays, *They are taught by their firſt Admiſſion to deſpiſe their Fathers and Mothers, Children and Brethren.*

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[o] Calmet on the Word Confeſſion.

[p] Grotius in Matth. iii. 6.

[q] In Levit. xvi. 21. we have the Manner of the Jews general Confeſſion on the great Day of Expiation. In the following Places may be ſeen Inſtances of particular Confeſſions to God, but none of them reſemble the auricular Confeſſion of the Romaniſts. Ezra ix. Nehem. ix. Dan. ix.

[r] See Whitby's Note on the Place.

[ſ] James v. 16.

[t] Calmet in the Article of Baptiſm.

[v] Exod. xix. 10.

[w] Exod. xxix. 4. Levit. viii. 6. Numb. viii. 6, 7, 8.

[x] Levit. xiii. 6,—34. xvi. 6, 7, & ſeq. xi. 25,—28. xxii. 6.

[y] Numb. xix. 14. xxxi. 24.

[z] Hammond in Matth. iii. 1.

[a] Tract. Repudii.

[b] Mark x. 29. Luke xviii. 29.

[c] John iii. 5.

[d] Hiſt. l. 5.

Maimonides ſpeaks of the *Jewiſh* Initiations, in the following Manner: [e] *In all Times, if any* Gentile *Man would enter into Covenant, remain under the Wings of the* Shechinah, *or divine Majeſty, and take upon him the Yoke of the Law, he is bound to have Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and a Peace-Offering; and if a Woman, Baptiſm, and an Oblation; becauſe it is ſaid,* [f] *As ye are, ſo ſhall the Stranger be; as ye yourſelves entered into Covenant by Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and a Peace-Offering, ſo ought the Proſelyte alſo in all Ages to enter in.* The ſame Author makes this Rite contemporary with, or rather previous to, the giving of the Law. [g] *By three Things,* ſays he, *the* Iſraelites *entered into Covenant at Mount* Sinai, *by Circumciſion, Baptiſm, and an Oblation: Baptiſm being ſome little Time before the Law.* This he proves from the Text wherein the Lord commands *Moſes,* [h] *To ſanctify the People To-day and To-morrow, and let them waſh their Clothes.* Theſe Purifications were in order to their Reception of the Law, an Account of the Delivery of which immediately follows; and the *Rabbies* [i] unanimouſly expound the Waſhing here mentioned by Baptiſm, and expreſly affirm, that *wherever we read of Waſhing of Clothes, there an Obligation to Baptiſm is intended.* Thus they entered into the firſt Covenant; and upon the frequent Violations of this, God having promiſed to make a new Covenant with them in the Times of the Meſſiah, they expected a ſecond Baptiſm, as that which ſhould be their Initiation into it. And this probably is the Reaſon why the Apoſtle, writing to the *Hebrews,* ſpeaks of the [k] *Doctrine of Baptiſms* in the plural Number, as of one of the primary and elementary Principles of the Faith, in which the *Catechumens* were to be inſtructed; meaning, that beſides the Baptiſm whereby they had been initiated into the *Moſaic* Covenant, there was another by which they were to enter into the new OEconomy of the Goſpel. Hence alſo the *Sanhedrim,* to whom the Cognizance of ſuch Caſes did peculiarly belong, when they were told of *John*'s Baptiſm, never expreſſed any Wonder at it, as at a new and upſtart Ceremony, it being a Thing daily practis'd in their Church, nor did they find Fault with the Thing itſelf, which they ſuppoſed would be a federal Rite under the Diſpenſation of the Meſſiah, but only quarrelled with him for taking upon him to adminiſter it, when at the ſame Time, he denied himſelf to be one of the Prime Miniſters of the new Diſpenſation. [l] *They ſaid unto him, Why baptizeſt thou, if thou be not that* Chriſt, *nor* Elias, *neither that Prophet?* Either of theſe had he own'd himſelf, and convinced them that he was no Impoſtor, they had not queſtion'd his Right to enter Proſelytes by this Way of Baptiſm, becauſe they knew that this Rite was to be kept up under that new Diſpenſation of which theſe were to be the Miniſters.

Having deſcribed the Manner in which the *Jewiſh* Baptiſms were celebrated, 'twould [m] be now moſt eaſy to apply it to the Practice of *John,* and afterwards of *Chriſt,* who both certainly took this Ceremony from the antient Uſage of their Nation. Hence was *John*'s Baptiſm, as the *Jews* uſed to be, in a [n] River, as in *Jordan,* or at a [o] Confluence of many Waters, as at *Ænon,* for which the Reaſon is expreſly given, *becauſe there was much Water there.* The *Jews* writing *Greek,* call thoſe Places where they waſh themſelves, [p] *ſwimming, or diving Places;* and in like Manner, the *Baptiſterium,* or Veſſel containing the Baptiſmal Water, has been called in the Chriſtian Church by the ſame *Greek* Name.” In a Word, 'tis manifeſt, that Baptiſm antiently was performed by Immerſion, otherwiſe for what Reaſon is *going down into the Water,* and *coming up out of the Water,* to be found in ſeveral Places, where this Ordinance is ſpoken of? [q] The Obſervation of the *Greek* Church upon theſe Words, *And* Jeſus *being baptiz'd, came up ſtraightway out of the Water,* is this: *He who aſcended out of the Water, muſt firſt deſcend down into it* [r]: *Baptiſm therefore is to be performed, not by ſprinkling, but by waſhing the Body.* And indeed, ſays [s] Dr. *Whitby,* it can be only from Ignorance of the *Jewiſh* Rites that this is queſtioned; for they, to the due Performance of this Rite, ſo ſuperſtitiouſly required the Immerſion of the whole Body in the Water, that if only a little Dirt hindered the Water from coming at any Part of it, the Baptiſm was not right; and if one held the Baptized by the Arm, when he was let down into the Water, another muſt afterwards dip him, holding him by the other Arm that was waſhed before, becauſe the Hand would not ſuffer the Water to come to his whole Body.” [t] The other Parts of the Parallel between the Baptiſm of *John,* and that of the *Jews,* will be eaſily made: All that is neceſſary in this Place is only to obſerve, That *John,* preaching Repentance to the *Jews* in the Deſart, received all that came to him as new Proſelytes, forſaking their old Relations, their Sins; that in Token of their reſolved Change, he put them into the Water, dipped them all over, and ſo took them out again; and that upon the Sincerity of their Change, he promiſed them Remiſſion of their Sins, and told them of the Meſſiah, who was ſuddenly to appear among them, and on whom he warned them to believe.

John himſelf made a plain Diſtinction between the Baptiſm which he adminiſtered, and that which *Chriſt* was afterwards to adminiſter. [u] *I indeed baptize you with Water to Repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whoſe*

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[e] Maimon. Iſſur. Biah. cap. 13. Vide Jac. Alting. Diſſert. Philol. vii. de Proſelyt. Sect. 22. Cave's Apparatus Sect. iii. v. 4.
[f] Numb. xv. 15, 16. [g] Ibid. Sect. 24. [h] Exod. xix. 10. [i] Vide Rab. Bechai, fol. 87. col. 2.
[k] Heb. vi. 2. [l] John i. 25. [m] Hammond ubi ſupra. [n] Mark i. 5. [o] John iii. 23. [p] Κολυμβήθρας.
[q] Whitby in Matth. iii. 16. [r] Hieronym. Patriarch. De Myſteriis.
[s] Ubi ſupra. See alſo Lightfoot on Matth. iii. 6. and Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. l. ii. c. 2.
[t] Hammond ubi ſupra. [u] Matth iii. 11.

Shoes I am not worthy to bear; he ſhall baptize you with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Fire. The Baptiſm of *John* was much more perfect than that of the *Jews*, but leſs perfect than that of *Jeſus Chriſt. It was,* ſays [w] St. *Chryſoſtom, as it were a Bridge, which from the Baptiſm of the* Jews *made Way to that of our Saviour, and was more exalted than the Firſt, but inferior to the Second.* The Difference between *John*'s Baptiſm, and that of Chriſt, is thus ſtated by Dr. *Whitby* [x]: 1. *John* neither did nor could baptize his Diſciples *in the Name of the Holy Ghoſt*, as the Apoſtle did, [y] *for the Holy Ghoſt was not yet*, and much leſs could he baptize them *with* the Holy Ghoſt, as he here ſaith *Chriſt* would; and yet *Chriſt* makes both theſe Baptiſms [z] neceſſary to our Entrance into the Kingdom of God. 2. *John* did not baptize *in the Name* of *Jeſus Chriſt*; for had he done ſo, there could have been no doubt [a] whether he himſelf were the *Chriſt*, nor any Occaſion for that Queſtion, [b] *Why baptizeſt thou, if thou be not the Chriſt?* He only admoniſhed thoſe whom he baptized in general, that *they ſhould believe in him who was coming after him:* So that he baptiz'd only thoſe, who as yet believed not in *Chriſt*; whereas the Baptiſm inſtituted by *Chriſt* was in his Name, and belonged only to them who believ'd in him. St. *Paul* baptized [c] them again who had before received the Baptiſm of *John*, to fit them for the Reception of the Holy Ghoſt. But we ſhall have Occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of Baptiſm as a Chriſtian Sacrament, when we ſhall particularly conſider the Neceſſity and Efficacy thereof, as we find them ſtated in the Writings of the Learned, whoſe Opinions we ſhall alſo produce concerning the proper Mode of its Adminiſtration. The River *Jordan*, in which *John* baptiz'd, and the Deſart in which he reſided, and where our Bleſſed Lord was tempted by the Devil, we ſhall leave to be deſcribed in a Diſſertation after the next Chapter, which will contain the Hiſtory of our Lord's Baptiſm, Faſting, and Temptation.

Dr. *Hammond*, upon the Verſe in which *John* tells the People, that the Perſon who came after him, ſhould *baptize them with Fire*, has introduced a remarkable Paſſage, which we ſhall here tranſcribe. [d] "*John*'s Baptiſm by Water, previous and preparatory to *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm *by the Holy Ghoſt and Fire*, ſeems to be imitated by the Devil and his Worſhippers, the *Indians* in [e] *Philoſtratus*, who had a Well, whoſe Water they eſteemed ſacred, and endued with ſecret Virtue, which was counted ſacramental unto all the *Indians*; nigh unto which there was a *Veſſel of Fire*, in which the *Indians* were *purged* from their involuntary Sins; whereupon their Wiſemen call the Well, *The Well of Conviction*, or *Reproof*, and the Fire, *The Fire of Pardon*, or *Expiation.* And ſo the *Brachmans*, before they ſacrificed, uſed to anoint themſelves, which ſo *beated their Bodies*, that they ſent out Fume and Smoke in great Abundance, as *if they had*, ſays he, *been waſhed with Fire.*" 'Tis true indeed, that the Heathens have copied a great Number of Ceremonies from the Uſages of the Church of God, and among thoſe, that of Baptiſm by Water might very well be derived to the *Indians* from the Waſhings and Baptiſms of the *Jews*: But how they ſhould have taken their Fire of Expiation, from a Paſſage of Scripture, which [f] cannot be literally underſtood, and has therefore never been introduced in Practice, is a Matter not eaſily conceived. *Calmet* [g] ſays, we may explain this Fire, by the Abundance of Grace poured forth into the Soul at the Time of Baptiſm, by the Fire which accompanied the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles, or by the Tribulation, Grief, and Repentance, which ought always to go along with Baptiſm. Another Author [h] tells us, that the Word Fire is added as an Epithet, and applied to the Holy Spirit, who cleanſes us from all our Pollutions, as the Fire cleanſes Gold. There are other good Explanations, which are nearly to the ſame Effect with ſome of theſe, and therefore need not be here inſerted: But thus much was neceſſary upon a Text, which has been ſo variouſly interpreted, that ſome have drawn an Argument from it in Favour of the Doctrine of Purgatory.

XI. [i] The Evangelical State being thus proclaimed and uſhered in, by the Preaching and Miniſtry of the Baptiſt, our Lord appeared next more fully to publiſh and confirm it. His public Life, his Death and Reſurrection, the Doctrine he delivered, the Perſons he deputed to preach and convey it to the World, the Succeſs that accompanied the Miniſtry of the Apoſtles, and whatever elſe belongs to the Goſpel Hiſtory, will be largely treated of in the remaining Parts of this Work. What we have farther to do at preſent, agreeably to the Title of this Diſſertation, is to conſider the Excellence of the Goſpel Diſpenſation, above that of the Law; having already been very particular upon the Corruptions of the *Jewiſh* Church, and the Introduction of this new Covenant of Grace by the Doctrine and Baptiſm of Repentance, of which *John* was the Miniſter. The Scripture frequently takes notice of the Advantage which this new Revelation had over the Covenant of Works introduced by *Moſes*, and for this Reaſon *Jeſus Chriſt* is ſaid by the Apoſtle, to *be the* [k] *Mediator of a better Covenant*, notwithſtanding that the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation is often greatly magnify'd in the Old Teſtament, and is ſtill paſſionately admired and adhered to by the Deſcendants of *Abraham*. This Advantage conſiſts in ſeveral Particulars, beſides the infinite Difference between the Perſons employ'd to introduce and ſettle them. [l] *Moſes*, who though *faithful in all his Houſe*, was yet but a *Servant*, and *Jeſus Chriſt*, our Lord, who being the *eternal Son of God*, and *Heir of all Things*, was therefore Ruler *over his own Houſe*, and *worthy of more Honour than* Moſes. Let us remark ſome of the moſt conſiderable Inſtances in which this Preheminence of the Goſpel appears.

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[w] Tom. I. Hom. xxiv.
[x] In Matth. iii. 11.
[y] John vii. 39.
[z] John iii. 5.
[a] Luke iii. 15.
[b] John i. 25.
[c] Acts xix. 6, 7.
[d] Note on Matth. iii. 11.
[e] De Vita Apollon. l. iii. c 3.
[f] Some Heretics have aſſerted from this Place that material Fire was neceſſary in Baptiſm, but they have never ſufficiently explained themſelves, or ſo much as told us how it was to be applied.
[g] In the Article Baptiſm.
[h] Calvin ſur l'Harmonie Evang.
[i] Cave's Apparatus Sect. iii. v. 6.
[k] Heb. viii. 6.
[l] Heb. iii. at the Beginning.

Firſt, in its Perſpicuity and Perfection. The *Moſaical* Diſpenſation was almoſt wholly made up of Types and Shadows; the Evangelical has brought in the Truth and Subſtance of them all. [m] *The Law was given by* Moſes, *but Grace and Truth came by* Jeſus Chriſt. Their Ordinances were [n] but *Shadows of good Things to come*, ſenſible Repreſentations of what was to follow after; *the Body is Chriſt*, the Perfection and Accompliſhment of their whole ritual Adminiſtration. Their Ceremonies [o] *were Figures of thoſe Things that are true.* The Land of *Canaan* typified Heaven; *Moſes* and *Joſhua* were Types of the Bleſſed *Jeſus*; the [p] *Iſraelites after the Fleſh* were the Image of the true *Iſrael* which is after the Spirit; and all their expiatory Sacrifices did but repreſent that great Sacrifice whereby *Chriſt* offered up himſelf, and by his own Blood purged away the Sins of Mankind; in a Word, the moſt minute and inconſiderable Circumſtances of the legal OEconomy, were intended as little Lights, that might gradually uſher in the State of the Goſpel. [q] A curious Artiſt, who deſigns an excellent Piece of Painting, is not wont to complete and finiſh it all at once, but firſt with his Pencil to draw ſome rude Lines and rough Draughts, then to add the dead Colouring, and to that perhaps ſeveral other Heightenings, before he puts his laſt Hand to the Work. By ſuch a Method as this, the All-wiſe God ſeems to have delivered the Revelation of his Son to Mankind: The firſt Draughts and Ideas were introduced by *Moſes*; to theſe the Prophets under the old Diſpenſation added many clear and expreſs Characters; at laſt, the Subſtance or Perfection of the whole was brought in by *Chriſt* himſelf. And how admirably did God herein condeſcend to the Temper and Humour of the *Jewiſh* Nation! For they being as it were in an undiſciplined and childiſh State, apt to be taken with gaudy and ſenſible Objects, by the external and pompous Inſtitutions of the Ceremonial Diſpenſation he prepared them for better Things, as Children are brought on by Things accommodate to their weak Capacities. The Church was then an *Heir under Age*, to be trained up in ſuch a Way as agreed beſt with its Infant-Temper, till it came to be of a more ripe and manly Age, able to digeſt Evangelical Myſteries, and then the Cover and Veil were taken off, that ſo Things might appear in their own proper Form.

But in the next Place, our Happineſs above the *Jews* appears in this, that we are redeemed from thoſe many ſevere and burdenſome Impoſitions with which they were clogg'd, and are now obliged only to an eaſy and rational Service. That the Law was a very grievous and ſervile Diſpenſation, is well known, it being evidently ſo to every one who conſiders how much it conſiſted of carnal Ordinances, coſtly Duties, chargeable Sacrifices, and innumerable little Rites and Ceremonies. Under that State, even new-born Infants were obliged to undergo the bloody and painful Ceremony of Circumciſion. Under that State many Sorts of Food, pleaſant and uſeful to Man's Life, were prohibited; Multitudes of ſolemn and ſtated Times, ſuch as new Moons and Ceremonial Sabbaths, were enjoin'd; the People were obliged to take long and painful Journies to *Jeruſalem*, to obſerve daily Waſhings and Purifications, and to uſe infinite Care and Caution in every Place; for if merely by Chance they did but touch any unclean Thing, beſides their preſent Confinement, it put them to the Expence of a Sacrifice, and bound them to a great Number of other coſtly and troubleſome Obſervances. A cruel Bondage, [r] *laying on heavy Burdens, and grievous to be borne*; under the Weight of which good Men did then groan, and earneſtly breathe after *the Time* [ſ] *of Reformation.* The very Apoſtles complained, that it was [t] *a Yoke upon their Necks, which neither their Fathers nor they were able to bear.* But this Yoke is taken off from our Shoulders under the Goſpel, and a Way opened for us *into* [v] *the glorious Liberty of the Children of God.* The Law bore a heavy Hand over the *Jews*, as over Children in their Minorities: We are got free from under the Rod and Laſh of its Tutorage, and are no more ſubject to the Severity of its Commands, to the exact Punctilio's of its numerous Impoſitions. Our Lord has removed that low and troubleſome Religion, and has brought in a more manly and rational Way of Worſhip, more ſuitable to the Perfections of God, more accommodate to the Reaſons and Underſtandings of Men; a Religion incomparably the wiſeſt and beſt that ever took place in the World. God did not introduce the Ceremonial Diſpenſation of the *Jews*, becauſe it was good and excellent in itſelf, but only for its Suitableneſs to the Tempers of that People. Happy we! whom the Goſpel has freed from thoſe intolerable Obſervances to which they were oblig'd, and has taught us to ſerve God in a better way, more eaſy and acceptable, more human and rational, and in which we are helped forwards by greater Communications of the Divine Aſſiſtance, than were ever afforded under their Diſpenſation. All theſe Things conſpire to render our Way ſmooth and plain, and engage us to follow the Advice of our bleſſed Lord, who invites us to [w] *take his Yoke upon us*, giving us a very plain and natural Reaſon why we ſhould do thus: *For my Yoke is eaſy, and my Burden is Light.*

XII. Thirdly, the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel is infinitely preferable to that of the Law on account of its being founded upon more noble and excellent Promiſes. 'Tis [x] *a better Covenant, eſtabliſhed upon better Promiſes*; and that both for their Nature and the Clearneſs of their Revelation. They are of a more ſublime and excellent Nature, as being Promiſes of Spiritual and eternal Things, ſuch as immediately concern the Perfection and Happineſs of Mankind, Grace, Peace, Pardon, and Eternal Life. The Law, ſtrictly conſidered as a particular Covenant with the *Jews* at Mount *Sinai*, had no Promiſes but of temporal Bleſſings, Plenty and Proſperity, and the Happineſs of this Life. This was all that appeared in full Light, and that was expreſly held forth in that Tranſaction, whatever might otherwiſe, by due Inferences and Proportions of Reaſon, be deduced from it. Now this was a great Defect in that Diſpenſation; it being by this means, conſidering the Nature and Diſpoſition of that People, and the Uſe they were prone to make of it, apt to entangle and debaſe the Minds of Men, and to arreſt their Thoughts and Deſires in the Purſuit of more ſublime and better Things. It cannot be deny'd indeed, that under the Old Teſtament there were Promiſes of ſpiritual Things, and of eternal Happineſs: They appear in *David*'s Pſalms, and in ſome Paſſages of the Prophets. But then theſe, tho' they were under the Law, yet they were not of the Law; that is, did not properly belong to it as a legal Covenant; God in every Age of the *Jewiſh* Church raiſing up ſome extraordinary Perſons, who preached Notions to the People above the common Standard of that Diſpenſation, and who ſpoke Things more plainly, by how much nearer they approached the Times of the Meſſiah. ' But under the Chriſtian OEconomy the Promiſes are evidently more pure and ſpiritual; not a temporal *Canaan*, external Proſperity, or Pardon of ceremonial Uncleanneſſes, but Remiſſion of Sins, Reconciliation with God, and everlaſting Life, are propoſed and offered to us. Not but that in ſome meaſure temporal Bleſſings are promiſed to us, as well as they were to them, only with this Difference, that to them earthly Bleſſings were Pledges of ſpiritual ones, but to us ſpiritual Bleſſings are Inſurances of temporal ones, ſo far as the Divine Wiſdom ſees fit for us. Nor are theſe ſpiritual Bleſſings better in themſelves, than they are clear and certain in their Diſcovery to us. Whatever of this kind was propoſed under the former State, was obſcure and dark, and very few of the People could underſtand it: But to us [y] *the Veil is taken off*, and we *behold the Glory of the Lord with open Face*, eſpecially in the Things that relate to another World; [z] *for this is the Promiſe that he hath given us, even eternal Life.* Hence our Lord is ſaid to have [a] *brought Life and Immortality to Light thro' the Goſpel*; which manner of Expreſſion is very juſt, in as much as he hath given us the greateſt Certainty, and the cleareſt Account, of a future eternal State, that we can poſſibly expect or conceive in the preſent Life. The Happineſs of another World was a Notion among both *Jews* and Heathens; but it was not firmly agreed upon, or received with any great Degree of Aſſurance, by either of them. Among the *Jews* it was peremptorily denied by the *Sadducees*[b], a conſiderable Sect in that Church, which we can hardly ſuppoſe would have been the Caſe, had it been clearly propounded in the Law of *Moſes*. And among the Heathens, the moſt ſober and conſidering Perſons did ſometimes at leaſt doubt of it; witneſs that remarkable Confeſſion of *Socrates* himſelf, the wiſeſt and beſt Man that ever lived in the heathen World, [c] who having pleaded his Cauſe before his Judges, and bravely diſcourſed of the happy State of good Men in the other Life, plainly acknowledged, when he had done, That he could be content to die a thouſand times, *were he but aſſured that the Things of which he had been ſpeaking, were true:* And afterwards, when Sentence of Death was pronounced upon him, he concluded his Defence with this Farewel: [d] *Now, Gentlemen*, ſays he, *I am going off the Stage; 'tis your Lot to live, and mine to die; but which of us ſhall fare the better, is unknown to all but God alone.* Not the divine *Socrates*, the Glory of the Pagan World, who could reaſon better upon the Nature of God, and had ſublimer Notions of Good and Evil, than almoſt any Man that ever lived, without Inſpiration, before the Times of the Goſpel, not even he, when upon the Brink of Immortality, could ſpeak of it without a great deal of Doubt and Uncertainty. But our bleſſed Saviour has put the Caſe beyond all Peradventure, having plainly publiſhed this Doctrine to the World, and ſealed the Truth of it, not only by raiſing others from the Dead before unexceptionable Witneſſes, but by his own Reſurrection and viſible Aſcenſion; which was the higheſt Pledge and Aſſurance of a future Immortality. And beſides this Security of the Thing itſelf, he has alſo given us the cleareſt Account of the Nature of it. 'Tis very probable that the *Jews* generally had of Old, as 'tis certain they have at this Day, the moſt groſs and carnal Apprehenſions concerning the State of another Life: But to us the Goſpel has perſpicuouſly revealed the Things of another World, and told us what that Heaven is which is promiſed to good Men; a State of ſpiritual Joys, of chaſte and rational Delights; a Conformity of ours to the Divine Nature, [e] *a being made like to God*, and an endleſs uninterrupted Communion with him. Theſe are the Promiſes, theſe the Aſſurances, which are delivered to us in the Goſpel, and which we may apply to ourſelves with Confidence, if we follow the Example of our bleſſed Redeemer.

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[m] John i. 17.

[n] Heb. x. 1.

[o] Heb. ix. 24.

[p] Cor. x. 18.

[q] Cave's Apparatus, ubi ſupra. Moſt of the Thoughts to the End of this Diſſertation are taken from the ſame Author.

[r] Matth. xxiii. 4. Luke xi. 46.

[ſ] Heb. ix. 19.

[t] Acts xv. 10.

[v] Rom. viii. 21.

[w] Matth. xi. 29, 30.

[x] Heb. viii. 6.

XIII. But becauſe we are very unable, in our lapſed and degenerate State, to comply even with the eaſy Terms of the Goſpel, and attain the promiſed Rewards, without ſome Aſſiſtance from above, hence ariſes, in the next place, another great Privilege of the Evangelical OEconomy, that it is bleſſed with larger and more abundant Communications of the Divine Spirit than were afforded under the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation. The Spirit was then given as it were by Drops (to ſpeak in conformity to the Scripture Phraſe) but it is now *poured forth* abundantly. The Law laid heavy and hard Commands, but gave little Strength to perform the Duties they required: It did not aſſiſt human Nature with thoſe powerful Aids that are neceſſary for us in our preſent State; it [f] *could do nothing, in that it was weak through the Fleſh*, and by reaſon of [g] *the Weakneſs and Unprofitableneſs thereof, it could make nothing Perfect*. 'Twas this made it *an heavy Yoke*, that the Commands of it were ſo numerous and troubleſome, and the Aſſiſtances it afforded ſo ſmall and inconſiderable: Whereas the Goſpel does not only preſcribe ſuch Laws as are happily accommodate to the Temper of human Nature, and adapted to the Reaſon of Mankind, ſuch as every wiſe and prudent Man muſt have pitch'd upon, had he been left to his Choice, but it alſo affords the Influences of the Spirit of God, by whoſe Aſſiſtance our vitiated Faculties are repaired, and we are enabled, under ſo much Weakneſs, and in the midſt of ſo many Temptations, to hold on in the Paths of Piety and Virtue. The plentiful Effuſions of the Spirit were reſerved as the great Bleſſing of the Evangelical State, God having before declared by his Prophets, that under that Diſpenſation, [h] *he would pour Water upon him that is thirſty, and Floods upon the dry Ground*; that he would *pour out his Spirit upon their Seed, and his Bleſſing upon their Offspring*, whereby they ſhould *ſpring up as Graſs, as Willows by the Water-courſes*: That he would [i] *give them a new Heart, and put his Spirit within them; and cauſe them to walk in his Statutes, and keep his Judgments to do them*. And this is the Meaning of thoſe Branches of the Covenant, ſo often repeated in theſe or the like Words: [k] *I will put my Law into their Minds, and write it in their Hearts*; that is, by the Help of my Grace and Spirit I will enable them to live according to my Laws, and that as readily and as willingly as if thoſe Laws were actually imprinted within them. For this Reaſon the Law is compared [l] to *a dead Letter*, the Goſpel to the *Spirit that giveth Life*; and this latter, which is [m] alſo called *the Miniſtration of the Spirit*, is ſaid to *exceed the other in Glory* to ſuch a degree, that [n] what Glory the legal Diſpenſation before had, was eclipſed into nothing: [o] *For if* the Law, which was *the Miniſtration of Condemnation, be*, or was attended with, *Glory, much more doth* the Goſpel, *the Miniſtration of Righteouſneſs*, or Juſtification to Life, *exceed in Glory*. *For even that* Law *which was made glorious* at the firſt Delivery of it, may be ſaid to have *had no Glory in this reſpect, by reaſon of the Glory* of the Goſpel, *which excelleth*, and ſo eclipſeth it. *For if that which is* now *done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth* for ever *is glorious*. Hence the Spirit is ſaid to be *Chriſt*'s peculiar Miſſion. [p] *I will pray the Father*, ſays our bleſſed Lord, *and he ſhall ſend you another Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth*. This was done immediately after, [q] *when he aſcended up on High, and gave Gifts to Men*, even [r] *the Holy Ghoſt, which was ſhed on them abundantly thro'* Jeſus Chriſt *our Saviour*. [s] *For the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given*, ſo long as *Jeſus was not yet glorified*. Not but that there were Communications of him before, even under the old OEconomy, but not in thoſe large and diffuſive Meaſures in which he was afterwards given to the antient Chriſtians.

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[y] 2 Cor. iii. 13. to the End of the Chapter.

[z] 1 John ii. 25.

[a] 2 Tim. i. 10.

[b] See an Account of their Principles at Sect. VI. of this Diſſertation, page 121.

[c] Apolog. Socrat. apud Platonem, Sect. 22.

[d] Ibid. Sect. 23. ad fin.

[e] 1 John iii. 2.

Let us add to this, The admirable Confirmation and Eſtabliſhment, which the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel received beyond that of the Law. For though the Law was introduced with Scenes of Pomp and Majeſty, and the Goſpel by more familiar and rational Methods, yet this latter was ratified by a much greater Number of Miracles, ſuch as could be wrought only by a divine Power. By theſe our Lord unqueſtionably evinced his heavenly Commiſſion; his Works of this Kind, in only three Years Time, being more than were ever before ſeen in all the Periods of the *Jewiſh* Church, and many of them too ſuch as were peculiar to himſelf alone. He often raiſed the Dead, which *Moſes* never did; he commanded the Winds and the Waves of the Sea; out of lunatic and poſſeſs'd Perſons he expelled the Devils, who fled as ſoon as ever he commanded them to be gone: He cured many inveterate and chronical Diſeaſes with the ſpeaking of a Word, and ſome of them without a Word ſpoken, purely by that divine Virtue which ſilently paſſed from him to thoſe who believed. He ſearched Mens Hearts, and revealed the moſt ſecret Transactions of their Minds; which Token of the divine Preſence, always reſiding with him, he imparted to his Diſciples and Followers, who afterwards [t] exerted it on Occaſion. The Power of working Miracles remained not only with the Apoſtles, his immediate Succeſſors, but with the primitive Chriſtians through the three firſt Ages of the Church; nor was it ever exerted in Methods of Dread and Terror, but in ſuch Actions only as were highly uſeful and beneficial to Mankind. And further, as if theſe Things had not been ſufficient, our bleſſed Saviour, the Author of this new Diſpenſation, laid down his own Life to teſtify the Truth thereof. Covenants were ever wont to be ratify'd with Blood, and the Death of Sacrifices: But when our Lord came to introduce the Covenant of the Goſpel, he did not conſecrate it [u] with *the Blood of Bulls and Goats, but with his own moſt precious Blood, as of a Lamb without Spot and Blemiſh*. And could he give a greater Teſtimony to the Truth of his Doctrine, and thoſe great Things which he had promiſed to the World, than by ſealing it with his Blood? Had not theſe Things been true, 'tis infinitely unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a Perſon of ſo much Wiſdom and Prudence as his Enemies allow our Saviour to have been, would have perſiſted in the Support of them to the laſt, even when he ſaw that by ſo doing he ſhould expoſe himſelf to a ſhameful and ignominious Death. But here was the Triumph of Chriſtianity: He not only died for our ſakes, but roſe again, and appeared to many after his Reſurrection. His Perſecutors had taken away his Life, and, to prevent any Impoſture, guarded and ſecured his Sepulchre with all the Care, Power, and Diligence, that they were Maſters of: Yet, notwithſtanding this, he roſe again on the third Day, viſibly converſed with his Diſciples for forty Days together, and then, before their Eyes, aſcended up into Heaven. By theſe Things he gave the moſt ſolemn and undeniable Aſſurance to the World, that he was the Son of God: *For*, [w] ſays the Apoſtle, *he was declared to be the Son of God with Power by his Reſurrection from the Dead.* Thus was it proved, that he was the Saviour of Mankind, and that thoſe Doctrines, which he taught, did really contain the Terms of that ſolemn Tranſaction, by which God had promiſed to reinſtate Mankind in the Favour which they had loſt by Sin, and receive them to eternal Happineſs in another World.

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[f] Rom. viii. 3.
[g] Heb. vii. 18, 19.
[h] Iſa. xliv. 3, 4.
[i] Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.
[k] Jerem. xxxi. 33. See alſo Chap. xxiv. 7. Ezek. xi. 19. and xxxvi. 26, 27. Jerem. xxxii. 39.
[l] 2 Cor. iii. 8.
[m] Ver. 7.
[n] Ver. 9, 10, 11.
[o] See Whitby's Commentary.
[p] John xiv. 16, 17.
[q] Epheſ. iv. 6.
[r] Tit. iii. 6.
[s] John vii. 39.
[t] Particularly in the Caſe of Ananias and his Wiſe.
[u] Heb. ix. 12, 13. 1 Pet. i. 19.

XIV. The two laſt Inſtances, which we ſhall mention, of the Excellency of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation above the *Judaical*, are, 1. The univerſal Extent and Latitude of it, and 2. its eternal Duration. In the firſt Place, 'tis not confined, as the former, to a ſmall Part of Mankind, but the Terms of it are common to all the World. Heretofore, [x] *in* Judah *only was God known, and his Name was great in* Iſrael. *In* Salem *alſo was his Tabernacle, and his Dwelling-place in* Sion. *He ſhewed his Word unto* Jacob, *and his Statutes and Judgments unto* Iſrael. *But he did not deal ſo with any other Nation; and as for his Judgments, they knew them not.* In thoſe Times, [y] *Salvation was only of the* Jews: A few Acres of Land, like *Gideon*'s Fleece, were watered with the Dew of Heaven, whilſt all the reſt of the World lay dry and barren about it; [z] *God ſuffering all Nations in Times paſt to walk in their own Ways*, the Ways of their own Superſtition and Idolatry. They were [a] *Aliens from the Commonwealth of* Iſrael, *Strangers to the Covenant of Promiſe, having no Hope, and without God in the World:* The Senſe of which is, that they were without thoſe Promiſes, Declarations, and Diſcoveries, which God made to *Abraham* and his Seed, and are therefore aptly deſcrib'd under this Character, [b] *The* Gentiles *who knew not God.* There were indeed ſome of other Nations, who were [c] Proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* Religion, and came over entirely to that Way of Worſhip; but then they either reſided among the *Jews*, or ſo near them, as to be able to make their Perſonal Appearance at certain Seaſons, and join in the public Inſtitutions of the divine Law. Theſe were what they called *Proſelytes of Juſtice.* As to the others, namely the *Proſelytes of the Gate*, they were indeed permitted to live in all Countries, but were obliged to no more than the Obſervance of [d] the ſeven Precepts of the *Noachides*, that is in effect of the natural Law only, and therefore theſe could not be ſaid to belong to the Covenant of Promiſe. Indeed the Religion of the *Jews* was in itſelf incapable of being extended over the World; many conſiderable Parts of it, [e] as Sacrifices, Firſt-fruits, and Oblations, being to be performed at *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, which could not be done by Perſons who lived at a conſiderable Diſtance from the *Land of Promiſe.* Thus the true Religion in thoſe Days was not only pent up within one particular Country, but the public Parts of it were confined to one peculiar Place in that Country, the City of *Jeruſalem*, thence called *the Holy City.* Here was the Temple, here the Prieſts that miniſtered at the Altar, here all the more ſolemn Rites of divine Adoration; [f] *Thither the Tribes go up, the Tribes of the Lord unto the Teſtimony of* Iſrael, *to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord.* Now this Particular, of being obliged thrice at leaſt every Year to take long and tedious Journeys, was not the ſmalleſt Part of the Bondage of that Diſpenſation, even to the *Jews* themſelves, many of whom neceſſarily lived at a great Diſtance from that Capital: Yet ſo very ſtrictly were they bound to this Part of their Duty, that to build an Altar, or offer Sacrifices, even to the true God, in any other Place, unleſs they had an extraordinary Diſpenſation immediately from Heaven, was, though not a falſe, yet a very unwarrantable Act of Worſhip. So that the *Jews* of this Day abſtain from Sacrifices, becauſe baniſhed from *Jeruſalem* and the Temple, the only legal Place of offering. 'Tis true indeed, and we have before taken notice of it, that Temples were built, and public Worſhip was carried on, both in *Egypt*, and on Mount *Gerizim*, by ſome refractory Perſons among the antient *Jews*, who diſſented from their Brethren; but then neither the People, nor their Sacrifices, were owned by the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem*, who kept ſtrictly to the Letter of their Inſtitutions; and therefore the Practice of thoſe proves nothing at all againſt the Illegality of the Thing, which is inconteſtable.

But the Goſpel hath a much wider Sphere to move in, even a Sphere as vaſt and large as the whole World itſelf. It is communicable to all Countries, and may be exerciſed in any Part or Corner of the Earth. Our Lord commiſſioned the Apoſtles, [g] to *go into all Nations*, and to *preach the Goſpel to every Creature:* And accordingly we are told, that [h] *their Sound went into all the Earth, and their Words unto the Ends of the World*; by which means, [i] *the Grace of God, that brings Salvation, appeared unto all Men*, and [k] *the Goſpel was preached unto every Creature*; ſo that now [l] *there is neither* Jew *nor* Greek, *neither Bond nor Free, neither Male nor Female, but we are all one in* Chriſt Jeſus, and [m] *in every Nation he that feareth God, and worketh Right-*

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[w] Rom. i. 4.

[x] Pſalm lxxvi. 1, 2. & cxlvii. 19, 20.

[y] John iv. 22.

[z] Acts. xiv. 16.

[a] Epheſ. ii. 13.

[b] 1 Theſ. iv. 5.

[c] See the Proſelytes of both Kinds deſcrib'd in Page 16 of this Work.

[d] See an Account of theſe Precepts, p. 7.

[e] The Jews call theſe, *Statutes belonging to their Land.*

[f] Pſal. cxxii. 4.

[g] Mark xvi. 15.

[h] Rom. x. 18.

[i] Tit. ii. 11.

[k] Coloſ. i. 13.

[l] Galat. iii. 28.

[m] Acts x. 35.

eouſneſs, is accepted with him. The Prophet had long ſince foretold it of the Times of the Meſſiah, that [n] *the Houſe of God*, that is his Church, *ſhould be called a Houſe of Prayer for all People*; that the Doors ſhould be open, and none excluded that would enter in. And the divine Providence was ſingularly remarkable in this Affair, that after our Lord's Aſcenſion, when the Apoſtles were going upon their Commiſſion, and were firſt ſolemnly to proclaim it at *Jeruſalem*, there were reſiding there at that Time [o] *Parthians, Medes, Elamites*, Dwellers in *Meſopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus*, and Perſons out *of every Nation under Heaven*, who were as the Firſt-Fruits of thoſe ſeveral Countries, which were to be fully gathered in by the Preaching of the Goſpel: And after this the Chriſtian Religion ſpread with almoſt incredible Succeſs, being in a very few Years introduced into moſt of the Countries of the then known World. Our Offerings do not conſiſt, like thoſe of the *Jews*, of any particular living Creatures, whoſe Blood was to be ſpilt upon the Altar of *Jeruſalem*; but the beſt Sacrifice we can bring is a pious and ſincere Mind, which may be offered up in any one Part of the World as well as another. [p] *The Hour cometh*, ſaid our Lord to the *Samaritan* Woman, *when ye ſhall neither in this Mountain, nor at* Jeruſalem, *worſhip the Father; but the true Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and in Truth: In Spirit*, in oppoſition to that carnal and idolatrous Worſhip that was in uſe among the *Samaritans*, who worſhipped God under the [q] Form of a Dove; *in Truth*, in oppoſition to the figurative and typical Worſhip of the *Jews*, which was but a Shadow of the true Worſhip of the Goſpel. The Law and the Goſpel did not differ in this, that the one commanded public Worſhip, and the other not; but that under the one public Worſhip was fixed to one only Place, under the other it is free to any Place where the Providence of God has thought proper to caſt our Lot. And this itſelf is certainly a very great Advantage on the Side of Chriſtianity: For ſince 'tis a Duty we are bound to by natural and unalterable Obligation, that we ſhould publickly meet together, for the ſolemn Celebration of divine Worſhip, can there be a more noble Character of Chriſtian Liberty than this, that the whole World is our Temple, in which all Mankind have a Right to ſacrifice?

XV. Nor is the OEconomy of the Goſpel leſs extenſive in Time than in Place. The old Teſtament was only a temporary Diſpenſation, to continue for a little Time, and then to be antiquated and aboliſhed; but the new Covenant of the Goſpel is an everlaſting Covenant, to continue to the End of the World, and never make Way for any Succeſſor. The *Jews* indeed ſtickle hard for the perpetual and immutable Obligation of the Law of *Moſes*, and frequently urge to us thoſe Places, where the Covenant of Circumciſion is called, [r] *an everlaſting Covenant*, where God is ſaid to chuſe the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, [ſ] *to place his Name there for ever*, and to give the Land of *Canaan* to *Abraham* and his Seed *for* [t] *an everlaſting Poſſeſſion*; alſo where the Inſtitution of the Paſſover is called [v] *an Ordinance for ever*, the Command of the Firſt-Fruits, [w] *a Statute for ever*, and other Places of the like Kind, which ſeem to intimate a perpetual and unalterable Diſpenſation. But the Anſwer is ſhort and plain, that the Phraſe *for ever*, tho' when 'tis applied to God it always denotes Eternity, yet when 'tis attributed to other Things, it implies no more than a periodical Duration, limited according to the Will of the Lawgiver, or the Nature of the Thing. Thus the *Hebrew* Servant [x] was to ſerve his Maſter *for ever*, that is for ſeven Years, till the next Year of Jubilee, which was to ſet him at Liberty. In like manner God ſays concerning *Samuel*, [y] *He ſhall walk before mine Anointed forever*, intimating thereby that he ſhould be a Prieſt all his Days. The ritual Services of the *Moſaic* Law are called Statutes *for ever* in no other Senſe than this, nor is any more meant by that Phraſe when applied to them, than that they ſhould continue a long Time obligatory, till the Coming of the Meſſiah, in whoſe Days [z] *Sacrifice and Oblation were to ceaſe*, and thoſe carnal Ceremonies to give way to the more ſpiritual Services of the Goſpel. Indeed the very typical Nature of that Diſpenſation evidently argued it to be but for a Time, it being neceſſary that the Shadow ſhould give way, in order that the Subſtance might take place. And though many of the *Jewiſh* Rites continu'd for ſome conſiderable Time after Chriſt's Death, yet they loſt their poſitive and obligatory Power, and were retained only as Things indifferent, in compliance with the Prejudices of Converts from *Judaiſm*, who could not quickly lay aſide their great Veneration for the *Moſaic* Inſtitutions; and even in this Reſpect it was not long before they were entirely thrown off, and *Moſes* quite turned out of Doors. But the evangelical State is to run parallel with the Age and Duration of the World; 'tis the [a] *everlaſting Covenant*, the [b] *everlaſting Goſpel*, the laſt Diſpenſation that God will make to the World. [c] *God, who at ſundry Times, and in divers Manners, ſpake in Times paſt by the Prophets, hath in theſe laſt Days ſpoken to us by his Son.* The ſame Author to the *Hebrews* calls the Goſpel, in oppoſition to the Law, [d] *a Kingdom that cannot be moved.* This Apoſtle in the foregoing Verſes had been ſpeaking concerning the *Moſaical State*, [e] *whoſe Voice*, ſays he, *then*, at the Time of its Delivery, *ſhook the Earth; but now hath he promiſed, ſaying, Yet once more I ſhake not the Earth only*, [f] *but alſo the Heaven: And this Word, Yet once more, ſignifieth the removing of thoſe Things that are ſhaken, as of Things that are made, that thoſe Things which cannot be ſhaken*, namely the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, *may remain*, or endure for ever. Hence *Chriſt* is ſaid to have [g] *an unchangeable Prieſthood,* to be [h] *a Prieſt for ever,* to be [i] *conſecrated for evermore*; all which Phraſes denote the eternal Duration of the Goſpel, or new Covenant, of which *Chriſt* is the Miniſter.

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[n] Iſai. lvi. 7.
[o] Acts ii. 5,—11. They were preſent on Account of the ſolemn Feſtival.
[p] John iv. 21, 23.
[q] Philo de Spec. Leg.
[r] Gen. xvii. 7.
[ſ] 1 Kings ix. 3.
[t] Gen. xvii. 8.
[v] Exod. xii. 14.
[w] Levit. xxiii. 4.
[x] Exod. xxi. 26.
[y] 1 Sam. ii. 36.
[z] Dan. ix. 27.
[a] Heb. xiii. 20.
[b] Rev. xvi. 6.
[c] Heb. i. 1, 2.
[d] Heb. xii. 28.
[e] Ver. 26, 27.
[f] A Phraſe peculiar to the Scripture, to denote the introducing a new Scene and State of Things. *Cave.*

XVI. From theſe Particulars it appears how incomparably happy we Chriſtians are under the Goſpel, above what the *Jews* were during the Times of the Law, eſpecially during the latter Times of it, when it was ſo much deprav'd and even annihilated by the falſe Gloſſes of their Doctors, and Tradition ſubſtituted in its Place. The Law at beſt, as is evident from ſeveral of the laſt Paragraphs, was infinitely ſhort of Perfection, and incapable in itſelf of juſtifying a Sinner, though the moſt rigorous Obſerver in the World of all its ceremonial Inſtitutions; and what a Burthen theſe were has been alſo ſufficiently proved: What was this Law then, when reduced to a mere Parade and Shew by the Corruptions of Time, and when the moral Duties of it, the only ones of eternal Obligation, were of all its Inſtitutions the leaſt obſerved? Surely there has been no Time ſince the Creation when the Appearance of a new Legiſlator for the People of God was more neceſſary than now, and when there was more Occaſion for publiſhing the Terms of the new Covenant of Grace! And the Providence of God in the Manner by which this Diſpenſation was introduced is very remarkable. The *Jews* were got into a very high Opinion of their own ceremonial Rites, and would hardly have ſuffered an Innovation in Matters of Form, unleſs the Promoters of it had appeared with more earthly Authority than either *Jeſus Chriſt* or his Apoſtles ever did. The firſt Annunciation of the Goſpel therefore was only by exhorting them to Repentance for their Sins; a Doctrine to which the Prophets had accuſtomed them, and which could not at any Time be cenſured. Baptiſm was to teſtify their Reſolutions of Amendment, and their Determination to walk for the future in Newneſs of Life. Thus humbled, and brought to a thorough Senſe of their Tranſgreſſions, the Tranſition to a Mediator between God and Man, a Redeemer who ſhould lay down his Life for the Sins of the World, and thus reinſtate the repentant believing Sinner in the divine Favour, which he had ſo often forfeited, was very natural and eaſy; eſpecially ſince it could be proved, that the Prophets, when rightly interpreted, gave them room to expect ſuch a Perſon in the Character of the Meſſiah. This Doctrine was firſt opened by our bleſſed Lord himſelf in the Courſe of his Preaching; and all the Marks by which ſuch an extraordinary Perſon could be known, were at the ſame Time made viſibly to appear in him; he all along appealing to *Moſes* and the Prophets for the Confirmation of his Pretenſions, and making the *Jews* themſelves to be Judges between him and the Scriptures. He did indeed but barely begin to open the new Covenant, in order to make them examine the Prophets, and attend to his Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Sufferings, and Reſurrection, which he knew would all carry their own Evidence with them. And till [k] *all Things that were written in the Prophets concerning the Son of Man, were accompliſhed*, even his Diſciples themſelves could do no more than attend to this Evidence, and ſee how the ſeveral Prophecies were one after another fulfilled in him, whom they believed to be the *Chriſt*; ſo that when he predicted his approaching Death, *they underſtood none of thoſe Things,* becauſe they could not make the neceſſary Application of thoſe particular Prophecies in which the Sufferings of the Meſſiah were deſcribed. But after his Reſurrection, [l] *he opened their Underſtanding*; and then the Prediction and the Accompliſhment became equally plain. This he did firſt for two of them, [m] whom he overtook as they were going to *Emmaus*: For having heard from them the Hiſtory of his own Sufferings, which they related without knowing him to be their Lord, he ſaid unto them, [n] *O Fools! and ſlow of Heart to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken, ought not* Chriſt *to have ſuffered thoſe Things, and to enter into his Glory? And beginning at* Moſes *and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures, the Things concerning himſelf.* And after this he did the like for the Eleven, [o] in the Midſt of whom he ſuddenly ſtood, whilſt the two above mentioned were relating what they had ſeen and heard. [p] *Theſe are the Words,* ſaid he, *which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things muſt be fulfilled, which are written in the Law of* Moſes, *and in the Prophets, and in the* Pſalms, *concerning me. Then opened he their Underſtandings, that they might underſtand the Scriptures, and ſaid unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved* Chriſt *to ſuffer, and to riſe from the Dead the third Day; and that* Repentance, *and* Remiſſion of Sins, *ſhould be preached in his Name among* all Nations, *beginning at* Jeruſalem.

Here the Covenant of Grace was laid entirely open, and the grand Articles of it, *Repentance* on the Part of the Sinner, and *Remiſſion of Sins* on the Part of God, were fully and expreſly declared. How eaſy are the Terms on our Side, in compariſon with thoſe required of the *Jews* under the old Diſpenſation! and on the part of Heaven we have ſufficient Security in the Word of *him who cannot lie.* Theſe are the Terms, which were afterwards offer'd to the World, by the Preaching of the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, and on which depend the preſent Hope and future Happineſs of Chriſtians.

To conclude, in the foregoing Paragraphs, collected from the ſacred Writings, we may behold the various Diſpenſations of God in the ſucceſſive Ages of the World, and the glorious Scenes of Providence, opening by Degrees, ſucceeding one another in a regular Order, and at laſt centring in the Meſſiah. And by obſerving theſe ſeveral Ways in which God has revealed himſelf to Mankind, we may ſee the Excellence of the Chriſtian Religion above even the *Jewiſh*, the moſt perfect before Chriſt, in the Terms it propoſes, the Promiſes it exhibits, the divine Aſſiſtance it affords, the Foundation on which 'tis eſtabliſhed, the Extent of it both in Time and Place, and finally in the glorious Rewards to which it freely introduces us. And having made theſe Reflections, let us bleſs God, who has placed us under this beſt of Diſpenſations, the Covenant of Grace; who has delivered us from the many nice and troubleſome Obſervances to which the *Jews* were bound, and from a Covenant which at beſt was faulty; who has put us under the cleareſt Diſcoveries and Revelations, and given us the moſt noble and rational Religion, a Religion the moſt perfective of our Natures, and the moſt conducive to our Happineſs. [q] *Bleſſed are the Eyes*, ſaid our Lord to his Diſciples, *that ſee the Things which ye ſee! For I tell you that many Prophets and Kings have deſired to ſee thoſe Things which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them, and to hear thoſe Things which ye hear, and have not heard them.* Are not we happy then, according to this Reaſoning of our Lord, who have all theſe Things handed down to us by thoſe who really ſaw them and heard them, and behold fully recorded in Hiſtory by the Holy Spirit, what he only revealed imperfectly to the antient Kings and Prophets?

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[g] Heb. vii. 24.
[h] Heb. vi. 20.
[i] Heb. viii. 23.
[k] Luke xviii. 31.—34.
[l] Luke xxiv. 45.
[m] Luke xxiv. 13.—31.
[n] Ver. 25. & ſeq.
[o] Luke xxiv. 36.
[p] Ver. 44. & ſeq.

DISSERTATION II.

Containing ſome general Rules, neceſſarily to be obſerved in reading the Hiſtory of our Lord's public Miniſtry, from his Baptiſm till his Death.

I. *Occaſion and Uſe of this Diſſertation.* II. *Which Evangeliſts are to be follow'd in Point of Chronology. The particular Deſignations of Time given by St.* Luke. III. *St.* John's *Diſtinction of the Paſſovers during our Lord's public Miniſtry.* IV. *The Goſpels only ſummary Accounts.* V. *A Thing that is not recorded, may ſometimes be inferr'd from one that is.* VI. *Several Things ſtated concerning the Variation of Circumſtances and Expreſſions in Facts and Diſcourſes.* VII. *Miſtakes of Tranſcribers.* VIII. *Concerning Order and Tranſition.* IX. *Remarks upon ſome peculiar Manners of ſpeaking.* X. *Rules to be obſerved in compoſing a Harmony of the Goſpels.*

I. THE ſeveral Paſſages of our Lord's Life to this Time, that is from his Birth till *he began to be about thirty Years of Age*, have each of them ſeparately been collected from one Evangeliſt only; what was recorded by *Matthew* having been omitted by *Luke*, and what was omitted by *Matthew*, recorded by *Luke*; and 'tis from theſe two that we have all the Account of our Lord's Infancy and Youth that is now extant, and that the Holy Ghoſt ſaw neceſſary for our Inſtruction. 'Twas not exceeding difficult here to give every remarkable Incident its proper Place, becauſe the Number of Facts in all is not great, and becauſe of the mutual Light which they give to each other: But in the Progreſs of this Work, we ſhall frequently find three, and ſometimes all four of the Evangeliſts relating the ſame Story with different Circumſtances, or two ſeveral Stories with Circumſtances ſo much alike, that they may be taken for the ſame: We ſhall ſee the Order obſerved by one, departed from by another, and perhaps may not find it eaſy to determine which we ſhould follow; nay, we certainly muſt meet with many Difficulties in Matters of this kind, if we ſuffer ourſelves to be guided by a preſent Opinion only, inſtead of keeping to ſome general and certain Rules. To prevent any Confuſion therefore in theſe Things, we ſhall obſerve ſeveral excellent Maxims, which are given us by the learned and ingenious M. *Le Clerc*,[a] as the Standard by which he compoſed his *Harmony of the Goſpels.* The putting them down in this Place may be of as much Uſe to the Reader, as the Obſervance of them will be to ourſelves; for it may enable him to determine and account for ſeveral Things in his own Mind, which would otherwiſe be ſo many Difficulties in his Way, that would require a large Comment to make them plain and intelligible. By this means alſo we ſhall avoid many tedious Repetitions of the ſame Thing, whenever a Circumſtance of the ſame kind with another before explained, may offer itſelf to us. Theſe Rules are formed by our Author into diſtinct [b] Chapters, and ſeverally illuſtrated with Arguments and Examples. We ſhall not exactly follow his Method, nor ſhall we copy all thoſe abſtracted Criticiſms, which he ſeems to have intended for the Learned only: But moſt of his Examples, and ſo many of his Arguments as may be of general Uſe, we ſhall [c] here inſert. Some of theſe, when they appear under diſtinct Heads, may give the Reader further Light, than he has already received, into two or three Facts before related.

II. In the firſt Place, *'Tis evident, that* Luke *and* John, *and even* Mark, *have kept to a ſtricter Order of Time than* Matthew. As to what concerns St. *Luke*, take him upon his own Words: [d] *For as much as many have taken in hand to ſet forth a Declaration —— It ſeemed good unto me alſo, having had perfect Underſtanding of all Things from the very Firſt, to write unto thee in order, moſt excellent* Theophilus. This Profeſſion of *Luke*, to write *in order*, gave Occaſion to an Opinion of *Beza*, that the other Evangeliſts, when they are all upon the ſame thing, ought in a Harmony rather to be adapted to *Luke*, than he to them. And indeed, had this Evangeliſt been ſilent, 'tis now manifeſt, that the other three may be very commodiouſly reduced to his Method. This was long ago the Judgment of the learned Dr. *Richardſon*, Biſhop of *Ardagh* in *Ireland*, whoſe [e] *Harmony* ſeems, of all that have been publiſhed, the beſt, as being the leaſt conjectural. *Mark* and *John* alſo proceed in their own Order, with very little Variation, except in here and there a Paſſage: *Matthew* alone ſeems to have neglected the true Order of Time, and that only in his firſt thirteen Chapters, and the Beginning of his fourteenth. Some indeed object, that *Matthew* was an Eye-witneſs, and conſequently the more accurate in his Order: But beſides that this Conſequence is invalid in itſelf, 'tis well known that *John* alſo both ſaw and heard what he reports. And does not *Luke* teſtify, in the Preface to his Goſpel, that he had received his Materials[f] *from thoſe that had been Witneſſes of them from the Beginning, and Miniſters of the Word?* Undoubtedly *Mark* had as good Authority: And 'tis not unlikely that *Mark* and *Luke*, with the things themſelves, might receive alſo the Order in which they were acted, or otherwiſe might enquire into it of thoſe who knew.

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[q] Luke x. 23, 24.

[a] Diſſertation II. printed at the End of his Harmony.

[b] He calls them Canons.

[c] From the Engliſh Tranſlation of his Book, printed Anno 1701.

[d] Luke i. 3.

[e] 'Tis preſerved in Biſhop Uſher's Annals of the New Teſtament.

But there are manifeſt Tokens in *Luke* and *John*, from which a Man may infer that they were more obſervant of the true Order of Time than *Matthew*. To inſtance firſt in *Luke*: He ſettles the Year of *Chriſt*'s Nativity beyond Diſpute, to thoſe eſpecially who lived when he wrote, when he tells us, that [g] *Chriſt* was born in *Bethlehem* at the Time of the firſt Decree of *Auguſtus* for taxing of the *Jews*; for there were none at that Time, were they ever ſo little converſant in the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory, but muſt needs know when that Decree was publiſhed. If there has ſince been any Obſcurity in this Paſſage, 'tis owing to the Ignorance of Commentators, who ſhould have explained it by Matter of Fact, of which they might have collected ſufficiently from *Joſephus*. But we [h] have already ſaid enough concerning this Decree, and the Taxation that followed it under *Publius Sulpitius Quirinus*, ſo famous for reducing *Judea* into a *Roman* Province.

There is alſo another Deſignation of Time, from which one may perceive how much *Luke* took care to obſerve a juſt Order in his Relation: 'Tis when he tells us, [i] that *John* began to preach and baptize in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*; which Paſſage, well underſtood, gives no ſmall Light to the whole Chronology of our Saviour's Life. *Jeſus himſelf*, the Evangeliſt tells us, [k] *began then to be about thirty Years of Age*: Now by knowing this, and alſo knowing how long his Forerunner and he continued in the Exerciſe of their public Miniſtry, we may with Certainty compute in what Year of his Age he was crucified. 'Tis true indeed, that there is a twofold Beginning attributed to the Reign of *Tiberius*, the One when he was made Collegue of the Empire by *Auguſtus*, and the Other when after the Death of *Auguſtus* he had the ſole Management of the Empire: But this creates little Difficulty, ſince 'tis generally agreed, that the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius* mentioned by *Luke*, ought to be referred to the firſt of theſe Beginnings. Now this happened in the 11th [l] Year of the Vulgar Æra, on the 28th Day of *Auguſt*; whence it follows, that in the 25th [m] of the ſame Æra, on the ſame Day of the Month, began the 15th Year of *Tiberius*, in which *John the Baptiſt* entered upon his Office. And that a twofold Beginning ſhould be attributed to *Tiberius*, is no more to be wondered at, than that a threefold one ſhould be given to *Auguſtus*. [n] For ſome ſtate his Authority from the Year in which *Julius Cæſar* was killed, others from his firſt Conſulate in the Year following, and a third Sort do not begin till after the Victory at *Actium*. There is no reaſon then why *Luke* might not follow their Opinion, who date the Reign of *Tiberius* from the Time in which he was made Collegue by *Auguſtus*, eſpecially conſidering that in the *Roman* Provinces he was accounted of equal Dignity with *Auguſtus* himſelf. 'Tis true, that in the City he behaved himſelf as inferior to *Auguſtus*, and rather as his Adminiſtrator than his Collegue; but this was all Artifice and Diſſimulation, that went no farther than the City itſelf: The plain-meaning Provinces attributed ſovereign Authority to him, as ſoon as they heard of his having gotten the proconſular Dignity; and therefore St. *Luke* might very well date his Reign from that Time. Theſe Inſtances are ſufficient to defend thoſe, who take St. *Luke* for the moſt exact Chronologer of the Four.

III. But we are particularly indebted to St. *John* for regiſtring the three Paſſovers in the Courſe of our Lord's Miniſtry, the other Evangeliſts having taken notice only of the fourth and laſt, at which he ſuffered. And beſides, *John* mentions [o] the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and the [p] Feaſt of Dedication, by which the Seaſons of the laſt Year of *Chriſt*'s Life are very particularly diſtinguiſhed: Nor is this to be admired in him, who propoſed to ſupply what was wanting in the other Goſpels. It may not be improper, in this place, to give a ſhort Scheme of thoſe Diſtinctions of Time which are marked by St. *John*, as it is drawn up by [q] our Author.

The firſt Paſſover which he mentions, was that during which our Lord firſt [r] drove the Traders out of the Temple. After which, with a few of his Diſciples, among whom was *Philip*, he went into another Part of *Judea*, where he abode until *John the Baptiſt* was caſt into Priſon. Then he went thro' *Samaria* into *Galilee*, where he more openly declared the Goſpel: But having publiſhed it at *Nazareth* without Effect, he went on to *Capernaum*, where he tarried longer than he had done in any of the other Places which he had viſited. Here he got ſeveral Diſciples, particularly *Peter*, *Andrew*, *John*, and *James*. Thence he travelled thro' the Cities of *Galilee*, in which on the Sabbath-Days he preached in their Synagogues the Kingdom of Heaven. To accompliſh all this, a Year's time was not too much, he being obliged to wait for the Sabbath, in order to inſtruct ſuch Perſons, who, in attending on their worldly Affairs, were diſperſed thro' the Fields and Villages.

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[f] Chap. i. v. 2.

[g] Luke ii. 1. & ſeq.

[h] See Pages 29, 30, 31. of this Work.

[i] Luke iii. 1, 2, 3.

[k] Le Clerc Diſſert. I. Sect. 3.

[l] Prideaux ſays the 12th.

[m] 26th. Prideaux.

[n] Petavius de Doct. Temp. l. x. c. 64.

[o] John vii. 2.

[p] John x. 22.

[q] Diſſert. I. Sect. 4.

[r] John ii. 13.

The ſecond Paſſover is that which *John* calls emphatically, [ſ] *The Feaſt of the Jews*; by which Phraſe the Paſſover, the chief of all the *Jewiſh* Feſtivals, was wont to be denoted, as *Grotius* proves in his Annotations upon that Paſſage. During this Feaſt *Jeſus* tarried at *Jeruſalem*; and hence returning into *Galilee*, he choſe out of his Diſciples twelve Apoſtles, who were conſtantly to attend on him, and be in a readineſs to be diſpatch'd by him whitherſoever he pleaſed. From this time he began more plainly and largely to divulge the Precepts of the Goſpel, as is manifeſt from the Sermons and Diſcourſes that are afterwards related. Here he taught the Multitude that flock'd to him from all Parts, working many Miracles among them, particularly at *Capernaum*, and about the Lake of *Genneſareth*. From thence he went to *Nazareth*, and paſſing thro' *Galilee*, ſent away the Apoſtles to preach the Goſpel, whilſt he himſelf went to other Places. The Apoſtles having diſcharged their Commiſſion, returned to him, while he was at *Capernaum*, or ſome other Town near the Lake of *Genneſareth*. It can be no Wonder if all this took up a Year or thereabouts.

The third Paſſover is that which was [t] *near at Hand*, when the five thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, were entertain'd and ſatisfy'd by him, with only five Loaves and two Fiſhes. Then, after his uſual Cuſtom, he went to inſtruct ſuch as were delighted to hear thoſe Things that pertained to their Salvation. At the Feaſt, if we may judge of this Year by his Practice in the others, he repair'd to *Jeruſalem*; and returning from thence, went into that Part of *Galilee*, which is neareſt the Borders of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he was leſs known. Then he went again to the Lake of *Genneſareth*, and tarried a conſiderable Time in the Region of *Decapolis*. Afterwards he ſailed over the Lake, often changing his Place, to avoid any Sedition that might have been raiſed by the Multitudes who reſorted to him, which his Adverſaries would doubtleſs have imputed to his Charge, ſince afterwards for a much leſs Reaſon they accuſed him of High-Treaſon before *Pilate*. And for this Cauſe he refuſed to be called the *Meſſiah*, and forbade many of his Miracles to be ſpread abroad, that he might not be follow'd by Perſons who were eager for a Change of Government, of which ſort there [u] were then many among the *Jews*. He then went to *Paneas*, to the Fountains of *Jordan*, and ſome Days afterwards was transfigur'd on a Mountain of *Galilee*: After which he took many Journeys to and fro in that Province. Then in the Beginning of *October*, at the Middle of the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, he ſhewed himſelf openly at *Jeruſalem*, having ſent into all Parts ſeventy Diſciples, who probably returned to him after the Feaſt, as he was going back into *Galilee*. At the *Feaſt of Dedication* he went up to *Jeruſalem* again, whither he travelled by eaſy Journeys, teaching in every Town and Village as he paſt, and arrived there in the Beginning of *December*. After the Feaſt he returned again into *Galilee*, from whence he went into *Judea* to raiſe *Lazarus* from the Dead; and then retiring into the Deſart of *Jericho*, he remained there till the fourth Paſſover, at which he ſuffered.

This brief Diſtribution of our Lord's Life, collected from the Goſpel of St. *John*, is eſpouſed with little or no Variation by many of our beſt modern Critics. Some indeed object, that ſince *John* calls the Paſſover by its proper Name in other Places, we ought not to ſuppoſe he means that Feaſt, when he ſpeaks indefinitely of *The Feaſt of the Jews*, in the Place to which we refer the ſecond Paſſover. But *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, and ſeveral others, have ſufficiently anſwered this Objection. Others, and among them *Voſſius*, [w] contend for only two of thoſe Feaſts; but whoever reads all the Journeys of Chriſt in the four Goſpels, and compares them together, will find it abſurd that his Miniſtry ſhould be contracted within the narrow Compaſs of the Interval between two Paſſovers. Mr. *Whiſton* extends the Number to five, in oppoſition to moſt other Commentators, and particularly to the Antients: For they, on the other ſide, ſpeak of three only; except *Irenæus*, [x] who has hit upon the true Number four, agreeable to the real Intention of St. *John*. In a Word, this Evangeliſt ſeems to have cautiouſly diſtinguiſhed his Hiſtory according to the Times of the Feaſts, that he might ſupply what was wanting in the other Goſpels.

We ſhall not extend this Subject any farther; nor ſhall we here enquire how long it was between the firſt Appearing of *John* in the fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, and the Beginning of our Lord's own public Miniſtry, becauſe this will be more conveniently done in [y] another Place, where we ſhall alſo endeavour to fix the Year of our Lord's Death. Indeed this latter Enquiry, now we have ſettled the true Time of his Miniſtry, depends entirely upon the former; for ſince there were four Paſſovers, and no more, from the Beginning of our Lord's Appearance in public till his Death, it follows, that when we once know where to place that Beginning, we have no more to do than to add thereto three whole Years, and ſo much Time as paſſed between the ſaid Beginning and the Paſſover immediately following it, and the true Time of his Death will appear. But many learned Men, who agree together in the Number of Paſſovers, and in counting the fifteen Years of *Tiberius* from the Beginning of his proconſular Dignity, do yet widely differ in

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[ſ] John v. 1.

[t] John vi. 4.

[u] See the Account of the Jewiſh Sects in the Diſſertation immediately preceding this.

[w] In his Treatiſe on the Time of our Lord's Paſſion.

[x] L. ii. c. 39.

[y] In a Diſſertation on the ſeventy Weeks of Daniel.

thoſe other Particulars, which as they cannot be determined by the Goſpels themſelves, muſt therefore be referr'd to ſome other Authority.

IV. A ſecond Rule to be obſerved is, *That neither one particular Evangeliſt, nor all of them together, give us the whole Hiſtory of our Saviour, nor yet all the Circumſtances of thoſe Parts wherein they moſt enlarge.* That his entire Hiſtory has not been related by every particular Evangeliſt, any Perſon may be convinced by looking ever ſo ſlightly over their Narrations, and comparing them together; for he will often ſee one of them proceeding in a Story, and adding ſeveral Circumſtances thereto, when all the reſt have quite done with it. And that they have not together made an univerſal Collection, is what St. *John* expreſly tells us at the Concluſion of his Goſpel: [z] *There are alſo many other Things which* Jeſus *did, the which, if they ſhould be written every one, I ſuppoſe that even the whole World could not contain the Books that ſhould be written.* Which Words, though they are hyperbolical, and muſt not be ſtrictly underſtood, do yet give us to know that all the Actions and Sayings of our Saviour are not comprehended in the Goſpels. However, we muſt be careful not to think, that there is any Thing of a neceſſary Tendency to Salvation, which the Apoſtles have not publiſhed: For undoubtedly all proper Directions for that great End are to be found in their Writings; ſince what is not there, is the ſame, in reſpect of us, as if it had never been revealed. For whatſoever carries not with it the Evidence of divine Revelation, (and we have nothing that ſpeaks of our Saviour, and has this Evidence, but the Writings of the Evangeliſts and Apoſtles) whatſoever, I ſay, is without this, can no more be impoſed upon us as an Article of Faith, than the Obſervation of a Law that was never promulgated. 'Twould be therefore an Impeachment of Divine Providence, as if it had not given us the Means of obtaining what it freely offers, were we ever to imagine that any thing neceſſary to Salvation is omitted in the New Teſtament. But nevertheleſs, this does not hinder our concluding, that the Story of our Saviour's Life is not entirely penned; which being evidently true, is a thing we ſhould do well to remember, that we may be the leſs ſurpriz'd at the great Gaps and Pauſes in the Account which we have of the Beginning of his Miniſtry, and that certain Periods of his Life are leſs furniſhed with memorable Matters than others. If we had ſuch a Journal of our Saviour's Life, as was taken of every Day's Tranſactions in the Palaces of the Kings of *Egypt* and *Perſia*, we might find Matter enough to fill all the void Spaces of his Miniſtry, as they now appear to us: They proceed raſhly therefore, who contract the two firſt Years of his Miniſtry into one, that ſo they may fill it with Action in proportion to his laſt Year.

Since then, upon comparing the Evangeliſts together, it is very plain that one or other of them has ſlipt ſome Circumſtances in their moſt copious Accounts, there are two Conſequences of great Importance to be drawn from hence, extremely conducive to the Reconcilement of ſeeming Diſcords in the Goſpels, and to the clearer Underſtanding of the Expreſſion, on which an Agreement very much depends.

The firſt is, *That the Omiſſion of any Circumſtance, which either may be ſupplied by us, or cannot be unknown to us, may not be ſo far urged as to have any particular Concluſion drawn from it.* If the Evangeliſts now and then paſs over Matters, no Body can deny but that, in a broken Narration, whatever is neceſſary to make up the Connection may eaſily be underſtood. There are ſome Things to be ſupplied in every Evangeliſt, which are wanting in their Relations, or at leaſt are not inſerted in their proper Places. For inſtance, in the Hiſtory of the Reſurrection, a Deſcription of it is wanting in all the Goſpels; yet this ought in a Paraphraſe, or Harmony, to be inſerted before the Account, which the Angel gives of it to *Mary Magdalene*, and the other Women, becauſe all the Evangeliſts intended it ſhould be there underſtood. So neither of them takes notice in due Place of our Lord's appearing to *Peter*, after he had been ſeen of the Women, and before he was ſeen of the Apoſtles together; nor had this been at all mentioned in the Goſpels, if *Luke* had not had Occaſion [a] afterwards to inſert it. Now this Circumſtance, if it had been quite omitted in the Goſpels, would have been ſupplied from the Words of St. *Paul*, who ſpeaking of our Lord's Death and Reſurrection, ſays, [b] *that he was ſeen of* Cephas, *and then of the Twelve:* But we muſt not have inferred from thence, that neither of the Evangeliſts knew it; nor muſt we now conclude that it was known to *Luke* only, becauſe not mentioned by any other. 'Twould be abſurd indeed to infer, that *Matthew* and *John* were unacquainted with the Hiſtory of our Lord's Aſcenſion, becauſe that Hiſtory is given us by *Mark* and *Luke* only. This may be applied to all other Omiſſions of a like Nature, without our drawing up a Catalogue of parallel Inſtances.

The other Conſequence is, *That, from the bare Want of a Relation, it cannot be inferred, that a Thing was never done of which there is no Mention.* 'Tis a grand Miſtake to ſay that *Chriſt* went out of the Sepulchre through the Stone that was rolled before it, becauſe 'tis no where ſaid before his Reſurrection, that the Stone at the Mouth of the Sepulchre was removed; or that he entered through the Wood of the Doors, when after his Reſurrection he appeared to his Diſciples, [c] *the Doors being ſhut*, becauſe we read nothing of his opening the Doors. Philoſophy informs us, that theſe Things are repugnant to the Nature of a real human Body, as our Lord's actually was after his Reſurrection as well as before; and even ſuppoſing there had been a Poſſibility of going through the Stone or the Wood by a

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[z] John xxi, 25.

[a] Luke xxiv. 34.

[b] 1 Cor. xv. 5.

[c] John xx. 19—26.

Miracle, we ought not to infer ſuch a Miracle merely from the Silence of the Evangeliſts.

In general, the Evangeliſts, in relating the Actions and Sayings of *Chriſt*, contented themſelves with a brief and ſummary Account of Things, without enumerating all the Circumſtances, or rehearſing the Words in the very Order in which they were ſpoken. This will be yet more evident in ſome of the following Obſervations, and is a ſufficient Apology for many of our Additions and Inverſions of Order.

V. But thirdly, *A Thing that is not recorded may ſometimes be inferred from one that is.* We gave an Inſtance of this in the Caſe of *Zachary*, the Father of *John the Baptiſt*, of whom we have ſaid in our Hiſtory, *that* [d] *he was both deaf and dumb*, though the Words of the Angel to him are only, [e] *Thou ſhalt be dumb and not able to ſpeak.* The Reader may ſee our Reaſon for it in the Place referred to, for we will not repeat what is there ſaid. Another Inſtance is in the Caſe of *Joſeph*, who being encouraged from Heaven to take *Mary* to Wife, when he was [f] *raiſed from his Sleep, did as the Angel of the Lord had bidden him:* For though the Evangeliſt in this Place intimates nothing that paſſed between the heavenly Direction, and *Joſeph*'s Obedience, yet 'tis natural to ſuppoſe that he queſtioned *Mary* about the divine Conception of *Chriſt*, and compared her Anſwers with his Dream, before he ſubmitted to receive her as his Wife, and therefore we have ſaid as much in our [g] Paraphraſe on thoſe Words of the Goſpel.

In the Conference between *Jeſus Chriſt* and *Nathaniel*, as deſcribed by [h] St. *John*, we may eaſily ſee that the Words of *Jeſus*, *Before that* Philip *called thee, when thou waſt under the Fig-Tree, I ſaw thee*, convinced *Nathaniel* that he was the Meſſiah, and occaſioned that Exclamation which follows; *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of* Iſrael! For this Reaſon 'twill be proper to ſubjoin in that Place to the Words of our Lord, *that they contained in them a Secret, which it was impoſſible for any one but a divine Perſon to know.* This is a plain Inference from the reſt of the Diſcourſe, though otherwiſe Nobody would have imagined any Thing extraordinary in the Circumſtances of ſeeing him under a Fig-Tree: But it ſeems *Nathaniel* was conſcious that *Jeſus* could have received no Information in a common Way, either of *Philip*'s calling him, or of his being under the Tree, and alſo that it was impoſſible *Jeſus* could have ſeen thoſe Things himſelf with his bodily Eyes, and therefore his rehearſing theſe little Matters, tho' of no Conſequence in themſelves, was as plain an Indication of his Divinity as any Thing greater would have been.

Afterwards, in the [i] Hiſtory of the Marriage at *Cana* in *Galilee*, when *Mary* obſerved there was no Wine, and informed *Jeſus* of it, 'tis plain that ſhe expected him to work a Miracle on this Occaſion, becauſe ſhe ſaid to the Servants, *Whatſoever he ſaith unto you, do it:* Whence we may infer, that tho' this was the *Beginning of* his public *Miracles*, he had before given Inſtances of his Divine Power in private, by performing Things as difficult as the turning of Water into Wine; and therefore the Reader ought not to be ſurpriſed, if in giving this Hiſtory, we ſhould ſay, *that* Mary *had ſeen her Son work Miracles upon other Occaſions, tho' they are not recorded.* It may be objected perhaps, that *Jeſus* had intimated to her his Intention, and ſo only made Uſe of her Application to introduce what he had before determined to perform. But can we think that *Mary* would, upon any Account, have promoted his attempting a thing before public Company, which was utterly out of the reach of all human Ability, if ſhe had not been convinced that a ſuperior Power reſided in him?

In like manner, *We may frequently collect from the Anſwer, that ſomething was omitted in the Queſtion, or that Part of the Queſtion is ſuppreſs'd in the Relation of it.* The following Inſtance will make this ſufficiently clear. When *Nicodemus* addreſs'd our Saviour in theſe Words, [k] *Rabbi, we know that thou art a Teacher come from God; for no Man can do the Miracles that thou doſt, except God be with him*; *Jeſus* is introduced as anſwering thus: *Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, Except a Man be born again, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of God.* Now theſe Words of our Saviour refer not at all to the Preface of *Nicodemus*; but without doubt they reſolve a Queſtion, which he either did, or was going to, propound: May we not therefore inſinuate what appears to have been the Subſtance of this Demand? Certainly it was ſomething to this Effect: *What ſhall I do in order to be made Partaker of the Happineſs of the Kingdom of Heaven, which I am informed is now at hand?* This is the *Subintellectum*, or *Matter concealed*, to which our Lord alludes in his Anſwer, and which we muſt ſupply in order to make the Conference hang together. Other Inſtances of the ſame Nature might be collected in great Number, but we ſhall content ourſelves with referring the Reader to this Place, whenever we uſe Liberties of this kind.

VI. *A Variation of Circumſtances and Expreſſions in the Relations of different Evangeliſts, may, or may not, argue that the Facts and Diſcourſes are different, in proportion as thoſe Circumſtances and Expreſſions are, or are not, of the Subſtance and Eſſence of the Hiſtory.* This Maxim perhaps may be a little obſcure at firſt reading; but we ſhall make it plain as we proceed, by conſidering it in ſeveral Lights.

1. *A few different Circumſtances are no Argument that Relations, which thus vary, but agree in the main, are diſtinct Hiſtories, and contain different Matters of Fact.* Hiſtorians that account not for every minute Circumſtance, but ſelect their Matter, do generally, and almoſt of neceſſity, differ in their Choice, or at leaſt ſeem to differ, eſpecially if they aim at Conciſeneſs; it being ſcarce poſſible that they ſhould all hit upon the ſame Circumſtances throughout, or that a

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[d] See Page 4 and 17 of this Work.

[e] Luke i. 20.

[f] Matth. i. 24.

[g] See Pages 25, 26.

[h] John iv. 47. & ſeq.

[i] John ii. at the Beginning.

[k] John iii. 2, 3.

Hiſtory ſhould be abridged by every one of them in the ſame Method. In the Account of the Centurion's Servant of *Capernaum*, as it is reported by [l] *Matthew* and [m] *Luke*, there is ſome Variation in a Circumſtance or two; but we muſt not preſently conclude that they relate different Stories, becauſe they both agree in the main. For Inſtance, 1. They both mention a Centurion's Servant that was cured. 2. In both are the ſame Expreſſions; which influence our Lord to perform the Cure, and are a remarkable Sign of great and ſingular Faith. 3. *Jeſus*, according to both, performed the Cure in the Abſence of the ſick Perſon. All this Agreement puts it beyond Diſpute, that the Story in both is the very ſame; tho' in *Matthew* the Centurion is introduced, addreſſing *Jeſus* in Perſon, whereas in *Luke* he is deſcribed ſending the *Jews*, who excuſe him as not daring to come. But theſe Variations are no Inconſiſtencies, as will appear hereafter: And this Coincidence of the other Circumſtances, which is very remarkable, ought rather to be conſidered than ſuch a ſmall Diſagreement, which is far from being ſufficient to prove that the Relations are different.

There is another Inſtance of this Nature in the Curing of a blind Man, or ſome blind Perſons, *when our Lord was near to* Jericho; in the Accounts of which there are ſeveral Incidents, which oblige us to believe that the three [n] Evangeliſts, who give them, had all the ſame Fact in View, though there be ſome Variety in the Circumſtances. Theſe are the Particulars in which they agree. 1. *Jeſus* wrought this Miracle when he was not far from *Jericho*. 2. The neceſſitous Perſons ſate by the Way-ſide, where *Jeſus* was to paſs, and began to cry with a loud Voice, Jeſus, *thou Son of* David, *have Mercy on us*. 3. Upon their redoubling their Clamours, they were reprimanded by the Multitude that accompanied *Jeſus*. 4. *Jeſus* order'd the Blind to be brought to him, and enquiring what they would have, cured them, and was afterwards attended by them. Here is the Subſtance of the Story in all three, with little or no Variation: But then the Objections are, 1. That St. *Luke*, by ſaying he did it when he [o] *drew nigh to* Jericho, ſeems to intimate that he was only going thither, and not on his Return from thence, as [p] *Matthew* and [q] *Mark* ſay expreſly. But Critics have obſerved that the original Words in *Luke* may be rendered, *when he was near to* Jericho, they being of a general Nature, and ſignifying neither Entry nor Departure. 2. 'Tis objected that *Matthew* mentions two blind Perſons, *Mark* and *Luke* only one: In anſwer to which, we ſhall only ſubjoin the Words of St. *Auguſtin* on this Occaſion. [r] *Of the* two blind *Perſons here mentioned*, one was better known *in that City than the other, as is evident from the Recital of his and his Father's Name by* Mark: *For among all the Perſons for whom* Jeſus *wrought Cures, we ſcarce find another expreſly named, except* Jairus, *the Ruler of the Synagogue, whoſe Daughter he raiſed from the Dead, and who ſeems to be named only on account of his Dignity. Therefore without doubt this ſame* Bartimæus, *the Son of* Timæus, *was ſuddenly fallen from ſome eminent Proſperity, and become a famous Example of Wretchedneſs, in that he was not only blind, but a Beggar.* Mark, *therefore, chuſes to exemplify in him, whoſe Recovery of Sight would make the Miracle as conſpicuous, as his Calamity was notorious.*"

Nor is this the only Inſtance where *Matthew* applies to two Perſons, a Miracle which *Mark* and *Luke* relate of one only: And therefore it ſhould be obſerved as a Rule in Caſes of this kind, *That though one Evangeliſt gives a leſs Number, it is no Argument but he might have uſed a greater, unleſs the contrary be inſinuated: And though another writes more, it is no Argument that he hath given an unfaithful Account, who writes leſs.* In the Hiſtory of the Devils entering into the Herd of Swine, [s] *Mark* and [t] *Luke* take notice only of one Perſon poſſeſt, whereas *Matthew* [v] mentions two. But as he that affirms there were two, allows at the ſame Time that there was one, ſo he that mentions only one, if he inſinuates nothing to exclude more, does not at all claſh with him that takes notice of two. What particular Reaſons *Mark* and *Luke* might have for this Omiſſion, we cannot pretend to ſay; for St. *Auſtin*'s Remark, [w] *That one of theſe Demoniacs was of greater Note than the other*, will not hold good in this Place, becauſe neither of theſe Evangeliſts has ſaid any thing to diſtinguiſh the Perſon he mentions, as *Mark* has when he calls his blind Man *Bartimæus*. However, that which follows in St. *Auſtin* is worth tranſcribing, as extremely conducive to the Reconcilement of the Evangeliſts in this Relation. *It affords not any Matter of Scruple, that what the Demons ſay is differently reported by the Evangeliſts; for they may be all reduced to one Meaning: Nor is there any Difficulty in this, that the Demoniacs in* Matthew *ſpeak in the plural Number, and in* Mark *and* Luke *in the ſingular only, ſince in theſe latter, when Anſwer is returned to the Queſtion,* What is thy Name? He ſaid Legion, for we are many." What has been ſaid in theſe Caſes, may be applied to all others, where the Agreement in the main is ſufficient to overbear a ſmall Variety in the Circumſtances: Nor can it ever be juſtly turned to the Diſadvantage of the Evangeliſts, that one of them writes more copiouſly, another leſs: For he that writes at large, always comprehends what is ſpoken in little; and he that writes in little, denies nothing that is ſpoken by another more at large.

2. But on the other Side, *An Agreement in ſome few Circumſtances, that have little or no Relation to the Subſtance, is no Argument that ſeveral Evangeliſts are relating the ſame Thing, if they differ in other Circumſtances that are more material.* This Rule at firſt Sight ſeems the

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[l] Matth. viii.

[m] Luke vii.

[n] Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

[o] Luke xviii. 35. & ſeq.

[p] Matth. xx. 29. & ſeq.

[q] Mark x. 46, & ſeq.

[r] Harm. Evang. l. ii. n. 125.

[s] Mark v. 2. & ſeq.

[t] Luke viii. 27. & ſeq.

[v] Matth. 28. & ſeq.

[w] Harm. l. 2. n. 56.

very reverſe of the former, but it is not ſo upon a nearer View. Before we argued from the principal Circumſtances, and ſhewed that a Variation in thoſe of leſs Importance is not to be regarded: Now 'tis advanced, that from a Conformity of inferior Circumſtances, it cannot be inferr'd that one and the ſame Story is related, when the principal Circumſtances, for which the Fact is recorded, are not the ſame. For inſtance, *Luke* tells us, [x] that *Peter*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, having been a whole Night fiſhing in the Lake of *Genneſareth*, had taken no Fiſhes; but letting down their Net at the Command of *Jeſus*, they immediately drew out a prodigious Multitude. A Relation like this is alſo given us by [y] *John*; but ſince the Times do not agree, nor the Circumſtances before and after, No-body ſure can be ſo void of Reaſon, as to take them both for the ſame Hiſtory. We may paſs the ſame Judgment upon other Relations, particularly upon the following:

In the ſecond Year of our Lord's Miniſtry, according to the Diſtribution above, *Luke* [z] relates that *Jeſus* was invited to a Feaſt at the Houſe of one *Simon* a *Phariſee*; where being ſat, a Woman, that had been of a looſe Converſation, ſtood behind him, and wept in ſuch abundance, that ſhe waſhed his Feet with her Tears, which ſhe afterwards wiped with the Hair of her Head, and kiſſed them, and anointed them with Ointment. *John* [a] reports a Story much like this of *Mary* the Siſter of *Lazarus* and *Martha*: But then the Fact he ſpeaks of happen'd in the fourth Year of our Saviour's Miniſtry; and beſides the Difference of Time, there are other Circumſtances which greatly vary. This latter Feaſt, in all Appearance, was in *Martha*'s Houſe; and the Diſcourſes ariſing from the Action of *Mary* are quite another Nature from thoſe in *Luke*, as any one may ſee who compares the Paſſages. And for theſe Reaſons learned Men generally agree that they are two Stories.

But then there is alſo a third Relation of the ſame kind, taken from [b] *Matthew* and [c] *Mark*, who both agree in the Circumſtances, and ſay it happen'd at *Bethany* in the Houſe of *Simon the Leper*. Now it is much contended that this is the ſame Story with that of *John*, becauſe *Bethany was the City of* Mary *and her Siſter* Martha, and it is not expreſly ſaid by *John*, that the Feaſt which he mentions was at *Martha*'s Houſe. (Tho' by the way, he tells us *that* Martha *ſerved*, which ſhe would hardly have done at the Houſe of *Simon*.) Beſides, ſay they, many of the Circumſtances in *John* are very much like thoſe in *Matthew* and *Mark*. *Grotius* goes further, and maintains, that all the three Stories are the ſame, notwithſtanding that the Circumſtances in *Luke* are ſo widely different from all the reſt.

Let us now conſider briefly what may be offered, to prove that they are three diſtinct Hiſtories. 1. Neither *Luke* nor *John* agrees with *Matthew* and *Mark* in reſpect of Time: What *Luke* relates was tranſacted in the ſecond Year of our Lord's Miniſtry; *John*'s Relation muſt be referr'd to an Entertainment immediately after the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*; and he expreſly tells us, [d] *it was ſix Days before the Paſſover*; but the Story in *Matthew* and *Mark* ſeems ſo connected with that of his being betray'd by *Judas*, that we can hardly think there ſhould be an Interval of five Days put between them. 2. Tho' *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, agree in this, that *at a Feaſt, in the Houſe of one* Simon, *a Woman came, having an Alabaſter Box of Ointment, and poured it on Jeſus*, 'tis not therefore neceſſary to ſuppoſe either that *Jeſus* was but at one Feaſt, or that he knew but one *Simon*. The contrary of both is evident from the Goſpels; beſides that the *Simon* in *Matthew* and *Mark* is called *the Leper*, and he in *Luke*, *a Phariſee*. Add to this, that as anointing with Oil was a common Thing at genteel Entertainments, we need not wonder that it was repeated to *Jeſus*, who was received in the Character of a Prophet at leaſt. And moreover, what was done by one, not only with his Permiſſion, but with his Approbation, was very likely to be imitated by a ſecond, and a third, eſpecially among his devout Admirers, every one of whom was willing to do a Thing that pleaſed him. 3. What Agreement may ſeem to be between *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *John*, is not ſo ſtrong an Argument as the great Probability there is that the Feaſt mentioned by the latter was at the Houſe of *Martha*. Obſerve his Words: *Then* Jeſus, *ſix Days before the Paſſover, came to* Bethany, *where* Lazarus *was, whom he raiſed from the Dead: There they made him a Supper, and* Martha *ſerved; but* Lazarus *was one of them that ſat at the Table with him. Then took* Mary, &c. Can any Thing be more plainly intimated? 4. *Luke* differs from all the reſt, in telling us that the Woman waſhed the Feet of *Chriſt* with her Tears before ſhe anointed them with Ointment, which Circumſtance the reſt would not have omitted in the ſame Story. He alſo differs remarkably from *John* in particular, in telling us that his Woman was of a lewd Life; a Character which we certainly ought not to apply to *Mary* the Siſter of *Lazarus*, whom *Jeſus* commends for her having [e] *choſen that good Part, which ſhould never be taken from her*. Nor indeed have we any room to think that the Woman mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark* was of a bad Life, becauſe no ſuch Thing is intimated by them. Thus have we clearly diſtinguiſhed the three Hiſtories, according to our Rule, and ſhewn, that notwithſtanding their Agreement in many Circumſtances, they differ too much in others to paſs for the ſame.

3. This leads us to a third Obſervation, which concerns the Agreement of the Sacred Writers in other Circumſtances, when they relate Facts which the Order of Time, or Circumſtance of Place, will not permit us to take for the ſame. The Rule is, *That Jeſus did and ſaid many Things*

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[x] Luke v. at the Beginning.

[y] John xxi. at the Beginning.

[z] Luke vii. 36. & ſeq.

[a] John xii. at the Beginning.

[b] Matth. xxvi. 6.—13.

[c] Mark xiv. 3.—9.

[d] John xii. 1.

[e] Luke x. 42.

of a like Nature, occaſioned by the like Motives. For want of reflecting on this, the Writers of Harmonies have frequently broke the whole Tenor of the Goſpel-Hiſtory, by confounding together Things that bear a Reſemblance, merely on account of that Reſemblance, when they apparently belong to very different Times, or were tranſacted in Places remote from each other. We ſhall here, as we have elſewhere done, produce ſome plain and evident Examples, to ſupport what we lay down as a Maxim, and then leave the Reader to apply it on other Occaſions of like Nature.

About the Time of the firſt Paſſover, as mentioned by [f] *John*, *Jeſus* went into the Temple, and drove out the Buyers and Money-Changers, charging them not to make his Father's Houſe *a Houſe of Merchandiſe.* The ſame thing was done by him a little before the fourth Paſſover, mentioned by the other [g] three Evangeliſts, who tell us that he rebuked the Merchants for converting the Temple *into a Den of Thieves.*

Our Lord is deſcribed by St. *Matthew* [h] as freely inſtructing his Diſciples in many things concerning the Nature of Prayer, and as giving them a Form alſo, without any Intreaty on their Side: But St. [i] *Luke* introduces the ſame Form as given at their Requeſt, with other different Circumſtances and Diſcourſes.

Having in the ſecond Year of his Miniſtry ſent his twelve Apoſtles to preach the Goſpel throughout all *Galilee*, he gave them Inſtructions [k] ſuitable to the Occaſion, which were repeated when [l] he ſent forth the ſeventy Diſciples throughout *Judea* upon the like Deſign: And all the Reaſon in the World for it; for being upon the ſame Commiſſion, they certainly had need of the very ſame Orders.

He very frequently inculcates his Doctrines and Admonitions, that are of high Concern, by Repetitions, to make them ſink deeper into the Minds of his Diſciples, who were hard of Apprehenſion, and apt to forget. And thus oftentimes, even from the firſt Opening of his Miniſtry, [m] he foretold his Death and Reſurrection to be within three Days: For which there was a manifeſt Neceſſity, in that his Apoſtles could ſcarcely be convinced of it, even after the Accompliſhment of the Prediction. No wonder then that he uſed Repetitions to Men that wanted them ſo much, and were at firſt ſo hard to be perſuaded. He often forewarns them of Perils and Tribulation to be undergone for his Goſpel, that that they may not flatter themſelves with hopes of better Fortune, and ſo, upon Events contrary to their Expectation, be ſurpriſed, and driven from a Profeſſion of the Truth. And yet we ſee that for all his Admonitions, ſo many and ſo perſpicuous, they could not be perſuaded from the Thoughts of his terreſtrial Kingdom [n], but on the very Day of his Aſcenſion ask'd him concerning it; nor were they to be brought from this habitual Miſtake, by any thing but the powerful Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt. If therefore there ſhould occur in this Hiſtory, under diſtinct Periods of Time, Sayings and Diſcourſes of our Saviour alike in Senſe, or even the ſame in Expreſſion, the Reader is not to wonder at it, but remember the Precept here laid down, and the Inſtances given to illuſtrate it.

We may add to the above an Inſtance or two of Anſwers repeated to Perſons who put the ſame Queſtion, or ſtarted the ſame Objection, that this Rule may appear in a greater Variety of Lights.

In the third Year of his Miniſtry, *Jeſus* being come to *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of the Dedication, ſome of the *Phariſees* ask'd him [o] *When the Kingdom of God ſhould come?* To which he makes anſwer, *That the Kingdom of God cometh not with Obſervation; neither ſhall they ſay, Lo here, or lo here; for behold the Kingdom of God is within you:* And ſhuts up his Reply with a Proverb: [p] *Whereſoever the Body is, thither will the Eagles be gathered together.* To the like Queſtions put to him by his Apoſtles, *as he ſat on the Mount of Olives*, in his fourth Year, not long before his laſt Paſſover, he returns this [q], or a like Anſwer, with the Addition of other Circumſtances.

Thus in the ſecond Year of his Miniſtry, being to croſs the Lake of *Genneſareth* from the Weſtern Shore to the Eaſtern, he was accoſted by a Scribe in theſe Words: [r] *Maſter, I will follow thee whitherſoever thou goeſt. And* Jeſus *ſaith unto him, The Foxes have Holes, and the Birds of the Air have Neſts; but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his Head. And another of his Diſciples ſaid unto him, Lord, ſuffer me firſt to go and bury my Father: But* Jeſus *ſaid unto him, Follow me, and let the Dead bury their Dead.* The ſame likewiſe was ſpoken by him on ſuch another Occaſion [ſ], when he was going up to *Jeruſalem* in the third Year of his Miniſtry: But in this latter Story there is a third Perſon, who makes a different Excuſe.

In a Word, when we rehearſe different Hiſtories with the ſame Circumſtances and Diſcourſes in them, there will be no Reaſon to cenſure our Collation of the Goſpels, as if we had multiplied Facts, and repeated them in different Places; ſince 'tis apparent that our Lord frequently ſaid and did the ſame Thing on the ſame Occaſion, and anſwered Queſtions and Objections of a like Import by Words which he had before uſed: And this is a remarkable Inſtance both of the Simplicity of the Goſpel, and of the tranſcendent Wiſdom of our bleſſed Saviour, who never ſpoke at one time, what he had need to alter or correct at another.

4. But in the next Place, we ſhould always remember, in order to preſerve a due Regard for the ſacred Writers, that *a ſmall Variation of Circumſtances, or of Method in relating the ſame Circumſtance, does by no means imply a Contradiction.* If the Evangeliſts had all proceeded ſo as to have no Difference in their Hiſtories, unleſs in Phraſe and Expreſſion, a Man might have ſuſpected

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[f] John ii. 13. & ſeq.
[g] Matth. xxi. 12, 13. Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. Luke xix. 45, 46.
[h] Matth. vi. 5, &c.
[i] Luke xi. at the Beginning.
[k] Matth. x. throughout. Mark vi. 7.—11. Luke ix. 1—5.
[l] Luke x. 1——16.
[m] John ii. 19.
[n] Acts i. 6.
[o] Luke xvii. 20, 21.
[p] Ver. 37.
[q] Matth. xxiv. Mark xiii. & Luke xxi.
[r] Matth. viii 19——22.
[ſ] Luke ix. 57——62.

(and the Oppoſers of Chriſtianity would certainly have inſiſted very ſtrongly on it) that they had laid their Heads together, or peruſed one another's Writings, to the Intent that they might not vary; a Suſpicion that would not eaſily have been removed from the Minds of the leſs Credulous, and in itſelf very derogatory from the Honour of the Goſpel. But the Divine Spirit, the original Author of theſe Writings, hath ſuffered his Inſtruments ſeemingly to differ in ſome little Circumſtances, that it might be apparent nothing was done by Confederacy, and to obviate the leaſt Shadow of a fraudulent Combination. However, they always agree in the main, and it is no difficult Matter to reconcile them; as particularly in the following Paſſages.

The Voice from Heaven, at our Lord's Baptiſm, is recited by *Matthew* after this Manner: [t] *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* But when the ſame Fact is related by [u] *Mark* and [w] *Luke*, the Addreſs is in the ſecond Perſon: *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* The firſt of theſe Forms ſuppoſes God the Father ſpeaking to *John*, and thoſe who ſtood by; the ſecond ſuppoſes him ſpeaking to *Jeſus* himſelf: But the Senſe is plainly the ſame in both. Thus alſo in the Account of our Lord's Temptation, which immediately follows, there is ſome Diverſity of Method between *Matthew* and *Luke*: For [x] *Matthew* relates that part of it laſt, which was upon the high Mountain, but [y] *Luke* that which happened upon the Pinnacle of the Temple. It cannot, however, be objected that they claſh in this Particular, becauſe neither of them pretends here to have kept a ſtrict Order of Time.

St. *Auſtin* is of Opinion, [z] that this Variety was allowed by the Divine Spirit, *To ſatisfy us that we ought not to reckon a Man a Liar, if in a Story which many know beſides him, he hits not upon the very Words, but gives however the Subſtance; or if he tranſpoſes the Method, or gives one equivalent Phraſe for another; or if he ſpeaks not all, becauſe it does not preſently occur to his Memory, or becauſe he thinks what is omitted may be inferred; or if he explains not a Matter throughly, but touches upon ſome things only in part, that he may have room to relate what is more to his Purpoſe; or if to illuſtrate or confirm any thing, he puts in a Phraſe, or ſo, for which he has good Authority, without adding to the thing itſelf; or if, tho' he remembers the Occurrence perfectly well, he is not however able to repeat it in the very Expreſſions that were told him.* This Father had better have ſaid, That God ſuffered ſuch a Variety *To ſtop the Mouths of Gain-ſayers*; for tho' what is here advanced may be properly drawn as a Corollary from the Diverſity in the Goſpels, yet we ought not therefore to conclude that God's Intent in ſuffering that Diverſity was only to inſinuate theſe general Notions concerning the Authors of other Narratives. We ought not to look for any other Deſign in the Method of the Evangeliſts, than what reſpects the Goſpels themſelves; and the Authority of theſe is much confirmed by the Variety we are ſpeaking of, which is no where ſo great, or in Matters of ſo much Importance, that the Relations can upon that Account be inferred to be falſe, or, what is nearly the ſame, contradictory.

VII. The next general Rule for reconciling the Evangeliſts is this: *The Miſtakes of Tranſcribers, if any ſuch can be found in the Goſpels, ought not to be taken for Contradictions in the Hiſtory.* Every Body muſt allow this to be an inconteſtable Truth; but the Queſtion is, How are theſe Miſtakes to be known? By collating together antient Copies, and collecting the various Readings. But among the various Readings, which are very numerous, how ſhall we know which are the miſtaken ones? The Number and Authority of the Copies, which are conſulted on this Occaſion, would determine it in the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt Way, but perhaps not always in the ſafeſt. The Rules of free and impartial Criticiſm, which always labours to find out the Truth, and has been employ'd with ſo much Succeſs upon other Authors of Antiquity, might perhaps be of Service here, could there be Men found to apply them, who were ſufficiently diſintereſted, learned, and judicious. And certainly, if one Evangeliſt ſhould be found ſo to differ from the reſt in any Particular, as not to be reconciled according to the common Reading, and this Difference depended only upon the Variation of a little Word, or a numerical Letter, one would think it ſhould not be accounted a preſumptuous Attempt in the Perſon who ventured to alter and reſtore ſuch a Letter or Particle, provided he thereby put no Force upon the Conſtruction, and followed only the Authority of the other Evangeliſts.

Many great Critics are of Opinion, that there is a Miſtake of this Kind committed in the Goſpel of *John*, they having in vain attempted to reconcile him with the other Evangeliſts, concerning the Hour in which *Jeſus Chriſt* was condemned by *Pilate*. *John* [a] determines it to be about the ſixth Hour; whereas *Mark* [b] affirms him to have been crucified at the third Hour. *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, after letting us know that *Jeſus* had been ſome Time upon the Croſs, conſent that about the ſixth Hour there was an univerſal Darkneſs till the ninth. 'Tis therefore contended that in *John*, inſtead of the *ſixth Hour*, ſhould be read the *third Hour*: And, doubtleſs, *John* muſt be underſtood to have meant the ſame Thing with *Mark*, who agrees exactly with the other Evangeliſts. If there be a wrong Lection therefore, *John* ought rather to be reſtored by *Mark*, than *Mark* by him, becauſe *Mark* has the Suffrages of two other Writers, of the ſame ſacred Character with himſelf, to ſupport what he has advanced. This Reſtoration might be made by altering only a [d] ſingle numerical Letter, or Figure; and the Author [e] of an antient Commentary upon the Pſalms, and after him [f] *Petavius*, have thought this the moſt commodious way of doing it. *Hammond* [g] ſays, that as the Diviſions of the Day among the *Jews* conſiſted of three Hours each, all the Time from the third Hour till the ſixth was called ſtill the third Hour; ſo that St. *John*'s *about the ſixth Hour*, and St. *Mark*'s *third Hour*, may very properly be taken for the ſame. But *Le Clerc*, who tranſlated *Hammond*'s Annotations into *Latin*, and wrote additional Notes to them, ſeems not to be content with what his Author affirms, and therefore ſubſtitutes another Interpretation of his own. But this he afterwards rejects again in his *Harmony of the Goſpels*, and tells us, that after duly weighing all the Circumſtances, he cannot find out any Thing ſatisfactory in this Particular: So that, in ſhort, according to him, this Matter muſt either be left in Suſpence, or *John* muſt be made to conform with *Mark*. This is, however, merely a Point of verbal Criticiſm, and what can have no Influence upon our Faith; nor can it be taken as an Exception to what we ſaid above, That there are no material Differences, in Points of high Importance, to be found in the Writings of the Evangeliſts.

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[t] Matth. iii. 17.
[u] Mark i. 11.
[w] Luke iii. 23.
[x] Matth. iv. 1—11.
[y] Luke iv. 1—13.
[z] In his Harmony of the Evangeliſts. l. 2. n. 28.
[a] John xix. 14.
[b] Mark xv. 35.
[c] Matth. xxvii. 15. Mark xv. 33. Lnke xxiii. 44.
[d] Putting ſ in the place of ϛ.
[e] Suppoſed to be St. Jerom. V. Pſal. lxxvii.

As to what we ſaid of collating antient Copies, 'tis neceſſary here to ſubjoin the Sentiments of M. *Le Clerc* on that Particular, that we may diſtinguiſh the Opinion of the Author whom we profeſs to follow, from what we advance of our own. He ſays, we muſt uſe great Precaution in admitting the Conjectures of antient Critics and Tranſcribers, whoſe Ignorance occaſioned them, in reconciling Places of Scripture, to correct one by another, as the beſt Commentators have frequently obſerved. Take an Inſtance or two of this, ſays he, from *Beza*, who, upon the laſt Chapter of *Mark*, obſerves, *That the antient* Greek *Editions differ wonderfully in that Chapter, which St.* Jerom *affirms is not to be found in ſome Copies of the Goſpels, being ſo full of Claſhings with the other Evangeliſts.* And then he continues: *But my Judgment is, that it was ſtruck out wrongfully, and may be eaſily reſtored, and made to agree with the reſt.* To which Opinion our Author freely ſubſcribes, and cannot expreſs how much he blames this Raſhneſs of Critics and Tranſcribers.

Beza gives another Inſtance of this Boldneſs from a Manuſcript of great Antiquity in *Greek* and *Latin*, which is to be ſeen at *Cambridge*. There, in the third Chapter of *Luke*, the Genealogy of *Chriſt* is recounted up to *Solomon*, agreeably to *Matthew*, and not to *Nathan*, as in all other Editions. 'Tis done indeed by a Line of Aſcent, as in the true Copies of *Luke*, and not of Deſcent, as in *Matthew*, and has alſo the Addition of all thoſe Names that were omitted by *Matthew*, upon the Account of his diſtinguiſhing his Genealogy into ſeveral Claſſes. But notwithſtanding, 'tis evident that this Alteration of the Line was made to reconcile *Matthew* and *Luke*, againſt the Authority of all other Editions, and the univerſal Conſent of Antiquity, which was greatly perplexed in its Endeavours to make theſe Evangeliſts agree. Upon this M. *Le Clerc* obſerves, That we muſt be cautious of reconciling Places from ſuch corrupted Manuſcripts, and ſhould commonly prefer that Reading in which the Difficulty occurs, to that wherein the Evangeliſts conſent: For the Chriſtian Editors, ſays he, had no Reaſon to make Repugnancies in the Text; but there may be a very plain Reaſon aſſign'd for their altering of it, namely, to reconcile ſeeming Differences.

VIII. Let us obſerve further, *That many Things in the Goſpels, which ſeem contradictory, may be reconciled by reſtoring the true Order of the Hiſtory.* If ſeveral Perſons undertake to write a Hiſtory, containing only plain Matters of Fact, and do not all of them obſerve the due Courſe of Circumſtances, they muſt neceſſarily at firſt Sight appear contradictory one to another, eſpecially to a Reader who is not informed of their having neglected the true Order of Things. This is certainly the Caſe of the Evangeliſts, as has been already obſerved, and will more largely appear in the Courſe of this Work: We ought not therefore to judge haſtily that they write Inconſiſtencies, though we are not able to make them accord with each other in the preſent Order of their Narratives, becauſe an Agreement may frequently be made by taking their Words aſunder, and inſerting thoſe of one Evangeliſt between thoſe of another, or by putting that laſt which is firſt, and that firſt which is laſt. An Inſtance of this Kind is produced above in the Accounts of our Lord's Temptation, as given by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and another may be here added from the Teſtimony of *John Baptiſt* concerning *Jeſus*, which is reported by [h] *Mark* in fewer Words than by [i] *Matthew* and [k] *Luke*, and thoſe few in a different Order from theirs. The Reader may conſult the Paſſages; and when he has done, let him read this excellent Remark of St. *Auſtin* upon them. [l] *If any Man asks which were the very Expreſſions of* John Baptiſt, *thoſe mentioned by* Matthew *and* Luke, *or thoſe delivered in fewer Terms, and with ſome Omiſſions, by* Mark, *he may ſatisfy himſelf in this Point, if he wiſely conſiders, that whatever the Words are, 'tis the Senſe alone that is neceſſary for underſtanding the Truth: For the ſame Thing may be ſet down in a different Order of Words, and imply no Contradiction; nor is it a Contrariety, if one Man obſerves what was pretermitted by others.* Indeed 'tis evident that they have given us the ſame Story in Subſtance, tho' differing in ſome Circumſtances; which Variety ariſes from the different Memories of the Hiſtorians, and their Purpoſes of writing in a Stile either more brief or more copious; the firſt of which was undoubtedly choſen by St. *Mark*.

We may be able, at the End of this Work, if it ſhould then be thought neceſſary, to refer to a great Number of ſeeming Inconſiſtencies in the Goſpels, which will be reconciled in our Hiſtory, only by this Method of collating the Evangeliſts together, taking their Words aſunder, and framing from them all one uninterrupted Relation. This will appear not only in Places where different Evangeliſts relate the ſame Story with ſome Variety, but alſo where a Fact is recorded by one Evangeliſt only, without any certain Marks to determine the Order of it, but what are taken from this Collation of him with the reſt. *Matthew* and *Luke* thus illuſtrate each other, in the Hiſtory of our Saviour's Infancy; upon which Occaſion St. *Auſtin*, whom we have ſo often quoted in this Diſſertation, makes a very acute Remark, worthy to be here inſerted. [m] *We muſt know*, ſays he, *that all the Evangeliſts continue their Hiſtory with that Tenor and Thread, as if they had not omitted the leaſt Circumſtance, giving no Hint of Things they will not treat of, and ſo linking together all their Incidents, as if they immediately ſucceeded each other. When therefore the Omiſſions of one are publiſhed by another, if we mind the Order of the Hiſtory, the Place is very diſcernable where the other skipt, what goes before being connected with what follows after, by a Tranſition, as if there had been no Intervals between.* Afterwards he inſtances in theſe Particulars. *And thus* Matthew *may be illuſtrated, where he omits our Lord's being in the Temple, and the Prophecies of* Simeon *and* Anna, *mentioned by* Luke, *and only tells us, that the wiſe Men, being warned in a Dream not to return to* Herod, *departed another Way into their own Country: And ſo alſo* Luke *in like Manner, when he proceeds directly to their Return to* Nazareth, *after they had accompliſhed all Things according to the Law, as if this immediately followed their being in the Temple, without taking notice of the Journey into* Egypt, *mentioned by* Matthew. We before made an Obſervation ſomething like this, [n] which the Reader will do well to conſult.

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[f] De Doctrina Temporum.

[g] In Loc. Johan.

[h] Mark i. 7, 8.

[i] Matth. iii. 11, 12.

[k] Luke iii. 16, 17.

[l] Harmon. Evang. l. 2. n. 27.

'Tis indeed a Rule to be obſerved in reading moſt Hiſtories, *That Matters of Fact, remote in Time, are frequently connected by a Tranſition, as Matters are that follow in Succeſſion.* There are a World of Examples to confirm this in all Epitomes of larger Volumes,[o] which may be ſeen by comparing them with the Originals from which they are abridged. And this Method of joining Things by Tranſitions, and making Matters of Fact at the greateſt Diſtance hang together in a continued Thread, is apt to betray unlearned Readers into an erroneous Opinion, that the Facts which are thus connected are indeed nearly related. We could here mark out Abundance of Paſſages of this kind in the Goſpels, but chuſe rather to do it in the Places where they occur, by referring the Reader hither, than to croud them all together in obſcure Citations.

IX. We ſhould now take notice of ſuch Maxims, as may help us to account for thoſe Manners of ſpeaking in the Evangeliſts, which may otherwiſe be thought ſingular, not to ſay improper, in the natural Acceptation of them. Under this Head may be included the following Obſervations.

1. *What a Man employs another to do, he is accountable for himſelf, and therefore ſaid to do it.* This is a celebrated Maxim of the Civilians, which ſhould be frequently remembered in reading, not only the New Teſtament, but all other Hiſtories: For two things follow from hence; 1. That a Perſon may be introduced, eſpecially in a ſhort Narrative, as doing that himſelf which he employs others to do. 2. That a Legate, or Ambaſſador, may be made to deliver his Buſineſs after the ſame Manner as the Perſon who commiſſioned him, if he were preſent, would expreſs himſelf. To which Purport the *Jews* had a double Proverb, [p] That *every Man's Meſſenger is as it were himſelf*; and That *the King's Ambaſſador is as the King himſelf.*

This well conſidered, will further clear up the Relation of the Centurion of *Capernaum*, which we took notice of above. In *Luke* he is ſaid to ſend ſome of the *Jews* to *Jeſus*, not daring to accoſt him in Perſon; but in *Matthew* he addreſſes him himſelf: For *Matthew* being more conciſe in this Place, after the manner of the ſacred Writers, deſcribes him as doing that which he employed others to do. And agreeably hereto *Luke*, tho' he introduces Meſſengers on this Occaſion, yet makes them ſpeak as if the Centurion himſelf were preſent. [q] *When* Jeſus *was now not far from the Houſe, the Centurion ſent Friends to him, ſaying, Lord, trouble not thyſelf; for I am not worthy that thou ſhouldſt come under my Roof.*—— [r] *But ſay the Word, and my Servant ſhall be healed.* That this Manner of ſpeaking is common with the ſacred Penmen, might be proved from a great Number of Inſtances[ſ] in the Old Teſtament as well as the New.

2. *When a Perſon is deſcribed in Generals, the plural Number is often put for the ſingular.* By obſerving this, many Places in the Goſpels may be reconciled, where that is applied to a ſingle Perſon by one Evangeliſt, which is aſcribed to more by the reſt.

Thus in the Caſe of *Herod* King of *Judea*, a ſingle Perſon, an Angel is introduced, ſaying to *Joſeph*, [t] *Ariſe—for they are dead who ſought the Child's Life.* And agreeably hereto the Apoſtles, or Diſciples in general, are reported by one Evangeliſt to ſay that which by another is reſtrained purely to one of them. Thus in the Caſe of the Woman with the Iſſue of Blood, when *Jeſus* demanded who had touched him, *Mark* tells us, that [u] *his Diſciples ſaid to him, Thou ſeeſt the Multitude thronging thee, and askeſt thou, Who touched me?* Which Saying *Luke* [w] aſcribes to *Peter* only. So when he commanded his Diſciples to give Meat to the Five thouſand Men who followed him, three of the Evangeliſts [x] make them anſwer in general, that *they had but five Loaves and two Fiſhes*; but *John*[y] reſtrains this Anſwer to *Andrew*, the Brother of *Simon Peter*. Indeed, what is ſpoken by one, with the Approbation of the reſt, is in effect ſpoken by all. But ſuch a general Expreſſion is ſometimes made uſe of, when the Conſent of all the Parties, which ſeem to be included, cannot be underſtood. And by this means may be ſolved the remarkable Diſagreement between [z] *Luke*'s Account of the Thieves that were crucify'd with our Lord, and the Accounts of the ſame Perſons by [a] *Matthew* and [b] *Mark*: For theſe latter have it in the plural Number, *that the Thieves reviled him*; whereas *Luke* mentions only one of them that *railed on him*, adding the Reproof which was given on that Occaſion by the other, his Petition to *Chriſt*, that *he would remember him when he came into his Kingdom*, and our Lord's Aſſurance, that *he ſhould be with him that Day in Paradiſe*; all which Circumſtances convey an Idea of this Malefactor vaſtly different from what we have of his Companion. But conſider alſo the following Remark.

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[m] Harm. Evang. l. 2. n. 16.

[n] Page 47 of this Work.

[o] M. Le Clerc inſtances in the Epitome of Livy, and Johannes Xiphilinus compared with Dion Cocceianus.

[p] Buxtorfii Lexicon.

[q] Luke vii. 6.

[r] Ver. 7.

[ſ] See Le Clerc's Index to his Commentary on the Pentateuch, at the Word *Nuntius*.

[t] Matth. ii. 20.

[u] Mark v. 31.

[w] Luke viii. 45.

[x] Matth. xiv. 17. Mark vi. 38. Luke ix. 13.

3. *That which is done or ſaid by one or two of any Denomination, is often aſcribed to all of that Denominatien promiſcuouſly.* For inſtance, it may be collected from [c] *Mark*, [d] *Luke*, and [e] *John*, that after *John the Baptiſt* was caſt into Priſon by *Herod*, *Jeſus* went into *Galilee*, and met with a very unkind Reception from his Countrymen the *Nazarenes*; on which Occaſion both *Luke* and *John* make him teſtify, *that a Prophet hath no Honour in his own Country*: And yet *John* tells us in the next Verſe, [f] that *when he was come into* Galilee, *the* Galileans *received him, having ſeen all the Things that he did at* Jeruſalem. Now the Senſe of theſe Words can be no other than this: After the ill Treatment which he met with at *Nazareth*, and of which *Luke* gives a particular Account, he went into ſome other Parts of *Galilee*, where he was more kindly received. And thus the Kindneſs of a few People in that Province, is aſcribed to them under the general Name of all their Countrymen.

There are in the Goſpels many Expreſſions like this, which have a particular Meaning concealed, tho' concluded in general Terms. Thus the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* [g] are ſaid to bring an Adultereſs to *Jeſus*, that is, ſome of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* did this: Which partial Form of Speaking is very frequent. There are often Ambiguities of this Nature in the *Greek* and *Latin*, which are derived to other Languages into which they are tranſlated. Hence it is, that in our Tranſlation we often meet with ſuch Phraſes as theſe: [h] *The* Jews *ſaid unto him*; *the* Jews *ſought to kill him*; *there was a Diviſion among the* Jews; *the* Jews *marvelled*; *the* Jews *took up Stones*; *and the like*: In all which Places no more is meant by the Word *Jews*, than ſuch a Part of them as were preſent at the reſpective Times, or ſome Way or other particularly concerned in what is there related. This being conſidered, we need not wonder if inconſiſtent Expreſſions, and contrary Inclinations, be now and then attributed to a Company of People, of various Intereſts and Opinions, who go all under one Name. For Example, the *Jews* who are ſaid to have believ'd [i] *on Jeſus*, are by no means the ſame with thoſe who are upbraided by him in the [k] ſame Chapter for their barbarous Intent to kill him, and who afterwards [l] reviled him as *one that had a Devil*. For tho' the Evangeliſt gives no diſtinguiſhing Mark to know one Party from another, when he ſpeaks of their Conferences with *Chriſt*, 'tis yet plain, that by *Phariſees* and *Jews* he [m] ſometimes intends to point out the Members of the great Sanhedrim, and at other times only ſome other peculiar Faction, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the Sentiments and Diſcourſes attributed to them.

X. Thus have we taken a View of the principal Rules, by which we may be enabled to reconcile many ſeeming Contradictions in the Writings of the Evangeliſts, and to judge when ſeveral Relations, which agree in Circumſtances, are to be taken for the ſame Hiſtory, and when they are not. Theſe Rules have all of them been illuſtrated with Examples, and will be much more ſo in the Courſe of this Work. But, after all, it is not to be expected that we ſhould infallibly remove every Difficulty that may occur, or that we ſhould connect the Goſpels in a Method which will be liable to no Exceptions: We can only aſſure our Readers, that we ſhall endeavour to do as much this Way, as the Nature of the Thing, and the Helps that have been already publiſhed, will permit. And certainly a judicious Perſon, though he may not be fully ſatisfy'd in every Thing he deſires, will make to himſelf ſuch a Reflection as this.

1. *Suppoſing that Commentators hitherto have not been able to reconcile all ſeeming Contradictions, and to explain all Obſcurities in the ſacred Writings; and even admit that to do this is ſtill impracticable, it does by no means follow that the Evangeliſts really contradict one another, or are obſcure to a Fault.* Obſerve, we do not ſay that there are at this Time Contradictions unreconciled, or Obſcurities unexplained in the Goſpels; but only grant that ſuch Things may ſtill appear to ſome few Perſons; ſince we cannot all take Things in the ſame Way. And this being the Caſe, the Reaſons of what is here advanced are very obvious; For were's the Wonder if there be ſome Things dark and ambiguous in an antient Hiſtory, written in a dead Language, and a conciſe Method, and that not always digeſted by Hiſtorical Rules? Should we be ſurpriz'd, if Diſcourſes addreſſed to a People, many of whoſe Cuſtoms, Tenets, and other Things belonging to them we do not underſtand; I ſay, if theſe Diſcourſes, or rather ſome

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[y] John vi. 8. 9.
[z] Matth. xxvii. 44.
[a] Mark xv. 32.
[b] Luke xxiii. 39——43.
[c] Mark i. 14, 15.
[d] Luke iv. 14——30.
[e] John iv. 43, 44.
[f] Ver. 45.
[g] John viii. 3.
[h] Abundance of this kind may be ſeen in St. John's Goſpel; particularly in the 8th, 9th, and 10th Chapters.
[i] John viii. 30, 31.
[k] Ver. 40.
[l] Ver. 48.
[m] See John ix. in what follows the curing of a Man born blind.

Alluſions in them, happen to be now and then ſomewhat obſcure to us? Beſides, the Ignorance of Commentators has often hindered the Clearing of many Difficulties, which otherwiſe might have been ſurmounted: Of which the laſt two Centuries were remarkable Inſtances, having produced abler Critics on the Scriptures than had lived in four hundred Years before; and we have no Reaſon to think that the preſent Age will come ſhort of either of them in Improvements of this Kind. Perhaps an Age may ſucceed, in which all thoſe Things may be made clear, that have hitherto puzzled the moſt Learned. We muſt not therefore imagine Things impoſſible, which we cannot accompliſh ourſelves, till we have demonſtrated them to be above human Power; nor preſently quarrel with the Scriptures, becauſe we cannot hit upon the right Explication of them.

2. *That the making two Stories of what is really but one, or only one of what was tranſacted at ſeveral Times, or the committing any other Fault of this Kind, after having endeavoured all we can to avoid it, ought not to be accounted a Matter of any great Moment in compoſing a Hiſtory of our Saviour's Life.* This, we think, is demonſtrable: For if a regularly digeſted Hiſtory had been abſolutely neceſſary, as ſome authentic Account of his Life undoubtedly was, we ought not to queſtion but that would have been given us by the Evangeliſts, as well as the other; and that it has not, we have ſufficiently proved. Beſides, it cannot be affirmed that a Fault is committed in any Point of this Nature, till the Thing has been tried by better Authority, and more certain Rules, than what it was before determined by: For 'tis to no Purpoſe that one Perſon's Opinion is contrary to another's, unleſs it be alſo better founded; and when it appears to be ſo, every one that ſearches after the Truth, is always glad to be confuted upon that Condition. In a Word, no Man can do more than endeavour to be right, and if he uſes the proper Means to make himſelf ſo, and purſues the Truth as far as thoſe Means and his own Reflections on them can lead him with Safety, he certainly ought to reſt there till farther Conviction.

In fine, one of our hardeſt Tasks, and what indeed will be more difficult than moſt People may imagine, will be to give the adequate Meaning of all our Lord's Expreſſions and Diſcourſes, or at leaſt to make others believe we do this. Matters of Doctrine are the principal Things about which Chriſtians differ, and conſequently the moſt dangerous Subjects to treat of. As to Points of Chronology, national Hiſtory, and Geography; the Cuſtoms, Tenets, Sects, and religious Rites, of the *Jews*; theſe, and all other Things of the like Nature, may be freely diſputed on, and ſettled from parallel Hiſtories: But 'tis quite otherwiſe with regard to the Doctrine and Precepts of Chriſt, the Standard of our Faith and Practice, in which every one has a real Intereſt, and for ſome Parts of which almoſt every one finds a peculiar Meaning. The following Particulars, with which we ſhall conclude this Diſſertation, will give an Idea of what we here take to be the ſafeſt Courſe.

1. *In paraphraſing the Inſtructions of our Lord, Care muſt be taken to ſet down nothing but what is imported in the Words themſelves, or viſibly conſonant with their Doctrine, and to be drawn from the Tenor of the Diſcourſe by Grammatical Concluſions.* A prolix Explication and Wire-drawing of every Sentence, obliges the Author to deviate from the Simplicity of the Evangeliſts, and intermix Conjectures of his own; which of itſelf is a ſufficient Reaſon why that Method ſhould be avoided: And beſides, in a copious Paraphraſe the Force and Drift of the Diſcourſe, and the Chain of Reaſoning therein, are not ſo viſible to curious Readers, though generally the principal thing they look for in ſuch Performances. Matters that require to be largely treated of, and which in other Works of this Kind are thrown into Notes, are here to be found in the Diſſertations, which are to the Hiſtory what a Commentary ſhould always be to the Text.

2. *In drawing up ſuch a Paraphraſe* as is *here propoſed, recourſe muſt be had to thoſe* Authors *who have ty'd themſelves down by the ſame* Rules, *in order to ſee what is properly deducible* from the *Words, and how they have expreſs'd it.* This Rule is a natural Conſequence of the former.

3. *All Scripture Idioms, which have been tranſlated together with the Bible into our Language, ſhould here be avoided.* 'Tis true that theſe Expreſſions paſs without grating the Ears of any Body, becauſe we have always been habituated to them: But then 'tis alſo true that many who have been accuſtomed to them from their Infancy, and uſe them in their Converſation, do not underſtand their Meaning, though they imagine they do; and certainly this is a good Reaſon why they ſhould give Place to Phraſes which are more intelligible. Abundance of ſeeming Obſcurity will be removed by this Means only: For our Lord inſtructed the *Jews* in the Dialect of the Vulgar, and not in abſtruſe Terms; and if ſo, we may be ſure, that his Doctrine obliges to nothing, either in Faith or Practice, but what may be deſcrib'd as familiarly in our Language, as he formerly ſpoke it in *Hebrew* to the *Jews*. The Reaſon why he is ſometimes hard to be underſtood by the Illiterate, is not becauſe he talks of Things above their Capacity, but becauſe they underſtand not the Idioms of the *Jewiſh* Tongue: When theſe are render'd into common *Engliſh* Phraſes of the ſame Import, there will be little Danger of the Evangeliſts appearing unintelligible, or, what is worſe, of their being taken in a wrong Senſe.

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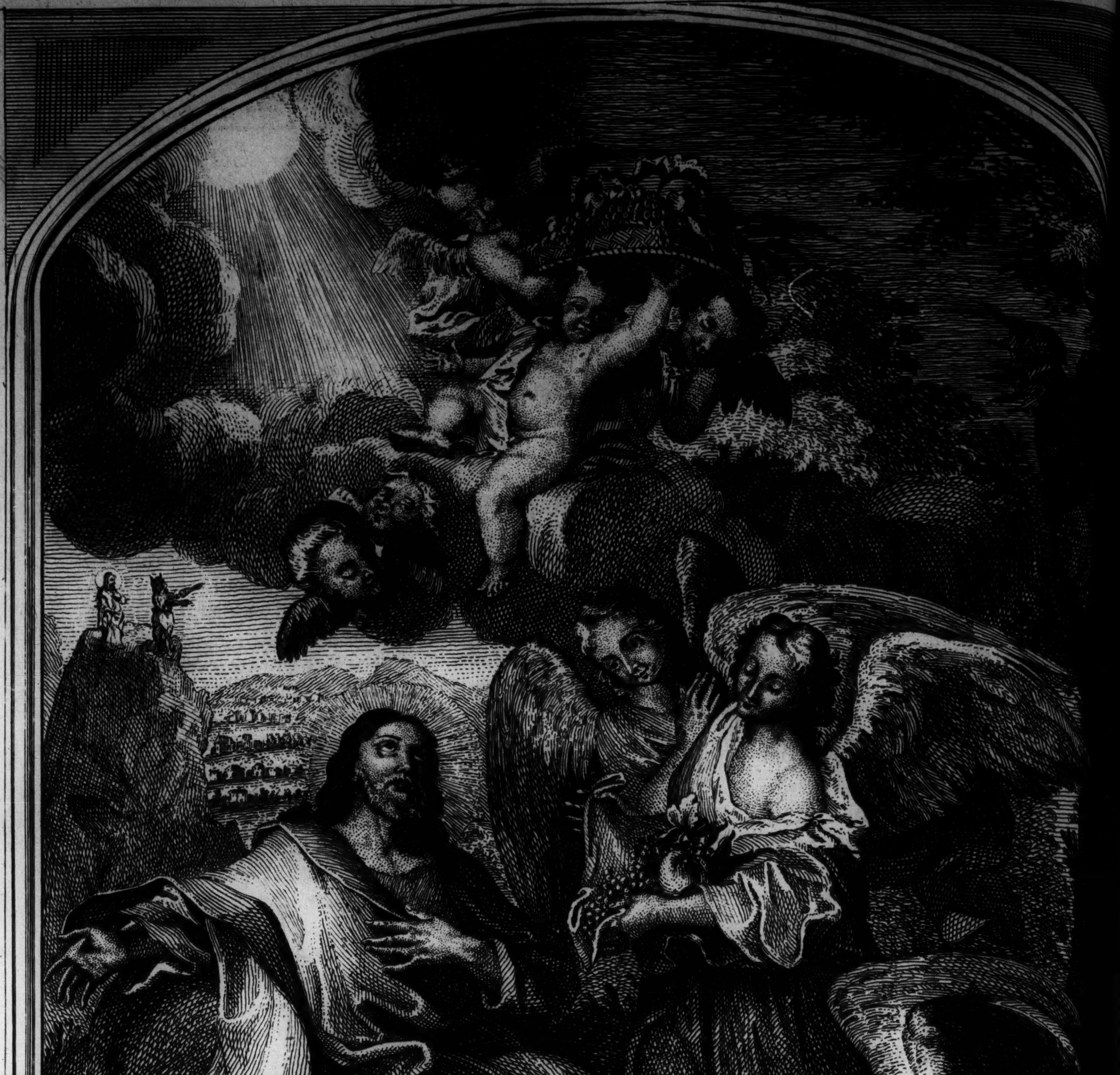

Our Saviour Fasting in the Wilderneſs forty Days
and Satan's Temptation

Luke.IV. Ver.1 to 13

CHAP. II.

I. *Jeſus Chriſt* is baptized. II. The Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, and the Voice from Heaven. III. *Jeſus* goes into the Deſart, and faſts forty Days. IV. His Temptation: The Devil's firſt Effort. V. His Second. VI. His Third. VII. The Devil vanquiſhed: *Jeſus* returns out of the Deſart. VIII, IX. The ſecond Teſtimony of *John* concerning him. X. *John*'s third and fourth Teſtimonies.

I. WHEN [a] John *had been now ſo long in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, that Multitudes of the* Jews *preſented themſelves every Day to be baptized by him in* Jordan, Jeſus Chriſt *came out of* Galilee, *from his Habitation at* Nazareth, *where he had patiently waited for this Opportunity of making his Appearance, and went to* Jordan, *to be baptized among others by his Forerunner. The* Baptiſt *had never ſeen the Face of* Jeſus Chriſt; (*the Divine Wiſdom having ſo ordered it, to prevent any Suſpicion of Fraud or Compact, that they ſhould be educated in two very diſtant Parts of* Paleſtine:) *but being inclined, either by an inward Revelation, or ſome outward Circumſtance, to take him for the Meſſiah, he very ſtrongly oppoſed his Intention, alledging, that he himſelf ought rather to be baptized by* Jeſus, *who was much his Superior*; and comeſt thou, *ſays he,* to me? *To this* Jeſus *anſwered by informing him, that tho' he came on purpoſe to be baptized by him, 'twas not becauſe he ſtood in need of it as it repreſented the inward Purging of the Mind from Vices, but only from his Reſolution of complying with all the religious Obſervances of the* Jews, *and the Neceſſity he was under of ſanctifying this Ordinance for the Uſe of his Church: Whereupon* John *no longer heſitated, but immediately* [b] *executed his Office.*

II. *As ſoon as the ſacred Rite was performed, and our Lord come up out of* Jordan, *he immediately addreſs'd himſelf to Heaven by Prayer: Wherein we may ſuppoſe he offered himſelf to all thoſe hard Services and Sufferings for the Redemption of Mankind, which Infinite Juſtice exacted. While he was thus praying, the* Baptiſt *and all the People preſent having their Eyes fixed upon him, all on ſudden the Clouds parted, the Heavens ſeemed to open, and the Air was illuminated with a new and glorious Light; when, behold the Holy Ghoſt deſcended in a viſible Form, in the Manner and with the Motion of a Dove, and reſted on the Head of* Jeſus: *And at the ſame Inſtant a Voice was heard from Heaven, pronounced by God the Father, ſaying,* [c] Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed. *Here was the whole Myſtery of the Trinity opened and revealed unto us, in as high a Degree as our imperfect Capacities can comprehend; with a juſt Reaſon why our Lord ordained that Chriſtian Baptiſm ſhould be for ever adminiſtred in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, ſince all the three Perſons were combined and manifeſted at this Baptiſm of the* Word *incarnate. And this viſible Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt was a Confirmation to* John, *that* Jeſus *was the Meſſiah.* [d] For he that ſent him to baptize with Water, the ſame ſaid unto him, Upon whom thou ſhalt ſee the Spirit deſcending, and remaining on him, the ſame is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt.

[e] III. *After our bleſſed Lord had been thus baptized, and declared the Son of God in the glorious Manner juſt deſcribed, being full of the Holy Ghoſt, he retired from* John, *and was driven by the Spirit into the Wilderneſs; not driven by any unnatural Violence, but by the Efficacy of Inſpiration, by the Influence of that Holy Spirit which deſcended on him at his Baptiſm, which always reſided in him in the ſame Plenitude, (not being given by Meaſure,) but acted more or leſs in his Humanity as Occaſion was offered. The End of this Retreat was, that by baffling the Temptations of the evil Spirit, he might begin to triumph over the grand Enemy of Mankind in our ſtead, and point out to us the Duty of withſtanding all his Suggeſtions.* [f] It behoved him in all things to be like to his Brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High-prieſt.—For in that he himſelf hath ſuffered, being tempted, he is able to ſuccour them that are tempted. *To prepare for this great Work of oppoſing the Devil, he abode in the Deſart forty Days and forty Nights, in a continual Faſt, without ſo much as taſting a Bit of Bread, or a Drop of Water: Which was the ſame Time that* Moſes *continued faſting on Mount* Sinai, *both when he received the Law from God, and when he made* [g] *Interceſſion for the grievous Sin of the* Iſraelites *in worſhipping a golden Calf.*

IV. *'Tis not recorded what happened to our bleſſed Lord during the Time that he continued in the Deſart, only that towards the Concluſion of it he began to be hungry; the Divinity at length permitting the Man to yield to this Infirmity of human Nature. Hereupon the Evil Spirit, who we may imagine was the Prince of Darkneſs himſelf, having waited all this while to take the Advantage of ſome Paſſion or Inclination, perceiving what he thought a very fair Opportunity for his Purpoſe, drew near to him, and told him, that ſince he was the Son of God, and therefore ſuperior to the Laws of Nature, he might aſſwage his Hunger with the very Stones, which at his Command would be changed into the Subſtance of Bread, there being no Poſſibility of his being ſupplied in a common and ordinary Way: Which Temptation, the more kind and harmleſs it ſeemed to be, was ſo much*

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[a] Matth. iii. 13——17. Mark 9, 10, 11. Luke iii. 21, 22.

[b] The Day of our Saviour's Baptiſm is commonly believed to be the 6th of January, the ſame Day on which we celebrate the Epiphany.

[c] In Matthew, *This is my beloved,* &c. in Luke, *Thou art—in thee I am,* &c. See the Diſſertation immediately preceding.

[d] John i. 33.

[e] Matth. iv. 1——11. Mark i. 12, 13. Luke iv. 1——13.

[f] Heb. ii. 17, 18.

[g] Deut. ix 18.

the more dangerous; the Devil hoping thereby to allure him to ſhew ſome ſuperfluous Acts of his Power for the Honour of his Humanity, by which he might have made a Breach of his Reſignation and Obedience to the Will of his heavenly Father. But Jeſus *anſwered him, that 'twas written by* Moſes, [h] Man ſhall not live by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God: *Intimating, that we are, for all our Wants to depend upon the divine Providence of God, who is able with a Word to ſupply our Neceſſities, as he did that of the* Iſraelites *in the Deſart with* Manna; *alſo, that his Meat, and Drink, and Life, was the obſerving his Father's Word and Command, there being a Promiſe of all neceſſary Proviſions, either expreſſed or implied in every Commandment of God, to thoſe who are engaged in his Work and Service, and therefore there was no need of ſuch a ſupernatural Tranſmutation of Stones into Bread, as he had wickedly ſuggeſted.*

V. *The Devil not prevailing by this Stratagem, immediately had Recourſe to another. He takes up our Lord, carries him to* Jeruſalem, *and there ſets him upon the higheſt Part of the Temple; which was ſo high on the South Side, next to the Valley, that a Man's Eyes could ſcarce reach the unmeaſurable Height. Here he requires him to ſhew another Demonſtration of this Divinity, by caſting himſelf down from the Place where he ſtood, at the ſame Time ſubtilly reminding him again of his being the Son of God, and applying to him a Text out of the* Pſalms, [i] That God would give his Angels Charge concerning him, to keep him, and bear him up in their Arms, leſt at any Time he ſhould daſh his Feet againſt the Stones; *which Words, if not originally meant of him alone, yet, as ſpoken in general of all God's Servants, might truly be extended to his Son. But* Jeſus *ſtill remaining fix'd upon the Baſis of his Humility, ſoon retorted upon him another Text out of* Deuteronomy: It is written again, *ſays he,* [k] Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God, *as if thou doubtedſt of his Power and Goodneſs; meaning, that God's Care and Providence over us is not to be try'd by extravagant and unneceſſary Experiments.*

VI. *And now the Devil, having been twice diſappointed, makes his third and laſt Effort. From the Pinnacle of the Temple he tranſports our Lord to the Top of an* [l] *exceeding high Mountain, from which Eminence he gave him a Proſpect of vaſt Tracts of Ground round about him, including ſome of the moſt wealthy and ſpacious Kingdoms of the World, of all which he told him he was the Lord, and could diſpoſe of them at his Pleaſure:* All theſe, *ſays he,* I will beſtow upon you, and inſtantly inveſt you in the Poſſeſſion of them, upon the Condition that you ſhall only fall down, and do Homage to me, as to your God. *The Tempter knew that Wealth and Honour are the Baits with which Men are moſt frequently taken, and by which, if the Snare did but once lay hold of him, he could the moſt effectually work our Lord's Overthrow. He did not now treat him as the Son of God, as he had done in the two preceding Temptations, but rather as the Son of* Joſeph, *a mere Man, who was liable to be taken with the common Allurements of the World. This unparallelled Boldneſs and Blaſphemy provoked our Lord to treat him with the utmoſt Indignation, which he expreſs'd by calling him* Satan, *an Enemy of God, and commanding him to depart:* [m] For, *ſays he,* it is again written by *Moſes,* Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.

VII. *Thus our Lord repelled the laſt Temptation of the evil Spirit, who thereupon finding himſelf entirely fruſtrated in his preſent Deſign, and not being able to withſtand the powerful Words,* Get thee behind me, Satan, *departed from him for a Seaſon; reſolving however not to leave off purſuing him with his Agents, and determined to ſtir up the Hatred and Envy of Mankind as much as poſſible againſt him. But our Lord, by the Power of this laſt Rebuke, had effectually manifeſted to Satan, what he refuſed to give a Proof of at that Adverſary's Requeſt, that he was the Son of God, and that there was no oppoſing his poſitive Command. And now, after the Temptation followed a Conſolation, in which was verified what our Lord had before hinted to the Devil in his firſt Anſwer, that he depended upon the Care and Providence of his Father. For God ſent his good Angels to miniſter Food to his Son, as he had before in the Deſart ſupplied the* Iſraelites *with Manna, and as afterwards he ſent Proviſions to* Elijah, *when out of the Way of all human Succour. After this, and doubtleſs with a Continuance of the Angelic Miniſtration,* Jeſus *remained ſome time among the wild Beaſts, in the Mountain where he had laſt been tempted, till the proper Seaſon came, in which he was publicly manifeſted to* Iſrael *by the Declaration of his Fore-runner.*

[n] VIII. *From the Time that* Jeſus *had been baptized in* Jordan, *the* Baptiſt *had frequently delivered his Sentiments concerning him, in the following Manner:* This is the Perſon whom I have formerly deſcribed to you in theſe Words, He that cometh after me is preferred before me; for he was before me. And of his Fulneſs have we received a Sufficiency of all Graces: For the Law was given by *Moſes*; but *Jeſus Chriſt* hath brought Grace and Truth into the World, being the Only-begotten Son of God, who came from the Boſom of his Father, to declare his Will unto us. *But notwithſtanding his clear and repeated Teſtimony, that* Jeſus *was the* Meſſiah, *yet the Rulers of* Jeruſalem, *taking notice of the general Concourſe of People to him from all Parts of* Judea, *thought fit to delegate ſome of the Prieſts and Levites, whoſe Buſineſs it was to take Cognizance of theſe Matters, to go and queſtion him, who alſo was of the Sacerdotal Line, concerning the Office he had taken upon him, and the Authority by which he acted. When they were come to the Place where* John *was, and had acquainted him with their Commiſſion, many, who believed him to be the Meſſiah, waited for his Anſwer with ſome Impatience and*

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[h] Deut. viii. 3.

[i] Pſalm xix. 11.

[k] Deut. vi. 16.

[l] Suppoſed by ſome to be Mount Piſgah.

[m] Deut. x. 20.

[n] Matth. iii. 11, 12. Mark i. 7, 8. Luke iii. 15, 16, 17, 18. John i. 15——28.

Anxiety: But he publicly diſowned his being the Meſſiah before them all. The Deputies then, as if they had doubted his being the Son of Zacharias *the Prieſt, or perhaps with a Deſign to enſnare him, demanded of him whether he was* Elias, *the* Jews *having an Opinion that* Elias *muſt come down from Heaven before the Arrival of the Meſſiah. But this* John *in like Manner diſclaimed. They aſked him a third time, If he was one of the antient Prophets? Which he alſo denied. Then they required him, ſince he would not agree to any of the Judgments that had been formed of him, to tell them plainly who he was. To which* John *anſwered,* I am he whom the Prophet *Iſaiah* hath deſcribed in theſe Words, [o] The Voice of one crying in the Wilderneſs, prepare ye the Way of the Lord, make ſtraight in the Deſart a Highway for our God.

IX. *Thoſe who were deputed to* John, *were, as we before obſerved, of the Sect of the* Phariſees, *who were obſtinately tenacious of the Inſtitutions and Opinions of their Anceſtors, and could not endure any Innovation. When* John *had aſſured them, therefore, that he was neither the Meſſiah, nor* Elias, *nor any other Prophet, they deſired him to inform them by what Authority he carried on the Ceremony of baptizing all Comers, as well* Jews *as Proſelytes.* John *replied, that he waſhed them with Water only, without pretending to confer any celeſtial Gifts upon them by this his Baptiſm, but only to ſignify that their Minds ought to be cleanſed from Vice, if ever they would be in Favour with God:* But, *ſays he,* there is a Perſon among you of whom you are hitherto ignorant, who ſhall ſucceed me in the Office of a Meſſenger from God, but with much greater Power and Dignity, for as much as I am not worthy to perform the vileſt Offices of a Servant to him, ſuch as the changing of his Shoes at his return home. *This Perſon, he informed them, would not baptize his Diſciples with Water only, but alſo with the Holy Ghoſt, whom he would ſhed upon them in the Form of Fire: And further, that as the Corn, when it is reaped, is thraſh'd, that it may be ſeparated from the Chaff, in order to be laid up in the Store-houſes, in like manner his Succeſſor would in a little time ſeparate the good Men among the* Jews *from the bad, that theſe might endure the ſevereſt Puniſhments, while the others enjoyed the moſt ample Rewards. With theſe and the like Diſcourſes did* John *entertain the* Jews, *who reſorted to hear his Doctrine: And this public Witneſs he bore to* Jeſus *at* Bethabara, *near the Banks of the River* Jordan, *in whoſe Waters he baptized all thoſe that repaired to him for that Purpoſe.*

X. [p] *In the mean time* Jeſus *returned from the Mountain, on which he was the laſt time tempted in vain by the Devil, and going to* Bethabara, *ſhewed himſelf again to* John, *who ſtill continued preaching and baptizing in that Place. 'Twas the next Day after the* Baptiſt *had publicly teſtified concerning him, to the Meſſengers that were ſent from* Jeruſalem, *when he ſaw* Jeſus *coming a ſecond time towards him. Being tranſported at this Viſit, he immediately broke out into freſh Encomiums of our Lord, affirming him to be the Perſon of whom he had diſcourſed with to thoſe who were ſent to examine him.* This, *ſays he,* is that Lamb without Blemiſh, who ſhall offer himſelf to the Father for a Victim, to expiate the Sins of Mankind. This is the Sacred Perſon of whom I told you, whoſe Dignity and Authority is infinitely ſuperior to mine. I myſelf knew him not at firſt, tho' I had began to baptize the Penitent, and to aſſure them that the Kingdom of God was at hand, that he might by my Preaching be manifeſted to the *Jews.* But I then underſtood that it was he, when after having baptized him, I ſaw the Holy Spirit deſcend upon him in the Shape of a Dove, and remain on him for ſome time: For then I recollected that it had been revealed unto me, when I was firſt ſent to cleanſe the Penitent with Water, that he on whom I ſhould ſee the Holy Spirit deſcend, ſhould in like manner purify his Diſciples by the Donation of that ſame Spirit; therefore, ſince I have ſeen him reſting on this Perſon, I publicly teſtify unto you, that this is the Son of God. *Thus did* John *declare his ſecond Teſtimony concerning Chriſt, after his Baptiſm; and the very next Day after this, the ſame* John, *being with two of his Diſciples, and ſeeing* Jeſus *walking at a Diſtance, he cried out again,* Behold the Lamb of God, of whom I told you Yeſterday.

DISSERTATION I.

On the Baptiſm, Faſting, and Temptation of our Bleſſed Lord.

I. *Account of the Wilderneſs of* Judea, *the River* Jordan, *and the Convent of St.* John. II. *How the Baptiſt knew our Lord.* III. *Of the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt: The* Socinians *anſwered.* IV. *Our Lord's Retirement: The Wilderneſs, and* Quarantania. V. *The firſt Reaſon of our Lord's Retreat.* VI. *The ſecond* Socinian *Objection.* VII. *Of Retirement.* VIII. *Of Satan's Power.* IX. *Of our Lord's Abode with Beaſts.* X. *Of his miraculous Faſting.* XI. *Faſting conſidered as a Chriſtian Duty.* XII. *Conſiderations on the Devil's firſt public Temptation.* XIII. *On his ſecond Attack: Of tempting God.* XIV. *His third Attack, and final Repulſe.* XV. *On the Order of Satan's Temptations.* XVI. *Deſcription of* Bethabara, *&c.*

I. THE [a] Place where *John* preached and baptiz'd was [b] *the Wilderneſs of* Judea, which lay along the River *Jordan*, ſtretching a great Way on each Side of it: Whence *John* is ſaid by St. *Mark* [c] *to baptize* as well as *preach* in the ſame *Wilderneſs*, and by St. *Luke* to [d] *come into all the Country about* Jordan, *preaching the Baptiſm of Repentance for the Remiſſion of Sins.* 'Tis here to be obſerved, that this Tract was called the *Wilderneſs of* Judea, not becauſe it was abſolutely uninhabited, but becauſe it was leſs inhabited than other Parts of the *Holy Land*.

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[o] Iſai. xl. 3.

[p] John i. 28——36.

[a] Well's Geography of the N. Teſt. Part. I. c. iii.

[b] Matt. iii. 1. Mark i. 4.

[c] Mark i. 4.

[d] Luke iii. 3.

As to the River *Jordan*, 'tis the largeſt and moſt celebrated River in all the Country, and the famous *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian *Joſephus* gives the following Account of it. "[e] The Head of this River has been thought to be *Panion*; but in truth it paſſes hither under Ground, and the Source of it is *Phiala*, an hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Cæſarea Philippi*, a little on the Right Hand, and not much out of the Way to *Trachonis*. It is called *Phiala*, that is, the *Phial*, from the round Figure of it; and its Water ſtands always at a Stay, the Baſon being brimful, without either ſhrinking or overflowing. The firſt Diſcovery of this Secret was from *Philip* the Tetrarch of *Trachonis*, by caſting Straws into *Phiala*, that came out again at *Panion*, which till that Time was taken for the Head of *Jordan*. This River thus as to Appearance taking its Original from the Cave of *Panion*, afterwards croſſes the Bogs and Fens of the Lake *Semechonitis*; and after a Courſe of a hundred and twenty Furlongs farther, paſſes under the City of *Julius* or *Bethſaida*, and ſo over the Lake of *Genneſareth*; and then running a long Way through a Wilderneſs or Deſart, it empties itſelf at laſt into the Lake *Aſphaltites*, or the *Dead Sea*." From this Account it appears, that the Vulgar Opinion of this River's ariſing from two Fountains, or Rivulets, one named *Jor*, the other *Dan*, is but ill-grounded, if not wholly fictitious. It may not be improper to obſerve further, that the Cave *Ramion* lying at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, and the Lake *Aſphaltites*, reaching to the Southern Extreme of *Judea*, it follows, that the Courſe of the River *Jordan* is quite from the Northern to the Southern Boundary of the *Holy Land*. And 'tis alſo obſervable, that from the fore-mentioned Account, may be confirmed what we juſt now ſaid, that there lay, in the Times of the New Teſtament, a great deal of Deſart along the River *Jordan*; which, therefore, without all doubt, was the Wilderneſs wherein *John the Baptiſt* came preaching and baptizing, according to the Relations of the Evangeliſts.

Mr. *Maundrell* has obſerved, [f] that the River *Jordan* may be ſaid to have two Banks, whereof the firſt or outermoſt is that to which the River does, or at leaſt antiently did, overflow at ſome Seaſons of the Year, namely, [g] *at the Time of Harveſt*, or [h] *in the firſt Month*, that is in *March*. But at preſent (whether it be becauſe the River by the Rapidity of its Current has worn its Channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether becauſe its Waters are directed ſome other Way) it ſeems to have forgot its antient Greatneſs: For we, ſays the forementioned Author, could diſcern no Sign or Probability of ſuch overflowing when we were there, which was on the 30th of *March*, being the proper Time for theſe Innundations. Nay, ſo far was the River from overflowing, that it ran at leaſt two Yards below the Brink of its Channel.

After having deſcended the outermoſt Bank, you go about a Furlong upon the level Strand, before you come to the immediate Bank of the River. This ſecond Bank is ſo beſet with Buſhes and Trees, ſuch as Tamariſk, Willows, and Oleanders, *&c.* that you can ſee no Water till you have made your way through them. In this Thicket, antiently (and the ſame is reported of it at this Day) ſeveral Sorts of wild Beaſts were wont to harbour themſelves: Whoſe being waſh'd out of their Covert by the Overflowing of the River, gave Occaſion to that Alluſion of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, [i] *He ſhall come up like a Lion from the Swelling of* Jordan. The Water of the River is very turbid, and too rapid to be ſwam againſt. As for its Breadth, 'tis about twenty Yards over, and in Depth far exceeding a Man's Height." That is, in the Part where Mr. *Maundrell* ſaw it; for doubtleſs it varies in theſe Particulars, as all other Rivers do.

The ſame [k] Author informs us further, that within about a Furlong of the River at the Place where he and his Company viſited it, there was an old ruin'd Church and Convent, dedicated to St. *John*, in Memory of his baptizing our bleſſed Lord. It is founded as near as could be conjectured to the very Place where the *Baptiſt* had the Honour to perform that Sacred Office, and to waſh him who was infinitely purer than the Water itſelf; nay, [l] from whom the Water of Baptiſm derives all its Faculty, or ſpiritual Virtue, of cleanſing the inward Man, and waſhing away Sin.

II. When *John the Baptiſt* tells his Diſciples by what Means he knew *Jeſus* to be *the Chriſt*, he mentions only the [m] viſible Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon him at his Baptiſm, which had been given him for a Sign by God, when he ſent him to baptize with Water: But *Matthew* ſays, that when *Jeſus* came to be baptiſed, which was before this Deſcent of the Spirit, [n] *John forbade him, ſaying, I have need to be baptiz'd of thee, and comeſt thou to me?* From whence it appears that *John* knew him, before he ſaw the Spirit deſcend and reſt upon him, and 'tis therefore a proper Queſtion, How he came by this Knowledge? To this it is anſwered by almoſt all the Commentators on St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, that *John* being a [o] *Prophet, filled with the Holy Ghoſt from his Mother's Womb*, he knew by the Afflatus of that Spirit, that he who then came to him was the Perſon on whom the Holy Ghoſt ſhould afterwards deſcend ſo plentifully, ſuch Matters being frequently revealed to the Prophets by an immediate internal Intimation. Thus *Simeon* being told, [p] *that he ſhould not die till he had ſeen the Lord's Chriſt*, had it revealed to him, [q] that *Jeſus* was that *Chriſt*: Thus *Anna* the Propheteſs, being one of them that expected his Coming, was moved by a like Afflatus to ſpeak of [r] *Jeſus*, as the Promiſed Meſſiah. So in the Old Teſtament

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[e] De Bell. Jud. lib. iii. cap. 18. L'Eſtrange's Tranſlation.

[f] Journey from Aleppo, p. 80, 81. &c.

[g] Joſh. iii. 15.

[h] Chron. xii. 15.

[i] Jerem. xlix. 19. & l. 44.

[k] Ibid.

[l] Ibid.

[m] John i. 33.

[n] Matth. iii. 14.

[o] Luke i. 15.

[p] Luke ii. 26.

[q] Ver. 27, 32.

[r] Luke ii. 38.

Samuel being told of God, that [s] *on the Morrow a Man ſhould come to him, to be Captain over his People* Iſrael, when *Saul* appeared, another Intimation informed him that was the Perſon: [t] *Behold the Man of whom I ſpake to thee.* And *Moſes,* though he knew before, from the Mouth of God, and many antecedent Evidences, that he was deſign'd to lead the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt,* was yet told by God, [u] *This ſhall be a Sign to thee, that I have ſent thee, when thou haſt brought forth the People out of* Egypt, *ye ſhall ſerve God upon this Mountain.* In a word, *John* being to teach, when he baptiz'd with Water, that another ſhould baptize them with the Holy Ghoſt, was yet told by God, that he ſhould have this Evidence of the Perſon who ſhould thus impart the Spirit, that he ſhould ſee the ſame Spirit deſcend upon him at his Baptiſm; and when *Jeſus* came to be baptiz'd, he was again told, that this was the very Perſon, by which Means the other Sign was more fully confirmed, when it immediately afterwards appeared.

Upon this heavenly Information, the *Baptiſt,* ſtruck with a ſacred Awe and Veneration, deſired to be excuſed from doing that to *Jeſus,* which he knew he had no need of, and with great Humility ſaid to him, [w] *I have need to be baptiz'd of thee, and comeſt thou to me?*

But upon *Jeſus* preſſing him to do it, to whom he knew he ought to be obedient, and withal, telling him the Reaſon, that *thus it became them to fulfil all Righteouſneſs,* the Evangeliſt ſays, *he ſuffered him. To fulfil all Righteouſneſs* ſignifies here to pay Obedience to that Part of the Law of *Moſes,* as well as the reſt, which commanded that the Prieſts at their Conſecration ſhould be [x] *waſh'd with Water,* and then enter upon their Office. And alſo to conform with that prevailing Cuſtom among the *Jews,* of being initiated by Baptiſm into any new Inſtitution, and when they gave themſelves up to the Diſcipline of any famous Maſter. Thus our Lord ſhew'd that he approv'd of the Baptiſm of *John,* and likewiſe adopted that Ceremony into his own Religion, and recommended and hallow'd it by his own Example; *Suffer it to be ſo now,* &c. As if he had ſaid, ‘As it is your Office to *prepare the Way before me,* by proclaiming the near Approach of my Kingdom, by teaching the Neceſſity of Repentance in order to Mens Admiſſion into it, then ſolemnly admitting them as your Diſciples by the Rite of Baptiſm. So it becomes me to ſhew my Approbation of all this, by doing as others do in this Matter, and encouraging every Man by my Example, to do for the future as I have done before him. *Thus it becomes us not to deſtroy* any Part of, *but to fulfil all Righteouſneſs,* and by your baptizing me, and my ſubmitting to that antient Rite, to bring it to its due and deſign'd Perfection, and make it the ſtanding initiatory Sacrament of the Chriſtian Church for ever.’

III. Now, when *Jeſus* for theſe Reaſons was baptiz'd in *Jordan,* we read that [y] *he went up ſtraitway out of the Water,* and while he was Praying, [z] *Lo, the Heavens were opened unto him, and the* Baptiſt *ſaw* [a] *the Spirit of God deſcending like a Dove, and lighting upon him,* [b] *and lo, a Voice from Heaven,* (which no doubt was loud enough for every one preſent to hear) *ſaying, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed.*

Thus glorioſly was our great High-prieſt and Prophet proclaimed from Heaven: Thus was he conſecrated to be the unchangeable eternal Prieſt of the Chriſtian Church: Thus was he ſolemnly anointed to be our Prophet, by the Unction that is from above, whereby he was declared to be [c] *holy, harmleſs, ſeparate from Sinners,* and *enabled to ſave to the uttermoſt, all ſuch as ſhould come to God by him.* Thus was he inaugurated with full Power, and in a moſt awful and majeſtic Manner, into his Mediatorial Office; God audibly declaring, that in and through him alone, he would be reconciled to ſinful Mankind.

'Tis a general [d] Opinion among Commentators, that we are not to conclude from theſe Words, *like a Dove,* that the Spirit came upon *Chriſt* in the real Body or Shape of a Dove, but only that he deſcended as a Dove uſes to deſcend upon any Thing, hovering, and overſhadowing it: And this they endeavour to prove from the original Words in the Text, and from parallel Paſſages of Scripture. So there appeared to the Apoſtles [e] *cloven Tongues, as it were of Fire;* which does not denote that they had the Effects of Fire, ſuch as burning, or the like. This *bodily Shape as a Dove,* ſeems rather to have been a Body of Light, or a bright Cloud, in which God uſually appeared, and from which he ſpoke, under the Old Teſtament, it being for that Reaſon called, *The Glory of the Lord.* So when the Voice from Heaven was heard at our Lord's Transfiguration, 'tis expreſly ſaid, [f] *a bright Cloud overſhadowed,* or hovered over, *them, and a Voice came from the Cloud,* or, as St. *Peter* expreſſes it, [g] *from the magnificent Glory.* And the Holy Spirit might here be ſaid to deſcend after the Manner of a Dove, becauſe that Bird was antiently look'd upon by the *Jews* as the Symbol of the Holy Ghoſt: Whence the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt upon thoſe Words of *Solomon,* [h] *The Voice of the Turtle is heard,* has this Note, *that is, The Voice of the Holy Spirit.*

From this Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt at the Baptiſm of *Chriſt,* the *Socinians* bring an Argument againſt his Divinity, [i] *What is it,* ſay they, *that the high God could not do himſelf? or what Help could the Holy Spirit give to him? If you ſay, his human Nature needed the Aſſiſtance of this Holy Spirit, how can that be, ſince 'tis ſuppoſed to be perſonally united to the Divinity, and to have the whole Fulneſs of the Godhead reſiding in it?*

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[s] 1 Sam. ix. 15, 16. [t] Ver. 17. [u] Exod. iii. 12. [w] Matth. iii. 14. [x] Exod. xxix. 4.

[y] Matth. iii. 16. Luke iii. 21. [z] Matth. iii. 16. [a] John i. 33, 34. [b] Luke iii. 22.

[c] Heb. vii. 25, 26. [d] See Hammond on Matth. iii. 16. and Whitby on Luke iii. 22. [e] Acts ii. 3.

[f] Matth. xvii. 5. [g] 2 Pet. i. 17. [h] Cant. ii. 12. [i] Woltzogen on Matth. iii 16. & Crellius De uno Deo Patr. B. I. Sect. 2. c. 33.

Why ſhould Chriſt *be ſaid to caſt out Devils by this Spirit of God, rather than by his Divine Nature? Or to be endued with Wiſdom, Knowledge, Fortitude, Counſel, and the Fear of the Lord, by the Spirit, and not by his Divine Nature?*

Dr. *Whitby*, [k] after remarking that the ſame Objection was ſtarted in the Primitive Times, and refuted by [l] *Juſtin Martyr*, [m] *Irenæus*, and other antient Fathers, returns the following Anſwer: "Chriſt as God, could not need this Unction of the Holy Spirit; but as he was to execute the prophetic Office, it was needful for him; becauſe a Prophet being not to ſpeak in his own Name, but in the Name of God, and what he had ſuggeſted to him by the Spirit of God, this prophetic Office was to be performed not by the Divine Nature of our Lord, but by the Afflatus of the Holy Spirit. It was alſo needful for the Execution of his prieſtly Office, that by the Spirit's ſanctifying him from the Womb, he might [n] *offer himſelf to God a Lamb without Spot*. So that in all the Actions relating to his prophetic Office, the Divinity of *Chriſt* muſt be ſuppoſed quieſcent, and *Chriſt* muſt be ſaid to perform his Miracles, to confirm the Doctrine which he delivers, by the Spirit of God, by which alſo he was [o] aſſiſted *to ſpeak the Words of God*. And ſince all the Orthodox allow that the Divinity was quieſcent in Chriſt till he was thirty Years old, why may they not allow it was quieſcent alſo afterwards, in all the Actions relating to the Execution of his prophetic Office here on Earth?"

IV. When the great Solemnity of his Baptiſm was over, Jeſus, *being full of the Holy Ghoſt*, and having his Mind repleniſh'd with the moſt noble Thoughts and Deſigns relating to the Diſcharge of his High Office, returned from *Jordan*, and by a ſtrong Impulſe of that Divine Spirit was immediately *led into the Wilderneſs*, or the moſt deſart, unfrequented Part of that mountainous Country, where St. *John the Baptiſt* ſpent his Time before: And this for two Reaſons. Firſt, that he might recollect himſelf, and conſider the great Weight of the Work he was then to undertake; that he might lay a Scheme of his Management of it, and arm himſelf before-hand with Reſolution to undergo the Difficulties he ſhould meet with in its Proſecution; and that he might be often in Prayer to his Divine Father for his conſtant Bleſſing and Aſſiſtance. Secondly, with heroick Bravery, as the Champion of Mankind, to enter the Liſts in ſingle Combat with our infernal Enemy, who he knew beforehand would there be ready to aſſault him; that thereby he might know his utmoſt Strength and Cunning, and be the more ready to pity and to ſuccour us, when we are tempted by him, being acquainted by his own Experience with his great Subtilty and Force; and that at length he might gain ſuch a complete Conqueſt over him, that he ſhall not be able to vanquiſh any Chriſtian for the future, without his own baſe Cowardice, and Conſent.

Mr. *Maundrell* gives us the following Account of the Place to which our Lord at this Time is thought to have retired. "[p] From Mount *Olivet* and *Bethany* you proceed towards *Jordan* in an intricate Way, amongſt Hills and Valleys, interchangeably: All of a barren Aſpect at preſent, but diſcovering evident Signs of the Labour of the Husbandman in antient Times. After ſome Hours Travel in this Sort of Road, you arrive at the mountainous Deſart into which our bleſſed Saviour was led by the Spirit to be tempted by the Devil. A moſt miſerable, dry, barren Place it is, conſiſting of high rocky Mountains, ſo torn and diſordered, as if the Earth had here ſuffered ſome great Convulſion, in which its very Bowels had been turned outward. On the Left Hand, looking down in a deep Valley, as we paſſed along, we ſaw ſome Ruins of ſmall Cells and Cottages; which they told us were formerly the Habitations of Hermits retiring thither for Penance and Mortification: And certainly there could not be found in the whole Earth a more comfortleſs and abandoned Place, for that Purpoſe. From the Top of theſe Hills of Deſolation, we had however, a delightful Proſpect of the Mountains of *Arabia*, the *Dead Sea*, and the Plain of *Jericho*, into which laſt Place we deſcended, after about five Hours March from *Jeruſalem*.

As ſoon as we entered the Plain, we turned upon the Left Hand, and going about one Hour that Way, came to the Foot of the *Quarantania*, which, they ſay, is the Mountain into which the Devil took our Bleſſed Saviour, when he tempted him with that viſionary Scene of all the Kingdoms and Glories of the World. It is, as St. *Matthew* ſtiles it, *an exceeding high Mountain*, and in its Aſcent not only difficult but dangerous. It has a ſmall Chapel at the Top, and another about half way up, founded upon a prominent Part of the Rock. Near this latter are ſeveral Caves and Holes in the Side of the Mountain, made uſe of antiently by Hermits, and by ſome at this Day for Places to keep their Lent in, in Imitation of that of our bleſſed Saviour. In moſt of theſe Grots we found certain *Arabs*, quarter'd with Fire-Arms, who obſtructed our Aſcent, demanding two hundred Dollars for Leave to go up the Mountains. So we departed without farther Trouble, not a little glad to have ſo good an Excuſe for not climbing ſo dangerous a Precipice." Thus far Mr. *Maundrell*: Let us now make a practical Improvement of the two Reaſons for which our Lord retired hither.

V. As for the firſt Reaſon of his withdrawing into the Wilderneſs after his Baptiſm, (that he might be undiſturb'd in his Devotions and Holy Thoughts, and being loſt to the World for ſome Time, converſe the more freely with his Heavenly Father) it teaches us how highly requiſite it is, when we are entering into any new State of Life, or any Way of Employment that is of Moment, to ſpend ſome time firſt in Privacy and Retirement, that we may have Leiſure to conſider, and reflect upon what we are going about; that we may form good Reſolutions of diſcharging our Duty faithfully, and prudently bethinking ourſelves before-hand of the Trials and Difficulties we ſhall meet with in it, may frame to ourſelves ſuch a Method of acting as may probably be the moſt ſucceſsful; and then recommending our ſincere Endeavours to the Bleſſing of God with fervent Prayer, we may rely upon his Aid and Aſſiſtance, which is all in all.

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[k] Upon Matth. iii. 16.
[l] Dialog. cum Tryph.
[m] Lib. iii. c. 10.
[n] Heb. ix. 14.
[o] John iii. 34.
[p] Journey from Aleppo, p. 78, 79.

And the more unalterable the State is, and the greater Conſequence the Buſineſs is of that we are to be engaged in, the more need is there of ſerious Preparation, in ſuch a Receſs from Buſineſs and Noiſe, as may render us wholly Maſters of ourſelves and our Thoughts, that we may think, and meditate, and pray, as intenſely and with as little Interruption as is poſſible.

The Neglect of this wiſe and religious Courſe has doubtleſs been one great Reaſon that ſo many have done amiſs in their ſeveral Stations and Ways of Life, and proved unable to rub through the Hardſhips, and reſiſt the Temptations they have met with. And what Likelihood is there of Mens going on well, when they begin at ſuch a Rate as this? When 'tis not a conſcientious Diſcharge of their Duty that they deſign, as in the Sight of God, to whom at laſt they muſt give an Account, but the Gratification of their Luſt, their Ambition, or their Avarice.

How much therefore does it concern us in all the great Turns and Changes of our Lives to follow the Steps of our wiſe and holy Maſter, to retire and conſider firſt, to look well to the Nature of what we are entering upon, and the Obligations it will lay upon us, and bethink ourſelves how we ſhall be able to diſcharge them! to rectify our Aims and Intentions, purpoſing nothing but what is honeſt and honourable, and purpoſing that heartily, and with the firmeſt Reſolution of never departing from it, by the Grace and Help of God, which we muſt never fail to beg with earneſt Importunity and great Devotion!

Thoſe that have hitherto been thoughtleſs and inconſiderate in theſe Matters, would do well to make what amends they can for what has been wanting formerly, by now immediately applying themſelves to ſerious Conſideration, according to what their ſeveral Circumſtances require; which, though late, will yet be of very happy Conſequence, and put them upon a faithful Diſcharge for the future, of what they owe to God, their Country, their Neighbours, and themſelves, all which muſt certainly be accounted for at laſt.

But if 'tis a more particular Dedication of ourſelves to Religion, which we are entering upon, whether in the Office of the Miniſtry, or in the more general Capacity of a Chriſtian, either in the Suſception of Baptiſm, if it has been neglected till we are arrived to Years of Diſcretion, or in taking upon ourſelves in Confirmation that ſolemn Vow, Promiſe, and Profeſſion, which our Sponſors made for us at our Infant-Reception into the Church of Chriſt; or in our firſt taking up after a Run of Vice, which we deeply repent of and are firmly reſolved to forſake utterly, and live as becomes Diſciples of the Holy Jeſus for the future: In theſe, and ſuch-like Caſes, the Courſe we have been recommending, ſuch Thoughts, and ſuch Reflections, in Privacy and Retirement, together with earneſt Prayer, is more eſpecially needful. For then our great Adverſary will be more than ever buſy with us; he will uſe all his helliſh Arts to divert us from our good Intentions, and make us break our pious Reſolutions and Vows; and ſo bring Evil out of Good, by making our beſt Purpoſes inſtrumental to our greater Guilt, when they prove vain and ineffective. Thus would he enſlave us ſtill more to him, by occaſion of thoſe ſacred Bonds we laid upon ourſelves, utterly to renounce and abjure him, which yet we violated almoſt as ſoon as made.

And therefore, with great Wiſdom did the Son of *Sirach* adviſe, [p] *My Son, if thou come to ſerve the Lord,* (in any more eminent or remarkable Manner than ordinary,) *prepare thy Soul for Temptation,* as what muſt then be expected, *ſet thine Heart aright, and conſtantly endure.* Guard thee with Holy Reſolution, and Faith, and Prayer, and Meditation, and ſubdue the treacherous Party thy Enemy hath within thy own Boſom, by prudent Faſting, and Mortification of all inordinate Affections; and then, with the Sword of the Spirit in thy Hand, which is the Word of God, boldly wait his Coming, and reſiſt him vigorouſly, and he will be forced to fly from thee with Shame and Diſappointment, as he did from thy divine Champion in the Wilderneſs, who took this very Courſe to quell him, and with admirable Succeſs.

VI. We are now come to the ſecond Reaſon of our Lord's retiring into the Wilderneſs; namely, that he might, as our Repreſentative, ſtrive with, and overcome, the Temptations of the Devil. He had not been long in thoſe unfrequented Solitudes before the great Diſturber of every thing that is good, began to try his Skill upon him: But firſt in a cloſe covert Way, without viſibly appearing to him, and only working upon his Fancy and Imagination, in ſuch a manner as might raiſe troubled Thoughts and terrifying Apprehenſions in his Mind, of the vaſt Difficulty of what he was going to engage in, the innumerable and great Dangers it would inevitably expoſe him to, the many Sorrows and ſharp Sufferings, the ſhameful and tormenting Death, it would bring him to at laſt: To ſee, if by theſe means he could ſtartle and affright him, and make him waver in his Reſolutions, and diſcourage and divert him from what he could not but know, if it went on and ſucceeded, would be the Ruin of his infernal Kingdom.

"This, ſays a certain Author, we may probably ſuppoſe, was the Devil's Way of [q] tempting, or trying our Lord, during the forty Days and Nights of his Faſt. And many Opportunities no doubt he had in ſo long time, by frightful Dreams when he ſlept, frequent Apparitions and Illuſions of evil Spirits in the Night, and the uncomfortable Condition he was in every Day, for ſo many Weeks together, to affect the ſweet, mild Spirit of Jeſus with unſpeakable Terrors, enough to beat him off from his intended Enterprize, had he been mere Man.

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[p] Eccluſ. ii. 1, 2.

[q] Matth. i. 13. Luke iii. 2.

Whether he was ſo or no, 'tis generally thought Satan was yet uncertain. That he was the promis'd great Prophet, who was then expected by the *Jews*, he could not but know, by the Completion of the Prophecies concerning the Meſſias in him, and by God's calling him his beloved Son at his Baptiſm, with an audible Voice from Heaven like Thunder, and the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon him in ſo extraordinary a manner; all which ſo knowing a Spirit as he, though fallen, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been ignorant of. But the Myſtery of God Incarnate, of the divine and human Nature united in one Perſon, was beyond his Penetration, as it was beyond that of the bleſſed Angels of Heaven, who ſtill, we are told, [r] *deſire to look into it*, with great Wonder and Admiration.

But even ſuppoſing the contrary of this, the *Socinian* Objection is of no Force, which enquires, *How ſo wiſe and ſubtile a Spirit as the Devil is, ſhould venture to aſſault and tempt the Great God, eſpecially to ſo vile an Action as to fall down and worſhip him, ſince he could not but know it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed in his Enterprize?* For admitting that Satan was really conſcious of our Lord's Divinity, which we believe he was not, we ſhall yet ſee little Cauſe to wonder at this Attempt of his, if we reflect that his Malice often prevails upon him to undertake very fooliſh and impracticable Things. What was it leſs for a Creature to think of dethroning, or at leaſt of rivalling, his Creator? Yet this was the Occaſion of Satan's Fall. And even in the Caſe of our Redemption, he knew that the Prophecies concerning Chriſt were very expreſs, and that the divine Power was engaged to ſupport him, and give him Victory over all the Enemies of our Happineſs: Therefore whether he knew *Jeſus* to be God, or no, he certainly knew that in oppoſing *Jeſus*, he oppoſed himſelf to God, who had engaged to carry him through the Work of our Redemption; ſo that either Way, his Undertaking was very daring and fooliſh. In a Word, whatſoever Satan might conceive of *Chriſt*, as to his own Nature, he certainly knew from the Scripture, that he was to be the Author of Salvation to Mankind, that he was the *Seed of the Woman that ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's Head*, and that he was the King who ſhould *ſit upon the Throne of his Father* David *for ever*; and knowing this, he could not hope to prevail in his Temptations of our Lord, unleſs he could believe that he was able to reverſe the Decrees and Oath of God: His Attempt therefore was equally abſurd, whether he did, or did not, underſtand the Myſtery of the Incarnation. However, as the Fathers believed him to be ignorant of this Myſtery, and as the Paſſage which tells us *the Angels deſire to look into it*, ſeems to favour their Opinion, we chuſe to join with them therein, but without allowing that the Devil's Ignorance in this Matter can be any Argument againſt the reality of our bleſſed Lord's Divinity, which is ſo clearly the Doctrine of the Scriptures.

[s] *But*, ſay the *Socinians*, *if Chriſt were God, to what End ſhould he be thus tempted? Was it to ſhew that God was able to ſuſtain, and overcome, the Temptations of the Devil? Could there be any Doubt of this?* If it be here anſwered, That he was tempted only as Man, they reply, *That ſeeing his human Nature was perſonally united to the divine, it muſt be ſtill ſuperfluous to ſhew that even his human Nature, thus ſtrengthened and aſſiſted, was able to reſiſt and baffle the Aſſaults of Satan; nor will his doing this, by a divine Aſſiſtance, afford any Comfort to us, who can expect no ſuch Aſſiſtance when we grapple with the Tempter.*

In general, among the Reaſons of our Lord's Temptation, which have been aſſign'd by Divines, this is one: *The Conſolation of his Members conflicting with the Adverſary of their Souls: For in that he* [t] *ſuffered being tempted, he is ready to afford ſuitable Help to us when we are tempted*; and as we have the ſame Spirit in us which was in *Jeſus*, and [u] *which is greater than the Spirit that was in the World*, ſo we may combate our Enemy after our Lord's Example, with the ſame Weapons, and overcome him by the ſame Aſſiſtance through which he in his human Nature did it. Indeed this Ground of Comfort will be wholly taken from us, if we imagine that he overcame the Devil only by Virtue of that Nature which made him incapable of being vincible by Temptation: But if with *Irenæus* we affirm that the Divinity was then quieſcent, and that he conquer'd by Virtue of that Spirit which was given to him, why may not we, who have the ſame *Unction from the Holy One*, entertain Hopes of doing it alſo by his Aid? In a word, That our Lord could not be overcome by Satan, was the Reſult of the Union of the human Nature to the Divinity; but that he repelled all his particular Aſſaults, might be owing only to his being anointed and filled with the Holy Ghoſt.

VII. One thing we may obſerve before we proceed, from Satan's tempting our Saviour in the Wilderneſs, and that is, That no State of Life here below is free from Temptation; and that which ſeems to ſecure us from it moſt, a Receſs from the World in Solitude and Privacy, where we have nothing to do but to read, and meditate, and pray, often proves a more dangerous Scene of it than the common Way of Living. *We are then eſpecially to expect Temptation*, ſays Theophylact, *when we are alone, and when we are in Straights and Exigencies, from which we ſee no ordinary Way of Deliverance.* This indeed was exactly the Caſe of our bleſſed Lord.

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[r] 1 Pet. i. 12.

[u] John. ii. 14. iv. 4.

[s] Whitby on Matth. iv. 3.

[t] Heb. ii. 17, 13. iv. 15, 16.

Not but that ſuch Retirements ſometimes are of excellent Uſe, and a great many pious Perſons do make that good Uſe of them; but we muſt have a care of placing too much Confidence in the Holineſs and Safety of ſuch Receſſes, as we know the Church of *Rome* does, and be more upon our Guard than ordinary, when thus retired, leſt inſtead of thoſe Temptations from the World, which by that Means we hope to avoid, we meet with others that are worſe, and fall into Melancholy and Enthuſiaſm, exceſſive Dejections, and it may be Deſpair; or elſe grow ſullen, moroſe, and cenſorious, bloated up with ſpiritual Pride, and carry'd we don't know whither by Preſumption. It follows therefore, that ſuch a mix'd Way of Life as our Saviour liv'd, (ſometimes in the World, as our Employments lead us, and ſometimes out of it, that we may compoſe our Minds to that Seriouſneſs and Tranquillity which becomes thoſe that are in purſuit of better Things) is much more beneficial, not only to Society and the Publick, but to every particular Perſon, than a total Receſs, whether into Cells in Monaſteries, or into the unfrequented Solitudes of deſert Places, tho' this latter has been ſo exceſſively magnified by ſome.

Thus have we conſider'd in what manner the Devil tempted our Lord during his long Faſt in the Wilderneſs, before he appeared viſibly to him, and play'd his great Batteries upon him; that is, as he is wont to tempt us now, by caſting evil Suggeſtions into our Minds.

VIII. But is not this to allow him too great Power, to ſuppoſe him able thus to influence our Thoughts? And don't we thereby throw upon him the Odium of more Miſchief than he is capable of doing? Does not this look as if he had broke his Chain, and rang'd about without Controul, and by a kind of Poſſeſſion of the worſt ſort had acceſs to our very Minds, and might command them as he pleaſed, which us'd to be look'd upon as peculiar to God?

All that is needful to be ſaid in Anſwer to this, is, That the Devil's Power is certainly very great, tho' we can't ſay how far it will reach; and being a Spirit, no doubt but he can act upon Spirits, tho' we are not able to ſay in what manner; and that he hath actually done ſo, we are aſſured from Scripture: As when we are told that [w] *Satan* provok'd *David* to number *Iſrael*, by which muſt be meant that he put thoſe Thoughts into his Head, and by often renewing them, and backing them with plauſible Reaſons, at length perſuaded him to do ſo. And thus the vile Treachery of *Judas* to his Maſter is aſcribed to the [x] Devil's having *put it into his Heart to betray him.* And when *Ananias* gave a falſe Account to St. *Peter* of the Price for which he ſold his Land for the Service of the Church, the Apoſtle ſaid to him, [y] *Why hath* Satan *filled thine Heart to lie to the Holy Ghoſt?*

Theſe Inſtances ſhew plainly, that the Devil can inject evil Thoughts and Purpoſes into our Minds, and in that ſecret, undiſcernable Manner tempt us to Wickedneſs. But all is by God's Permiſſion, and how far that extends we know not. This however, we are ſure of, that the Devil cannot go beyond it in the leaſt, as is evident in the Caſe of *Job:* And if we do what becomes us in reſiſting him, we may depend upon it that God will not ſuffer him to tempt us [z] *beyond what we are able, but with the Temptation will make ſome way for us to eſcape, that we may be able to bear it.* As in the Inſtance of St. *Peter*, when Satan [a] deſired to have ſo much Power over him as to *ſift him as Wheat*, and try him to the bottom: For tho' he was permitted ſo to do, and prevailed very much upon that Apoſtle, yet his bleſſed Maſter's Prayers for him preſerved his Faith from failing totally, and gave him ſufficient Strength to recover himſelf, and beat off the Tempter at laſt: And in a little time after, he was as great an Inſtance of Courage and Conſtancy in the Chriſtian Cauſe, as he was before of wretched Cowardice and Fear.

When therefore God ſuffers us to fall into Temptation (which is always for wiſe and good Ends) and gives the Devil leave, either in this ſecret Way, or by more open Aſſaults, to try his Skill upon us; tho' he may ſometimes foil us, and his Stratagems be ſucceſsful, yet if we manfully do what in us lies to reſiſt him, he ſhall not finally prevail; but if we ſide with the Tempter, and ſuffer ourſelves to be led away and inticed by our Luſts, 'till we fall into thoſe Snares of his which otherwiſe we might have avoided, the Caſe is then altered, and we can't expect God ſhould deliver us from thoſe Evils, which with a heedleſs Preſumption we run ourſelves into.

IX. In this lonely, and (thro' the Diſturbance the Devil gave him) uncomfortable Abode of *Jeſus* in the Wilderneſs, St. *Mark* [b] mentions one thing that we ſhould think very terrible, his being *with the wild Beaſts*, which the deſert Places of that Country were full of. Such Companions, in ſuch a Place, to one unarm'd and unguarded as *Jeſus* was, would have been as terrifying and as dangerous to him as to us, were there not ſome great Difference between us and him. But he was forty Days and Nights with them, without receiving or fearing any Injury from them. Now what was the Reaſon of this? In ſhort, *Jeſus* was perfectly Holy and Innocent, free from all ſtain of Sin and Guilt, as *Adam* was in Paradice before he fell: And therefore as to the firſt *Adam*, in his State of Innocence, they were, by the Will of the great Creator, entirely ſubject, harmleſs, and governable, as to their Sovereign Lord; ſo were they to this ſecond *Adam*, whoſe Innocence was without Spot and Blemiſh, and his Dignity far greater than his to whom they were at firſt made ſerviceable and obedient.

This Inoffenſiveneſs therefore of the fierceſt Beaſts of Prey to the bleſſed *Jeſus*, tho' all alone in the Midſt of them and without Defence, proceeded from an extraordinary Awe they had upon them in his ſacred Preſence: And we may ſuppoſe his Behaviour among them was ſuch as betray'd no Fear of them, but ſhew'd a majeſtic Superiority over them, which kept them at a Diſtance.

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[w] 1 Chron. xxi. 1.
[x] John xiii. 2.
[y] Acts v. 3.
[z] 1 Cor. 10—13.
[a] Luke xxii. 31.
[b] Mark i. 12.

This looks like a Recovery of Paradice and the State of Innocence, and a general Reconciliation of Mankind to God and the whole Creation; a removing of all Enmity, and the Commencement of a Reign of univerſal Peace and Love; according to that Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, when he ſpake of the Kingdom of the Meſſias, that *Prince of Peace*: [c] *The Wolf*, ſays he, *ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard ſhall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together, and a young Child ſhall lead them: They ſhall not hurt nor deſtroy in all my holy Mountain.*

Thus would it have been literally, had not the firſt *Adam* ſin'd; and thus ought it to be in a ſpiritual Senſe, under the peaceful Government of the ſecond *Adam*, who came to bring *Glory to God on high, on Earth Peace, and Good-will among Men.*

How diſpleaſing then muſt it needs be to him, to ſee the Event, by our perverſe Wickedneſs, ſo contrary to his gracious Deſign! Let us therefore learn of him to be meek and lowly, holy and undefiled, harmleſs and innocent ourſelves, and then his over-ruling Providence will ſoften the Spirits of others towards us. He will reſtrain the Malice of our Enemies, and in the midſt of Wolves, and Tygers, and Lions, give us Safety, Tranquillity, and Peace. [d] *For who is he that will harm you*, ſays the Apoſtle, *if ye be Followers of that which is good?*

X. The next Thing that offers itſelf to be conſider'd, is our Lord's continual Faſting, during his forty Days Retirement in the Wilderneſs.

The Divine Impulſe that carry'd him thither was ſo ſtrong, and probably ſo ſudden and unexpected too, that he had no Thought what Proviſion he ſhould have there, and very likely did not at firſt intend to ſtay ſo long in thoſe barren Solitudes, as afterwards he did: For in ſuch ſupernatural Raptures, a Perſon is tranſported as 'twere out of himſelf, and, with St. *Paul*, can ſcarce tell whether he is [e] *in or out of the Body*, whoſe little Concerns are entirely diſregarded by him 'till the Tranſport is over, and Nature returns to its ordinary State. This was the Caſe with our bleſſed Lord: For the Text, as expreſs'd by St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, put together, repreſents it thus: And *Jeſus*, after his Baptiſm, [f] *Return'd from* Jordan, *and being full of the Holy Ghoſt, immediately the Spirit driveth him into the Wilderneſs.* (Which are Words that plainly ſignify the Suddenneſs and great Force of the Divine Impulſe upon him.) And then 'tis ſaid, that when he had faſted forty Days and forty Nights, *he afterwards hungered.* Then, his natural Appetite and Deſire of Food return'd, which before was ſuſpended by the vehement Tranſport he was in, and in the mean time Nature ſupported without its uſual Nouriſhment by the Power of God.

Hence 'tis evident, that this long Faſt of our Lord's was ſupernatural and miraculous, as that of *Moſes* and *Elias* was, which were of the ſame Continuance, and therefore is by no means to be drawn into a Precedent, and made Matter of our Imitation. And ſome imprudently zealous People, that have in this Caſe pretended to follow *Chriſt*'s Example too cloſely, and carry their Faſts with great Severity to an exceſſive Length, have ſoon felt the ſad Effects of their Folly and Preſumption.

"To conclude from this Inſtance our Obligation to a more than ordinary Temperance for forty Days, is, ſays Dr. *Whitby*, to place Morality in Numbers, and introduce an endleſs Heap of ſuperſtitious Follies; for by like Reaſon, we muſt deem ourſelves obliged to ride upon an Aſs, in Token of our Humility, or to renounce our Title to our temporal Eſtates, and throw away our Money, to be like him, who had not where to lay his Head, nor could procure Sixpence without a Miracle!"

XI. Faſting is no doubt of excellent Uſe, eſpecially in time of Temptation, be the Inſtance what it will; tho' in ſome Caſes, and to ſome Perſons, it is more directly ſerviceable than to others. It makes the Body more tame and obedient to the Mind, weans us mightily from the World, and raiſes Devotion to the higheſt Pitch; and thereby engages the Spirit of God to be in a more eſpecial Manner preſent with us, to ſhield us from the Aſſaults of the Tempter. But then it muſt be manag'd with Diſcretion, as every Man's Conſtitution will bear, and his Circumſtances require, and eſteem'd only as an inſtrumental Duty of no intrinſic Holineſs or Value in itſelf, any further than 'tis conducive to the Mortification of Sin, and the Improvement of our Souls in that which is true Religion. Otherwiſe, 'twill ſoon become a Matter of mere Form and Oſtentation, and degenerate into Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm, to the Ruin of that Religion which 'tis pretended to ſerve and advance.

Strictly ſpeaking, if we eat not, we are never the better; for God accounts no Man the better purely becauſe his Stomach is empty: And on the other hand, if we eat ſomething, even on our Days of faſting, we are not the worſe. Yet as the Word *Faſt* ſignifies a Day ſet apart for the humbling of ourſelves in order to avert the Divine Judgments, or to obtain any Bleſſing, whether public or private, it ſeems to continue a Duty ſtill, and a thing highly acceptable to God: For there being no Command for public or voluntary Faſting, under the Law, on any extraordinary Occaſions, but only on the great Day of Expiation, it appears to have been no Ceremonial Inſtitution, and ſhould therefore be ranked among thoſe Moral Duties, or Precepts of the Law of Nature, which *Chriſt* came not to *deſtroy*, but to *fulfil*. This is further evident, becauſe Faſting was practiſed not only by the *Jews*, and devout Proſelytes, but alſo by Heathens. *Phavorinus* calls it, *The Mother of Health to the Body, and the Preſervative of the Soul*; and ſurely 'tis as requiſite in the latter of theſe Characters as in the former. But the more we are really got above the World, the more heavenly our Affections are, the more obedient our Fleſh is to the Spirit, and the nearer we arrive to Evangelical Perfection, the leſs need is there of Faſting and bodily Auſterities. [g] *While the Bridegroom is thus with us*, and *Jeſus* dwells in us by his Spirit and his Grace, and we in him by Obedience and Love; while there is this happy Concord and Union between *Chriſt* and his Diſciples, what Occaſion is there for a Scene of Mortification? 'Twould be unſeaſonable and prepoſterous; for that's the proper Seaſon of ſpiritual Joy and Triumph. But when the *Bridegroom is withdrawn*, (either becauſe we are unworthy of his Preſence by reaſon of our unchriſtian Behaviour, or by way of Trial, that he may prove the Sincerity of our Love to him by our Grief for his Abſence and importunate begging for his Return) then indeed is the Time for *the Children of the Bride-chamber to faſt*, and lament, and puniſh themſelves by Acts of Spiritual Diſcipline.

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[c] Iſa. xi. 5. [d] 1 Pet. iii. 13. [e] 2 Cor. xii. 2. [f] Mark i. 12. Luke iv. 1.

This is mention'd only to ſhew what little Reaſon ſome Heretics of old had, and the *Romaniſts* now have, to value themſelves ſo highly as they do upon their frequent and long Faſts, and make them an Argument of the Perfection of that State of Life above all others, which makes moſt uſe of them; whereas we ſee 'tis directly contrary, as might be proved from abundance of Examples: So that for any to eſteem themſelves or others the more, merely for things of this Nature, betrays more Ignorance than true Devotion, [h] and ſavours more of the *Phariſee*, than of the genuine Diſciple of *Jeſus*.

In a Word, becauſe we are fluctuating and uncertain in our Religion, and our Piety ebbing and flowing more or leſs continually, therefore the Exerciſe of Mortification is ſometimes highly needful, as Occaſion ſhall require: Of which every prudent and ſerious Chriſtian is the beſt Judge, as far as concerns himſelf only, and our Governors with reſpect to what is more public; whoſe Orders and Directions in this Matter ought to be conſcientiouſly obſerv'd. But ſtill, as was before ſaid, no further Value ſhould be put upon theſe things than as on inſtrumental Duties, in order to what is of far greater Excellence and Conſequence, the weakning of the Power of Sin in us, and the Advancement of true Piety and Holineſs, in which alone pure and undefiled Chriſtianity conſiſts. But to proceed,

XII. No ſooner was our Lord releas'd from the Tranſport he was in, and began to feel the Effects of his long Faſt in Emptineſs, Faintneſs, and a keen Senſe of Hunger, than Satan makes uſe of the Opportunity, as a very fit one, to ply him with a new Set of Temptations, appearing to him in a viſible Form; either as an Angel of Light, into which he hath ſometimes Power to transform himſelf, or in a human Shape, as the bleſſed Angels uſed to appear to holy Men of old; for *Jeſus* was not a Perſon of ſuch Weakneſs as to be affrighted with ugly Phantaſms, which can diſturb only feeble and imperfect Imaginations.

The Devil could not but perceive, by what had already paſs'd, that *Jeſus* was a very extraordinary Perſon, and he ſaw more and more Reaſon to be convinced that he was the Meſſias that was then expected by the *Jewiſh* Nation; but ſtill he was not aſſured that he was the eternal Son of God incarnate. The length of his Faſt, 'tis true, was prodigious; but two mere Men had faſted as long before, and therefore he could not conclude from thence that he was more than Man. Once more then he reſolves to try him; and if he could ſo far prevail upon him as to perſuade him to do what was in any degree ſinful, his Doubt whether he was any thing more than mere Man, or no, would then be at an end, and he might hope by little and little to get ſtill further Ground of him, and defeat that great Deſign he was going to put in Execution againſt the Kingdom of Darkneſs.

And firſt, he takes Advantage of the Sharpneſs of his Hunger, the violent Cravings of impoveriſh'd Nature after a Recruit, which, in that deſart Place, was impoſſible to be had without a Miracle. In ſeeming Kindneſs therefore, he adviſes him to take pity on himſelf, and turn ſome of thoſe Stones, of which there was plenty enough, tho' of nothing elſe, into a few Loaves of Bread to relieve his preſent Neceſſity, 'till he could reach ſome Town or Place of Entertainment, and have a further Supply. This, he inſinuated, he did not queſtion but he was able to perform, being ſo great a Prophet, much more *if the Son of God*; and then, why ſhould he not? For never could there be a juſter Occaſion than now, to exert his Power in working ſuch a Miracle.

This was plauſible enough, and the Temptation very artfully contriv'd, and opportunely laid; for Nature was wholly of the Tempter's ſide, and pleaded ſtrongly and almoſt irreſiſtibly for him. And where would the Harm be of taking his Advice? Why might not *Jeſus* as innocently have then turn'd Stones into Bread, to ſatiſfy his own keen Hunger after ſo long a Faſt, as a little after he turned Water into Wine, not out of any Neceſſity, but only to make greater Plenty at a Wedding-Feaſt?

We, indeed, may not immediately ſee where the Danger lay, but Satan knew what he aim'd at, and *Jeſus*, who ſaw his vile Purpoſe thro' all his ſpecious Pretences, gave him this confounding Anſwer: [i] *It is is written, Man ſhall not live by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God.* As if he had ſaid, 'I perceive thy Deſign is to engage me to diſ'truſt the Providence of God over me in this 'my Neceſſity, and by extraordinary Means to

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[g] Matth. ix. 15.

[h] Matth. vi. xvi. Luke xviii. 11.

[i] Deut. viii. 3.

‘procure that for myſelf, which he ſeems to take no care about; and thou doſt inſultingly dare me thereby to prove myſelf to be the Son of God, and to ſhew my Divine Power, if I have it, in my own Preſervation, leſt God ſhould forget me too long. But know, I'm too well aſſured of his Fatherly Care over me, to take any irregular Courſe to preſerve my Life, tho' in never ſo great Neceſſity; being certain, that he will, in his due Time, give me ſomething better than a Stone to feed on, without my betraying my Impatience and Diſtruſt of his tender Regard. And how little likelihood ſoever there may be, of my ſubſiſting much longer, God can ſuſtain me another forty Days without Food, as well as thoſe that are paſt, and then ſtill on as many more as he pleaſes; and thoſe that are obedient to him, and believe and truſt entirely in him, his Word aſſures us ſhall never want what is needful to ſupport them in their greateſt and moſt preſſing Exigencies, he being able to provide for them by ways innumerable, as he did for vaſt Numbers of his People in a Wilderneſs as waſte and barren as this. And therefore, in his Care, whoſe Spirit brought me hither, do I repoſe my Confidence for the Relief of my preſent Hunger; and whatever I may be able to do for myſelf, I ſhall not ſo far gratify thy impious Curioſity, as to let thee ſee an Inſtance of it.’

To this, as cunning a Sophiſter as he was, Satan knew not what to reply; and therefore was reſolv'd to try another Experiment upon him. But before we proceed to that, we may hence obſerve, that in our loweſt and moſt hopeleſs Circumſtances, 'tis our Duty to truſt in and depend upon God, to conſult his Word, and rely upon it, and, be our Neceſſities never ſo urgent, by no means to take any Courſes for a Supply which we cannot thoroughly juſtify; but conſcientiouſly do what becomes us in the Station we are in, and then patiently wait God's time, who can turn our Stones into Bread when he pleaſes, and change Scarcity, and even Famine, into Plenty; of which we have many Inſtances in the Holy Writings; and his Power and Goodneſs are ſtill the ſame as ever.

It muſt be confeſs'd to be one of the greateſt of Trials to labour under Want; and very hard it is to Fleſh and Blood, when Hunger pinches, to be put to feed upon a Text of Scripture, and to clothe ourſelves with a Promiſe when we are naked: But let us think of our Lord's Example in this Matter, and duly ponder his Reaſons, and we ſhall be ſatisfy'd it is the beſt Courſe we can take, as Time will aſſure us by a happy Experience.

When the World fails us, to engage in ſuch Practices as will forfeit God's Bleſſing too, and the Care of Providence, is ſure the Height of Folly as well as Irreligion: For the Bleſſing of God is all Things; and 'tis his Hand that ſcatters Plenty upon the whole Creation. Whatever therefore we undergo, let us do nothing to deſerve our being caſt off by him, but every thing that is like to ſecure his Friendſhip and Protection; and then we may be ſure of a Supply at length of what is needful for us, and in the mean time of ſuch Supports as will enable us to bear up under our preſent Preſſures, be they what they will.

And if even in our greateſt Straits we muſt thus wait patiently upon God, and not put our Hand to any Wickedneſs to procure even the Neceſſaries of Life, how great muſt be their Guilt, who, when their Circumſtances are already tolerably eaſy, and it may be ſufficient to provide all reaſonable Comforts in Moderation, are ſtill unſatisfy'd, and ſtick at no ill Things that they may gratify their Pride and Luxury with the utmoſt Exceſſes! Too many ſuch there are in the World; let them tremble to think what Account they muſt give at laſt. But to go on.

XIII. After Satan had failed in his firſt Attempt upon our Lord, he preſently attack'd him with more Violence than before: For being enraged by his former Repulſe, and having Permiſſion from God ſo to do, in order to our Redeemer's greater Glory, and Satan's greater Shame and Confuſion, he hurry'd him through the Air to *Jeruſalem*, which is at a great Diſtance from the Wilderneſs, *and ſet him upon a Pinnacle of the Temple*, or the Top of ſome Spire that was upon the Roof of it: Probably it was on that Part of it which was called *Herod's Tower*, which was of ſo vaſt a Height, (being built upon the Edge of a Rock, under which was a Valley of a prodigious Depth) that, as *Joſephus* tells us, [k] *He that was on the Top of the Tower, and look'd down to the Valley beneath, his Head would immediately ſwim and grow dizzy*; *nay, 'twas further than his very Eyes could reach to the Bottom.* Now this, we may be ſure, was no eaſy ſtanding, and to fall from thence could be no other to a mere Man than preſent Death. But Satan would by all means have him fear nothing, but reſolutely caſt himſelf down; for if he was the Son of God, God would take care of his beloved Son, and, as the Scripture ſays, immediately ſend his Angels *to bear him up upon their Hands*, or Wings, that he might gently and ſafely deſcend, and not ſo much *as ſtrike his Foot againſt a Stone.* And beſides, the *Court of the Gentiles* being near this Tower, where was always a great Confluence of all Sorts of People, it would tend very much to his Honour, and make him look'd upon as a very extraordinary Perſon, and very dear to God, to ſee him come down majeſtically from ſuch a Height, upon the Wings of the heavenly Hoſt, and light in the Midſt of them unhurt.

The Tendency of this Temptation was either to make our Lord ſuſpect whether or no he was really the Son of God, and ſo have recourſe to this Experiment for his Satisfaction, or elſe, ſuppoſing him under no Doubt as to his own Divinity, that he might vain-gloriouſly preſume too much upon the divine Protection in his preſent

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[k] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 4.

State of Humanity and Submiſſion: And ſince he was for depending ſo entirely upon the Word of God when he was in Danger of being famiſhed in the Wilderneſs, he quoted the ſame holy Word to aſſure him that God would ſend his Angels to preſerve him here as well as there, though he ſhould leap from that aſtoniſhing Height; but withal ſecretly hoping that if he did ſo, the Fall would daſh him to Pieces, and put an End to all thoſe terrible Apprehenſions which the Tempter now ſaw reaſon to entertain.

Out of theſe Verſes the Devil left what was not to his Purpoſe, but very much againſt it; for the Words he alludes to, are, [l] *He ſhall give his Angels Charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy Ways*; that is, to protect thee in the Diſcharge of thy Duty, and in the Paths that God has ordered thee to walk in, but not in dangerous By-ways, which we preſumptuouſly run into without his Direction.

To this mangled miſapplied Quotation of his, *Jeſus* returned with admirable Strength and Quickneſs, *It is written again*, [m] *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God.* Which Text, ſays a certain Author, ſhewed the true Meaning of that other which Satan abuſed to very evil Purpoſes; and tells us, that the Protection of God muſt not be expected when we preſume to do what nothing but a miraculous Power can keep us from periſhing in the doing, when we are no ways obliged to it, nor have any Warrant to hope for ſuch extraordinary Protection in the Attempt. This is, with unſufferable Inſolence, to impoſe upon God what Taſks we pleaſe, as if we had Omnipotence at our Command, to attend for our Preſervation, in all our mad Freaks and Extravagancies. And 'tis but juſt that thoſe who are thus daringly provoking, ſhould periſh in their Wickedneſs and Folly, and be a Warning to others that they may ſee and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly: Which we may ſuppoſe was what the Devil deſign'd ſhould be the Fate of our Lord.

'Tis noted by [n] *Hammond*, and after him by *Whitby*, that to *tempt the Lord*, doth not in Scripture Language ſignify *to preſume too much on the divine Goodneſs*, but rather *to diſtruſt his Power, Truth, or Providence, after ſufficient Demonſtrations and Reaſons given for our Dependance on them*: And conſequently, *to tempt God*, as it relates to Chriſt, is to *doubt whether he was the Son of God, after the Voice from Heaven had ſaid unto him, Thou art my beloved Son.* Thus when the *Jews* murmur'd againſt *Moſes* for want of Water, ſaying, [o] *Thou haſt brought us out of* Egypt, *to kill us, and our Children, and our Cattle, with Thirſt*, *Moſes* replied, *Why do you tempt the Lord?* And he called the Name of the Place *Maſſah*, that is, *Temptation*, becauſe *they there tempted the Lord*, by queſtioning, after he had dried up the *Red-Sea*, and fed them miraculouſly with *Manna*, *whether the Lord was among them or not.* This is the conſtant Signification of the Phraſe throughout the Old Teſtament, as may be ſeen in a great [p] Number of Paſſages.

But beſides theſe Senſes, the Words, *Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, being ſpoken by God Incarnate to the chief of the apoſtate Spirits, might carry with them the Force of ſuch a Check, as could not but mightily appal that infernal Rebel, and make him bethink himſelf whom he had to do with; and they being, no doubt, delivered with ſuch a peculiar Emphaſis and Majeſty, might have ſuch Signatures of Divinity, as to begin to demonſtrate our Lord's being the eternal Son of God, which conſequently could not but fill the Devil with inexpreſſible Dread and Confuſion. And it may be, they might be deſign'd by our Lord to make way for Satan's coming to the certain Knowledge of his being God as well as Man.

Now from this ſecond Temptation, we may ſee, how great the Power is, as well as the Cunning of the Evil Spirit; and what dreadful Work he would make with us, if not reſtrained by God. But Thanks be to our great and good Preſerver, he is chained and fettered, and has his Bounds ſet him, which he cannot paſs, without the Divine Permiſſion, nor go one Step farther than that Permiſſion will allow.

Thus, though he had Leave to carry our Lord ſo far in the Air, and ſet him in ſo dangerous a Place as we have ſhewn the Pinacle of the Temple was, yet he had no Power to throw him down from thence, which a very little Force would have done, had he been permitted to uſe it, and where it was hard for him to keep his ſtanding, tho' no Force at all were uſed againſt him. All he could do, was to tempt him to leap down of himſelf, and perſuade him there was no Danger, if he did; but he could go no farther, and when that would not do, he was obliged to take him off as ſafely as he had ſet him on. So that 'tis plain, (and bleſſed be God that it is ſo!) that the Devil can only tempt, not force us to commit any Sin againſt God, or do any Miſchief to ourſelves; neither can he hurt us, whatever his Malice may be, unleſs we conſent to it firſt.

XIV. The Tempter being thus baffled a ſecond Time, and in ſo awful a manner that none but the Prince of Darkneſs would have dared to proceed any further, was yet reſolved once more to ſee what might be done, his All being then at Stake, and concludes to try him with that which prevailed upon himſelf to revolt from his Allegiance to God, and that was Ambition, an unmeaſurable Deſire of Rule and Dominion, as that which would advance him to the neareſt Reſemblance of the Moſt High. And accordingly, as quick as Thought, he removes *Jeſus* from the Pinacle of the Temple to an *exceeding high Mountain*, and ſhewed him in an Inſtant, [q] *All the Kingdoms of the World, and the Power and Glory of them, and ſaid unto*

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[l] Pſal. xci. 11, 12. [m] Deut. vi. 16. [n] On Matth. iv. 7. [o] Exod. xvii. at the Beginning.

[p] See Deut. vi. 16. to which our Lord here alludes; alſo Numb. xiv. 22. comp. with Ver. 2, 3, 11. Pſal. lxxviii. 18, 19, 20, 41, 42, 43. Pſal. cvi. 14, 15. Pſal. xcv. 8, 9. Iſai. vii. 12, &c.

[q] Matth. iv. 8, 9. Luke iv. 6, 7.

him, all theſe Things will I give thee, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomſoever I will I give it; if thou therefore wilt fall down and worſhip me, all ſhall be thine.

The way of the Devil's doing this, was either by ſome kind of Illuſion, making that appear as real, which was not, by an airy, phantaſtic Repreſentation: Or elſe from the wide Proſpect which that Mountain would afford him of the Holy City, and the chief Towns about it, he might take occaſion to diſcourſe to him of the vaſtly greater Power and Glory of the whole World, and give a charming Deſcription of it; and then tell him, that all was at his Diſpoſal, and that he ſhould be the great and happy Perſon who ſhould poſſeſs and enjoy it all, upon the eaſy Condition of only doing Homage to him, as the chief Lord of the Fee: Or laſtly, as God cauſed *Moſes* to ſee the whole Land of Promiſe from the Top of *Nebo*, either by ſtrengthening his Eyes to ſee it thence, or by repreſenting it to him in a large Plan or Map drawn in the Valleys round about him; ſo might the Devil, in the Valleys round about the Mountain where *Chriſt* ſtood, make a large Draught of the ſtately Edifices, the Guards, and Attendants of Kings, appearing in their Splendor, viſible to the Eyes of *Chriſt*, which Appearance could not be ſo well made, or ſo advantageouſly ſeen in a Plain, as thoſe pretend who would have all the Hiſtory of our Lord's Temptation to be taken only as a Dream, or Viſion.

How far the Devil ſaid true, when he told our Lord that the Power and Glory of the World was delivered unto him, and to whomſoever he would, he could give it, we need not ſtand to enquire. He is called, indeed, in Scripture, the [r] Prince, nay the [s] God of this World; but that only ſignifies what he is made by wicked worldly Men, not any Power, much leſs Right, that he really has to diſpoſe of the Poſſeſſion and Dominion of it, which none can do but he, who is [t] *the bleſſed and only Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.*

This, therefore, was only a falſe Boaſt of the Father of Lies; and we may well wonder at his ſtrange Confidence in ſaying ſo to our Lord. But now he found he was ſufficiently detected, and therefore appear'd like himſelf; and to make one home Puſh for all, ſtuck at nothing that might carry his Point. But here, however patiently *Jeſus* bore the Indignities that before were offered to himſelf, he was moved to Indignation when his Father's Honour and Prerogative were invaded; and thinking it high Time to put an end to the Devil's blaſphemous Inſolence, he now ſaid unto him with a majeſtic Aſpect, that became the Eternal Son of God, *Get thee hence Satan; for it is written, thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* He is the great Creator and Governor of the World; 'tis he that taketh down one, and ſetteth up another; by him Kings reign, and his ſacred Scepter ruleth over all; and therefore, he that deſires to rule the World, muſt make his court to God, and not to thee; for the ſincere Worſhip and Service of that ſupreme Being, is the ſureſt Way to arrive at Empire.

With this Satan was ſo thunder-ſtruck, that he could keep the Field no longer; being now too well ſatisfy'd, that *Jeſus* was God incarnate. And accordingly, he afterwards, and that very quickly, acknowledged him ſo to be. As particularly, when an unclean Devil had poſſeſſed a Man, he cried out publicly in the Synagogue *with a loud Voice*, as if in extraordinary Torture at his Preſence, [u] *Let us alone, what have we to do with thee* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *art thou come to deſtroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.* And a little after, in the ſame Chapter, 'tis ſaid, [w] *Devils came out of many, crying out, and ſaying, Thou art Chriſt, the Son of God; for they knew that he was Chriſt.* And [x] in another Place, the miſerable Dæmoniac that was poſſeſſed with a Legion of Evil Spirits, was forced by one of them to ſay, *Crying out, and falling down before him, What have I to do with thee,* Jeſus *thou Son of God moſt high? I beſeech thee torment me not.*

From theſe Words, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*, compared with other Scriptures, the Orthodox infer that Chriſt is not a Creature: For 'tis elſewhere ſaid, *That all Men ſhould worſhip the Son, even as they worſhip the Father*; and therefore we may ſuppoſe that *Chriſt*, in the Words before us, claims divine Adoration under the Name of *the Lord thy God.* Now, if religious Adoration be due to God alone, and is yet in this Place aſſumed by *Jeſus Chriſt*, it follows either that *Jeſus Chriſt* is really God, or that he arrogated to himſelf what was not his Prerogative. To this the *Socinians* anſwer, that God alone is to be worſhipped as the firſt and ſupreme Cauſe of all Things, and as the chief Cauſe of our Salvation, but yet religious Worſhip and Service may be paid to Chriſt, as the intermediate Cauſe of that Salvation, which God intended by him to procure and bring to paſs for us. But the Orthodox reply, that there are no Footſteps of this Diſtinction in the Holy Scripture, but on the contrary many Things that ſeem to contradict it. And though 'tis plain, that the Devil does not here require to be worſhipped as the firſt and ſupreme Cauſe of all Things, ſince he freely owns that all the Power he had over the Kingdoms of the Earth was given to him, yet our Lord rejects his Temptation by oppoſing to him a Command which excludes all Manner of religious Worſhip but what is due to the ſupreme Being only. Therefore, if *Chriſt* be at all a proper Object of our Worſhip, as all who believe the Scripture muſt allow him to be, he can be ſo in no other Senſe than as he is God equal with the Father. Where then is the Popiſh Adoration of Saints and Angels? But to return:

Thus was the old infernal Serpent, that great Dragon which deceived our firſt Parents, and tempted them ſo ſucceſsfully that they loſt their Innocence and Paradice, and incurred the ſad Sentence of Miſery and Death for their Diſobedience to their Maker, and, which was infinitely worſe than Death, forfeited the Favour of God, and the Hopes of Heaven, without a Mercy greater than the Tongues of Men and Angels can expreſs; thus was he that ſo fatally deceived the firſt of human Race, and bore ſuch a Sway over their wretched Poſterity for many Ages after, gloriouſly vanquiſhed by the Seed of that very Woman, who firſt hearken'd to his treacherous Suggeſtions.

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[r] John xiv. 30.
[s] 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[t] 1 Tim. vi. 15.
[u] Luke iv. 34.
[w] Luke iv. 41.
[x] Luke viii. 28.

Then began to be fulfilled that early Prophecy, in which God ſaid to the Serpent, [y] *I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed; it ſhall bruiſe thy Head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his Heel*: And it was carried on, throughout the afflicted, but yet conquering, Life of the Holy *Jeſus*, and completed upon his Croſs, when [z] *by Death he deſtroy'd him that had the Power of Death, that is the Devil; and having Spoiled Principalities and Powers* by thoſe very Sufferings which Satan's Malice brought upon him, *he triumph'd over them.* And though the Serpent was permitted to fulfil the Prophecy in thus bruiſing our Saviour's *Heel*, yet 'twas to his own Deſtruction, and gave an incurable Wound to his own *Head*. He had the Satisfaction indeed to ſee the Son of God, by his Inſtigation, made *a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Grief*, and in his human Nature cruelly handled by his wicked Inſtruments, and at length tortur'd to Death upon an ignominious Croſs: But that very Croſs proved his triumphal Chariot, on which he cruſhed the poiſonous Head of that Infernal Dragon into the Duſt, and trampled him under his victorious Feet.

XV. Let us now obſerve the Order of Satan's Attempts on our Bleſſed Saviour, and what eſpecial Truſt he repoſed in the laſt of them, when he offer'd him the Power and Glory of the whole World, which he thought could hardly be rejected.

As to the Order of his Temptations, when he aſſaulted *Jeſus* in the Wilderneſs, and which he obſerves ſtill in his Attempts upon us, he firſt, in a ſecret covert manner, throws ill Thoughts and Suggeſtions into our Minds, which may be as the Seed of ſuitable ill Actions hereafter. The Heart is the Treaſury both of Good and Evil. [a] *A good Man, out of the good Treaſure of his Heart, bringeth forth good Things; and an evil Man, out of the evil Treaſure of his Heart, bringeth forth evil Things.* — [b] *And from within, out of the Hearts of Men, proceed* not only *evil Thoughts*, but they ſoon grow, and ſhoot up into vile Practices, *Adulteries, Murthers, Thefts*, &c. And ſo [c] *Luſt, when it hath conceived, bringeſt forth Sin, as Sin when it is finiſhed bringeth forth Death.*

When he hath thus prepared his way in this undiſcover'd Manner, then he helps us to Opportunities of committing thoſe Sins to which Nature leads us moſt; and taking Advantage of our preſent Circumſtances, obſerves which way our Inclinations are chiefly bent, to Riches, or to Honour, or bodily Pleaſure, and plies us with Temptations accordingly. And generally he begins as he did with our Saviour, with what will pleaſe and gratify our bodily Appetites, and tempts us firſt of all to Luxury, Intemperance, and ungoverned Luſt, to which Youth is moſt prone, furniſhing us with ſuch Company as will intice us to it, and ſuitable Convenience to act it.

When the Seaſon for this begins to be over, and we are cloy'd and ſurfeited with this fulſome way of Life, or by the Grace of God have ſucceſsfully reſiſted his Temptations to it, then he endeavours to infect us with ſpiritual Pride and Preſumption, and to inject high Thoughts of our ſelves into our Minds, with reſpect to our Virtue and religious Attaintments, and of the great Share we have in the Favour of God, ſo great that ſcarce any Thing will forfeit it, which he thinks will make us careleſs and negligent, apt to run into unneceſſary Dangers, and enter upon raſh, unjuſtifiable Undertakings, in too much Confidence of the Divine Support and Protection, till we fall, and that ſometimes irrecoverably, both in Notion and in Practice, into the Snares that he has laid for us, and by this means decoy'd us into. And ſome who have with great Bravery reſiſted and conquered the Temptations of the Fleſh, have been vanquiſh'd by Satan's Perſuaſives to more ſpiritual Wickedneſſes, which have indeed much more of the Devil in them, and ſecure his Poſſeſſion of us more firmly than any Thing beſides.

But if Mens Inclinations don't lie this way, then he makes uſe of that alluring Bait the World, with the Power, and Wealth, and Glory of it, as his laſt Reſerve, which generally takes every Body, of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions, and ſeldom fails of Succeſs. Our Deſires of Things of this nature are as ſharp as the keeneſt Hunger, and inſatiable as the moſt ravenous Appetite, which nothing can reſiſt or ſatisfy.

If Men are poor, that they think will juſtify their Greedineſs, that they may make their Circumſtances eaſy for the future; and to theſe, the Devil gives Opportunities of unjuſt Gain, firſt in little petty Inſtances, and then ſtill further and further tempting them to lay hold of ſuch Occaſions, to which they are apt to be too eaſily perſuaded.

To thoſe that have Plenty already, he ſhews the Splendor of Abundance, and the Honour that goes along with it, and tells them what way to attain it, which is only to do ſome few Things which nothing but Religion forbids, and a Law or two it may be that is founded upon it: And who would let ſlip ſo fair an Opportunity of gratifying their Appetites? When once Men are thoroughly engaged this Way, and find the Sweetneſs of it, that enlarges their Deſires

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[y] Gen. iii. 15.
[z] Heb. ii. 14. Coloſ. ii. 15.
[a] Matt. xii. 35.
[b] Mark vii. 21.
[c] James i. 15.

ſires of ſtill more; and then, nothing ſhall be ſtuck at, that ſhall gratify their boundleſs Ambition, and lead to the Top of Honour, and Glory, and Empire.

Thus are we too ready to fall down and worſhip the Devil, to make him our God, to comply with his Temptations, and enſlave ourſelves to his curſed Will, for the ſake of this periſhing World; ſome in one Degree, ſome in another; but truly moſt of us, more or leſs.

This then being the Order and Method of his Temptations, theſe the chief Batteries from whence he aſſaults us, let us be conſtantly upon our Guard and Defence. And in the firſt Place, [d] *keep our Hearts with all Diligence*, from his unſeen *ſecret Injections*, becauſe from thence proceed *the Iſſues of Life and Death* reſpectively.

After this, let us be careful to [e] *flee all youthful Luſts*, to [f] *mortify inordinate Affections*, to be [g] *ſober and temperate in all Things*, and *to poſſeſs our Veſſels in Sanctification and Honour*. Then let us always be [h] *clothed with Humility*, and never without the [i] *Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit*; and the higher our Station, and the greater our ſpiritual Attainments are, the more watchful ſhould we be, leſt Pride, and Arrogance, and Preſumption, throw us headlong down.

Let us more and more endeavour to be *dead to the World*, mortify'd to its Greatneſs, Honour, and Power, [k] *and learn in every State therewith to be content*; putting our Truſt only in the Providence of God, in frequent Contemplation of our infinitely more glorious Inheritance in his heavenly Kingdom. And if to this we add, as we ſhould never fail to do, our fervent Prayers for the divine Grace and Aſſiſtance, and a daily ſerious Converſation with the Scriptures, we need not doubt, but we ſhall be too many for the Tempter at laſt, and, as our great Maſter did, come off with Victory.

But then, we muſt withal remember, that this Life is a State of continual Warfare, and when by a vigorous Reſiſtance we force him to depart from us, 'twill be only [l] *for a Seaſon*, as we are told he left our Lord. 'Twill become us therefore, not to be too ſecure, but vigilant and circumſpect, and ready to make a freſh Defence, knowing what a reſtleſs and ſubtle Adverſary we have to deal with, that goes contiually about [m] *ſeeking whom he may devour*.

XVI. Now when the Devil had ended *all his Temptations*, and *Jeſus* with infinite Bravery and Honour had given him an entire Defeat, St. *Matthew* tells us, [n] *that behold, Angels came and miniſtered unto him*; to grace his Triumph, and ſupply what was needful to refreſh him, after his long Faſt and toilſome Conflict with the Prince of Darkneſs. In what manner they did it, we ſhall not pretend to ſay; but doubtleſs 'twas done effectually. Dr. *Lightfoot* indeed ſuppoſes, that during the forty Days of our Lord's Faſt, whilſt the Devil tempted him inviſibly, the holy Angels miniſtered to him viſibly; and that at the End of thoſe Days the Devil took occaſion from thence to put on the Appearance of an Angel of Light, and pretended to wait upon him, as they did. If it were ſo, doubtleſs the good Angels appeared again, after his being fatigued by Satan, in the ſame viſible Manner, and continued their Service till, with new Vigour, and holy Satisfaction, [o] *He returned in the Power of the Spirit into Galilee*, and entered upon his Miniſtry, being thus prepar'd and enabled for it; after which *he was glorify'd of all.*

Upon his Return, as the Goſpel informs us, he repaired to *Bethabara*, *where* John *was baptizing*. Of this Place we have no further Account in the Scripture, than that it lay [p] *beyond* Jordan, and that our bleſſed Lord, [q] when the *Jews* ſought to take him at the Feaſt of Dedication, retired hither, whither many reſorted to him, and believed on him. The Word *Bethabara* in the *Hebrew* Language ſignifies a *Paſſage over*. And whereas we [r] read, that there was a Fording-Place over *Jordan*, not far from *Jericho*, 'tis conjectured that hereabouts ſtood *Bethabara*, as being the Place of Entertainment for Paſſengers out of *Judea* into *Perea*, or *the Country beyond* Jordan. Nay, 'tis imagined by ſome, that in the very ſame Place where the Ark ſtood, when the *Iſraelites* paſſed over, our bleſſed Saviour, the true Ark of the Covenant of Grace, was baptiz'd by *John the Baptiſt*, and that thither he returned after he had overcome the Devil.

To conclude with a practical Remark: The Comfort and Satisfaction is inexpreſſible that a good Man feels, when he has baffled a Temptation, preſerved his Integrity, and kept his Conſcience untouched with Guilt. This inſpires him with new Courage and Reſolution, in the Service of the God of his Salvation; engages him with exceeding Alacrity and Chearfulneſs in the Performance of the Duties of his Station, and when there is occaſion furniſhes him with freſh Strength to win new Victories.

Wherefore [ſ] *finally, my Brethren*, to uſe the Words of the Apoſtle *Paul*, *let us be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the Power of his Might, and put on the whole Armour of God, that we may be able to ſtand againſt the Wiles of the Devil. For we wreſtle not againſt Fleſh and Blood* alone, *but againſt Principalities and Powers, againſt ſpiritual Wickedneſs in high Places. Take unto you therefore the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to withſtand in the evil Day, and having done all to ſtand.* And then, [t] *the God of Peace will*, in due time, *bruiſe Satan under your Feet*; we ſhall be [u] *more than Conquerors through him that loved us*, and hath conquered for us, even *Jeſus*, the great [w] *Captain of our Salvation*, who was himſelf *made perfect through Sufferings*.

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[d] Prov. iv. 23.
[e] 2 Tim. ii. 22.
[f] Col. iii. 5.
[g] 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 8.
[h] 1 Pet. v. 5.
[i] 1 Pet. iii. 4.
[k] Phil. iv. 11.
[l] Luke iv. 13.
[m] 1 Pet. v. 8.
[n] Matth. iv. 11.
[o] Luke iv. 14, 15.
[p] John i. 28.
[q] John x. 39.
[r] Joſh. ii. 7.—23. & iii. 16.
[ſ] Epheſ. vi. 10.—13.
[t] Rom. xvi. 20.
[u] Rom. viii. 37.
[w] Heb. ii. 10.

DISSERTATION II.

A Computation of *Daniel*'s ſeventy Weeks.

I. *Time of his Appearance a certain Proof that* Jeſus *was the Meſſiah.* II. Daniel's *Viſion.* III. *To whom the ſeventy Weeks relate, what they were, and when accompliſhed.* IV. *When they began proved; Firſt, from a Character in the Text.* V. *Secondly, from the Events predicted in it. Who was the* Darius *of* Ezra. VI. *Who the* Artaxerxes *of* Ezra *and* Nehemiah, *and at which of his Decrees the ſeventy Weeks began.* Petavius *and* Uſher *confuted.* VII. *Explanation of the ſeven Weeks, the ſixty two Weeks, and the one Week.* VIII. *Of the Events after the End of the laſt Week.* IX. *An Objection againſt the whole preceding Syſtem.* X. *Inſufficiently anſwered by others.* XI. *A more ſatisfactory Anſwer.* XII. *Concluſion of the Whole, with ſome additional Remarks.*

I. [a] IT ought not to be wondered at, that the Chriſtians inſiſt ſtrongly on the Circumſtance of the Time, wherein the Meſſiah was to appear, according to the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament: For there is no Character of that great Deliverer more expreſs than this, or that can be with more Certainty applied to *Jeſus Chriſt*. If he were only a Man, it did not lie in his Power to be born, and to die, exactly at the Time appointed by the Prophets: Nor could he divine, without being a God, what would happen after him, in order to the more full Completion of antient Predictions. How ſhould a mere Man have known that the Sceptre would depart from *Judah*, and that Tribe be diſperſed, confounded, and entirely ſubtracted from the Sight of Men, in a few Years after his Death? And yet in order to the confirming of Mankind in what he taught them to believe concerning himſelf, all this was neceſſary. It would not have been in his Choice to come, by his Forerunner, at the end of ſixty nine Weeks of Years, to appear himſelf with great Approbation in the Middle of the ſeventieth Week, and to be put to Death at the End of the ſame, according to the Prophecy of *Daniel*; and afterwards, according to the ſame Prophecy, to put an end to all the public Worſhip of the *Jews*, by the Deſtruction of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. An unprejudiced Perſon cannot then take a ſurer Method to find out the Meſſiah, nor a Chriſtian to prove that *Jeſus Chriſt* really was that Meſſiah, than to examine the Time, wherein, according to the Patriarchs and Prophets, he was to appear in the World. This is what we have frequently done in the Courſe of this Work, as Occaſion has offered, and particularly in regard to the Oracle of *Jacob*, which has been very largely explained: We ſhall now proceed a little farther in the ſame Track, by conſidering the famous Prophecy of the ſeventy Weeks, in all its Parts, as we find it in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*. Why we have reſerved it to this Place will be ſhewn in ſome of our Remarks.

II. [b] In the firſt Year of *Darius*, *Daniel* computing that the ſeventy Years of *Judah*'s Captivity, which were prophecied of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, were now drawing to an End, [c] earneſtly prayed unto God; that he would remember his People, and grant Reſtoration to *Jeruſalem*, and make his Face again to ſhine upon the Holy City, and his Sanctuary, which he had placed there. Whereupon, in a Viſion, he had Aſſurance given him by the Angel *Gabriel*, not only of the Deliverance of *Judah* from their temporal Captivity under the *Babylonians*, but alſo of a much greater Redemption, which God would give his Church in his Deliverance of them from their ſpiritual Captivity under Sin and Satan, to be accompliſhed at the End of ſeventy Weeks after the Going forth of the Commandment to rebuild *Jeruſalem*, that is at the End of four hundred and ninety Years: For taking each Day for a Year, according as is uſual in the prophetic Stile of the Scripture, ſo many Years ſeventy Weeks of Years will amount to; which makes it the cleareſt Prophecy of the Coming of the Meſſiah, that we have in all the Old Teſtament: For it determines it to the very Time on which he accordingly came, and by his Death, and Paſſion, and Reſurrection from the Dead, completed for us the great Work of our Salvation. The Words of the Prophecy, as delivered by *Gabriel* to *Daniel*, are, in our *Engliſh* Tranſlation, as followeth.

Ver. 24. *Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People, and upon thy Holy City, to finiſh the Tranſgreſſion, and to make an end of Sins, and to make Reconciliation for Iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs, and to ſeal up the Viſion and Prophecy, and to anoint the moſt Holy.* 25. *Know therefore and underſtand, that from the Going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem *unto the Meſſiah the Prince ſhall be ſeven Weeks, and threeſcore and two Weeks; the Street ſhall be built again, and the Wall, even in troublous Times.* 26. *And after threeſcore and two Weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf, and the People of the Prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the City and the Sanctuary, and the End thereof ſhall be with a Flood, and unto the End of the War Deſolations are determined.* 27. *And he ſhall confirm the Covenant with many for one Week, and in the midſt of the Week he ſhall cauſe the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe, and for the overſpreading of Abominations he ſhall make it deſolate even until the Conſummation, and that determined ſhall be poured out upon the Deſolate.*

Mr. *Baſnage* [d] wonders that ſo clear a Prophecy ſhould have been variouſly explained: But he ſeems not to have been much more happy himſelf, in his Commentary upon it, than the Authors who had gone before him, and whoſe Opinions he rejects. The learned Dr. *Prideaux* has ſucceeded the beſt of any Author we have ſeen, in [e] his Diſſertation on this Prophecy: For he has taken in all that ſeems to have been intended by the Angel; and at the ſame time has made his Syſtem perfectly conſiſtent with itſelf, and anſwered all the Objections that lay againſt the ſeveral Parts thereof. In his Work the Curious may find every thing worthy Notice that has been ſaid upon the Subject; and from hence we ſhall tranſcribe the following Paragraphs, keeping cloſe to his Words, and only cutting off ſuch Parts of his Criticiſms, as ſeem a little too finely ſpun for the generality of Readers.

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[a] Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews, B. iv. c. 22.

[b] Prideaux's Connect. Part I. B. 2.

[c] Dan. ix. Jerem. xxv. 12. & xxix. 10.

[d] Ubi ſupra.

III. It being of great Moment for the Conviction of *Jews*, and other Infidels, who reject the Faith of *Chriſt*, to have this Prophecy well cleared, and made out, in order hereto it is to be obſerved,

1. That this Prophecy doth relate primarily and eſpecially to the *Jews*. For it expreſſeth the Time, that was determined upon the People of *Daniel*, that is the *Jews*, and upon the Holy City, that is *Jeruſalem*, the whole of which was ſeventy Weeks; that is, that this was the Time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the *Jews* for their being his peculiar People, and upon *Jeruſalem* for its being his Holy City; after the Expiration of which an end being to be put to the *Moſaic* Oeconomy, they ſhould be no longer God's peculiar People; and the Worſhip which he had eſtabliſhed at *Jeruſalem* being to be aboliſhed, that City ſhould be no longer a City holy unto him.

2. That theſe ſeventy Weeks are Weeks of Years. For among the *Jews*, as there were ſabbatical Days, whereby their Days were divided into Weeks of Days, ſo there were [e] ſabbatical Years, whereby their Years were divided into Weeks of Years; and this laſt ſort of Weeks is that which is here mentioned, ſo that every one of the Weeks of this Prophecy contains ſeven Years, and the whole Number of ſeventy Weeks contains four hundred and ninety Years, at the End whereof this determined Time expired; after which the *Jews* were no more to be the peculiar People of God, nor *Jeruſalem* his Holy City, becauſe then the Oeconomy, which he had eſtabliſh'd among them, was to ceaſe, and the Worſhip, which he had appointed at *Jeruſalem*, was wholly to be aboliſh'd. And,

3. All this was accompliſhed at the Death of *Chriſt*. For then the *Jewiſh* Church, and the *Jewiſh* Worſhip at *Jeruſalem*, were wholly aboliſhed, and the Chriſtian Church and the Chriſtian Worſhip ſucceeded in their ſtead; then the Time, which was determined upon the *Jews* for their being God's peculiar People, and upon *Jeruſalem* for its being his Holy City, being fully expired, thenceforth began the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, and inſtead of the *Jews* all the Nations of the World were called thereunto, and inſtead of *Jeruſalem* every Place through the whole Earth, where God ſhould be worſhipped in Spirit and in Truth, was made holy unto him. And therefore then the ſeventy Weeks of this Prophecy muſt have their Ending. For they were determined and decreed for this Purpoſe, and therefore in this they muſt have their Concluſion. And this all the Events, which are in this Prophecy predicted to be brought to paſs at the Concluſion of theſe Weeks, do neceſſarily prove. In the 24th Verſe we have ſix of them, for the accompliſhing of which theſe ſeventy Weeks are there ſaid to be determined; and therefore at the accompliſhing of them, theſe Weeks muſt have their Ending. They are theſe following. 1ſt, *To finiſh*, or [f] reſtrain, *Tranſgreſſion*; 2d, *To* [g] *make an end of Sins*; 3d, *To make*, [h] expiation, or *reconciliation for Iniquity*; 4th, *To bring in everlaſting Righteouſneſs*; 5th, *To ſeal up*, or [i] complete and fulfil, *Viſion and Prophecy*; and 6th, *To anoint the moſt Holy*. And all theſe were accompliſhed in that great Work of our Salvation, which *Chriſt* our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his Death, and Paſſion, and his Reſurrection from the Dead. For being born without original Sin, and having lived without actual Sin, he was truly *the moſt Holy* of all, that bore our Nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great Work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghoſt, and with Power to be our King, and our Prieſt, and our Prophet, for the effecting and accompliſhing of it. And having as our Prieſt offered up himſelf a Sacrifice upon the Croſs to make Expiation and Atonement for all our Sins, he did thereby *make an end of them*, by taking away their Guilt, and in ſo doing *he did work Reconciliation* for us with our God. And having as our Prophet given unto us his Goſpel, the Law of *Everlaſting Righteouſneſs*, which was not a temporary Law, as was that of *Moſes*, but to laſt for ever, and to be our Guide into all Righteouſneſs, as long the World ſhould laſt; and alſo having as our King ſent his Holy Spirit into our Hearts to influence and govern us according to this Law, he hath done all for us that is neceſſary, thereby *to reſtrain and extinguiſh in us all manner of Tranſgreſſions*, and fully deliver us from the Power of them. And in doing all this *he hath ſealed up, that is fulfilled, and thoroughly finiſhed, all that, which by Viſions and*

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[e] Levit. xxv. 8.

[f] The Word *Lecalle* in the Hebrew ſignifieth to reſtrain, as well as to ſhut up or finiſh, and the former rather than the latter.

[g] Here is a various Reading in the Hebrew Text as to the Word which we tranſlate *to make an end of*. For whereas the true Reading is *Lehatem*, that is, to finiſh, or make an end of, and in the next Line after there is the Word *Lachtom*, which there ſignifieth *to ſeal up*; and theſe two Words as to the Letters differing only in this, that the former is written with an *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the Similitude that is between theſe two Letters in the Hebrew Alphabet (for they differ very little the one from the other) led Tranſcribers into this Miſtake, that they wrote the Word, as if it were *Lachtom* in both Places. But it is corrected in the Margin. However, this would not have altered the Senſe, becauſe the ſame Word which ſignifieth *to ſeal up*, in Hebrew, is alſo uſed to ſignify *to finiſh*, or *complete*, becauſe the putting of the Seal to any Inſtrument or Writing completes the Matter, about which it is, and finiſheth the whole Tranſaction.

[h] The Word in the Hebrew Text properly ſignifieth *to expatiate as by Sacrifice*, and by ſuch an Expiation did Chriſt our Lord work Reconciliation for us with our God.

[i] See Note [g]

Prophecies had been before revealed concerning him. And therefore all theſe Events being thus brought to paſs, and accompliſhed at the Time of *Chriſt*'s Death, this neceſſarily determines us there to fix the End of theſe Weeks, which were appointed for the accompliſhing of them.

IV. The End of theſe Weeks being thus fix'd at the Death of *Chriſt*, it doth neceſſarily determine us where to place the Beginning of them, that is, four hundred and ninety Years before. And therefore the Death of *Chriſt*, as moſt learned Men agree, falling [l] in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4746, and in the *Jewiſh* Month [m] *Niſan*, if we reckon four hundred and ninety Years backwards, this will lead up to the Month *Niſan*, in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4256, which was the very Year and Month [n] in which *Ezra* had his Commiſſion from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*, for his Return to *Jeruſalem*, there to reſtore the Church and State of the *Jews*. For that Year of the *Julian* Period, according to *Ptolemy*'s Canon, was the ſeventh Year of that King's Reign, [o] in which the Scriptures tell us his Commiſſion was granted. The Beginning therefore of the ſeventy Weeks, or four hundred and ninety Years of this Prophecy, was in the Month *Niſan* of the *Jewiſh* Year, in the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*, and in the 4256th Year of the *Julian* Period, when *Ezra* had his Commiſſion; and the End of them fell in the very ſame Month of *Niſan*, in the 4746th Year of the *Julian* Period, in which very Year and very Month *Chriſt* our *Lord* ſuffered for us, and thereby completed the whole Work of our Salvation, there being juſt ſeventy Weeks of Years, or four hundred and ninety Years from the one to the other.

It is evident from the Prophecy itſelf, that theſe Weeks muſt have this Beginning, that is from the Date of the Commiſſion granted *Ezra*. For 1ſt, they are pinn'd down thereto by an expreſs Character in the Text; and, 2dly, they cannot agreeable to that, and other Scriptures, and the authentic Hiſtories of the Times to which they relate, have it any where elſe.

And 1ſt, theſe Weeks muſt have their Beginning from the Date of the Commiſſion granted to *Ezra*, becauſe they are pinn'd down thereto by an expreſs Character in the Text, and that Character is *the Going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem. For that from thence the ſeventy Weeks muſt have their Beginning, [p] the Text is very expreſs, and to excite us the more to obſerve it, introduceth it with this remarkable Preface, [p] *Know therefore and underſtand.* But this Commandment or Decree was that which was granted to *Ezra* in that Commiſſion, with which he was ſent into *Judea* in the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Perſia*; and therefore from thence the Beginning of theſe Weeks muſt commence. For the Words in the Text, *to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, are not to be underſtood literally, but figuratively, for the reſtoring of the State of the *Jews*, as well the Political as the Eccleſiaſtical, and the reſettling of both according to the Law of *Moſes*: And what is more uſual in Prophecies, than to be given out in figurative Expreſſions? And what is more common in Scripture, than by *Jeruſalem* to mean the whole Political and Eccleſiaſtical State of that People? And for the re-eſtabliſhing of both theſe, and the ſettling them again upon the former Baſis, from whence they had been overthrown by the *Babylonians*, and were not as yet but very imperfectly reſtored, the Commiſſion granted to *Ezra* was very full.

And that this figurative Interpretation of the Words, and none other, muſt be the true Meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be underſtood in a literal Senſe; for if they are ſo to be underſtood, they can be applicable to no other reſtoring and rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, than that which was decreed and commanded by *Cyrus*, at the Releaſe of the Captivity; for this Prophecy was revealed to *Daniel* before this Releaſe, and therefore when it is ſaid therein, that the *Epocha* of theſe Weeks was to begin from the Going forth of the Command or Decree to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*, of what Decree can it be more properly underſtood, than of that which ſhould firſt be granted next after this Prophecy for that Purpoſe, and by virtue whereof this City was accordingly rebuilt after its having been deſtroyed by the *Babylonians*, and was again re-peopled, and inhabited by the ſame People, who had been its former Inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of *Cyrus*'s Decree, appears from many Places of Scripture. We are told in *Iſaiah*, [q] *That it was* Cyrus *that ſhould ſay to* Jeruſalem, *Be thou built, and to the Temple, Thy Foundations ſhall be laid.* And again, [r] it is ſaid of the ſame *Cyrus*, *That God would raiſe him up, and direct him, that he ſhould build his City, and releaſe his Captives*; where it is to be obſerved, that he that releaſed God's Captives, and laid the Foundation of the Temple, was to be the Perſon that was to rebuild *Jeruſalem*; ſo that he is not only by Name, but alſo by this Character and Deſcription, plainly pointed out to be the Perſon, that was to do this Work. And therefore if theſe Words of the Prophecy, *To reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, are to be underſtood in a literal Senſe, they can be underſtood of no other reſtoring and building of that City, than that which was accompliſhed by Virtue of that Decree, and the Computation of the ſeventy Weeks muſt begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the Computation be begun ſo high, the 490 Years of the ſaid ſeventy Weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of thoſe Events which are predicted by this Prophecy; for from the firſt of *Cyrus* to the Death of *Chriſt* were five hundred and ſixty eight Years; and therefore if the ſaid 490 Years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many Years either before the cutting off or the coming of the Meſſiah, which ought both to fall within the Compaſs of them, according to the expreſs Words of this Prophecy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the Words of this Prophecy, *To reſtore and build Jeruſalem*, cannot be underſtood in a literal Senſe. For the Sum of the whole Argument is thus. If the Words are to be underſtood in a literal Senſe, they muſt be underſtood of that Rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, which was accompliſhed by Virtue of *Cyrus*'s Decree, and the Computation of the ſeventy Weeks, or the 490 Years thereof muſt begin from the going forth or iſſuing out of that Decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the Reaſon mentioned, and therefore theſe Words cannot be underſtood in a literal Senſe, but muſt be interpreted to mean figuratively the reſtoring and rebuilding the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*. And this *Ezra* effected by Virtue of the Command or Decree, which was granted to him for this Purpoſe in the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and therefore here the Beginning of theſe Weeks muſt be placed; and this will be farther proved if we conſider,

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[l] Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, Lib. vi. p. 562. Uſherus in Annalibus ſub Anno J. P. 4746. Strauchius, aliiq;

[m] Chriſt ſuffered at the Time of the Paſſover, which was always celebrated in the Middle of the Month Niſan.

[n] Ezra vii. 9. There it is ſaid, in the firſt Month, and the firſt Month of the Jewiſh Year was Niſan.

[o] Ezra vii. 7. [p] Daniel ix. 25. [q] Chap. xliv. 28. [r] Chap. xlv. 13.

Secondly, That it can be placed no where elſe, ſo as to make the Ending comport with the Intent and Purpoſe of the Prophecy, and the accompliſhing of the Events predicted by it. For there were four Commandments or Decrees iſſued out by the Kings of *Perſia*, in favour of the *Jews*, from one of which, according to the expreſs Words of the Prophecy, the Computation of theſe Weeks is to be begun: The firſt [ſ] granted by *Cyrus* in the firſt Year of his Reign, the [t] ſecond by *Darius* about the fourth Year of his Reign, the third [u] by *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, and [w] the fourth by the ſame *Artaxerxes* to *Nehemiah*, in the twentieth Year of his Reign. But this Computation could not begin from that of *Cyrus*, nor from that of *Darius*, nor from that of the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, and therefore it muſt begin from this of the ſeventh of *Artaxerxes* granted to *Ezra*. That it could not begin from any of the other three, I ſhall ſhew in their Order.

And *Firſt*, As to the Decree of *Cyrus*, the 490 Years of theſe Weeks cannot be computed from thence, for the Reaſons already ſaid; that is, becauſe, if they begin from thence, they cannot by a great many Years reach the Events predicted by this Prophecy, and therefore none, who underſtand this Prophecy to relate either the cutting off, or the coming of the *Meſſiah*, do begin from thence. For according to this Computation no Chronicle can ever reconcile them to either of them.

Secondly, Neither can the Computation of theſe Weeks be begun from the Decree granted by *Darius*. But there having been three *Darius*'s that reign'd in *Perſia*, *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Darius Codomannus*, it is to be firſt enquired, which of theſe there it was, that granted this Decree; and then ſecondly it ſhall be ſhewn, that the Computation of theſe Weeks cannot be begun from it. And firſt, of theſe three *Darius*'s, it is certain it could not be *Darius Codomannus*. For if the 490 Years of theſe Weeks be reckoned from any Part of his Reign, they will over-ſhoot all the Events predicted by this Prophecy by many more Years than they will fall ſhort of them if reckoned from the firſt of *Cyrus*, and therefore no one hath ever ſaid, that he was the *Darius* that granted this Decree. But *Scaliger*, and many others following his Authority, have ſaid it of *Darius Nothus*. But there are invincible Arguments againſt it, which unanſwerably demonſtrate, that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, the firſt of theſe three, that reigned in *Perſia*, and none other, by whom this Decree was iſſued out. For he, who, according to *Ezra*, granted this Decree, is the ſame *Darius*, of whom mention is made [x] in *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but that *Darius* could not be *Darius Nothus*, but muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. For firſt, from the Deſtruction of the Temple of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldæans* to the Reign of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred ſixty and five Years. But from the Deſtruction of it to the Time of the ſecond Decree, by Virtue of which the Rebuilding of it was finiſhed, were no more than ſeventy Years, according to the Prophet *Zechariah*. For we find [y] in the Book of his Prophecies, that in the fourth Year of the ſame *Darius*, who granted this Decree to the *Jews* (which was alſo the Year in which it was publiſhed at *Jeruſalem*) the Faſt of the fifth Month, [z] in which they had mourned for the Deſtruction of the Temple, and the Faſt of the ſeventh Month, [a] in which they had mourned for the utter Deſolation of the Land, which had been brought upon it by the Death of *Gedaliah*, had been obſerved juſt ſeventy Years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly conſiders that Text, but that their Mourning for theſe Calamities had been from the very Time, that they had ſuffered them; and that therefore it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it muſt be ſome other *Darius* then reigning in *Perſia* within the reach of the ſaid ſeventy Years, who granted this Decree; and ſince the fourth Year of *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was juſt ſeventy Years from the Time, in which the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem* were deſtroyed by the *Chaldæans* (as hath been before obſerved) this other *Darius* muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. But ſecondly, That the *Darius*, who granted this ſecond Decree, could not be *Darius Nothus*, but muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, will farther appear from the Part which *Jeſhua* the High-Prieſt and *Zerubbabel* the Governor acted in it. For they were the Perſons [b] who were ſent to *Jeruſalem* with the firſt Decree, that which was

granted

[ſ] Ezra i.

[t] Ezra vi.

[u] Ezra vii.

[w] Nehemiah ii.

[x] See Ezra v. 1. vi. 14. Hagg. i. 1.—15. Zech. i. 1.—7. & vii. 1.

[y] Zech. vii. 5.

[z] 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12. The Jews obſerve this Faſt on the 9th of Ab, which is their fifth Month, even to this Day.

[a] 2 Kings xxv. 25. Jeremiah xii. 1. The Jews obſerve this Faſt on the third Day of Tiſri, which is their ſeventh Month, even to this Day, and both theſe Faſt-Days, that of the third of Tiſri and the other of the ninth of Ab, are marked on thoſe Days in all their Kalendars.

[b] Ezra ii. 2. and iii. 8, 9.

granted by *Cyrus*, and they alſo [b] executed the ſecond Decree, that which was granted by *Darius*. But if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, ſuppoſing *Jeſhua* to have been forty Years old at the granting of *Cyrus*'s Decree (and leſs at that Time he could not be, he having then [c] Sons in the Work of the Temple of twenty Years old and upward) and ſuppoſing *Zerubbabel* to be thirty Years old (and a leſs Age could not comport with his Office) the former muſt have been one hundred and fifty ſeven, and the other one hundred forty ſeven Years old, when this ſecond Decree granted by *Darius* was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. [d] *Scaliger*, to make out the Probability of it, brings Inſtances of ſeveral Long-livers. I deny not, it's poſſible one in a Century may be found, who may have reached the firſt of theſe Ages, that is, that of 157. For we have had [e] a *Par* who hath come nigh it, and a *Jenkinſon* who hath out-lived it. But that two together, and Collegues in the ſame Work and Buſineſs, ſhould live ſo long, is not likely. But thirdly, the Improbability of this will appear much farther, if we conſider the Words ſpoken by God himſelf in the ſecond Year of this *Darius*, which we have in the ſecond Chapter of *Haggai*, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that ſaw this Houſe in its firſt Glory? And how do you ſee it now? Is it not in your Eyes in Compariſon of it as nothing?* For this Text doth plainly expreſs, that ſome were then alive, who had ſeen the firſt Temple, and well remembered the Beauty and Glory of it; and therefore, if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, they muſt have been of an Age much more beyond Belief, than either that of *Jeſhua*, or that of *Zerubbabel* above-mentioned. For from the Eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*, in which the Temple was deſtroy'd, to the Second of *Darius Nothus*, had paſſed one hundred ſixty-ſix Years; and therefore ſuppoſing theſe Perſons, who are here ſaid to have ſeen the firſt Temple, and remember'd the Glory of it, had been then ſeven Years old (which is the loweſt that can be allowed for ſuch a Remembring) they muſt have been of the Age of one hundred and ſeventy-three, in the ſecond Year of *Darius Nothus*. And who can think it likely, that many (as the Text ſeems to expreſs) or any at all among the People, ſhould then be found of ſo great an Age? Fourthly, The Series of the Kings of *Perſia*, as mentioned in *Ezra*, plainly makes the *Darius*, who granted this ſecond Decree in favour of the *Jews*, to be the fourth that reigned in that Empire, and the fourth King therein all agree was *Darius Hyſtaſpes*. For after *Cyrus* who was the Firſt, ſucceeded *Cambyſes* the Second, and after him was the *Magian* the Third, and then was *Darius Hyſtaſpes* the Fourth. And in the ſame Order are theſe Kings mentioned in *Ezra* in reſpect to the Temple, and the rebuilding of it. For [f] he tells us, that during the Reign of *Cyrus*, though he had granted a Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, yet the Work was diſcouraged all his Reign, through the Fraud of his Officers corrupted by the Bribes of the *Samaritans*; that in the Beginning of the Reign of *Ahaſuerus*, who next ſucceeded (*i. e. Cambyſes*) the King himſelf being wrote to diſcouraged the Work, but made no Decree againſt it, out of reſpect it is ſuppoſed to his Father's Decree, which was for it. But *Artaxerxes*, the next that reigned (*i. e.* the *Magian*,) having no ſuch regard to what *Cyrus* had ordered, made a Decree againſt the Work, whereon it wholly ceaſed (which it had not done before) for the ſpace of [g] two Years; until the ſecond Year of *Darius*. This *Darius* therefore muſt be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and none other. For it was he that was the fourth of thoſe Kings that reigned over the *Perſian* Empire.

But, againſt all this, the ſhort Time, that was between the granting of the firſt Decree by *Cyrus*, and the ſecond Year of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, is made an Objection; and they being Men of great Name, who have thought it of Weight, it muſt not be paſſed over without an Anſwer, although otherwiſe it ſeems not worthy of any. They urge it thus. From the Time of the granting of *Cyrus*'s Decree to the ſecond of *Darius Hyſtaſpes* were no more than ſixteen Years, and therefore if it were then, that the reſuming of the Work of the Temple gave occaſion [h] for the ſearching of the Records for this Decree, and if it were that *Darius*, who on the finding of the Decree granted a Confirmation of it, there would then have been no reaſon for any ſuch ſearch to have been made at all. For, ſay they, what need was there of ſearching of the Records for this Decree before its Confirmation, after ſo ſhort a Time, as that of ſixteen Years? The thing might then have been well enough remembered without going to the Records for the Proof of it. *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was himſelf (they proceed to argue) bred in *Cyrus*'s Court, and therefore might himſelf well enough have remember'd this Thing without ordering the Records to be ſearched for it; and if not, yet many of his Counſellors and Courtiers might. And therefore from hence they infer, that it could not be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, that granted this Decree, but it muſt neceſſarily have been another *Darius*, reigning after him, in whoſe Time the granting of *Cyrus*'s Decree was grown to be a thing paſt the Memory of Man; and that could be none other than *Darius Nothus*. The whole therefore of this Argument goes upon this Suppoſition, That public Records are never to be appealed to, but for Things paſt the Memory of Man; than which what can be more abſurd? Can any that attend the *Chancery* here in *England* remember all the Grants and Decrees that have paſſed the Seals for ſixteen Years paſt? Can the Chancellor himſelf do this, if he has been ſo long in Office? Or if any Decree be to be made upon the Foundation of a former Decree, though paſſed but ſixteen Days before, will any Chancellor upon Memory only ſeal the latter Decree, or paſs any thing in it, without having the former firſt laid before him? Altho' ſome may have a confuſed Remembrance in general of ſome Things there tranſacted even for ſixteen Years paſt, yet amidſt the Variety and Multiplicity of Buſineſs, which paſs in ſuch a Court, and where the quick Succeſſion of new Matters frequently crowd out of the Mind all Thoughts of all thoſe that precede, whoſe Memory can be ſufficient to be depended upon for an exact Account of any thing there decreed without having recourſe to the Records, where all is exactly ſet down and regiſtred? And how can any thing be there rightly ſettled without it? And, if this cannot be done for ſo ſmall a Realm as this of *England*, how could it be done for ſo large and vaſt an Empire, as that of *Perſia*,[l] which was above forty times as large, and therefore muſt have afforded occaſion for Grants and Decrees forty times as many. It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how ſuch a multitude of things, as muſt in this Caſe have been decreed and granted for all that Empire, could have been all diſtinctly remembered by any one after a Week paſt; and how much leſs after ſixteen Years? And therefore nothing that is ſaid from this Head, for the proving, that it could not be *Darius Hyſtaſpes* that granted the Decree abovementioned, can amount to as much as an Argument of the loweſt Probability for it. But on the contrary they, who for the ſake of this Argument put the granting of this Decree as low the Time of *Darius Nothus*, do thereby afford a much ſtronger Argument againſt themſelves, than this can be for them. For this will put the finiſhing of the ſecond Temple at the Diſtance of one hundred and eighteen Years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the Decree of *Artaxerxes* made it ceaſe? If they allow this *Artaxerxes* to be the third *Perſian* King, as he is reckoned[k] in Scripture, that is the *Magian*, who reigned next after *Cambyſes*, then from the ceaſing of the Work to the reſuming of it again will be full one hundred Years; and in ſo long a Time of Intermiſſion how could they ſo preſerve the Beams from being rotten, and the whole Building from being ſo damaged and decay'd, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very Foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the Decree for the proceeding in the Work all was finiſhed in a little more than three Years time. But if they ſay it was not the *Magian*, who was the *Artaxerxes* in the Scriptures, that cauſed the Work to ceaſe, but he, that is firſt named in the Catalogue, which we have of the *Perſian* Kings in Prophane Hiſtories, that is *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, then from the beginning of the Work to that ceaſing of it, will be ſeventy one Years. And in this Caſe it may be asked, how came it to paſs, if they had ſo long been permitted to have gone on with the Work, that in all that Time it had not been finiſhed? Neither of theſe Queſtions can be anſwered, and therefore taking either of theſe ways, the Argument worketh ſtrong againſt them, and farther proves that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but that it muſt neceſſarily be *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who granted the Decree, whereby the rebuilding of the ſecond Temple was finiſhed. And upon this Suppoſition all will be eaſy, and free of Difficulty, and the whole Proceeding of the Matter will be thus. *Cyrus*, in the firſt Year of his Reign over the whole *Perſian* Empire, granted his Decree to the *Jews*, for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. The next Year after they begun the Work, and went on with it for about thirteen Years, till the *Magian* cauſed it to ceaſe. But two Years after, in the ſecond Year of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who ſlew the *Magian*, and ſucceeded him in the Throne, it was on the preaching of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* again reſumed, and about a Year and a half after they obtained a Decree from *Darius* to authorize them therein; and then in a little more than three Years time after they finiſhed the whole Work.

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[b] Ezra v. 6. Haggai i. 2. Zech. iii. & iv.

[c] Ezra iii. 8, 9.

[d] De Emend. Temp. l. vi. p. 603. & in Animad. ad Chronol. Euſeb. ſub anno 1497. p. 97.

[e] Par lived to the Age of 152, and Jenkinſon to that of 169. See Sir William Temple's Tracts.

[f] Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

[g] So ſaith the Writer of the firſt Apocryphal Book of Ezdras v. 73. And altho' he be an Apocryphal Writer, and is in moſt Things, where he doth not tranſlate from the Canonical Book of Ezra, very fabulous, yet in this Particular he may well be ſuppoſed to deliver himſelf according to the received Tradition of the Age in which he lived, and the Hiſtories then extant, and this was very antient. For it is certain he wrote before Joſephus, and an antienter Evidence than this we cannot have from any Writer ſince the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament concerning this Matter.

[h] Ezra vi.

And thus far having ſhewn that the *Darius*, who granted the ſecond Decree in favour of the *Jews*, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jeruſalem* was finiſhed, could be none other than *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, the remaining Part of the Argument is, that therefore the ſeventy Weeks of this Prophecy could not have their beginning from this Decree; which is demonſtrated by the ſame Reaſon, whereby it hath been above ſhewn, that they could not begin from the Decree of *Cyrus*; that is becauſe the four hundred and ninety Years of theſe Weeks reckoned from the granting of this Decree cannot reach the chief Events, which are by this Prophecy predicted to fall within the Compaſs of them, that is the Coming and the cutting off of the Meſſiah. For this Decree I reckon was brought to *Jeruſalem* in the fourth Year of *Darius*. The *Jews* indeed began again with the rebuilding of the Temple in the latter end of the ſecond Year of *Darius*, but they had no Decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth Year of his Reign. But from the fourth Year of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, to the Death of *Chriſt*, were five hundred and fifty Years, and therefore reckoning the ſeventy Weeks or their four hundred and ninety Years from thence, they will expire ſixty Years before the Death of *Chriſt*, and twenty four Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the Meſſiah, nor the Coming of the Meſſiah in any Senſe whatſoever that his Coming can be taken in.

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[l] The Scriptures tell us, that it reached from India to Ethiopia, and contained in the Time of Cyrus an hundred and twenty Provinces, and afterwards ſeven more were added to them. See Daniel vi. 1. & Eſther. i. 1.

[k] Ezra iv. 7.

And theſe two are the grand Events predicted by this Prophecy, and it can never be rightly interpreted, but in the accompliſhing of them. And it may be farther added on this Head, that this Decree of *Darius* ſeems not to accord or agree with the Deſcription of that Commandment or Decree, which is mentioned in the Prophecy. For the Words of the Text are, *From the going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem, which plainly imply an original Decree, which this of *Darius* was not. For it was no more than an [l] Exemplification and Confirmation of that which was before granted by *Cyrus*. And if it be not ſuch a Decree as the Prophecy intended, it's certain the ſeventy Weeks, or their four hundred and ninety Years, cannot begin from thence.

VI. *Thirdly*, Neither can the Computation of theſe Weeks be begun from the Decree granted to *Nehemiah* by *Artaxerxes* in the twentieth Year of his Reign. And in the clearing of this Particular, I muſt take the ſame Method, as in the former. For as there were three *Darius*'s, ſo alſo were there three *Artaxerxes*'s, which according to ancient Hiſtorians reigned over the Empire of the *Perſians*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*. And therefore firſt it muſt be enquired, which of theſe three it was, that granted this Decree; and then ſecondly it ſhall be ſhewn, that the Computation of theſe Weeks cannot begin from it. And firſt, as to which of theſe three *Artaxerxes*'s it was, that granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*, it's certain it muſt be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who reigned immediately after *Xerxes* over the *Perſian* Empire. For it was that *Artaxerxes*, who was contemporary with *Eliaſhib* the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, he being High-Prieſt [m] at the Time when *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem* with this Decree, which was in the twentieth Year of that King. But no other *Artaxerxes*, but he that was called *Longimanus*, could be contemporary with *Eliaſhib*, and therefore none other but he could be the *Artaxerxes* that granted this Decree. For the Age, which *Joiakim* the Father of *Eliaſhib* muſt then have been of at the Time of his Death, makes it utterly improbable, that it ſhould be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and it would make it much more ſo, as to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who ſucceeded him. For ſuppoſing *Eliaſhib*, who was High-Prieſt in the 20th Year of that *Artaxerxes*, who granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*, had then been 20 Years in that Office, his Father *Joiakim*, if this *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, muſt then upon this Suppoſition have died in the laſt Year of *Darius Nothus*, at which Time *Joiakim* muſt have been at leaſt one hundred fifty one Years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in *Ezra*, that *Jeſhua*, [n] the Father of *Joiakim*, at the firſt Return of the *Jews* to *Jeruſalem* after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity [o] had Sons of twenty Years old and upward employ'd in the Work of the Temple; and ſince the High-Prieſthood among the *Jews* went by Succeſſion according to the Primogeniture, and *Joiakim* ſucceeded *Jeſhua* in it, it cannot be doubted but that *Joiakim* was one of thoſe his Sons, who were thus employ'd, and the eldeſt of them; and if he were twenty Years old at this Time, he muſt then have been one hundred fifty one in the laſt of *Darius Nothus*. For from the [p] firſt of *Cyrus* to the laſt of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred thirty one Years. The Improbability of this ſufficiently proves, that it could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*. And the Improbability would be much greater, if we ſhould ſuppoſe it to be *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who ſucceeded him, becauſe then *Joiakim* muſt have been forty ſix Years older. Beſides, there is this farther Argument, that *Artaxerxes Ochus* could not be the Perſon, becauſe in Scripture there is mention made of the [q] thirty ſecond Year of that *Artaxerxes*, who granted this Decree to *Nehemiah*, but *Artaxerxes Ochus* reigned only [r] twenty one Years in all. And if it were not *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, nor *Artaxerxes Ochus*, it muſt then neceſſarily follow that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and none other, that granted the Decree to *Nehemiah* in the 20th Year of his Reign. And thus far the firſt Part of the Argument being cleared, the ſecond is, That the Computation of the ſeventy Weeks cannot be begun from this Decree, which will fully be manifeſted by the Calculation of the Years. For reckoning from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the Death of *Chriſt* there will be no more than four hundred and ſeventy ſeven Years; and therefore if the four hundred and ninety Years of the ſeventy Weeks be computed from thence, they will overſhoot the Death of *Chriſt* thirteen Years, which being the grand Event to be brought to paſs at the Concluſion of theſe Weeks, it is certain they can never there have their Beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this Ending.

But ſeveral great and learned Men having a particular Fancy to begin the Computation of theſe Weeks from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, notwithſtanding this Objection, they have deviſed ſeveral Ways and Methods for the Removal of it, and the reconciling the Ending of theſe Weeks, as calculated from this Beginning, with the Time of the Events predicted.

The firſt Way, which hath been propoſed for this Purpoſe, is to reckon the ſeventy Weeks, or the four hundred and ninety Years of this Prophecy, by Lunar Years; and this hath been of a very antient Date, for it hath *Africanus* for its Author, who flouriſhed in the Beginning of the third Century; and he is followed by *Theodoret*, *Beda*, *Zonaras*, *Rupertus*, and others; and the Generality of the *Romiſh* Doctors ſtrike in with this Opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar *Latin* Tranſlation, which they have decreed in their *Trentine* Council to be Authentic. For inſtead of what we read in the Beginning of the Prophecey, *Seventy Weeks are determined upon thy People*, &c. this Tranſla-

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[l] Ezra vi.

[m] Mehemiah iii. 1.

[n] Nehemiah xii. 10.—22.

[o] Ezra iii. 8, 9.

[p] Canon Ptol.

[q] Nehemiah xiii. 6.

[r] Canon Ptol.

tion renders it, [r] *Seventy Weeks are abbreviated upon thy People*; from whence they argue, This Abbreviation of the Years muſt be either in their Number, or their Quality. It cannot be in their Number, for the Text abſolutely determines that to ſeventy Weeks of Years, that is four hundred and ninety Years, and therefore it muſt be in their Quality or Form, that is they muſt be Lunar Years, which are ſhort Years, and not Solar Years, which are longer Years. But the *Hebrew* [s] Word in the Text will not bear this Interpretation. For the true Meaning or Signification of it in that Place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our *Engliſh* Verſion; and in this Senſe it is uſed in the [t] *Chaldee* Paraphraſe, and no where in any other. I confeſs the Word doth not occur any where elſe in the whole *Hebrew* Bible, or any other Word of that Root. But this is not ſufficient to juſtify either the Meaning, which they would put upon the Word, or the Inference, which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the Difficulty would not be removed by it. For Lunar Years would carry us beyond the Mark, as well as Solar Years fall ſhort of it. For whereas the four hundred and ſeventy ſeven Solar Years, which were from the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the Death of *Chriſt*, fall thirteen Years ſhort of the four hundred and ninety Years, at the End of which this Prophecy doth put it; the ſame four hundred and ſeventy ſeven Years, when converted into Lunar Years, making four hundred and ninety one Years and two hundred forty-ſix Days over, do carry us one Year and two hundred forty ſix Days (which is a great Part of another Year) beyond the ſaid four hundred ninety Years. And therefore this Way of Computation doth by no means adjuſt the Difference, but ſtill leaves it wide of an Agreement, although not ſo wide as it was before. Beſides, when *Daniel* had this Prophecy revealed unto him by the Angel *Gabriel*, there was not any Form of a Year purely Lunar then any where in Uſe. The *Chaldean* Year at that Time was moſt certainly the *Nabonaſſarean* Year, [u] conſiſting of three hundred ſixty five Days, and the [w] *Egyptian* Year was the ſame, and ſo was alſo the [x] *Perſian*. The [y] *Jews* indeed had their common Years purely Lunar, conſiſting of twelve Lunar Months, and ſo had [z] the *Greeks*, only with this Difference, that whereas the *Jews* Lunar Months were ſtrictly Lunar, as being obſerved by the Phaſis, the *Greeks* miſtaking a Lunar Month to conſiſt exactly of thirty Days, in compounding of their Year of twelve of them, made it amount to three hundred ſixty Days, which exceeded its true Aſtronomical Meaſure almoſt ſix Days. But beſides the common Years, they had alſo intercalated Years intermixed with the common Years, which reduced all to the Solar Form. For what was defective of it in the common Years was reſtored in the intercalated Years. The *Arabs* indeed from the Time of *Mahomet* have uſed a Year purely Lunar, and the *Turks* do the ſame in imitation of them, and ſo do all others of their Sect. But of the Ancients we find none that followed this Form. All among them that had Lunar Years, had alſo intercalated Years to make amends for their Defects; and therefore whatſoever any of their Years might be in their ſingular Numbers, they were always Solar in their collective Sums. And who can think then that in the collective Sum of ſeventy Weeks, or the four hundred and ninety Years of them, the Angel ſhould intend a Computation, which was then no where in practice the whole World over. This Prophecy concerning principally the *Jews*, and being written to them, it is moſt likely that the Computation of the Time mention'd therein ſhould be according to the *Jewiſh* Form and none other. And there is one Argument which I think undeniably proves it to be ſo. The Weeks of Years, by which the Time of this Prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifeſtly the ſame with the Sabbaths of Years mentioned in *Leviticus* xxv. 8. and therefore muſt be reckoned by the ſame ſort of Years; but it's certain that thoſe Sabbaths of Years were reckoned by Solar Years, and therefore theſe Weeks of Years muſt be ſo too. That theſe Sabbaths of Years were reckoned by Solar Years is manifeſt. For they all begun from the firſt of *Tiſri*, which was pinn'd down by the Feaſt of Tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the Middle of that Month) to a certain Seaſon of the Year, (as hath been already obſerved,) and from that Seaſon in one Year, to the ſame Seaſon in another, can only be meaſured by the Courſe of the Sun. And all this put together ſufficiently ſhews that Lunar Years are not the Years which this Prophecy is to be computed by.

2. Another Way taken for the reconciling of this Difference is by beginning the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* nine Years ſooner, than where it is above placed, and ending the ſaid ſeventy Weeks three Years and a half later, that is by putting the Death of *Chriſt* into the Middle of the laſt Week, and continuing the Remainder of that Week beyond it. For according to this Account the firſt Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* will fall in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4241, and his 20th Year in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4260, from which numbering ſixty nine Weeks and an half, it will carry down the Computation to the Year of the *Julian* Period 4746. which was the very Year in which *Chriſt* ſuffered. And thus far *Petavius* and Archbiſhop *Uſher* agree as to the Time both of the Beginning and Ending of the Prophecy; but they differ in one Circumſtance about the Beginning, that is whether this 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence they both reckon this Beginning, and which they both put in the ſame

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[r] Septuaginta Hebdomades abbreviatæ ſunt ſuper populum tuum.

[s] Nechtac.

[t] In Eſther iv. 5.

[u] Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, alioſque.

[w] Vide Marſhami Canonem Chronicum, p. 245. Edit. Lipſ.

[x] Q. Curtius lib. iii. cap. 3.

[y] Talmud in Roſh Haſhanah. Maimonides in Kiddoſh Hachodeſh. Marſhami Canon. Chron. p. 290, 291. Edit. Lipſ.

[z] Scaliger. de Emendatione Temporum. lib. i. cap. De Anno. Marſhami Canon Chron. 657, 658, 659.

Year of the *Julian* Period, were his 20th Year from the Death of *Xerxes* his Father, or his 20th Year from the Time, when it's ſuppoſed he was admitted to reign in Copartnerſhip with him, nine Years before,

For [a] *Petavius* ſuppoſeth, that *Xerxes* nine Years before his Death admitted his Son *Artaxerxes* to reign in Copartnerſhip with him, and that from this Admiſſion is to be computed the 20th Year of his Reign, in which he iſſued out the Decree, from whence the firſt Year of this Prophecy did commence. And he builds this Suppoſition chiefly upon the Authority of *Thucydides*,[b] who tells us, that *Themiſtocles*, in his Flight into *Perſia*, addreſſed himſelf to *Artaxerxes* then newly reigning. But *Diodorus Siculus* [c] tells us, that *Themiſtocles* fled into *Perſia* in the ſecond Year of the 77th Olympiad, ſeveral Years before the Death of *Xerxes*; and therefore to reconcile theſe two Authors *Petavius* infers, that *Artaxerxes* muſt have been admitted to reign with his Father ſeveral Years before his Death, and theſe Years he determines to nine, becauſe this will beſt ſerve his Purpoſe. But there are many Inconſiſtencies in this Opinion, ſufficient to ſhew that it can afford no ſure Foundation for the Solution of any Part of this Prophecy upon it.

And therefore [d] Archbiſhop *Uſher* takes the other Way, and although he placeth the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the ſame Year that *Petavius* doth, in order to the Solution of this Prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwiſe than from the Death of *Xerxes* his Father; ſo that he anticipates the true 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the ſame Manner that *Petavius* doth, though not by joining him in Copartnerſhip with his Father, but by putting him in due Succeſſion after him nine Years ſooner than either *Ptolemy* or any other Author doth; and the ſame Teſtimony of *Thucydides*, which is above-mentioned, is the Ground, which he goes upon for it. But although the Authority of *Thucydides* ſhould be allowed to be uncontestable, yet this will not infer, that the Beginning of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* muſt therefore be put nine Years higher than all others have put it, ſince the Matter may be as well adjuſted by bringing the Flight of *Themiſtocles* nine Years lower; and this Way [e] Mr. *Dodwell* hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aſide the Authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who fixeth the Flight of *Themiſtocles* to the Year above-mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others, that have wrote of the Matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardeſt in this Opinion is for the ſake of any Hiſtorical Writer to lay aſide the Authority of *Ptolemy*'s Canon, which is built upon Aſtronomical Demonſtrations. Altho' *Thucydides* be a grave Author, and of uncontestable Authority in thoſe Matters of the *Peloponneſian* War, which he writes of (for they were done in his Time, and he was near at Hand to be well informed of them, and he himſelf was an accurate Obſerver) yet it's poſſible he might be miſtaken in what he tells us of the *Perſian* Affairs, which were done at a Diſtance (as this was) and before his Time. For he was juſt born [f] when this Flight of *Themiſtocles* happened. But *Ptolemy*'s Canon being fixed by the Eclipſes, the Truth of it may at any Time be demonſtrated by Aſtronomical Calculations; and no one hath ever calculated thoſe Eclipſes, but hath found them fall right in the Times where placed; and therefore this being the ſureſt Guide, which we have in the Chronology, and it being alſo verify'd by its Agreement every where with the Holy Scriptures, it is not for the Authority of any other human Writing whatſoever to be receded from.

And as theſe two great Men have been thus far out in placing the Beginning of theſe ſeventy Weeks, ſo have they been no leſs miſtaken in fixing the End of them. For to make up the thirteen Years, which this reckoning fell ſhort of, they have not only anticipated the Beginning of theſe Weeks nine Years, but have alſo cut them ſhort three Years and an half in the Ending, by placing the Death of *Chriſt* in the Middle of the laſt Week, and there concluding this Part of the Prophecy three Years and an half before theſe ſeventy Weeks are fully completed, which hath this great Objection againſt it, that it drops the latter half Part of the laſt Week as void, and of no Significancy. But no Word of God is given in vain; every Part of it hath its Significancy, and every Word of Prophecy therein contained muſt have its Completion. For what our [g] Saviour ſaith of the Law is alſo true of the Prophets, and as not one Jot or Tittle of the former was to paſs away without being fulfilled, ſo neither can one Jot or Tittle of the latter ever paſs away without being accompliſhed. And therefore every Part, as well as the firſt Half Part, muſt have its Significancy, and alſo its Completion; and accordingly every Part of it had, as well as all the reſt, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

And thus far having ſhewn, that the Commandment or Decree mentioned in the Prophecy, for the reſtoring and rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*, cannot be underſtood either of the Decree of *Cyrus*, or of that of *Darius*, or of that granted to *Nehemiah* in the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes*, it remains, that it muſt then be underſtood of that granted to *Ezra* by the ſame *Artaxerxes*, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, and of none other. For beſides the three Commandments or Decrees above-mentioned, there was no other Commandment or Decree ever granted by any of the Kings of *Perſia*, for the Reſtoration of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, but this only, that was granted to *Ezra*. And therefore, if it cannot be underſtood of any of the other three, it muſt then neceſſarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the Death of *Chriſt*, are exactly four hundred and ninety Years to a Month. For in the Month *Niſan* was the Decree granted to *Ezra*, and [h] in the Middle of the ſame Month *Niſan Chriſt* ſuffered, juſt four hundred and ninety Years after.

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[a] Rationar. Temp. Part. ii. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 154. Et de Doctrina Temporum, lib. xii. cap. 32. & ſeqq.

[b] Lib. 1.

[c] Lib. xi.

[d] In Annalibus veteris Teſtamenti ſub Anno J. P. 4259.

[e] In Annalibus Thucydides.

[f] According to Aulus Gellius Thucydides was forty Years old, when the Peloponneſian War began. (A Gellius lib. xiv. c. 23.) And the Peloponneſian War beginning towards the End of the firſt Year of the 87th Olympiad, reckoning forty Years upwards from thence, the firſt of them will end in the very Year, in which Diodorus tells us Themiſtocles made his Flight, i. e. in the ſecond Year of the 77th Olympiad.

[g] Matth. v. 18.

VII. And thus much being ſaid for the fixing of the Beginning and Ending of theſe ſeventy Weeks, it remains that for the fuller Explication of all other Particulars, that are in this Prophecy contained, I farther obſerve that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th Verſes of the ixth Chapter of *Daniel*, contains three Branches or Parts. The firſt foretells Events to be accompliſhed within ſeventy Weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to paſs at the End of them; the ſecond, Events to be accompliſhed preciſely at the End of three particular Periods, into which the ſaid general Number of ſeventy Weeks is divided; and the third, Events to be brought to paſs after the Expiration of the ſaid ſeventy Weeks in the Times immediately following thereupon.

The firſt Branch or Part of this Prophecy is that which is contained in the 24th Verſe, and foretells the ſix Events above-mentioned, which were to be accompliſhed within the ſaid ſeventy Weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to paſs at the End of them.

The ſecond Branch or Part of this Prophecy is that which is contained in the 25th Verſe, and in the former Part of the 26th Verſe, and in the former Part of the 27th Verſe. This divides the general Number of ſeventy Weeks into three particular Periods, and aſſigns particular Events to be preciſely accompliſhed at the End of each of them. Theſe three particular Periods are ſeven Weeks, ſixty two Weeks, and one Week, that is forty nine Years, four hundred thirty four Years, and ſeven Years; and the particular Events to be accompliſhed at the End of each of them are, 1ſt, The reſtoring and building of the Street and Ditch of *Jeruſalem* in troublous Times; 2d, The coming of the Meſſiah; and 3d, His confirming of the Covenant of the Goſpel with many of the *Jews* for one Week, his cauſing Sacrifice and Oblation to ceaſe in the half of that Week, and his being cut off at the End thereof. And therefore applying theſe particular Events to their proper Periods, the Prophecy will be clearly thus: That numbring the ſaid ſeventy Weeks from the going forth of the Commandment or Decree to reſtore and build *Jeruſalem*, (that is to reſtore and eſtabliſh the Church and State of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*) there ſhould be firſt ſeven Weeks of that Number, that is forty nine Years, and then the ſaid Church and State (here figuratively expreſſed by the Streets of the City) ſhould be thoroughly reformed and reſtored, and all ſuch [i] good Conſtitutions and Eſtabliſhments (here figuratively expreſſed by the Ditch) ſhould be made and ſettled, as ſhould be neceſſary for the fortifying and preſerving of the ſame, and that all this ſhould be done in troublous Times, and amidſt great Oppoſition from Enemies. That after ſixty and two Weeks from the End of the ſaid ſeven Weeks, that is four hundred and thirty four Years, the Meſſiah ſhould come. And that after this having for one Week, the laſt of the ſaid ſeventy Weeks, (that is for the ſpace of ſeven Years) confirmed the Covenant of the Goſpel with many of the *Jews*, he ſhould in the half Part of that Week (that is in the latter half Part of it) cauſe the Sacrifices and Oblations of the Temple to ceaſe, and in the Concluſion of the whole, that is in the preciſe Ending of the ſaid ſeventy Weeks, be cut off and dye. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to paſs.

1ſt, As to the Period of ſeven Weeks, it muſt be acknowledged, that the particular Event of reſtoring and building of *Jeruſalem* with its Streets and Ditch in troublous Times, (by which I underſtand the reſtoring and ſettling of the Church and State of the *Jews*) is not diſtinctly applied thereto in the Prophecy. For in the End of the 25th Verſe both the two firſt Periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the ſeven Weeks, and that of the ſixty two Weeks, the Event of reſtoring and building of *Jeruſalem* with its Streets and Ditch is ſubjoined to both of them without any diſtinct Application to either; but the Words immediately following in the next Verſe appropriating the Time of the Meſſiah to the Period of ſixty two Weeks, this neceſſarily leaves the other, that is the reſtoring and building of *Jeruſalem* with its Streets and Ditch, to be appropriated to the Period of ſeven Weeks. And accordingly within the Compaſs of the ſaid Period of ſeven Weeks, or forty nine Years, this Event was accompliſhed, in the full reſtoring and eſtabliſhing of the Church and State of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem* after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. For this was begun by *Ezra*, by virtue of that Commandment or Decree, which was granted to him for it in the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, King of *Perſia*, and afterwards carried on by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of another Decree granted to him for this Purpoſe by the ſame *Artaxerxes* in the 20th Year of his Reign. And from the Beginning of this Reſtoration of the Church and State of the *Jews* by *Ezra*, to the Ending and Perfecting of it by *Nehemiah* in that laſt Act of his Reformation, which is ſpoken of in the xiiith of *Nehemiah*, (that is from the 23d Verſe to the End of the Chapter,) were forty nine Years. For during all that time this Work was carrying on, and the great Oppoſition, which theſe two good Men met with herein, not only from the *Samaritans*, and other Enemies abroad, but alſo from falſe Brethren and wicked Men at Home, who hated all Reformation, was the true Cauſe that it was ſo long a doing; and that there were ſuch Oppoſitions in the doing of it, this ſufficiently verifieth the Prophecy in its Prediction, that it was to be done in troublous Times. And it is obſervable, that at the ſame Juncture of Time, where the Reſtoration of the *Jewiſh* Church and State ended, there the Holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament do end alſo. For this laſt Reformation of *Nehemiah*, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full Completion of the ſaid Reſtoration, is the laſt Act which is recorded therein; and therefore this ending of the Period is of ſufficient Remark for this Reaſon, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the Prophecy, which can ſcarce be ſaid of any other, that is aſſign'd for it. And

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[h] For Chriſt was crucify'd in the Beginning of the Jewiſh Paſſover, and that always begun in the Middle of the Month Niſan.

[i] It is a celebrated Saying among the Jews, and of ancient Date among them (For it is in Pirke Aboth, which is one of the Tracts in their Miſhna) *That the Conſtitution of their Elders are an Hedge to the Law*, that is, to fence, preſerve, and keep it from being broken in upon, and violated. But a Ditch is as much made Uſe of for a Fence, as is an Hedge; and therefore the Conſtitutions which fence the Law from being violated, may be figuratively expreſſed by the one, as well as by the other.

2dly, From theſe 7 Weeks, or 49 Years, reckoning 62 Weeks, or 434 Years more (which is the Term of the 2d Period) this will lead us down to the coming of *Chriſt* the Meſſiah, who is here in the Prophecy predicted to come at the End of the ſaid ſixty two Weeks. For the Words of the Prophecy are, *From the going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and to build* Jeruſalem, *unto the Meſſiah the Prince, ſhall be ſeven Weeks and threeſcore and two Weeks*; that is, there ſhall be ſeven Weeks for the completing and finiſhing of the Work, for which that Commandment or Decree was granted, and from thence ſixty two Weeks more to the coming of *Chriſt* the Meſſiah here intended, that is to the Time of his firſt Appearance on the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. For his coming here predicted muſt be interpreted either of his coming at his Birth, or of his coming on his Miniſtry. No one ſaith it of the former, neither will the Term of Years predicted of it ever meet it there. And therefore it muſt be underſtood of the latter, that is his coming and firſt appearing in his Miniſtry; and here the Years predicted in the Prophecy will exactly find it. For the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence theſe Weeks do begin, being coincident with the Year of the *Julian* Period 4256, if we reckon from thence ſeven Weeks and ſixty two Weeks, that is ſixty nine Weeks, or four hundred eighty three Years, this will lead us down to the Year of the *Julian* Period 4739, which was the very Year in which the Miniſtry of the Goſpel firſt began. This *Chriſt* executed at firſt, and therein made his Appearance as the Meſſiah, by his Fore-runner *John the Baptiſt*, for the ſpace of three Years and an Half, and after that by himſelf in his own Perſon for three Years and an Half more. And theſe two being put together make up the laſt Week of this Prophecy, which begun exactly at the ending of the ſaid ſixty two Weeks. And therefore here this Prophecy concerning the coming of the Meſſiah had its Completion. St. *Luke*[k] tells us, *The Word of God firſt came to* John *in the fifteenth Year of* Tiberius Cæſar, Emperor of *Rome.* And from the coming of that Word to *John*, and his preaching of it to the *Jews*,[l] was the Beginning of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the firſt Appearance of his Kingdom here on Earth. And this *Chriſt* himſelf tells us: For his Words are, [m] *The Law and the Prophets were until* John; *ſince that the Kingdom of God is preached.* That is, the *Jewiſh* OEconomy under the Law and the Prophets laſted until the coming of *John*, and his preaching of the Baptiſm of Repentance for the Remiſſion of Sins. But from the time of his coming on this Miniſtry, which was the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, the Kingdom of the Meſſiah began. For as in the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, by the Kingdom of Heaven, ſo here by the Kingdom of God, [n] is meant the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, the Church of *Chriſt*, which he has here eſtabliſhed among us. And therefore this Kingdom thus beginning with the Preaching of *John*, there muſt we neceſſarily place the firſt coming of that King, *Chriſt our Lord*, who founded this his Kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been ſaid, in the 15th Year of the Reign of *Tiberius Cæſar.* But here it is to be obſerved, that this 15th Year of *Tiberius* could not be his 15th Year from the Death of *Auguſtus* his Predeceſſor. For then there would have been but four Years for the Miniſtry of *John the Baptiſt*, and the perſonal Miniſtry of *Jeſus Chriſt* put both together, which Time would have been too narrow a Space for the Actings, which are recorded of them in the Goſpel. Beſides, in ſo ſhort a Time, as muſt be allowed to the Miniſtry of *John* in this Caſe, it is not likely, that he could have acquired that great Fame, as it appears not only [o] by the Goſpels, but alſo from the Writings of [p] *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, that he had obtained, not only in *Judæa*, and *Galilee*, but alſo through all the circumjacent Regions before his Death. The 15th Year therefore of the Reign of *Tiberius*, [q] in which *John the Baptiſt* began to preach, muſt be reckoned from that Time, when he began to reign jointly with *Auguſtus*, and was, according to [r] *Velleius Paterculus* and [s] *Suetonius*, admitted by him into Copartnerſhip with him in the Empire; and by a Law (which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be propoſed and enacted by the Conſuls) had conferred on him an equal Power in the Government of the Provinces with *Auguſtus* himſelf. For from that Time the Publick Acts went in his Name, as well as in that of *Auguſtus*, eſpecially in the imperial Provinces, [t] of which *Syria* was one. And therefore from that Time the Years of his Reign were reckon'd in thoſe Provinces. And this happened, [u] as the moſt learned Archbiſhop *Uſher* obſerves, in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4725, and the 15th Year from thence brings us to the Year of the *Julian* Period 4739, in which (as is above noted) the Word of God came to *John the Baptiſt*, and the preaching of the Goſpel firſt began. And then it was, that *Chriſt* by this his Fore-runner manifeſted his coming, and made his firſt Appearance in that great Work of our Salvation, on which he was ſent. And from the 7th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when the Commandment went forth from that King for the reſtoring of the Church and State of the *Jews*, to this Time, were juſt ſeven Weeks and ſixty two Weeks, that is ſixty nine Weeks, or four hundred eighty three Years in all, exactly as this Prophecy predicted.

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[k] Chap. iii. 1, 2. [l] Mark i. 1. [m] Luke xvi. 16.

[n] Vide Grotii Annotationes in ſecundum caput Matthæi, & Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum.

[o] Matth. iii. & xiv. 5. & xxi. 26. [p] Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7. [q] Luke iii. 1.

[r] Lib. ii. cap. 121. ubi verba faciens de Tiberio hæc habet. Senatus populuſque Romanus poſtulante patre ejus (ſc. Auguſto) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus Provinciis exercitibuſque eſſet, quam erat ipſi, Decreto complexus eſt.

[s] In Tiberio, cap. 21. ubi de Tiberio dicit — Lege per Conſules lata, ut Provincias cum Auguſto communiter adminiſtraret, ſimulque cenſum ageret, conditio luſtro in Illyricum profectus eſt. [t] Dio Caſſius.

3dly, From this coming of our Saviour began the third Period of theſe ſeventy Weeks, that is the one Week, which is ſpoken of in the 27th Verſe, the Events whereof as there predicted are, that *for that Week the Meſſiah ſhould confirm the Covenant with many, and in the Half-Part thereof* (for [w] thus it ought to be rendered, where in our *Engliſh* Tranſlation we read *the Midſt*) *ſhould cauſe the Sacrifice and the Oblation to ceaſe:* And ſo accordingly it came to paſs. For during theſe ſeven Years of his Evangelical Miniſtry he did firſt by his Fore-runner, [x] the Meſſenger, whom he had ſent before him, and then by himſelf in his Perſonal Miniſtry confirm the Covenant of the Goſpel with many of the *Jews*, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the ſaid Week, that is in the laſt half Part thereof, when he appeared in his own Perſon in the ſame Miniſtry on which *John* was ſent before him, he cauſed the Sacrifices and Oblations of the Temple to ceaſe, that is firſt by his preaching of the Goſpel, which was to ſupercede them, and then laſtly by that great Sacrifice of himſelf, which he once offered for all in his Death upon the Croſs at the End of this Week, whereby they were all abſolutely and finally extinguiſhed for ever. For all other Sacrifices and Oblations till then being only Antetypes and figurative Repreſentations of this great Sacrifice after to be offered, and of no Virtue or Efficacy but as they referred to it, when this was offered all others vaniſhed of Courſe, as the Repreſentative doth at the Appearance of the Principal, or the Type, or Figure at the Preſence of the Thing that is typified or expreſſed by it; and the Virtue and Propitiation of this one Sacrifice hath ſufficed for all ever ſince. The whole latter Part of the laſt Week being the Time of *Chriſt*'s perſonal Miniſtry here on Earth, as the whole of it was imploy'd in the preaching of the Goſpel, which was to cauſe the Law to ceaſe, ſo the whole of it may very properly be ſaid to be imploy'd in cauſing all thoſe Sacrifices and Oblations to ceaſe, which the Law enjoined, tho' the whole was not completed, till at the End of this half Part by his Death and Paſſion. For then at the Offering up of this great Sacrifice the Virtue and Efficacy of all others ceaſed for ever.

But here it may be objected, that my placing the Death of *Chriſt* at the End of this laſt Period is againſt the expreſs Words of the Prophecy. For that placeth the cutting off of the Meſſiah at the End of the ſecond Period, that is of the ſixty two Weeks. For the Words of it are, [y] *After threeſcore and two Weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off.* To this I anſwer, the Word *after* in this Place cannot be underſtood to mean ſtrictly the Time immediately after, but in a large and indefinite Senſe to denote the whole next Week, which after followed. For otherwiſe his coming and his cutting off muſt have happen'd at the ſame Time both together, and no intermediate Space would have been left for his Miniſtry. For in the Verſe preceding it is poſitively ſaid, *that from the going forth of the Commandment to reſtore and build* Jeruſalem *unto the Meſſiah the Prince ſhall be ſeven Weeks, and threeſcore and two Weeks*; and therefore if at the End of the ſame ſixty two Weeks he ſhould be cut off alſo, then his coming and his cutting off muſt have happen'd both together at the ſame Time, and the Conſequence which I have mentioned muſt neceſſarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate Space would have then been left for his Miniſtry, which cannot be ſaid. The Word *after* muſt therefore mean the whole Week after, at the End of which *Chriſt*, the Meſſiah named in that Prophecy, was cut off by his Death on the Croſs. And there is no need of expreſſing it otherwiſe in that Place, becauſe the cutting off and Death of the Meſſiah had been exactly determined to that Time by what was ſaid before in the 24th Verſe. For it is manifeſt, that according to the true Intent and Meaning of that Part of the Prophecy, his Death muſt be there placed. For according to that it muſt be there placed, where it placeth the Events, that were to be accompliſhed and brought to paſs by it; but the Events, which were to be accompliſhed and brought to paſs by the cutting off of the Meſſiah, are by that Part of the ſaid Prophecy [z] placed at the End of the ſeventy Weeks, and conſequently at the End of the laſt of them, and therefore the cutting off of the Meſſiah muſt there be placed alſo, and there it accordingly happened in the Death and Paſſion of *Chriſt* our Saviour, and this Part of the Prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

The whole therefore of this ſecond Part or Branch of the Prophecy is thus: The ſeventy Weeks being divided into three Periods, that is into ſeven Weeks, ſixty two Weeks, and one Week, the firſt reacheth from the Time of the going forth of the Commandment to *Ezra* for the reſtoring of the Church and State of the *Jews* in the ſeventh Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the finiſhing of that Work by *Nehemiah* forty nine Years after; the ſecond from the End of that Period to the coming of the Meſſiah four hundred thirty four Years after; and the laſt from that his coming to his cutting off by his Death on the Croſs, which was one Week, or ſeven Years after. And all theſe put together fully make up the ſeventy Weeks, or the four hundred ninety Years of this Prophecy, and according to this Computation every Particular of it hath been fully verified in a Completion exactly agreeable thereto; and the whole Number of Years pointed out thereby exactly anſwered to a Month. For as the going out of the Commandment to *Ezra*, from whence they began, was in the Month of *Niſan*, ſo the Crucifixion of *Chriſt* was alſo in the ſame Month juſt four hundred and ninety Years after.

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[u] In Annalibus ſub Anno, J. P. 4725.

[w] The Word in the original Hebrew is Chatzi, which ſignifieth the half Part, and not the Midſt.

[x] Malachi iii. 1. Matth. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. & vii. 27.

[y] V. 26.

[z] V. 24.

VIII. After what is predicted of theſe three Periods follows the third Branch, or Part of the Prophecy, which is contained in the latter End of the 26th, and in the latter End of the 27th Verſe, and foretels Events to be brought to paſs after the Expiration of the ſaid ſeventy Weeks in the Times immediately following thereupon, that is, *the Deſtruction of the City and Sanctuary by the People of the Prince, that was to come*, who with their Armies and deſolating Abominations ſhould invade *Judæa* as with a Flood, and by a terrible and conſuming War, bring utter Ruin and Deſolation upon it, and all the People of the *Jews* that ſhould dwell therein, and conſummate the ſame upon them in an abſolute Deſtruction. All which accordingly came to paſs, and did in a very ſignal Manner verify the Prophecy in a full Completion of every Particular thereof. For on the End of theſe ſeventy Weeks, which were determined upon that People, and their Holy City, they having ſlain the Lord of Life, they were thereon caſt off by God from being his peculiar People, and the Gentiles were called in their Stead, ſo that thenceforth they were no more his People, nor their City *Jeruſalem* any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and deſtined to utter Ruin and Deſtruction. For immediately on their having executed the Sentence of Death upon *Chriſt* our Lord, this[a] Sentence of Condemnation paſſed upon them, and from that Time all ſecond Cauſes operated towards the Haſtening the Execution of it, till at length the *Roman* Armies, *the People that were to come*, under the Command of *Titus* their Prince, invaded them as with a Torrent, and begirt *Jeruſalem* with their Enſigns, *the Abomination of Deſolation*,[b] which our Saviour from this Prophecy forewarns his Diſciples of. For[c] they were idolatrous Images,[d] abominated by the *Jews*, under which thoſe People marched againſt them, invaded their Land, beſieged their Holy City, and by a moſt calamitous War brought utter Deſolation upon both; which according to the Relations of *Joſephus* (who was an Hiſtorian of their own Nation, and preſent in all the Actions of the War) they executed in the moſt terrible and tragical Manner of Deſtruction, that was ever brought upon any Nation, and conſummated it to ſuch a Degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themſelves ever ſince, even to this Day, tho' now above 1660 Years have paſſed, ſince theſe Judgments were by the juſt Hand of God thus executed upon them.

IX. But for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been ſaid in the Explication of this Prophecy, there ſtill remains one great Objection to be anſwered. For it is urged, that the *Artaxerxes* who granted the Commiſſion to *Ezra* in the 7th Year of his Reign, from whence we begin the Computation of the ſeventy Weeks, was the ſame *Artaxerxes*, who in the twentieth Year of his Reign granted another Commiſſion to *Nehemiah*. For the Scriptures[e] making *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* contemporary, render this beyond Diſpute. But that this *Artaxerxes* ſhould be *Longimanus*, the Age, which *Nehemiah* and *Sanballat* muſt then have lived to, makes it, they ſay, wholly improbable. For *Nehemiah* in the Book of Holy Scripture called by his Name (which all acknowledge to have been written by him)[f] ſpeaking of the Reign of *Darius Codomannus*, King of *Perſia*, and of the Days of *Jaddua*, the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, as of Times paſt, he muſt have been alive after the Death of both of them; but *Jaddua* not dying[g] till two Years after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, in the Year of the *Julian* Period 4392, from the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to that Time, had paſſed 123 Years, to which if we add thirty Years more for the Age of *Nehemiah*, when he came to be Governor of *Judea* (which is the leaſt, that can be allowed to qualify him for ſuch a Truſt) he muſt have been at the leaſt 153 Years old, when he wrote that Book, if the *Artaxerxes*, from whom he had his Commiſſion, were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And though we ſuppoſe the writing of this Book to have been while *Darius Codomannus* and *Jaddua* were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the firſt Year of the Reign of that *Darius*, yet this will not much mend the Matter. For on this Suppoſition *Nehemiah* muſt have been an hundred and forty Years old, when he wrote that Book, which is ſtill a very improbable Age in thoſe Times, and conſequently infers the Suppoſal, on which it is built (*i. e.* that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whom he had his Commiſſion) to be very improbable alſo. And the Age of *Sanballat* upon the ſame Suppoſal, will not only be as improbable, but alſo much more ſo. For when

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[a] Chriſt foreknowing their Wickedneſs foretels that this Sentence ſhould be thereon paſſed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed. Matth. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

[b] Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

[c] Vide Grot. Annotat. ad 24 cap. Matth. com. 15.

[d] Joſephus tells us (Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7.) that when Vitellius Governor of Syria was going to paſs thorough Judea with a Roman Army to make war againſt the Arabians, the Chief of the Jews met him, and earneſtly intreated him to lead his Army another Way. For they could not bear the Sight of thoſe Images, which were in the Enſigns under which they marched, they were ſo abominated by them. Theſe Enſigns therefore for the ſake of thoſe Images in them were Abominations to the Jews, and by reaſon of the Deſolations, which were wrought under them by the Roman Armies in conquered Countries, they were called Deſolating Abominations, or Abominations of Deſolation; and they were never more ſo, than when under them the Roman Armies beſieged, took, and deſtroy'd Jeruſalem.

[e] Nehem. viii.

[f] Chap. xii 22.

[g] Joſephus Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

Nehemiah came into *Judea*, in the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes*, he found him [i] Governor of *Samaria* under the King of *Perſia*, and he was alive, as *Joſephus* tells us, [k] till the beſieging of *Gaza* by *Alexander the Great*, in the 4th Year of *Darius Codomannus*, at which Time he died. And therefore if that *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Sanballat* at the Time of that Siege could not be leſs than 148 Years old. For from the 20th of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the 4th of *Darius Codomannus*, according to *Ptolemy*'s Canon, were 113 Years; and when *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem*, *Sanballat* having been for ſome Time, perchance for ſeveral Years, fixed in the Government of *Samaria*, he cannot be well ſuppoſed to have been leſs than thirty five Years old at that Time; and putting both theſe Numbers together they make 148 Years. And both theſe Ages, that is, that of *Nehemiah*, and this of *Sanballat*, it muſt be acknowledged, ſeem very improbable, and moſt eſpecially that of the latter. For as to *Nehemiah*, an extraordinary Bleſſing upon that good Man may be alledged for ſuch an extraordinary Age in him; but this cannot be ſaid of the other. Each of theſe Inſtances apart looks very improbable, but coming both together they are much more ſo. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the *Darius*, who granted the Decree for the finiſhing the Temple, could not be *Darius Nothus*, becauſe of the great and improbable Age, which *Jeſhua* and *Zerubbabel* muſt have been of at the executing of that Decree; ſo it is argued here in the ſame Manner, that the *Artaxerxes*, from whom *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had their Commiſſions, could not be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, becauſe of the great and improbable Age which *Nehemiah* and *Sanballat* muſt then have been of at the Time of their Death. And therefore, as we have ſaid of the former Difficulty, that it can be no otherwiſe ſolved, but by making the *Darius* who granted the Decree for the finiſhing of the Temple, to be another *Darius*, that is *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, who reign'd ninety eight Years before that *Darius*, who was called *Nothus*; ſo in like manner is it ſaid of this latter Difficulty, that it can be no otherwiſe cleared, but by making the *Artaxerxes*, who in the 7th and in the 20th Years of his Reign granted his Commiſſions to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to have been another *Artaxerxes*, that is *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whoſe 7th Year, and whoſe 20th Year of his Reign, were juſt ſixty Years after the 7th Year and the 20th Year of the Reign of the other *Artaxerxes*, that was called *Longimanus*. Thus far the Objection, and if it holds good, I muſt acknowledge it overthrows the Computation, on which hath been built all, which I have hitherto ſaid for the Explication of this Prophecy.

X. In anſwer hereto it hath been ſaid by ſome 1ſt, as to *Nehemiah*, that in that Paſſage of [l] his Book, where the Reign of *Darius* the *Perſian*, and the Days of *Jaddua* the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* are mentioned, that Reign of *Darius* was the Reign of [m] *Darius Nothus*, and thoſe Days of *Jaddua* [n] were his Days from his Birth, which might very well have happened in the Reign of the ſaid *Darius Nothus*. And 2*dly*, as to *Sanballat* that [o] there were two of that Name, the firſt of which was the *Sanballat* ſpoken of by *Nehemiah*, and the ſecond the *Sanballat* ſpoken of by *Joſephus*. But neither of theſe Anſwers can poſſibly hold good. For

1*ſt*, It's manifeſt, that the Text of *Nehemiah*, where the *Levites* are ſpoken of, that were in the Days of *Eliaſhib*, *Joiada*, *Johanan*, and *Jaddua*, cannot be underſtood to mean any other Days, than thoſe wherein they were High-Prieſts. For the High-Prieſt among the *Jews* was the Head of the Prieſts and *Levites*, and after the Captivity, when there was no King in *Judah*, he had the abſolute Supremacy over them in all Affairs relating to their Office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all ſuch Affairs by the Times of their High-Prieſts, as it is now with us to reckon all Actions in the State by the Times of our Kings; and conſequently when any Thing is ſaid to have been done in ſuch an High-Prieſt's Time, it is altogether as improper to underſtand it of any other Time than that of his High-Prieſthood, as it would be when any Thing is ſaid to have been in ſuch a King's Time, to underſtand it of any other Time than that of his Reign. And therefore to refer what is here ſaid of the Days of *Jaddua* as far back as to his Days from his Birth is a very forced Senſe, which the Text cannot naturally bear. When ſuch a Thing is ſaid to have been in the Time of King *Henry* VIII. will any one underſtand it of the Time before his Reign, or think it any other than an Abſurdity ſo to conſtrue it? And is it not altogether as abſurd to underſtand what is here ſaid of the *Levites* to have been in the Days of *Jaddua*, of any other Days than of thoſe wherein he was High-Prieſt? And it is to be here obſerved, that the Text joins with the Days of *Jaddua*, the Days of *Eliaſhib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*. For it is ſaid, [p] *In the Days of* Eliaſhib, Joiada, Johanan, *and* Jaddua, &c. And therefore if it ſhould be here asked, whether the Days of *Eliaſhib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*, are to be underſtood of the Days of their High-Prieſthood, or of the Days of their Life from their Birth, no doubt but it will be anſwered by every Body, of the Days of their High-Prieſthood. And why then muſt not the Days of *Jaddua* be underſtood ſo too? It may farther be added, what need is there in this caſe to name *Jaddua*'s Days at all? becauſe, if they be underſtood of thoſe before he was High-Prieſt, they were co-incident with the Days of *Joiada* and *Johanan*, which were named before. And therefore, if we underſtand thoſe Days of *Jaddua* in the Text of any other Days, than of thoſe wherein he was High-Prieſt, they muſt have been named twice in the ſame Text, which would be ſuch a faulty Repetition, as it muſt not be charged with. Nothing ſeems more plain, than that the Text ſpeaks of the Days of theſe four Men, as in Succeſſion one after another; and therefore we muſt not run the Days of one into the Days of another.

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[i] Nehemiah iv. 2.
[k] Joſephus Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8.
[l] Chap. xii. 22.
[m] Uſſerius in Annal. ſub anno J. P. 4298.
[n] Uſſerius, ibid.
[o] Iſaacus Voſſius in Chronologia Sacra, p. 149.
[p] Nehem. xii. 22.

And alſo it is as evident, that the *Darius* in the ſame Text mentioned can be none other than *Darius Condomannus*, [q] in whoſe Reign *Jaddua* was High-Prieſt. For the [r] Text bringing down the Reckoning through the Succeſſion of ſeveral High-Prieſts, terminates the whole in the Days of *Jaddua*, and the Reign of *Darius* the *Perſian*, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore *Darius* the *Perſian* in that Text mentioned, could be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, becauſe no other *Darius* but he was King of *Perſia*, while *Jaddua* was High-Prieſt of *Jeruſalem*. And if ſo, it muſt be in the Reign of this *Darius* of the ſooneſt, that this Text was written, and conſequently *Nehemiah*, if he were the Writer of it, muſt then have been living. And ſuppoſing it to have been in the Reign of this *Darius*, and in the firſt Year of it, *Nehemiah*, if then living, muſt have been 140 Years old; but if it were after the Death both of *Darius* and *Jaddua*, as the obvious Senſe of the Text ſeems to imply, he muſt then have been much older, that is 153 at the leaſt, as I have above ſaid; but neither of theſe is likely, and therefore it muſt be acknowledged, that this Anſwer doth not remove the Difficulty. Neither

2*dly*, Can the other Anſwer remove that which ariſeth from the Age of *Sanballat*. For to ſolve that Objection by making two *Sanballats*, is plainly giving up the Cauſe, it being only a Shift, which can never go down with any one, that duly conſiders the Matter. For it is not to be doubted, but that the *Sanballat*, who is ſaid in the laſt Chapter of *Nehemiah* to have married his Daughter to one of the Sons of *Joiada* the High-Prieſt, is the ſame *Sanballat*, who is mentioned ſo often in the former Part of that Book, as the great Oppoſer of *Nehemiah* in all his Undertakings for the Welfare of the Children of *Iſrael*. For he is in this laſt Place called by the ſame [ſ] proper Name of *Sanballat*, as in the former Places of that Book, and hath there alſo given unto him the ſame additional Name of the *Horonite*, taken from the Name of *Horonaim*, [t] a City of *Moab*, whereof it's ſuppoſed he was a Native. And it is not likely, that both theſe Names ſhould concur in any other within the Time of the ſame Governor of *Judea*, but in the ſame Perſon only. And that this ſame *Sanballat the Horonite* is the ſame *Sanballat*, which *Joſephus* treateth of, is as evident. For the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* [u] was Governor of *Samaria*, and ſo [w] was the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*. The *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* [x] was a great Enemy of the *Jews*, and [y] ſo was the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*. The *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* [z] married his Daughter to one of the Sons of an High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, and [a] ſo did the *Sanballat* of *Joſephus*; and who then is there that will not from hence conclude that they were both the ſame Perſon?

XI. And thus far I have ſhewn, that neither Part of the Objection above-mentioned is remov'd by either of theſe Anſwers. But to come to the Truth of the Matter, I anſwer,

1*ſt*, As to the Age of *Nehemiah*, that the Text from whence this Objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithſtanding what is ſaid therein, *Nehemiah* might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great Number of Years before it was written. For all that is contained in the ſaid 12th Chapter of *Nehemiah* from the Beginning of it to the 27th Verſe of the ſame was never written by *Nehemiah*, but is an Interpolation there inſerted long after his Death, by thoſe who received this Book into the Canon Scripture. For as *Ezra*, as far as he went in that Collection, which he made of the Holy Scriptures, inſerted in ſeveral Places ſuch Interpolations as he thought neceſſary for the clearer underſtanding them, ſo they who laboured after him in the perfecting of the ſaid Collection, did the ſame in the Books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the Time of *Simon the Juſt*. For he being the laſt of thoſe whoſe Labours were employ'd in the ſettling of the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, and this Book being the laſt that was received into it, as being the laſt that was written, it's juſtly reckoned to have been in his Time, that it was firſt thus received into the Number of the ſacred Books, and then this Interpolation was added by him, and thoſe who were aſſiſting to him in this Work. And that this is an Interpolation, the Interruption which is made thereby in the Senſe and Connection of that Part of the Book, doth ſufficiently ſhew, and [b] moſt learned Men that have ſo conſider'd this Matter are now convinced that it is ſo.

But, 2*dly*, As to the other Objection, which is drawn from the Age of *Sanballat*, the Anſwer is much eaſier. For here there is no Oppoſition between Scripture and Scripture, but only between Scripture and the Writings of a prophane Author. *Nehemiah* placeth *Sanballat the Horonite* in the Time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*: *Joſephus* [b] makes him live down to the Time of *Alexander the Great*, above an hundred Years after. Here there is no Neceſſity of reconciling one with the other. For if both cannot conſiſt together (as the great Age, which *Sanballat* in this Caſe muſt have lived to, doth ſufficiently prove they cannot) the prophane Writer muſt give place to the ſacred. And therefore the true Anſwer in this latter is, *Joſephus* was miſtaken. The ſacred Writ, as being dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, muſt ever be of infallible Truth, which cannot be ſaid of the Writings of *Joſephus*. For they have in them many great and manifeſt

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[q] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

[r] Nehem. xii. 22.

[ſ] Nehemiah xiii. 28.

[t] Iſaiah xv. 5. Jerem. xlviii. 3, 5, & 34.

[u] Nehem. iv. 2.

[w] Joſephus Antiq. l. xi. c. 7, & 8.

[x] Nehem. ii. iv. vi.

[y] Joſeph. ibid.

[z] Nehem. xiii. 28.

[a] Iſaacus Voſſius in Chron. Sacra, cap. 10. p. 149. Cary's Chronol. Part 2. Book 2. Chap. 6. p. 197.

[b] Antiq. l. xi. c. 8.

Miſtakes, and no Part of them more than the eleventh Book of Antiquities, in which is written what gives the Ground for this Objection. For therein he frequently varies from Scripture, Hiſtory, and common Senſe, which manifeſtly proves it to have been the leaſt conſidered, and the worſt digeſted, of all that he hath written. Therein he[d] makes *Cambyſes*, who was the firſt that reigned after *Cyrus*, to have been the *Perſian* King, that by his Decree forbad the going on with the Rebuilding of the Temple; whereas the [e] Scripture plainly tells us, it was *Artaxerxes*, who is there named in the third Place after *Cyrus*. He[f] inſerts into this Book out of the *Apocryphal Eſdras*, the fabulous and abſurd Story of the three Chamberlains contending before *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, about what was ſtrongeſt; and making *Zerubbabel* to be one of them, and to obtain the Victory in this Conteſt, he introduceth *Darius* giving him for the Reward of this Victory a Decree for another Return of the Captive *Iſraelites* to *Judea*, which is neither ſpoken of in Scripture, nor conſiſting with it; and placeth at the Head of thoſe, who he ſaith then returned, *Zerubbabel* the Governor, and *Jeſhua* the High-Prieſt; whereas it's certain from *Ezra*, *Haggai*, and *Zechariah*, that they were then both at *Jeruſalem*, and there on the Exhortations of the two Prophets laſt mentioned ſetting forward the Rebuilding of the Temple. And then he goes on, out of the ſame Romance, to relate as conſequential to this ſecond Return (which is wholly fictitious) all that, which the Scriptures tell us was done after the firſt, and in ſome Particulars very much exceeds the Fictions of the Romancer himſelf. For he makes thoſe who came from *Babylon* to *Judea* in this fictitious Return, to be four Millions eight thouſand ſix hundred eighty four Men, a monſtrous Number! and the Women and Children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thouſand ſeven hundred forty and two, a Diſproportion, which is utterly incredible, eſpecially among thoſe who had Plurality of Wives. And[g] he makes *Xerxes*, who ſucceeded *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, to have been that *Artaxerxes* of the Holy Scriptures, who ſent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jeruſalem*; whereas[h] the 32d Year of that *Artaxerxes* is mentioned in Scripture, and it's certain the Reign of *Xerxes* did not exceed[i] one and twenty Years. He brings not *Nehemiah* to *Jeruſalem*[k] till the 25th Year of that *Artaxerxes*, whereas the Scriptures[l] tell us he came thither in the 20th; and he makes him to be employ'd there three Years and an half in the building of the Wall of the City, whereas we read in the ſacred Text[m] that it was done in fifty two Days. And ſince *Joſephus* hath in this Book made all theſe Miſtakes, beſides many more which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought ſtrange, that I aſſert, what he ſaith in this ſame Book, in reference to *Sanballat*, is a Miſtake alſo.

XII. And thus far I have explained this important Prophecy in all its Parts and Branches, and fully ſhewn all thoſe Events, in which every Particular of it had its Completion. That there are ſeveral Difficulties in it muſt be acknowledged. The Perplexities, which many learned Men have been led into in their Explications of it, do ſufficiently prove it. And the underſtanding in a literal Senſe, what is there meant in a figurative, hath not been the leaſt Cauſe hereof. Not to be delivered in plain Terms is what is common to all Prophecies, there being none of them without their Difficulties and Obſcurities. There is too great an Itch in Mankind to look into Futurities, which belong to God only to know. And although God hath been pleaſed ſo far to gratify our Curioſity herein, as to give us Prophecies for the magnifying of his Omniſcience among us, yet they are moſt of them delivered in ſuch dark and obſcure Terms, as not to be thoroughly underſtood till after they are fulfilled. Then the Events become ſure Comments upon the Text. And I hope when the Reader hath fully conſidered all that is above propoſed concerning this very important Prophecy, he will be thoroughly ſatisfied how every Particular of it hath had its Completion." —— Thus far our learned Author.

In the foregoing Syſtem, among other Things neceſſary in this Place, the Time is diſtinctly ſtated between the Beginning of *John the Baptiſt's* Miniſtry, and the perſonal Miniſtry of our bleſſed Lord. When *John* began to baptize has been [n] elſewhere ſhewn; and the Duration of our Saviour's perſonal Miniſtry was alſo determined in the ſame Place: But how long the Beginning of the latter was after the former, as alſo in what Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and of his own Life, our Lord ſuffered, we left to be conſidered in this Diſſertation; becauſe theſe Particulars may be better ſettled from this Prophecy of *Daniel*, as here explained, than from the Goſpels themſelves. And certainly there can be no Reaſon given againſt our making uſe of this Method: For if it be once proved that a Prophecy belongs to ſuch a particular Hiſtory, and if all the Parts of that Hiſtory that are circumſtantially recorded agree exactly with parallel Parts of the Prophecy, why may not other Parts of the Hiſtory, eſpecially if they are fewer in Number than the former, be accommodated to thoſe Parts of the Prophecy to which they apparently belong in general, in ſuch Circumſtances as are not particularly related? Meſſiah's *confirming the Covenant for one Week*, and his *cauſing Sacrifice and Oblation to ceaſe in the Midſt of that Week*, are Particulars mentioned by *Daniel*, which have been applied to the whole Time of our Lord's Miniſtry both by his Fore-runner and himſelf, and to the Beginning of his own perſonal Share in that Miniſtry. Now though the Evangeliſts inform us that *John the Baptiſt* was our Lord's Fore-runner, and that the Fame of him was gone through all the Country before our Lord himſelf was publickly known, they yet have not told us preciſely how long the Time was by which he preceded our Lord. In this Particular, therefore, the Prophecy ſeems to be more expreſs than the Hiſtory; and if ſo, why may we not accommodate the Hiſtory thereunto? And by ſo doing the whole Difficulty will be cleared up: For if we place our Lord's perſonal Appearance three Years and a Half after the Appearance of *John*, it will then anſwer exactly to the Meſſiah's *cauſing Sacrifice and Oblation to ceaſe in the Midſt of that Week*, during which *he confirmed the Covenant with the People*, and ſo all the particular Deſignations of Time in this Prophecy will be clearly accounted for. This is what the Learned *Prideaux* has done in the preceding Expoſition, and he takes notice of it again[o] at the End of his Work, under the 15th Year of *Tiberius*, from the Time that he was admitted into Copartnerſhip with *Auguſtus*, which was the Date obſerved by St. *Luke*, as we have ſeveral Times remarked. His Words in this laſt quoted Place are as follow: “This was that 15th Year mentioned by [p] St. *Luke*, in which St. *John the Baptiſt*[q] firſt preached the Baptiſm of Repentance for the Remiſſion of Sins, and therein the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*[r] had its Beginning. For *Chriſt* appeared for the revealing of this Goſpel firſt by this his Meſſenger, ſent before his Face to prepare the Way for his perſonal Appearance, which was accordingly made by him three Years and a half after. Firſt, therefore, *John the Baptiſt* began the Miniſtry of the Goſpel in this 15th Year of *Tiberius*, and continued in it for three Years and an Half; that is he began it about the Time of the [ſ] *Paſchal Feaſt*, and continued it till the Feaſt of *Tabernacles*, in the fourth Year after. And then *John* being caſt into Priſon, [t] *Chriſt* appeared to take it on him in Perſon, and perſonally carried it on three Years and a Half more. So that the whole Term of *Chriſt's* Miniſtry whilſt he was on Earth, as executed firſt vicariouſly by *John* his Fore-runner, and afterwards perſonally by himſelf, was exactly ſeven Years; and theſe ſeven Years conſtituted the laſt of the ſeventy Weeks in *Daniel*'s Prophecy.” Hence it appears that the Middle of this Week, at which Time *Jeſus* began his Miniſtry in Perſon, happened at the End of the 18th, or Beginning of the 19th Year of *Tiberius*, according to the Date above, *Jeſus* himſelf being then about thirty three Years of Age complete, and the Year of the Vulgar Æra 29 being almoſt expired. This will alſo lead us directly to the true Time of our Lord's Crucifixion, which was the 22d Year of *Tiberius* from the Beginning of his Partnerſhip in the Empire, or his 19th from the Death of *Auguſtus*; that is, the 33d of the Vulgar Chriſtian Æra, and the 37th of our Lord's Life, from the real Time of his Incarnation; which agrees with what St. *Luke* ſays of his being about thirty Years of Age when *John* began to baptize. —— And now we may hope, not only to have introduced a full and ſatisfactory Explication of *Daniel*'s Prophecy, in the Words of the moſt judicious Perſon that ever treated thereof, but alſo to have given ſufficient Reaſon for our thus introducing it in this Place, preferable to any other. For as we interpreted the Oracle of *Jacob*, concerning *the Departure of the Sceptre from Judah*, under thoſe very Times, wherein, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, the ſaid Scepter did depart; that is, under the 12th Year of *Chriſt*, when *Archelaus* was baniſhed by the *Romans*; ſo have we interpreted this Prophecy of *Daniel*, concerning the *Seventy Weeks determined upon the Jewiſh Nation*, under thoſe Times, which, according to the ſame Author, were the moſt remarkable Periods of thoſe Weeks, and in a Place, where it was neceſſary to ſettle one of the moſt difficult Points of Chronology in the Life of our bleſſed Saviour, that is the Time of his perſonal Appearance in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and how long it was after the ſaid Miniſtry was begun by Preaching of *John the Baptiſt*.

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[d] Antiq. lib. xi. c. 3.

[e] Ezra iv. 6, 7. For there he makes Ahaſuerus to be the firſt after Cyrus, and Artaxerxes, who forbad the going on with the Rebuilding of the Temple and City of Jeruſalem, to be the ſecond.

[f] Antiq. lib. xi. c. 4.

[g] Antiq. lib. xi. c. 5.

[h] Nehem. xiii. 6.

[i] Canon Ptol.

[k] Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.

[l] Nehem. ii. 1.

[m] Nehem. vi. 15.

[n] See Page 1. 40. of this Work, where a particular State of theſe Things is promiſed in a Diſſertation on Daniel's Weeks.

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[o] Part ii. b. 9.

[p] Luke iii. 1.

[q] Luke iii. 3. Mark i. 4.

[r] Mark i. 1.

[ſ] Here the Doctor differs from what we have remarked from others at the Beginning of Book II. where we place the firſt preaching of John in the Time of our Autumn. Perhaps the Authors there followed may be better corrected by Prideaux, than he by them.

[t] Matth. iv. 12,—17.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I. The Calling of *Andrew* and another of *John*'s Diſciples. II. Of *Simon Peter*. III. Of *Philip*. IV. Our Lord's Converſation with *Nathaniel*. V. He is invited to a Marriage at *Cana*. VI. He changes Water into Wine. VII. Goes to *Capernaum*, and reſides there a few Days.

I. *THE two* [a] *Diſciples that were with* John *when he bore his laſt Teſtimony concerning* Jeſus, *having taken notice of the repeated Tokens of Reſpect and Veneration ſhewn by their Maſter to this unknown Perſon, were reſolved if poſſible to get acquainted with him, and to that End followed him at a Diſtance as he paſſed along. Perhaps they might be expreſly directed by the* Baptiſt, *to apply themſelves to this new Maſter, who was ſhortly to ſucceed him in the Office of a public Miniſter, and infinitely to ſurpaſs him in the Execution thereof.* Jeſus *looking back upon them, demanded, in a courteous and friendly Manner, the Reaſon of their thus following him. To which they replied, in the* [b] *moſt reſpectful Language they were Maſters of, that they were deſirous of learning the Place of his Habitation, that they might know where to wait upon him at a more convenient Opportunity; it being then within* [c] *two Hours of Sun-ſet.* Jeſus *told them they might ſatisfy themſelves if they would go along with him, and thereupon forthwith admitted them into his Converſation, and took them with him to his Lodging, where they continued the remaining part of the Afternoon, and probably all the following Night.*

II. [d] *One of theſe two Diſciples was* Andrew, *the Brother of* Simon, *who was afterwards called* Peter: *And the other is thought to have been* John *the Evangeliſt, whoſe Cuſtom it is not to name himſelf when he ſpeaks of any Matters wherein he was concerned. The heavenly Diſcourſes of* Jeſus *had ſuch an Effect upon their Minds, that they were now fully convinced of the Truth of what the* Baptiſt *had ſaid concerning him: Whereupon* Andrew, *either that Evening, or early next Morning, took care to find out his Brother* Simon, *that he might reveal to him firſt the glorious Diſcovery they had made.* We have met, *ſays he*, and converſed with the Meſſiah, or, as his Name ſignifies in *Greek*, the *Chriſt*; that is, The Anointed of God, whom we have ſo long expected as the Redeemer of *Iſrael.* Simon *being raviſhed at the News, immediately deſired to be brought where* Jeſus *was; which was accordingly done: And when* Jeſus *beheld him, he ſaid,* Thy Name at preſent is *Simon*, the Son of *Jona*; but hereafter thou ſhalt be called *Cephas*, or *Peter*, which ſignifies a Rock, or Stone. *By which Change of Name* Jeſus *hinted to him the Change that ſhould ſhortly be made in his State of Life; and perhaps alſo he might thereby give him to underſtand, that by his preaching he ſhould be inſtrumental in laying the Foundation of the Church.*

III. *The* [e] *next Day after theſe things were tranſacted,* Jeſus, *determining to go into* Galilee, *as he paſſed along, met with* Philip, *a Native of* Bethſaida, *and a Fellow-Citizen of* Andrew *and* Peter: *And finding by the good Diſpoſition of his Heart that he was worthy to be a Diſciple, immediately ſaid unto him,* Follow me. Philip *having promiſed Obedience, and being overjoy'd at the Honour he had received, not long after met with* Nathaniel, *an intimate Friend of his, and told him that he and ſome of his Fellow-Citizens had ſeen the wiſh'd-for Meſſiah, concerning whom there was ſo much recorded by* Moſes *and the other Prophets, and that* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *commonly called the Son of* Joſeph *by thoſe who were ignorant of his Divine Generation, was the very Perſon, a Man in Appearance like one of the People. But* Nathaniel *argued againſt this from a known Obſervation among the* Jews, *that* Nazareth *being in* Galilee, *and* Galilee, *as they conceived, looked upon by* God *as a mean and deſpicable Place, out of which never any Prophet aroſe, it was therefore incredible, that any one born there ſhould be the Meſſiah.* [f] Can any good thing come out of *Nazareth*? *ſays he. To which fallacious Objection* Philip *returned no other Anſwer than this, that he only deſired him to come and ſee the Perſon of whom he ſpoke, and he would then leave him to judge for himſelf.*

IV. Nathaniel [f] *inſtantly complied with* Philip's *Requeſt, and making his approach to* Jeſus, *as ſoon as he came within Hearing,* Jeſus *broke out into this Commendation of him:* Behold a Man who is truly an *Iſraelite*, a Man of that Simplicity and Integrity towards Men, which is highly valued by God, and who alſo worſhips God in Sincerity and Truth! Nathaniel *was amazed at hearing theſe extraordinary Praiſes of himſelf from one whom he had never before ſeen, and who he did not imagine could have any Knowledge of him, and therefore aſked our Lord why he had ſo good an Opinion of a Stranger; or, if he was not a Stranger, by what means he became acquainted with him, ſince for his own part he could not remember any Interview that had ever been between them.* Jeſus *only replied, that* he ſaw him under the Fig-tree, before he was called by *Philip*: *Which* [g] *Words contained in them a Secret, that it was impoſſible for any but a Divine Perſon to know; for* Nathaniel *thereby perceived that* Jeſus *was indeed the Meſſiah, as* Philip *had told him, tho' he came* [h] *prejudiced againſt ſuch an Opinion, and accordingly he the next Moment acknowledged him*

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[a] John i. 37, 38, 39.

[b] They called him Rabbi, or Maſter, a Term of Reſpect uſed by the Jews, when they ſaluted thoſe who were ſkilled in their Law.

[c] The Day, from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſet, was divided by the Jews into twelve equal Parts, or Hours, which were longer or ſhorter according to the Seaſon of the Year.

[d] John i. 40, 41, 42.

[e] John i. 43, —46.

[f] John i. 47, &c.

[g] See Page 142 of this Work.

[h] As appears from his Anſwer to Philip in the preceding Paragraph.

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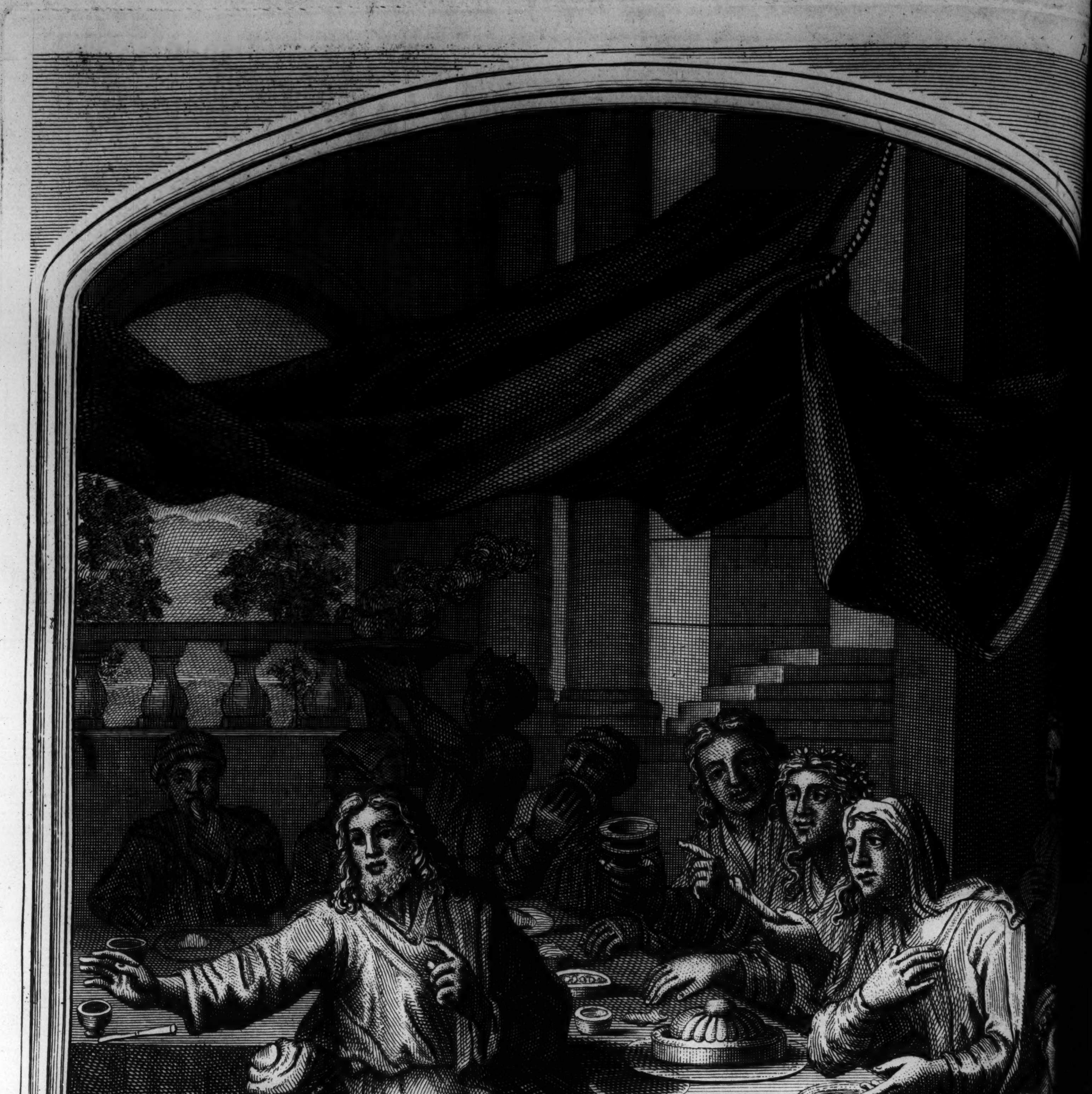

Jeſus Changes Water into Wine at a Marriage Feaſt

John.II.1.11.

in that Character. Rabbi, *ſays he,* thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of *Iſrael.* *To which* Jeſus *replied;* Believeſt thou in me becauſe I ſaid I ſaw thee under the Fig-tree? [i] Thou ſhalt ſee much greater and more wonderful things than this: For the heavenly Angels, God's own Miniſters, ſhall deſcend from Heaven and return thither, employ'd as Meſſengers between the Father and me, tho' I now appear to thee as a mere Man, and differ not from others in my outward Form.

V. *In* [k] *this Journey of our Lord into* Galilee, *on the third Day* [l] *after his calling of* Philip *and* Nathaniel, *he arrived at the Town of* Cana, *where there was a Wedding-Feaſt, to which himſelf, and his Mother* Mary, *and ſome of his Diſciples, were invited. Here the Wine happening to fall ſhort ſooner than was expected, the bleſſed Virgin took notice of it, and being troubled for the Diſgrace that would thereby come upon her Friends, addreſs'd herſelf to her Son, and deſired him to ſupply the preſent Deficiency; ſhe having ſeen him* [m] *perform Miracles on other Occaſions as great as that of turning Water into Wine, tho' no ſuch Miracles are recorded, and tho' this be called by the Evangeliſt his* [n] Beginning of Miracles. *But* Jeſus *told her,* [o] *that* She had no need to put him in Mind of whatever was fitting for him to perform: Beſides, that the Time was not yet come in which he was to work Miracles in public; but that, notwithſtanding, he was ready to comply with her Requeſt in this Particular. *Upon this Anſwer, the bleſſed Virgin called aſide the Servants, (who being conſcious that the Wine was ſpent, muſt alſo of neceſſity be Witneſſes of the Miracle which ſhe expected) and bid them go to* Jeſus, *and do whatſoever he commanded them.*

VI. *Now* [p] *there ſtood in the Houſe where this Marriage was celebrated, ſix Water-Pots, or Ciſterns of Stone, which were wont to be filled with Water, in order to draw forth for every Man's Uſe, according to the Manner of the* Jews, *who conſtantly waſh before Meals, and are ſubject to a great Number of daily Purifications. Each of theſe Veſſels contained about two or three Firkins, which, upon a Mean, made the Content of them all amount to fifteen Firkins,* Engliſh *Meaſure.* Jeſus *ordered theſe Pots to be filled with Water, which the Servants immediately executed, filling them up to the Brim. This being done, he commanded them to draw out ſome of the Liquor, and carry it to the* [q] *Maſter of the Feaſt; who taſting the Liquor they had brought him, and not knowing from whence they had it, (for the Servants did not tell him that they drew it out of the Water-Pots) went directly to the Bridegroom; and told him, that 'twas the uſual Cuſtom to preſent the Gueſts with the ſtrongeſt and richeſt Wine at the beginning, and to give them the worſt when by long drinking they had made themſelves unable to diſtinguiſh*; but, *ſays he,* you, on the contrary, have prepoſterouſly kept the beſt Wine till the latter end of the Feaſt, to give it us when nobody expects ſo good Entertainment.

VII. *The Bridegroom knew as little of the Matter as the Maſter of the Feaſt, and doubtleſs was as much ſurprized when he taſted the Water that was changed into Wine: But both their Admiration was heightened, when, upon the Queſtion's being put, the Servants related what they had done, and at whoſe Command.* [r] *Then the Divine Power of* Jeſus *was adored and magnified by all preſent; for from this Miracle they concluded he was a Prophet ſent from God, and thereupon believed on him, not as on a common Teacher, but a Divine Perſon. This Miracle at* Cana *in* Galilee, *was the firſt of thoſe Miracles which he performed before any conſiderable Number of Witneſſes, and by means of which he got the public Reputation of being a Prophet. After this he departed from* Cana, *together with his Mother, his Relations, and his Diſciples, to* Capernaum, *a Town ſituated near the Lake of* Genneſareth, *which was afterwards his uſual Place of Reſidence. But at preſent they continued there only a few Days (at moſt not above a Fortnight or three Weeks) before* Jeſus *thought proper to go up to* Jeruſalem, *to the great Feaſt of the Paſſover, which was at hand when the Miracle above related was performed. What happened to him during his Stay at the holy City, and what Proofs he there gave of his Divinity, will be the Subject of the next Chapter.*

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[i] Some imagine that this latter Part of what our Lord ſaid, was ſpoken to his Apoſtles, and that it alluded to his Aſcenſion, when the Angels viſibly deſcended and aſcended; or to Jacob's Viſion of the Ladder.

[k] John ii. 1—5.

[l] After Simon's coming to him, ſays Whitby.

[m] See Page 142 of this Work.

[n] John ii. 11. Where the Evangeliſt ſpeaks only of public Miracles.

[o] So Le Clerc underſtands the Words, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* &c.

[p] John i. 6——10.

[q] An Officer choſen from among the Prieſts, to preſide at Feſtivals, and reſtrain all Intemperance.

[r] John i. 11, 12, 13.

DISSERTATION.

Of the Miracles of our Bleſſed Lord in general, and a particular Defence of his firſt Miracle at *Cana* in *Galilee*.

I. *Miracle defined. Falſe Miracles.* II. *Miracles to be examined. True ones; What they prove.* III. *The Miracles of* Jeſus Chriſt *teſtify his Authority.* IV. *Not to be underſtood in an allegorical Senſe.* V. Origen *underſtood them literally.* VI. *Yet, as well as ſome others, gave too much into Allegory.* VII. *The Abſurdities that attend an Explanation of the Miracles merely allegorical.* VIII. *Miracles of* Jeſus Chriſt *eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the pretended ones of Impoſtors.* IX. *The antient Apologiſts underſtood them literally.* X. *Myſtical Way of interpreting Scripture, whence derived,* &c. XI. *The Miracle at* Cana *defended. The Rabbi's Objections anſwer'd; To our Lord's being preſent at a Wedding-Feaſt.* XII. *To his making ſo large a Quantity of Wine.* XIII. *To the Anſwer he gave his Mother.* XIV. *Defence of the Virgin* Mary. XV. Chryſoſtom's *Account of the Feaſt at* Cana. XVI. *The Rabbi's laſt Objection.* XVII, XVIII. *Allegories of the Fathers,* &c. *on this Marriage, and the Marriages of the Patriarchs, conſidered.*

I. BEING now come to the Miracles of our bleſſed Lord, which he wrought for the Confirmation of his Meſſiahſhip, 'tis neceſſary before we proceed, to conſider the Nature of a Miracle in general, and what Authority is ſufficient to convince us that a Miracle is true. This will be found not only a neceſſary Preface to a particular Vindication of thoſe Miracles of our Lord, which have been ſeparately objected to, but alſo a general Guide in our forming a Judgment of all the reſt, and in our diſtinguiſhing thoſe wrought by him, and his Diſciples, from the Tricks and Illuſions of Pretenders and Impoſtors, who have endeavoured to imitate thoſe mighty Works.

The Words Miracle, Sign, and Wonder, are in Scripture often ſynonimous, and [a] ſignify ſome Action, Event, or Effect, which is ſuperior to the general and known Laws of Nature. And, according to this Definition, the Name is applied, not only to the true Miracles wrought by Saints, by Prophets ſent from God, by good Angels, by our bleſſed Lord, or by the immediate Finger of God, but alſo to the falſe Miracles of Impoſtors, to Wonders wrought by wicked Men, by falſe Prophets, or by Devils. *Moſes*, for Example,[b] ſpeaks of the Miracles of *Pharaoh*'s Magicians, in the ſame manner that he ſpeaks of thoſe which he wrought himſelf, in the Name and by the Power of God. And our Saviour foretells in the [c] Goſpels, that falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets ſhould ariſe, and perform Wonders, capable of deceiving, if poſſible, even the Elect themſelves. And St. *John*,[d] in the *Revelations*, ſpeaks of a Beaſt that came out of the Earth, which performed ſuch Prodigies, as even to make Fire come down from Heaven upon the Earth, in the Preſence of many Men, and which ſeduced a great Number of Perſons, becauſe of the Miracles that God permitted to be wrought in their Preſence. And in the ſame Book [e] he ſpeaks of the Spirits of Devils working Miracles, which go forth unto the Kings of the Earth, and of the whole World, to gather them to Battel; and alſo of a falſe Prophet, who [f] wrought Miracles to ſeduce thoſe who had received the Mark of the Beaſt. Therefore Miracles and Prodigies, much leſs what is ſometimes received for ſuch, are not always ſure Signs of the Sanctity of thoſe who perform them, nor are they Proofs of the Truth of the Doctrine they deliver, or certain Teſtimonies of their Divine Miſſion.

II. *Jeſus Chriſt* not only allows us, but even commands us, to examine Miracles, and thoſe who perform them. [g] *Then if any Man ſhall ſay unto you, Lo, here is Chriſt, or there, believe it not: For there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and falſe Prophets, and ſhall ſhew great Signs and Wonders, inſomuch that, if it were poſſible, they ſhall deceive the very Elect.* And *Moſes* ſays, [h] *If there ariſe among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign and a Wonder, and the Sign or the Wonder cometh to paſs, whereof he ſpake unto thee ſaying, Let us go after other Gods, which thou haſt not known, and let us ſerve them; thou ſhalt not hearken unto the Words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your Heart, and with all your Soul.* It may therefore be affirmed, that the Proof of Miracles is not always certain, but ſometimes equivocal. How then ſhall we diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe? To the Miracles of any one who ſets up for a Perſon ſent from God, muſt be added Purity of Doctrine, Innocence of Life, a firm Underſtanding, and a Concurrence with thoſe whoſe Life, Miſſion, and Doctrine, have been already approved. His Miracles muſt be ſtrictly examined, to ſee if they are true ones, and not juggling Tricks, or magical Operations; alſo, whether they lead us to God, to Peace, to Righteouſneſs, and to Salvation. They muſt appeal to our Senſes in the moſt direct Manner, and leave us no juſt Room to ſuſpect that we are impoſed upon. If all theſe Marks and Characters are to be found in a Teacher, and in the Miracles he works, we may without Danger allow ſuch an one to be a Meſſenger ſent from God.

And ſince this is the Caſe with reſpect to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and his Miracles, (which cannot be ſaid of any Pretender) the Advice of a Right Reverend [i] Prelate is excellent, when among the ſeveral Rules which he gives his People, to preſerve them from the Infection of Infidelity, he expreſſes himſelf thus: " Let your chief Regard and Attention be to the Teſtimony of Miracles, thoſe mighty Works which were wrought by *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles. For this is in its Nature a moſt ſure, plain, and eaſy Proof, which the meaneſt Capacities are capable of apprehending and entering into; and which therefore was evidently intended to be the principal Means of convincing all Mankind of the Truth of Chriſtianity. To deny that our Saviour wrought many and great Miracles, on all Occaſions, during the whole Courſe of his Miniſtry, before Multitudes of People, in the Preſence of Enemies as well as Friends, with a bare Word, and with real and permanent Effects, is to deny the Evidence of Senſe, and to deſtroy at once the Truth of all Hiſtory whatſoever; and in this Particular it is to deny that which the bittereſt Enemies of Chriſtianity of old had not the Hardineſs to deny. To ſay (as the *Jews* did) that thoſe Miracles were wrought by the Aſſiſtance of evil Spirits, is to fall into the Abſurdities with which our Saviour juſtly charges them, *viz. That Satan caſts out Satan:* That a Perſon whoſe Life was moſt holy, and his Doctrine divine, pure, and heavenly, was all the while carrying on the Work of the Devil; and that a Preacher of Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, Mercy, Charity, Truth, Meekneſs, Patience, and Peace, could be enabled to work Miracles by any Power but what was divine."

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[a] Calmet in the Word Miracle.
[b] See Exod. vii, viii. &c.
[c] Matth. xxiv. 24.
[d] Revel. xiii. 13, 14.
[e] Rev. xvi. 14.
[f] Rev. xix. 20.
[g] Matth. xxiv. 23, 24. See alſo Mark xiii. 21, 22. & Luke xvii. 23.
[h] Deut xiii. 1, 2, 3.
[i] The Biſhop of London, in his firſt Paſtoral Letter.

'Tis true "[i] that a Miracle of itſelf proves nothing, unleſs this only, that there is a Cauſe equal to the producing the Effect we ſee. Suppoſe you ſhould ſee a Man raiſe one from the Dead, and he ſhould go away and ſay nothing to you, you would not find that any Fact, or any Propoſition, was proved or diſproved by this Miracle. But ſhould he declare to you, in the Name of him by whoſe Power the Miracle was wrought, that Image-worſhip was unlawful, you would then be poſſeſs'd of a Proof againſt Image-worſhip. But how? Not becauſe the Miracle proves any Thing, as to the Point itſelf, but becauſe the Man's Declaration is authoriz'd by him who wrought the Miracle in Confirmation of his Doctrine. And therefore Miracles are directly a Proof of the Authority of Perſons, tho' not of the Truth of Things.

III. Upon this Foundation only, the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* prove all that is neceſſary, and all that ever he required Mankind to believe concerning him. That he was a Teacher of extraordinary Abilities, that his Doctrine was pure and divine, that his Life was innocent and holy, theſe are Points that his greateſt Enemies never pretended to diſpute. With all theſe Qualifications he called himſelf the Son of God, the Meſſiah ſpoken of by the Prophets, who was to introduce a new Diſpenſation and State of Things. All that was here wanted, and that the *Jews* ever demanded of him, was the concurrent Teſtimony of the divine Being, manifeſted in viſible Signs and Wonders, in ſuch a Manner, and upon ſuch Subjects, that the Reality of them could not be queſtioned. Of theſe he produced ſo many, that the Prejudices, Obſtinacy, and Incredulity of the *Jews*, muſt have been very extraordinary, that they did not all ſurrender to the Evidence of them. *When Chriſt himſelf cometh*, ſaid they, *will he do more Miracles than theſe, which this Man hath done?* Here we have, from their own Confeſſion, an Aſſurance that they had ſufficient Reaſon to receive *Jeſus* for the Meſſiah: "[k] And we find, ſays the Prelate quoted above, that Chriſt himſelf often appeals to his Works, or the Miracles wrought by him, as full and convincing Teſtimonies of his coming from God. For Inſtance, It is ſaid of *John the Baptiſt*, that he wrought no Miracles; upon which our Saviour argues thus with the *Jews:* [l] *I have greater Witneſs than that of* John; *for the Works which the Father hath given me to finiſh, the ſame Works that I do, bear Witneſs of me that the Father hath ſent me.* At another time, when the *Jews* came about him and ſaid, [m] *How long doſt thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Chriſt, tell us plainly*; his Anſwer was, *I told you, and ye believed not; the Works that I do in my Father's Name, they bear Witneſs of me.* And again, to the ſame effect, [n] *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though you believe not me believe the Works:* And in another Place, [o] *Believe me for the very Works ſake.* And a little before his Aſcenſion, he tells his Diſciples, [p] *Ye ſhall receive Power, after that the Holy Ghoſt is come upon you; and ye ſhall be Witneſſes unto me in* Jeruſalem, *and in all* Judea, *and in* Samaria, *and to the utmoſt Parts of the Earth.* Agreeably to which St. *Mark* tells us, [q] *that they went forth, and preached every where; the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following* And it is ſaid in the *Acts*, that the Lord [r] *gave Teſtimony unto the Word of his Grace (i.e.* the Goſpel) *and granted Signs and Wonders to be done by their Hands.* The Miracles they were enabled to work, were the proper and ſtanding Evidences of the Authority of their Miſſion, and conſequently of the Truth of their Doctrine.

Nor does Chriſt only appeal to his Works, and enable his Apoſtles to do Signs and Wonders in order to the Propagation of the Goſpel, but he grounds the great Guilt of the *Jews* who rejected him, on their having ſeen his Works, and yet not been convinced by them: [s] *If I had not done among them the Works which none other Man did, they had not had Sin:* And elſewhere he upbraids the Cities wherein moſt of his [t] *mighty Works were done, becauſe they repented not.* And the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* reaſons thus: [u] *How ſhall we eſcape if we neglect ſo great Salvation, which at the firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God alſo bearing them Witneſs, both with Signs and Wonders, and with divers other Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.* On the other Hand, we are told by St. *John*, [w] that when *Chriſt* was in *Je-*

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[i] Trial of the Witneſſes, &c. p. 107.

[k] Biſhop of London's Firſt Paſtoral Letter.

[l] John v. 36.

[m] John x. 24, 25.

[n] John x. 37.

[o] John xiv 11.

[p] Acts i. 8.

[q] Mark xvi. 20.

[r] Acts xiv. 3.

[s] John xv. 24.

[t] Matth. xi. 20.

[u] Heb. ii. 3.

[w] John ii. 23.

ruſalem, at the Paſſover, many believed in his Name, *When they ſaw the Miracles which he did.* And *Nicodemus*, a Ruler of the *Jews*, addreſſes himſelf thus to *Chriſt:* [x] *We know that thou art a Teacher come from God; for no Man can do thoſe Miracles that thou doſt, except God be with him.* Again, [y] *Many of the People believed on him, and ſaid, when Chriſt cometh will he do more Miracles than theſe which this Man hath done?* And in another Place, the Multitude who were fed with the Loaves, when they had ſeen the Miracles which *Jeſus* did, ſaid, [z] *This is of a Truth that Prophet which ſhould come into the World.* And when the Chief Prieſts and Phariſees had aſſembled a Council to conſider what they ſhould do, their Reaſoning was this: [a] *What do we? For this Man doth many Miracles. If we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him.* Upon which, St. *Peter* might well ſay, [b] *Ye Men of Iſrael, hear theſe Words: Jeſus of* Nazareth, *a Man approved of God among you, by Miracles and Wonders, and Signs, which God did by him in the Midſt of you, as ye yourſelves alſo know.*

IV. Theſe Appeals which our Saviour makes to his Miracles, (continues the ſame Right Reverend Author,) together with the immediate Convictions wrought by them, are joint Teſtimonies of the Propriety and Efficacy of the Argument drawn from thence. And ſince Miracles could be no Teſtimony at all, if they were not true and real, thoſe Appeals and Convictions are of themſelves ſufficient to ſhew the Vanity and Wildneſs of a late Attempt, to prove that our Saviour's Miracles were merely allegorical; in which it is hard to perſwade one's ſelf, that the [c] Author, if in his right Mind, can be ſerious and in earneſt. But ſince the Notion he has vented, is induſtriouſly made uſe of by Scepticks and Infidels, to ſtagger and perplex unwary and ignorant People, who eaſily ſee, that if Chriſt wrought no real Miracles, Chriſtianity has no real Support; for their ſakes, and on no other Account, I will proceed to ſhew the Abſurdity of that Notion; without any Deſign to convince the Author himſelf, who either is not in earneſt, or not capable of Conviction.

What he undertakes to prove, is, that the Miracles of our Saviour, as we find them in the Evangeliſts, however related by them as hiſtorical Truths, and without the leaſt Intimation that they are not be underſtood literally, were not real, but merely allegorical, and that they are to be interpreted, not in the literal, but only in myſtical Senſes; which ſtrange and enthuſiaſtical Scheme, he has purſued throughout, in a moſt prophane and ludicrous Manner. His Pretence is, that the Fathers conſidered our Saviour's Miracles in the ſame allegorical way that he does; that is, as merely allegorical, and excluſive of the Letter: An Aſſertion ſo notoriouſly falſe, that it requires the greateſt Charity to think that he himſelf did not know it to be ſo. Some of the Fathers indeed, in their Explications of Scripture to the People, of which their Sermons in thoſe Days chiefly conſiſted, being willing to uſe all Means, and to omit no Opportunities of exciting in them a Spirit of Piety and Devotion, did not confine themſelves to the bare Letter, but endeavoured upon the Foundation of the Letter, to raiſe ſpiritual Meanings, and to allegoriſe upon them by way of moral Application; and this, not only upon the Miracles of our Saviour, but upon almoſt all the hiſtorical Facts which are recorded either in the Old or New Teſtament; and the ſame was alſo a received Method of Inſtruction among the *Jews*. But would he have us ſuppoſe, that the primitive Fathers intended to deny the literal Facts of our Saviour's Miracles, or to make them merely allegorical, when he has not produced any one Authority out of the whole Body of the Fathers of the firſt three hundred Years after Chriſt, except *Origen*, who can be pretended to countenance his excluding the literal Senſe? He has indeed heaped together a Number of Quotations, chiefly out of the Fathers and Writers of the fourth, fifth, and following Centuries; but many of the Paſſages he quotes, either expreſly affirm, or evidently ſuppoſe, the literal Truth of our Saviour's Miracles; and others of them tell us, that we muſt not reſt in the Letter, but endeavour to find out myſtical and ſpiritual Meanings. Now, as ſuch Quotations are far from denying the Truth of our Saviour's Miracles according to the Letter, they can be of no Manner of Service to his Cauſe; and therefore it is hard to ſay for what End he produced them, unleſs it was to amuſe his *Engliſh* Readers with the Appearance of a great Variety of Authorities, which he muſt needs ſee were nothing to his Purpoſe.

V. And as to *Origen* himſelf, though he went further into the allegorical Way than any other, yet ſo far was he from not believing and allowing our Saviour's Miracles in the literal Senſe, that in many Parts of his Book againſt *Celſus*, which conſiſts, not of popular Diſcourſes, but of juſt and ſober Reaſonings, he directly argues from them in Defence of Chriſtianity.

[d] "In anſwer to *Celſus*'s Boaſtings of the Precepts and Diſcipline of the *Greeks*, he urges, that Chriſtianity has a more divine Demonſtration, which the Apoſtle calls the Demonſtration of the Spirit, and of Power; and he explains Power to be the Miracles of *Chriſt*; which, ſays he, we believe to have been wrought, as from many other Arguments, ſo particularly from this, that the Footſteps of the ſame Power do ſtill appear. In ſeveral [e] Places, he takes notice of *Celſus*'s aſcribing the Miracles of our Saviour to Art-Magic; and having particularly mention'd the reſtoring of Lunaticks, caſting out Devils, and curing Diſeaſes, in the Name of *Chriſt*, he adds, that *Celſus*, not being able to reſiſt the Evidences ariſing from the wonderful Works wrought by him, of which thoſe he nam'd were a few out of many, aſcribed them to Art-Magic; and then

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[x] John iii. 2.
[y] John vii. 31.
[z] John vi. 14.
[a] John xi. 47, 48.
[b] Acts ii. 22.
[c] Woolſton, againſt whoſe Diſcourſes we ſhall introduce the Subſtance of ſuch Anſwers as have been made, as we come to the ſeveral Miracles which he has handled, in their proper Order.
[d] Lib. 1. p. 5. Edit. Spenc.
[e] Lib. 1. p. 7. 30. 34. 53.

hews at large the [f] Abſurdity of that Suppo-
n. He takes notice, [g] that both *Moſes* and
s did wonderful Works, and ſuch as exceed-
uman Power, and then expoſtulates with the
for believing the Things which *Moſes*
ght, though recorded ſingly by himſelf, and
ting the Miracles of Chriſt, upon the Teſti-
y of his Diſciples; while the Chriſtians, as
dds, were the more ready to believe the Mi-
es of *Chriſt*, as recorded by his Diſciples, on
unt of the Prophecy of *Moſes* concerning him.
argues [h] for the Reality of the Deſcent of the
y-Ghoſt upon our Saviour, from the Miracles
ch he wrought, and mentions the caſting out
Devils, and the curing Diſeaſes in his own
ne, as one Argument of the Truth of thoſe
acles. In Proof that *Jeſus* was the Son of
, [i] he urges his healing the Lame and the
d, according to the Prophecy concerning
; and then proceeds to ſhew the Reality of
t the Evangeliſts relate concerning his raiſing
ons from the Dead, and why he raiſed no
e; and adds, that his Miracles were intend-
not only to be Figures or Symbols, but alſo
Means of converting Multitudes to the Chriſ-
Faith; thereby plainly acknowledging the
l as well as the allegorical Meaning. He
es [k] the Truth of *Chriſt*'s Miracles, from o-
attempting to work the like; and makes
ſame Difference between their Works and
ſt's, that there was between the Miracles of
, and the Magicians; and ſays that a *Jew*
defends the Miracles of *Moſes*, is as perverſe
Egyptians, if he reject thoſe of *Chriſt*. ——
peaks [l] of the Miracles of *Moſes* and *Chriſt*,
nverting whole Nations; and obſerves that
was to overthrow the Cuſtoms in which
eople had been educated, and to deal with
ion that had been taught to require Signs
Wonders, and therefore had at leaſt as great
to ſhew them, in order to gain Belief, as
, who had not thoſe Difficulties to over-
—— He ſays, [m] that whoever ſhould em-
the Chriſtian Religion, was required by
and his Diſciples, to believe his Divinity
iracles. —— He ſpeaks of [n] the wonderful
s of Chriſt (however disbeliev'd by *Celſus*)
Effects of a divine Power. And as to the
les, he ſhews [o] how abſurd it would have
n them, to attempt the introducing and eſ-
ing a new Doctrine in the World, without
elp of Miracles.

ge now, whether *Origen* ought to be pro-
as one who did not believe the Miracles
riſt, according to the literal Senſe, and as
d proper Teſtimonies of the Truth of the
ian Religion; and let this Inſtance con-
you, how unſafe it is to take the Opinion
Fathers, or of any other Writers, from
lar Paſſages and Expreſſions which may
ked out of them, without attending to the
ions upon which they were written, or comparing them with the other Works of the ſame Authors. A Liberty which has been much uſed of late; and, if allowed, would put it in the Power of deſigning Men to make almoſt any Writer ſpeak what Opinion they pleaſe.

VI. At the ſame Time it muſt be owned, that *Origen*, and ſome others, indulged themſelves further in the allegorical Way, than was conſiſtent with ſober Reaſoning and ſound Judgment; for which, he in particular [p] was greatly blamed, both in his own Time, and by many of the Fathers of the ſucceeding Ages. But their Intentions were certainly pious; and it could not be imagined, that there ever would be ſuch a Man in the World, who ſhould make it a Queſtion, whether any Father believed the Facts literally underſtood, who in his Defence of the Chriſtian Religion againſt *Jews* and Heathens, appealed to the Miracles of our Saviour in their plain and literal Senſe, as the great Evidence of his being ſent from God. And as they practiſed the allegorical Method, not only in the Point of Miracles, but in almoſt all the hiſtorical Parts of the Old and New Teſtament, they are as good Authorities for entirely deſtroying the whole Hiſtorical Truth of both, as that of Miracles.

Though therefore it were granted, that all the ancient Fathers of the Church had unanimouſly indulged themſelves more or leſs in the allegorical Meanings, it would not at all help this Writer, unleſs he could make it clear, that they alſo denied the literal Meaning; and to ſay that any one who urged the Miracles of our Saviour as the great Vindication of Chriſtianity, could at the ſame Time deny the literal Senſe of them, is a flat Contradiction; ſince, as I obſerved before, Miracles can be no Evidence at all in any other Meaning but the literal. Much leſs will we find any Thing in the Fathers to countenance that ludicrous and blaſphemous Way in which he has treated Chriſt and his Miracles.

VII. The Truth is, the Suppoſition of an allegorical and myſtical Meaning, excluſive of the literal, carries in it ſo many ſtrange Abſurdities, that nothing could lead any one into it, but either great Weakneſs of Underſtanding, or great Diſorder of Mind, or very ſtrong Prejudices againſt the Chriſtian Religion. For Inſtance, That when *Chriſt* appealed to his Works, as he often did, to prove his divine Miſſion, he meant only allegorical and not real Works; that when the People asked one another, whether the Meſſiah *when he came, would do greater Works than theſe*, they did not mean real, but only imaginary Works; that when *Chriſt* bad the Diſciples of *John the Baptiſt* tell their Maſter, what Cures they had ſeen him work, in order to ſatisfy him that he was the Meſſiah, as working the ſame Cures which the Prophets had foretold the Meſſiah ſhould work, neither the Prophets nor

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. 1. p. 53.
[g] Lib. 1. p. 34.
[h] Lib. 1. p. 34.
[i] Lib. 2. p. 87, 88.
. 2. p. 91, 92.
[l] Lib. 2. p. 91, 92.
[m] Lib. 3. p. 128.
[n] Lib. 6. p. 368.
1. p. 30, 34.
[p] Huet. Origeniana, p. 170.

Chriſt meant real Cures; that the great Number of *Jews* who were converted upon ſeeing *Chriſt* heal the Sick, and raiſe to Life thoſe who had been dead, did not ſee them firſt to be ſick or dead, and then alive or whole again, and ſo had no real Ground for their Converſion; that when the Multitudes came to be healed, upon their having ſeen the miraculous Cures that *Chriſt* had wrought upon others, they had really ſeen nothing to induce and encourage them to come to him; that when the Leper came back to thank our Saviour, he was not really healed, but came to return Thanks for nothing; that when the People were amazed to ſee the Miracles he did, they were amazed at nothing; that when the *Jews* feared the Succeſs of his Miracles, and called a Council to prevent it, they were afraid only of Shadows, and conſulted about nothing; that when they perſecuted him, and ſought to ſlay him, for healing a lame Man on the Sabbath Day, he had really wrought no Cure; that when the People intended to make him a King, on account of his extraordinary Works, they had ſeen no Works, but what any other Man might have done; that when it was urged by the *Jews*, that he wrought Miracles by the Help of *Beelzebub*, any Thing could have driven them to that Shift, but that they knew the Facts themſelves to be real and undeniable; that when the People were filled with Wonder and Amazement at the Cure of the lame Man which was wrought by St. *Peter*, they did not ſee him leaping and walking, who before was laid daily at the Gate of the Temple to aſk Alms; and when the Council could ſay nothing againſt it, nor could deny that a notable Miracle had been done, no ſuch Thing as a Miracle had been wrought, but both Council and People were deceived; that when *Simon Magus* deſired to purchaſe the Power of healing Diſeaſes, he meant to purchaſe no Power but what he had before; that when the People of *Lyſtra* accounted *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be Gods, they ſaw nothing in them more than common Men; that when the People out of every Nation were filled with Wonder, to hear the Apoſtles ſpeak every one in their own proper Language, there was really nothing to be wondered at; that the Converſions made in all Nations by the Apoſtles, of great as well as ſmall, learned as well as unlearned, were all made by them without giving any real Teſtimony of a divine Miſſion; that when the Writers of the Church aſſerted the Truth of Chriſtianity upon the Evidence of the Miracles wrought by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, the *Jews* and Heathens, againſt whom they wrote, if they could have called in Queſtion the Reality of thoſe Miracles, would not have fixed their Foot there, but put themſelves to the Difficulty of inventing other Cauſes than a divine Power to which they might aſcribe them: In a Word, that the whole Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, which is all equally capable of being run into Allegory and Myſtery by Enthuſiaſtic Heads, has no Meaning at all, but ſuch as every one ſhall think fit to allegoriſe it into, by the mere Strength of Fancy and Imagination. —— Theſe are ſome of the ſhocking Abſurdities which attend that wild Imagination of Miracles wholly myſtical and allegorical, and without a literal Meaning."

VIII. But, on the other Hand, it is pretended that the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, if literally underſtood, imply *Abſurdities* and *Incredibilities*, as great as any of theſe, and that they are not to be *diſtinguiſhed from the lying Wonders of Antichriſt:* Whence 'tis inferred, that they are not a ſufficient Proof *of his divine Authority to found a Religion.* The Perſons mentioned on this Occaſion, and oppoſed to *Jeſus*, as performing miraculous Cures of Bodily Diſeaſes, and other extraordinary Works, not diſtinguiſhable from his, are *Apollonius Tyanæus*, *Veſpaſian*, and *Greatrak*. But of how little Service theſe Inſtances are, will be ſeen in the following Extracts from the Work of [p] a Father of our Church.

1. As for *Apollonius*, there was but [q] one Voucher of all his pretended Miracles, the credulous *Damis*, who appears throughout the [r] Hiſtory of *Philoſtratus*, and is acknowledged by that Writer in plain Words, to have been a weak and ignorant Perſon, and conſequently very capable of being impoſed upon by ſo artful a Juggler. But the Miracles of our Lord were performed before great Numbers of People, Enemies as well as Friends, and Perſons of Penetration and Judgment as well as the more credulous and ignorant Sort. Beſides, what *Damis* did actually vouch for his Maſter we know not, ſince the Memoirs of him are now loſt, and what Part of them *Philoſtratus* made uſe of is altogether uncertain. Thus much indeed is clear, that the Memoirs of *Damis* were delivered to *Philoſtratus* by the Empreſs *Julia*, Wife of *Severus*, at the Diſtance of more than an hundred Years from *Apollonius*, in order to their being digeſted and adorned with a rhetorical Style by that Sophiſt, whoſe Work is no better than a Romance founded upon the ſaid Memoirs. But the Goſpels were written by thoſe who were Eye-Witneſſes of what they related, or who, at leaſt, received their Informations from ſuch Eye-Witneſſes: And, which is more, they were produced to the World when all Mankind were in a Temper to contradict what they affirmed, if the Truth of it had not been ſufficiently atteſted; whereas *Philoſtratus* was ſet to work and encouraged by an Empreſs, who profeſſed no ſmall Zeal for *Paganiſm*, at a Time when the Heathen World would have ſupplanted *Jeſus Chriſt*, by oppoſing to him a Wonder-worker of their own, whom they were willing to make his Superior, or at leaſt his Equal.

But further, [s] beſides the Weakneſs of their Authority, the pretended Miracles of *Apollonius* are for the moſt Part ridiculous, unworthy of a Prophet, and full of Follies and monſtrous Tales. 'Tis true, the ſame is pretended concerning the

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[p] Bp. Smalbrook's Vindication of the Miracles of our bleſſed Saviour. Vol. I. p. 15.

[q] This Mr. W. himſelf confeſſes, Diſc. 4. p. 28.

[r] His Life of Apollonius.

[s] Vindication, &c. Vol. I. p. 17.

Miracles of our Lord; but how juſtly, we ſhall ſhew in the Progreſs of this Work. Even when *Philoſtratus* [t] gives the greateſt Inſtance of the miraculous Power of his Hero, namely in his reſtoring the Life of a young Woman, (no doubt in order to rival the like Performance of *Jeſus*) that Writer himſelf queſtions, as he ſays the Company did, whether or no ſhe were really dead. Could ſuch a Doubt ariſe concerning a Man, who had lain four Days in the Grave, as *Lazarus* had when he was raiſed by our Lord? But, above all, the Doctrines taught by *Apollonius*, his great Zeal for Idolatry, his exceſſive Pride, Ambition, and Affectation of divine Honours, moſt evidently ſhew that his Miracles were falſe, and his moſt ſurpriſing Performances mere Deluſions: And [u] conſequently the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* are, in their Nature, Tendency, and End, as well as in the Excellency of their Performer, moſt clearly diſtinguiſhable from the pretended Miracles of *Apollonius*, that *Ape* of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as he is juſtly ſtiled by ſome of the Antients.

2. The Inſtance of *Veſpaſian* [w] may be evinced to be as weak as that of *Apollonius*, with which it ſeems to have ſome Connexion: For we find in *Tacitus*, [x] that the two Cures of the Blind and the Lame by *Veſpaſian*, are pretended to have been wrought at *Alexandria*; and if there be any Credit due to *Philoſtratus*, [y] *Veſpaſian* went thither on purpoſe to meet *Apollonius*, in order to have his Judgment on the dubious State of his Affairs at that time. It ſeems, *Dion* and *Euphrates*, two eminent Philoſophers there, were for *Veſpaſian*'s reſtoring the Commonwealth; but *Apollonius* was for his aſſuming the Empire, and *Veſpaſian* followed his Advice: Which makes it probable, that *Apollonius* might be one of the Flatterers mentioned by *Tacitus*, [z] that perſuaded *Veſpaſian* to make uſe of the pretended Miracles which *Tacitus* records, in order to recommend himſelf to the People as a [a] *Perſon favoured by the Gods*. In ſhort, as *Apollonius* was accuſtomed to theſe Tricks, it looks very much like an Artifice of his, that *Veſpaſian* ſhould perform Miracles at this critical Juncture, to raiſe his Reputation in the World, ſuitably to the new Station of Life which he was going to accept by *Apollonius*'s Advice: And it is not unlikely that *Veſpaſian*'s Phyſicians, who were [b] conſulted about the Poſſibility of thoſe Cures, were Confederates with *Apollonius* in this Impoſture; for, we find, they concurred with thoſe that flattered *Veſpaſian*, and laboured to perſuade him that the Cures were feaſible. The Reaſons they gave on that Occaſion are ſo very weak as to betray the Artifice; eſpecially when they add, that [c] perhaps *Veſpaſian* was appointed for this Work by the Divine Direction; which is only a manifeſt Compliment to his riſing Greatneſs. And as for the *Alexandrian Jews*, it is natural to imagine, that, out of Oppoſition to *Jeſus*, they would join in ſuch a Compliment to *Veſpaſian* as their own *Joſephus* had before given him in *Judea*, by aſcribing to him what was part of the known Character of their Meſſiah, the miraculous Cure of deſperate Diſeaſes.

[d] But allowing that the Miracles aſcribed to *Veſpaſian* were really performed, they will be yet very diſtinguiſhable from thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*. The moſt that can be ſaid of the one, is, that they were providentially deſigned by God to give a ſuperior Character to the Perſon, who was appointed to be an Inſtrument of the Divine Vengeance on the *Jewiſh* Nation: And accordingly he made uſe of theſe Miracles only in a political View, to recommend himſelf to the People; not pretending to any divine Commiſſion, or to eſtabliſh any new Doctrine, in conſequence of them. But our Lord's miraculous Cures were profeſſedly performed to eſtabliſh his Divine Authority; for which Reaſon he conſtantly appeals to his wonderful Works, as a Proof that his Pretenſions were juſt, and conſequently his Doctrine true. Whether *Veſpaſian*'s Cures were true or falſe, ſince a true Miracle cannot prove a thing for which it is not appealed to, it follows that no Compariſon ought to be made between them, and thoſe of *Jeſus*, which were wrought only for the ſake of the Appeal.

3. The laſt Inſtance, produced to ſhew that the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* are not diſtinguiſhable from thoſe of other Perſons, is that of the famous [e] *Greatrak*, who, it is pretended, cured Diſeaſes in an equally miraculous Manner with *Jeſus Chriſt*, by ſtroking the Parts affected. But it is evident, from an [f] original Letter of his, that this Perſon thought more modeſtly of his own Performances. He pretends indeed, in the ſaid Letter, to cure the King's-Evil, and a few other Diſeaſes, from a Divine Impulſe; but why he cured thoſe only, he does not pretend to ſay: Neither did *Stubbe* the Phyſician, who wrote an [g] Account profeſſedly in favour of him, pretend that he could reſtore any Decays of Nature. The Examiner of *Greatrak*'s Pretenſions, [h] *David Lloyd*, aſſerts, that he was frequently unſucceſsful in his Attempts; and inſtances in particular Caſes; in one of which, inſtead of curing, he put the Patient to great Miſery. Beſides, that he uſually rubbed the Parts with ſome Violence; that in ſome Caſes he pinched the Ulcers very ſeverely, and in others uſed Plaiſters and other Medicines; and that he often had recourſe to Phyſic and Surgery, in thoſe very Diſtempers which he pretended to cure by Divine Aſſiſtance. Now, what became of his miraculous Healing, when he ſought Aſſiſtance from the known Rules of Art? Admit that by giving ſome new Motion to the Part affected, certain Indiſpoſitions were removed from one Part of the Body to another, and even by inſenſible Perſpiration entirely out of the Body, the Effect of ſo forcible a Friction may, perhaps, be

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[t] Vit. Apollon. l. iv. c. 16.
[u] Vind. &c. V. i. p. 18.
[w] Vind. &c. p. 21. V. I.
[x] Vid. Tacit. Hiſt. l. 4. p. 532, &c. Edit. Gronov. Amſt. 1685.
[y] Vit. Apol. l. 5. c. 10, 11, &c.
[z] Vocibus Adulantium in ſpem induci, ibid.
[a] Tacit. ibid.
[b] Tacit. ibid.
[c] Id fortaſſe cordi Deis, & divino miniſterio principem electum.
[d] Vind. &c. V. I. p. 23, 24, 25.
[e] Vind. &c. p. 25. V. I.
[f] To Dr. Hall, Biſhop of Cheſter, in 1665. This Letter is preſerved in the Bodleian Library, and a Copy of it is prefix'd to a Treatiſe of David Lloyd's, entituled, *Wonders no Miracles*.
[g] *The miraculous Conformiſt*, in 1666.
[h] *Wonders no Miracles.*

accounted for in a mechanical Manner. Is ſuch a gradual and limited Performance to be compared with the laſting Effects of one powerful Word of our Lord, which, either preſent or abſent, immediately healed the moſt inveterate Diſtempers, and reſtored not only the greateſt Decays of Nature, but even Life itſelf? Nothing but Malice or Ignorance could form ſo unjuſt a Compariſon. But to come cloſe to the Point: Did *Greatrak* pretend to lay the Foundation of any new Doctrine? If he did not, whatever Cures he wrought, they were merely providential; and conſequently, whatever Hypotheſis may be form'd from his Cures concerning mechanical Operations, his Caſe is entirely foreign to that of the miraculous Cures of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

There is nothing in all theſe Inſtances, that can juſtly be put in parallel with the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which, both with reſpect to their Subject Matter, and the Manner of their Performance, evince a Power equal to that of Creation. What leſs than Omnipotence *could reſtore a withered Hand, give Sight to one born blind, or raiſe the Dead to Life; and that by the Touch of his Finger, or even of his Garment, or by a mere Word ſpoken either when he was preſent or abſent?* As to the Objection, [i] *That there are Beings in the ſpiritual World capable of performing Things above the Power of Men, and therefore amazing to Mankind*, it is juſtly anſwered, That no created Beings, who in conſequence of their Creation muſt be Agents of a limited Power, are capable of performing ſuch proper and real Miracles as thoſe of *Chriſt* were, independently of God; ſince great as their Power is, it is not infinite, and therefore cannot perform thoſe Operations, which, either as to the Matter or Manner of them, require Omnipotence. It neceſſarily follows therefore, that whatever Performances evil Spirits can naturally and independently of God exert, they muſt be mere Signs and Wonders, and inferior to true Miracles, which are above, or contrary to, the known Laws of Nature. The Workers of theſe Wonders may, by lower Inſtances of Power, ſurprize weak and wicked Men, and afford an Handle to thoſe who are otherwiſe incredulous to the true Miracles of *Chriſt*: But they cannot perform ſuch Works as are mentioned in the Goſpels, by their own natural Ability; and there are ſeveral moral Reaſons, for which we cannot ſuppoſe they have a divine Power communicated to them: Conſequently, therefore, if they ſeem in any Caſe to perform what appears miraculous, it muſt be Fallacy, Juggle, and Deluſion; ſince they are incapable of it both in a natural and moral Senſe. And indeed the moſt ſurprizing Actions of evil Spirits will unavoidably diſtinguiſh themſelves from thoſe performed by God, or any Agents commiſſioned by him, by the wicked Doctrines, Tendencies, and Ends, that are viſibly ſerved by thoſe wonderful Works, and likewiſe by the Immorality of thoſe Men that are the Inſtruments of evil Spirits in performing them.

[k] Hence it evidently follows, that ſince real Miracles are incapable of being performed by any but God, or Agents commiſſioned by him, thoſe Perſons, that, in Proof of their Authority as derived from God, and of the Truth of their Doctrine as worthy of God, perform miraculous Actions for good Ends, and with a ſuitable Holineſs of Life, exhibit to the World a rational Seal of their Commiſſion from God, and juſtly demand the Aſſent of Men, that either are perſonal Spectators of them, or are informed of them by credible Teſtimonies. "Wherefore, ſays [l] *Origen*, we examine by certain *Criteria* thoſe that promiſe ſuch Miracles, to know whether they perform them by the Help of Evil Spirits, or by a divine Power: Which *Criteria* are taken from their Lives and Morals, and the Tendencies and Conſequences of the Miracles themſelves, whether they are prejudicial to Men, or whether they reform their Morals." And to the ſame Purpoſe *Auſtin* [m] obſerves, "That where we ſee a viſible Miracle, we ſhould not imagine there is always an inviſible Wiſdom and Sanctity." Which is a Caution naturally ariſing from the Words of our Lord in the Text, on which that Father here comments. [n] *Many will ſay to me in that Day, Lord, Lord, have we not propheſied in thy Name? and in thy Name have caſt out Devils? and in thy Name done many wonderful Works? And then will I profeſs unto them, I never knew you: Depart from me, ye Workers of Iniquity.* Where our Lord plainly inſinuates, that wicked Men were capable of working Wonders, but were to be guarded againſt, and [o] *known* or diſtinguiſhed *by their Fruits, or Works.* But when moral Qualifications are united with miraculous Performances, they unavoidably diſtinguiſh a true Prophet from an Impoſtor; and by this Teſt the divine Authority of *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Apoſtles may be known from the Pretenſions of any other Perſon.

'Tis true, we have before ſaid, that wicked Spirits and their Agents, are not capable of performing a true Miracle; and therefore it may be asked what Occaſion there is of any other Teſtimony to the Authority of a Prophet, when the Miracles he works are apparently true ones? In anſwer to this, it muſt be confeſſed, and we have already proved it, that many of the Miracles of our Lord were of themſelves, and in their very Nature, apparently true ones: They muſt be received as ſuch by all that were Witneſſes of them, or that believe the Teſtimony of the Goſpels; and conſequently, they were ſufficient Proofs of his divine Authority to the Spectators of them. But the Rule here laid down, for judging of Miracles by the Morality of their Author, is nevertheleſs good: For the ſenſible Evidence of a true Miracle may not always be equally certain even to thoſe who ſee it performed, and that Evidence to ſome Perſons loſes much of its Strength when handed down to a great Diſtance. But the Doctrine eſtabliſhed by a Miracle, and preſerved among the Diſciples of its Author, may be certainly known from the Writings and Diſcourſes in which it is delivered; and the Actions of a Perſon, who diſtinguiſhes himſelf by being the Author of a new Religion, will commonly be tranſmitted to Poſterity, between his Friends and his Enemies, in the beſt and worſt light they can bear. And this Part of the Teſt is equally certain with the other: For as we are ſure that God will not give Power to work a Miracle to the immediate Hurt of Mankind, ſo may we be that he will not employ any but good Men therein, nor ſuffer any Doctrine to be propagated by a true Miracle, which is not from himſelf. And that we are capable of judging whether a Doctrine be from God, or no, is evident in this, that we are exhorted to make uſe of ſuch a Judgment; which Exhortation would have no Meaning at all, if there were not certain viſible Characters of the divine Will, to which we ſhould have Recourſe on all Occaſions, and by obſerving which we may be kept from Error.

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[i] Vindic. V. i. c. 1. p. 12.

[k] Vindic. V. i. c. i. p. 14.

[l] Contra Celſum, l. 2. p. 91.

[m] In Serm. Dom. in Monte.

[n] Matth. vii. 22, 23. See Vindic. V. i. c. 1. p. 32.

[o] Matth. vii. 15—20.

IX. But all this was plainly enough ſeen by thoſe who have endeavoured to invalidate the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt:* They knew, that upon the faireſt Examination, the Evidence of theſe would ſet them far enough above the pretended Miracles of any Impoſtor that ever lived; and therefore they pretend to maintain, that the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt*, however great, do not ſufficiently prove his Authority to found a new Religion. But how weak a Pretence this is, will appear from only reflecting on the Nature of a true Miracle, that it requires an Omnipotent Power to perform it; and farther, that the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* were evidently the Effect of ſuch a Power, and that he appealed to theſe Miracles for this very End, that People ſhould believe he was ſent by the Father. We need not repeat what has been already ſaid on this Head, ſince every reaſonable Perſon muſt look upon it as ſufficient. But we may here add to the Quotations from *Origen*, a few Paſſages from the other antient Apologiſts, in order to prove that none of them excluded a literal Interpretation of the Facts in the Goſpels; which is the more neceſſary in this Place, before we conſider any of the Miracles ſeparately, becauſe the greateſt Streſs of the late Scheme to overthrow the Miracles of our Lord, is laid in the Authority of the Fathers for a myſtical and allegorical Expoſition of the evangelical Hiſtory. [p] Theſe Apologies of the antient Fathers, as they are ſome of the beſt of their Productions, ſo are they the moſt certain Standards of the Senſe of the primitive Church, with regard to the Nature and Grounds of our Holy Religion: For they ſurely who compoſed ſolemn Vindications, and preſented them to the higheſt Powers upon Earth, muſt neceſſarily be preſum'd to be perfect in the Reaſons of the Religion that they ſo defended.

[q] The earlieſt Apologiſt, of whoſe Writings any thing concerning the Miracles of our Lord now remains, is *Quadratus*, an immediate Diſciple of the Apoſtles, who in an Apology preſented to the Emperor *Adrian*, about the Year of *Chriſt* 123, has theſe [r] Words: "The Works of our Saviour were always viſible and conſpicuous, for they were true and unfeigned. They that were cured of their Diſeaſes, and they that were raiſed again from the Dead, were not only ſeen by all when they were cured and had roſe again, but afterwards were always preſent. They not only appeared whilſt our Saviour ſtay'd upon Earth, but they lived long after his Departure from it: So that ſome of thoſe very Perſons have continued in being even till our own Times."

[s] The next eminent Apologiſt is *Juſtin Martyr*, who in his former Apology to *Antoninus Pius*, about 140 Years after *Chriſt*, writes to this Effect: "[t] We cannot but believe what was foretold of *Chriſt*'s Miracles, — becauſe we ſee with our own Eyes, or know by the occular Evidence of other credible Perſons, that thoſe wonderful Works have been wrought, and are now performed, as they were foretold; which, we believe, will appear even to you the greateſt and moſt certain Demonſtration." Likewiſe in the ſame Apology he mentions again the antient Prophecies concerning *Chriſt*'s curing all manner of Diſeaſes, and raiſing the Dead, inculcating it, that he actually did ſuch Things, and appealing to the Acts of *Pilate* for the Confirmation thereof.

[u] *Tertullian*, another Apologiſt, a Perſon of extraordinary Parts and Learning, is very expreſs for a literal Interpretation of the Scripture, and particularly of the Miracles of our Lord as related in the Goſpels. This fully appears from his Apologetic, compoſed in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, near 200 Years after *Chriſt*, in which he writes thus: [w] "That Perſon whom the *Jews* had vainly imagin'd from the Meanneſs of his Appearance to be a mere Man, they afterwards, in conſequence of the Power he exerted, conſidered as an [x] uncommon Perſon, when he with one Word ejected Devils out of the Bodies of Men, gave Sight to the Blind, cleanſed the Leprous, ſtrengthen'd the Nerves of thoſe that had the Palſy, and with one Command reſtored the Dead to Life; when he made the very Elements obey him, aſſuaged the Storms, walked upon the Seas, demonſtrating himſelf to be the Word of God." And again, ſpeaking of the Paſſion of *Jeſus*, he ſays, "In the ſame Moment the Day itſelf withdrew, when the Sun was in its meridian Height. Thoſe Perſons thought it to be an Eclipſe, who did not know that ſuch a Darkneſs was foretold concerning *Chriſt*. Others have denied the Fact, as being ignorant of the true Reaſon of it: And yet you have that great Event which happened, recorded in your own *Archives*. *Pilate*, and he himſelf in his own Conſcience now a Chriſtian, ſent an Account of all thoſe things that happened with regard to *Chriſt*, to *Tiberius*, the then *Roman* Emperor."

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[p] Vind. V. i. c. 2. p. 65.

[q] Id. lib. p. 67.

[r] They are preſerved by Euſebius. See Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iv. c. 3.

[s] Vind. V. i. c. 2. p. 68.

[t] Vid. Juſtin. Mart. Apolog. 1. p. 60. Edit. Grab.

[u] Vind. V. i. c. 2. p. 69.

[w] Vide Tertull. Apolog. p. 20. Edit. Priorii Par. 1675.

[x] Or Magician.

There are ſeveral Paſſages more to the ſame Purpoſe, in other Writings of this Apologiſt, and thoſe very emphatical ones, but too long to be tranſcrib'd. In one Place, [y] after aſſigning ſeveral Inſtances of antient Prophecies relating to the Birth, Sufferings, and Death of *Chriſt*, he goes on thus. "What Figures are here to be found in *Iſaiah?* What Images in *David?* [w] What Prophetical Riddles in *Jeremiah?* who have not ſo much as ſpoke of his Miracles in a parabolical Manner." And then running over ſeveral of our Lord's miraculous Cures, he ſays, "Which Things though I myſelf have been accuſtomed to interpret in a ſpiritual Manner, by their Analogy with moral Cures, yet ſince theſe Prophecies have been fulfilled in the bodily and literal Senſe, they evince that the Prophets foretold Things of both kinds, but with this Salvo, that there are more Expreſſions in their Writings clear of all allegorical Cloud, than there are of a myſtical Nature." Of which literal Senſe he gives ſeveral Inſtances, and ſays, that theſe "Things want a little Review rather than an Interpretation."

[z] *Arnobius*, who wrote in Defence of the Chriſtian Religion under *Diocletian*, about the Year of *Chriſt* 300, is very clear and copious in apologizing for the Reality of our Lord's Miracles, in their plain and literal Senſe. After proving that the wonderful Works of our Lord cannot with the leaſt Shew of Reaſon be imputed to Magic, and that no Magician that ever appeared in the World could perform the thouſandth Part of what he did, and likewiſe that they were little miſchievous Things that had been wrought by the moſt eminent Magicians, he at length breaks out into ſo holy as well as rhetorical a Rapture on *Chriſt*'s Performances, that it is ſcarce capable of being tranſlated with Juſtice. [a] He there mentions moſt of the miraculous Facts recorded in the Goſpel, in their literal and obvious Senſe, yet with the greateſt Tranſport imaginable; enlarging much on the wonderful Gift of Tongues, the ſpeedy Propagation of the Religion of *Jeſus* throughout the World, and his Communication of the ſame Power to others that he had exerciſed himſelf. The Reaſon he gives for our Lord's performing ſo many Miracles is worth inſerting, namely, "That theſe things were really performed by *Jeſus*, not to gratify a vain Oſtentation of Power, but that the moſt incredulous Perſons might be convinced that his Doctrine and Promiſes were true, [b] (or, that what was promiſed in antient Prophecies was really fulfilled in him,) and that they might likewiſe be informed, by the beneficial Tendency and Goodneſs of the Works he wrought, what is the Nature of the true God."

[c] *Lactantius* naturally follows his Maſter *Arnobius*. He wrote, or began to write, his *Divine Inſtitutions*, both againſt Paganiſm, and by way of Apology for Chriſtianity, during the Perſecution of *Licinius*, in the Year 320. In the fourth Book of this Work he writes, [d] "That from the Time of his Baptiſm *Jeſus* began to exert the greateſt Power imaginable; not by magical Tricks and Illuſions, which, with all their Boaſt, have nothing true and ſolid in them; but by an heavenly Operation: Which Works of his were long before foretold by the Prophets. They were indeed ſo very numerous, that they cannot all be comprized in one Volume." He then runs over the Heads of our Lord's miraculous Cures, and afterwards obſerves, "That he performed all theſe mighty Works, not by any manual Operation, or medicinal Remedy, but by his mere Word and Command. Neither is it to be wondered at, ſays this Father, that with one Word he wrought ſuch Miracles, ſince he was the Word of God, and was endued with Divine Power. Neither was it thought ſufficient for him to give Strength to the Weak, Soundneſs to the Maimed, and Health to the Diſeaſed, unleſs he likewiſe had raiſed even the Dead, as if they were awaken'd out of Sleep, and called them back again to Life. Which Works of his when the *Jews* ſaw, they pretended indeed that they were performed by a diabolical Power, tho' their own Prophecies mentioned that all theſe Things ſhould be ſo performed, as in Fact they were." After this, *Lactantius* cites a Paſſage [e] from *Iſaiah*, and relates pretty largely the Circumſtances of two or three of our Lord's Miracles; but it would be ſuperfluous to tranſcribe any more from him, ſince what is already introduced ſufficiently proves that he underſtood the Goſpels in a literal Senſe.

To the Apologiſts already cited, might be added the Teſtimony of *Euſebius*, in the Beginning of the fourth Century, who has given us a long Catalogue of *Chriſt*'s miraculous Facts, which, he ſays, [f] "were celebrated every where, and even received and aſſented to by himſelf after mature Deliberation and exact Enquiry into their Credibility, and were therefore conſidered by him as ſolid Proofs of the Divinity of the Author of them." But there is no need to repeat from *Euſebius* what has been already quoted from other Fathers, it being certain, that the Paſſages here tranſcribed from the Prelate to whom we have all along referred, together with thoſe from *Origen* in a [g] preceding Extract, will be more than ſufficient to prove, that none of the Fathers excluded a literal Interpretation of the Goſpel-Hiſtory.

X. It has not been denied indeed that [h] many of the Fathers did, in Fact, interpret Scripture in a myſtical Senſe, but only that they never ſubſtituted the Myſtery in the Place of the Letter. To make this Diſtinction a little clearer, it may be neceſſary to conſider ſomewhat more particularly what relates to the Practice of thoſe Times in interpreting Scripture; and firſt, to recollect whence the myſtical Way of Interpretation was derived, that we may the better learn of what

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[y] Vid. Tertul. de reſurrect. carnis.

[z] Vind. V. i. c. 2. p. 76.

[a] Vid. Arnob. contra Gentes, p. 26, 27, L. B. 1651.

[b] Ut homines duri & increduli ſcirent non eſſe quod ſpondebatur, falſum. Which may be render'd both ways.

[c] Vind. V. i. c. 2. p. 82.

[d] Vid. pag. 397, 398. Ed. Gallæi. L. B. 1660.

[e] Iſa. xxxv 3, 4, &c.

[f] Demon. Evang. l. 3. c. 4.

[g] From the Biſhop of London's Paſtoral Letter.

[h] Vind. V. i c. 3. p. 93.

Authority it is. Now there are two Accounts of the Original of this Practice to be aſſign'd, which perhaps will appear to have both concurred: The one is, that the Chriſtian Fathers derived it from the *Jewiſh* Interpreters; and the other, that they received it from the more learned Gentiles. And ſince there is now extant but little Interpretation of Scripture, by way of Commentary, antienter than the Days of *Origen*, who is therefore called the Father of myſtical Interpreters, let us conſider whence he, in particular, appears to have derived his Method. *Photius*, [i] the great Critic of the Antients, aſſures us that *Philo* the *Jew* taught the Way of allegorizing Scripture to the Chriſtians. Now it is known that *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who was *Origen*'s Maſter, cultivated this myſtical Way, which he certainly derived from *Philo*, whom he not only [k] imitates, but tranſcribes; and it is therefore preſumed that *Origen* had it more immediately from *Clement*. Among the *Jews* it ſeems to have been of greater Antiquity than *Philo* himſelf, and to have been much uſed by the [l] *Eſſenes* of *Alexandria*, whoſe antient Books [m] are ſaid to have been full of allegorical Interpretations of Scripture. The other Account of the Beginning of myſtical Interpretation among Chriſtians, is that given by *Porphyry*, [n] who aſſerts, "that *Origen* was converſant in the Writings of the Stoics, and from them learned the Art of allegorizing Scripture, agreeably to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks* in explaining their Mythology." 'Tis true, that *Origen* ſeems to have much ſtudied not only the Stoics, but alſo *Plato*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorean*, with other myſtical Writers; upon which Account St. *Jerome* aſſerts, [o] "that *Origen* in his *Stromata*, confirmed all the Doctrines of our Religion out of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Numenius*, and *Cornutus*;" moſt of whom, with other Writers of the ſame kind, are mentioned in the Pieces of his which are now extant. This may ſerve for an Account of the Original of the allegorical Method of interpreting Scripture, and alſo to ſhew that *Origen* ſeems to have copied both *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Writers.

[p] But we muſt not forget that *Philo*, tho' ſo great a Maſter of this kind of Interpretation, always acknowledges the Reality of the Facts, whenever he allegorizes any ſcriptural Hiſtory; as for inſtance, when he turns into Allegory ſeveral remarkable [q] Parts of *Abraham*'s Life; where he firſt allows the Truth of what is related concerning him, and then adds a myſtical Expoſition thereof: And accordingly, *Clement* of *Alexandria* and *Origen* agree in imitating *Philo*, as much in acknowledging the Truth of ſcriptural Facts, as in putting myſtical Senſes on them.

'Tis certain however, after all, that *Origen* has frequently expreſſed his Sentiments of the literal Senſe of Scripture with too little Caution, and allow'd himſelf exceſſive Liberties in comparing it with his myſtical Interpretations; and ſince, in ſo doing, he has ſhielded himſelf under the Authority of St. *Paul*, it deſerves Conſideration, how far St. *Paul* will defend him on this Head. Now 'tis confeſſed, [r] that this Apoſtle has, in Fact, allegorized ſeveral Paſſages of the *Jewiſh* Law and Hiſtory: But then it muſt be conſidered, not only that ſuch an Accommodation of them was very agreeable to the Oriental Notions of that Time, but alſo that the particular Applications made by St. *Paul*, receive in him a great Weight, becauſe they were influenced by the ſame Spirit who dictated the Paſſages thus applied; a thing which cannot be affirmed of *Origen*, or any other Father, who wrote myſtical Expoſitions in imitation of this Apoſtle. Beſides, St. *Paul*'s allegorical Expoſition of any Paſſage in the Old Teſtament, cannot ſupport any ſuch Expoſition of the New; becauſe the Law of *Moſes* was entirely and eſſentially typical of the Goſpel, in the Diſpenſation of which it is fully completed: But it cannot be ſaid of the Goſpel, that it is typical of any future Diſpenſation; for the *Body* and *Subſtance* is Chriſt, who came once for all, whoſe Prieſthood is unchangeable, and whoſe Miniſtry therefore cannot be allegorical. And as the Practice of St. *Paul* cannot, ſo neither can, any Expreſſion that may be abuſively cited from his Writings, afford them any Support, who endeavour to turn the Miracles of our Lord into Myſtery.

[s] The Uſe and Authority of allegorical Interpretations of the Scripture, and particularly of the New Teſtament, as practiſed by the Fathers, are reducible into a narrow Compaſs; it being an eaſy Inference from what has been already alledg'd, that they ſubſiſt upon weak and precarious Reaſons. As to their Uſe, we may conſider it either with regard to the Time when they were made, or with regard to our own Time.

1. In antient Times theſe myſtical Expoſitions, with which the Homilies abounded, gave an agreeable Entertainment to popular Auditories, and warmly affected the Imagination with a ſort of ſpiritual Wit that was then much in Faſhion. Theſe Exerciſes of Wit were applied to religious Subjects more particularly by *Origen* and *Auſtin*, who being Perſons of extraordinary natural Abilities, knew how to find out ſome ſurprizing Connexions of ſcriptural Ideas, ſome apt Similitudes, pretty Alluſions, and amuſing Myſteries in Etymologies and Numbers. But all this was no more than mere Wit, too curiouſly employ'd in ſacred Matters, attended with the Love of making Diſcoveries of a ſublimer Nature, and deſigned to ſtrike ſtrongly upon the Fancy, and inflame the pious Affections of the Hearers. Such Diſcourſes are generally far from being judicious; as Wit upon other Occaſions is known to join together

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[i] Vid. Phot. cod. 105. p. 278. Ed. Rothom. 1653.

[k] V. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

[l] See an Account of theſe People in p. 123 & 124 of his Work.

[m] V. Philon. de Vit. Contemplat. &c. Vid. etiam Euſeb. E. H. l. 2. c. 17.

[n] Apud Euſeb. E. H. l. 6. c. 19.

[o] V. Hieron. Epiſt. ad Magnum.

[p] Vind. V. i. c. 3. p. 97.

[q] V. Phil. de Vit. Sapient. ſive Abrah.

[r] Vind. V. i. c. 3. p. 107.

[s] Vind. V. i. c. 3. p. 115.

many ſuperficial, but bright, Ideas, which it is the Buſineſs of Judgment to ſeparate. However, it is no more to be wonder'd at, that, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by ſome [t] Fathers of better Judgment, ſuch an injudicious Affectation of Allegories prevailed for ſome time, thro' the contagious Influence of ſome great Examples, and particularly that of *Origen*, than that Biſhop *Andrews* and others, that were Men of Senſe and Learning, gave too much into the pious Conceits and devout Jingles that were faſhionable in the Pulpit in their Days.

2. The other Uſe of this myſtical Method of Interpretation, which regards all Ages, and more eſpecially our own, is this; That ſuch myſtical Expoſitions of Scripture, and more particularly of the Miracles of our Lord, neceſſarily preſuppoſe the Reality of the Facts that are thus allegorized. For otherwiſe ſuch myſtical Expoſitions have no Foundation, but are merely imaginary Things. If the *Moſaic* Law or Hiſtory was allegorized, 'tis evident there was really ſuch a Law and ſuch an Hiſtory. For otherwiſe, how could the Law itſelf be appealed to, as the Ground of St. *Paul*'s own Allegory? Says he, [u] "*Do ye not hear the Law?* What would the Allegory of *Sarah* and *Hagar*, and their Sons be, if there had been no ſuch real Perſons? And how was the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory *written for our Inſtruction*, if it did not conſiſt of real Facts that might admoniſh us? The ſame Application may be made to the Goſpel. For what are myſtical Interpretations of our Saviour's Miracles, but ingenious Amuſements, if they are not really grounded on miraculous Facts? Without ſuch a ſolid Foundation, they unavoidably degenerate into Trifles, or rather vaniſh into nothing. Myſtical Interpretations therefore of our Saviour's Miracles have this Uſe, contrary to the End for which they have been ſo ſtrongly urg'd, that they eſtabliſh the Reality of thoſe Facts upon which they are grounded. But the Abſurdity of excluding the literal Senſe, becauſe a myſtical one has been built upon it, was before exploded in that excellent [w] Quotation from the Biſhop of *London*'s Paſtoral Letter.

To prove the little Authority of myſtical Interpretations, (even as they were innocently practiſed by ſome of the Fathers, without any Intent to undermine the literal Senſe,) we need only add two Quotations; the one from *Arnobius*, a Chriſtian Father, and the other from *Maimonides*, a celebrated *Jewiſh* Rabbi. *Arnobius*, ſpeaking of the Uncertainty of the allegorical Interpretations of the Pagan Mythology, uſes Words that may as properly be turned againſt the Patrons of Myſtery among Chriſtians. [x] "Whence is it evident to you, ſays he, when you explain thoſe Allegories, that in your Interpretations of them you have the ſame Sentiments that the Writers of the Hiſtories relating to them had in their own Thoughts, and which they did not expreſs in Words ſuitable to their proper Senſe, but to figurative Significations? —— Another myſtical Interpreter may fancy a more probable and ingenious Senſe than yourſelves; a third may diſcover another Meaning; and a fourth a different one from all three; and according to the Qualifications of the ſeveral Interpreters, every thing may be explained with an infinite Number of pretended Expoſitions. For ſince all Allegories are taken from Things that are dark and concealed, and do not aim at any certain End that can unmoveably fix one's Opinion of the Thing itſelf which is treated of, every one is at Liberty to affirm his own Conjectures to have been originally deſigned. And if this be the Caſe of Allegories, how can you draw any thing certain from what is uncertain in itſelf, and aſſign to it any one unalterable Signification, when an infinite Variety of Expoſitions may be equally drawn from it?" —— The Words of *Maimonides* are to this Effect: [y] "Our Rabbies are wont, as is well known to all that are acquainted with their uſual Practice, to be mightily delighted with Allegories, and to uſe them frequently; not that they are of Opinion that the allegorical is the true Senſe of Scripture, but that it has ſomewhat enigmatical in it that is pleaſant and entertaining." Theſe Quotations, eſpecially the former of them, ſufficiently prove how little myſtical Interpretations of any kind were antiently regarded by the Judicious. To what purpoſe then is the Practice of the Fathers brought as an Argument on this Occaſion? The [z] Fathers of the apoſtolical Age, or thoſe who lived ſoon after it, are, indeed, proper Witneſſes of the Truth of the miraculous Facts of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and likewiſe of the Authority of thoſe Books that recorded them. The Fathers of the three firſt Centuries are competent Witneſſes of the Miracles that were then wrought in the Church, and ſome of them of the Gifts of the Spirit that were then continued. In ſuch Inſtances as theſe their Teſtimony ſhould be depended on, as they were learned and ſincere Perſons. But their particular Methods of Inſtruction need not therefore be drawn into Precedents, much leſs ſhould they be brought to prove what was never intended by them.

XI. Having treated thus largely upon Miracles in general, and not only diſtinguiſhed thoſe of our Lord and his Apoſtles from the Tricks of Impoſtors, but alſo eſtabliſhed the Hiſtory of them in its plain and literal Senſe, we now proceed to what may properly be called a ſecond Part of this Diſſertation, that is the particular Conſideration and Defence of our Lord's firſt Miracle at *Cana* of *Galilee*, the Hiſtory of which is given in the preceding Chapter. And here (to uſe the Words of the Prelate from whom we have extracted ſo great a Part of this Diſcourſe) we ſhall conſider the Argument, and not the Buffoonery, of the pretended *Jewiſh* Rabbi,[a] into whoſe Mouth the profane Author of the *Diſcourſes on the Miracles of our Saviour*, has put his Objections againſt the ſaid Miracle.

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[t] Theophilus Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Jerome, Euſtathius Antiochenſis, and ſeveral others. Vid. Huet. Origeniana, p. 170, 171, 175, &c.

[u] Gal. iv. 21.

[w] See back at Pages 188 & 189.

[x] Vid. Arnob. adv. Gentes, l. 5 p. 181. Ed. L. B. as quoted by Bp. Smalbrook. Vind. V. i. c. 3. p. 121.

[y] Vid. Maimonid. Mor. Nevoch. p. 473. Baſ. 1629.

[z] Vind. V. i. c. 3. p. 124.

The firſt of theſe Objections is,[b] *That it did not become ſuch ſerious Perſons (as* Jeſus, *and his Mother, and his Diſciples, are repreſented to be,) to be preſent at the Diverſions of a Marriage-Feaſt.* [c] But before he paſſed this Cenſure, our pretended *Jew* ought to have recollected that *Marriage is an honourable State, inſtituted by God in the time of Man's Innocency*: And our myſtical Interpreter ſhould have formed more favourable Sentiments of that State, if it were only for the ſake of the Myſtery included in it, that of the ſpiritual Union between *Chriſt* and his Church. Let them recollect the *great Feaſt of* Abraham [d] *at the Weaning of* Iſaac; the [e] *Wedding-Feaſt of* Jacob *for ſeven Days*; the Example [f] of *Samuel*'s giving *a Feaſt* to *Saul* and others; *Solomon*'s [g] Dedication of the Temple, attended with *a Feaſt of all the People*, who are ſaid to have been *glad and merry in Heart for ſeven Days*; and likewiſe the pious *Hezekiah*'s [h] *Feaſt*, which was kept with *great Gladneſs*. In fine, the Rabbi ſhould have remember'd the ſolemn annual Feaſts *of ſeven Days*, appointed in his own Law to be *kept before the Lord* with national Rejoicings; not to mention the uſual Feaſts upon Sacrifices among the antient *Jews*. With how ill a Grace does a *Jew* pretend to call it indecent in *Jeſus*, conſidered as a *Jewiſh* Prophet, to appear at an Entertainment made in conſequence of a religious Inſtitution, when theſe Precedents of the old Prophets, and of the greateſt and holieſt Men among the *Jews*, are duly reflected on? This Conſideration is of itſelf a ſufficient Apology for the Preſence of *Jeſus*, his Mother, and his Diſciples, at a Wedding-Feaſt: And more eſpecially if we reflect, that as *Jeſus* had not publicly aſſumed the Character of a Prophet, it was introductory to thoſe occaſional Inſtructions, which he delivered in familiar Converſation, for him to accept of an Invitation from his Friends, or probably his Relations, who were now marry'd.

But it is further ſaid, *That this was a voluptuous Feaſt, and therefore it was not decent for our Lord to appear at it*: In Proof of which Aſſertion the Authority of the Empreſs *Eudocia* is produced, who, it is pretended, gives a Deſcription of this Feaſt as of a very ſumptuous and voluptuous one. But, beſides the low Shift of quoting a poetical Deſcription to ſupport an hiſtorical Fact, [hh] it appears that this Quotation is made from a faulty *Latin* Verſion, which at moſt only ſays that there was Muſick, both vocal and inſtrumental, with Dancing, at this Marriage-Feaſt. Certainly all this was very allowable at a Ceremony, in the Obſervance of which no People in the World were more magnificent than the *Jews*. However, our Lord ſuffers no more in this Miſrepreſentation, than he formerly did from the *Jews*, when they called him [i] *a Man gluttonous, a Winebibber, and a Friend of Publicans and Sinners.* How juſt the Imputation is in this Place, even allowing that *Eudocia*'s Poem contains only a Narrative of Matters of Fact, may be ſeen by thoſe who read her whole Deſcription of this Marriage-Feaſt: For ſhe informs us that the Company was ſo ſober as to mix Water with their Wine (which is agreeable to the *Eaſtern* Practice both antient and modern) and that *they broke up at Sun-ſet, and retired to their reſpective Homes and Beds in good time.* Probably, therefore, this was but a ſhort and ſober Entertainment, ſince a Supper was more frequently uſed than a Dinner among the *Jews*: And even ſuppoſing it was a Dinner, yet as it happened but a little before the Paſſover, at a time of the Year when the Days are ſhort, if the Company broke up at Sun-ſet, as *Eudocia* aſſures us they did, the Feaſt was certainly free from any Exceſſes, notwithſtanding the Multiplication of Wine by our Lord. The concluding Words of the Empreſs's Deſcription are theſe: [k] "The Sun ſet, and the Streets or Ways grew duſkiſh; the Gueſts thought of their Repoſe, and enjoy'd the Benefit of Sleep."

'Tis farther urged, in order to make good the Charge of Voluptuouſneſs at this Feaſt, [l] that the Company were *drunk* when *Jeſus* changed the Water into Wine. This, 'tis pretended, is implied in the original Word of St. *John*'s Goſpel, which in our Tranſlation is render'd, *have well drunk.* But in anſwer hereto, it has been largely [m] proved, that the *Greek* Word here uſed frequently ſignifies no more than a *free Uſe of Wine* without Drunkenneſs. And farther, that even ſuppoſing it here ſignifies abſolutely *a being drunk*, ſince it is ſpoken by the Governor of the Feaſt, not of the Company then preſent, but of the uſual Practice at ſuch Entertainments, the whole Criticiſm depends upon a plain Falſification of the Text, which, in its natural Senſe, proves the direct contrary of what it is here brought for. For the Governor being under ſome Surprize at the Change of Wine, ſpeaks very properly to this Effect. [n] "It is the uſual Practice of Entertainers to give their beſt and nobleſt Wine at firſt, and when Men have drunk ſomewhat to Exceſs, gradually to abate the Strength of the Wine, and ſupply them with ſome of a ſmaller ſort, either to prevent ill Conſequences, or to impoſe upon their vitiated Taſte: You, the preſent Entertainer, have acted a very different Part; for you have changed your Wine before Men have drank too much, and you alſo have kept your beſt Wine till the laſt." Here the Sobriety of the preſent Company is very plainly intimated: And indeed their concurring with the Governor in acknowledging the ſuperior Goodneſs of this new Wine, and aſcribing a Miracle to *Jeſus* in conſequence of an Examination of the Servants, are manifeſt Proofs that they were at that Time capable of diſtinguiſhing good Wine from bad: And if they were ſober when the Miracle was wrought, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they would ſo far lay aſide their Reverence for the Worker of it, as in his Preſence to affront him by drinking exceſſively of his own miraculous Wine: For certainly whatever Opinion the Company might have of him before, they could not but pay, upon their Conviction of the Reality of this Miracle, ſuch a Veneration to him as would awe them from all Intemperance afterwards.

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[a] Diſc. 4. p. 29. [b] Id. p. 30. [c] Vind. V. ii. p. 108. [d] Gen. xxi. 8. [e] Gen. xxix. 22, &c. [f] 1 Sam. ix. 19, &c.
[g] 1 Kings viii. 65, 66. 2 Chron. vii. 9, 10. [h] 2 Chron. xxx. 21. [hh] Vind. V. ii. p. 110. [i] Matth. xi. 9.

[k] Vide Eudociæ Homericos Centones. Edit. per Hen. Stephanum. 1578. Eudocia was the Daughter of Leontine, a Philoſopher, and Empreſs of the younger Theodoſius. She applied the Images and Diction of Homer to the Scripture Hiſtory with a great deal of Art and Happineſs; ſo that Photius ſpeaks of this and her other poetical Works, as of illuſtrious Performances, highly worthy of Admiration both in a Woman and an Empreſs.

[l] Diſc. 4. p. 24, 25, 31. [m] Vind. V. ii. p. 114, &c. [n] Vind. V. ii. p. 119.

XII. The next Objection to this Miracle, is taken from [o] *the Quantity of Wine which* Jeſus *made, as being diſproportionate to the Company, and therefore as what promoted Exceſs.* In anſwer to this Objection, the true Senſe of St. *John*'s Original Expreſſion, concerning the Capacity of the Veſſels that were filled with Water, has been [p] largely treated of by the Learned. But as it ſtill remains uncertain, whether the [pp] *Greek* Word, which is tranſlated *Firkin*, ſignifies a *Syrian* Meaſure, containing ſomewhat leſs than our Wine Gallon, or an *Attic* Meaſure of ten times the Content, and equal to our *Engliſh* Firkin (tho' the latter [q] Opinion ſeems to be founded upon the beſt Authority) we ſhall not trouble the Reader with a long Detail of the Enquiry; eſpecially ſince [r] it is by no means neceſſary to determine this Point, becauſe neither of the Suppoſitions is inconſiſtent with the Sobriety of the Company that were preſent at the Marriage Feaſt.

On Suppoſition of the greater Quantity (which in the whole amounts to two or three Hogſheads) it may be reaſonably enough ſuppoſed, that as ſome ſmall Share of it was deſign'd to promote innocent Cheerfulneſs on that particular Day, ſo the far greater Part was deſign'd for the remaining Days of the Marriage Feſtival. For if, according to ſome, we are to underſtand by the *third Day*, at the Beginning of this Chapter, The third Day of the Feaſt, it follows that there were four Days of Feaſting more to be kept, agreeably to the *Jewiſh* Cuſtom of keeping ſeven Days on ſuch Occaſions. But as this is only Conjecture, and we have [ſ] already made the third Day mentioned by *John* to ſignify another Thing, we muſt ſtill find ſome other Solution of this pretended Difficulty. And here, ſuppoſing the Feſtival was kept but one Day, or that this was the laſt Day of the ſeven, we would aſk, Whether or no ſuch a Quantity of Wine was not a very proper Preſent to the Bride and Bridegroom, who are generally imagined to have been People of but mean, or at beſt of but middling Circumſtances? Our pretended Rabbi cannot with Juſtice object againſt this Queſtion, ſince it is well known, not only that the *Jews* [t] at this Day make Preſents at nuptial Feaſts, but likewiſe that ſome of the antient Prophets relieved the Neceſſities of the Indigent in the like generous Manner. Thus *Elijah* [u] did by the *Barrel of Meal, and the Cruſe of Oil*, which *failed* not for a long Time: And thus *Eliſha*, his Succeſſor, [w] multiplied the *poor Widow's Pot of Oil* into ſo many Veſſels-full, that ſhe not only paid her Debts thereby, *but ſhe and her Children lived upon the reſt.* Why then might not *Jeſus*, a Perſon more benevolent than either of thoſe Prophets; and who no more abounded with Money than they did, make a nuptial Preſent to his Relations in this modeſt though miraculous Manner? His own Apoſtles, *Peter* and *John*, [x] beſtowed their Alms in a like Way, when, inſtead of *Silver and Gold*, they gave *Health and Vigour to the lame Man who lay at the Gate of the Temple.* And as to that Part of the Objection, which inſinuates, that the mere Production of ſo large a Quantity of Wine was an Encouragement to Exceſs, it may be anſwered, That it was no more ſo than if the Bridegroom were ſuppoſed to have been in ſo plentiful Circumſtances as to have been Maſter of two or three Hogſheads of Wine in his own Cellar; which, tho' they were capable of being abuſed to Intemperance, cannot by any neceſſary Conſequence be proved to have been ſo, if he had been Poſſeſſor of them. For if ſo, Perſons of Wealth muſt unavoidably be intemperate, which is a very abſurd and uncharitable Poſition.

Temperance was required and obſerved at Wedding Feaſts, among the antient *Jews*, even of Men of good Eſtate, on Account of the Continuance of thoſe Entertainments for ſeven Days ſucceſſively: The Governor of the Feaſt, who preſided for that Purpoſe, and was, as we before obſerved, of the Sacerdotal Order, exacted Temperance of the Gueſts; and there were Perſons [y] appointed to break Glaſs-Veſſels, to give the Company notice when they had drank enough. As it cannot therefore be proved, ſo ought it not to be inferr'd, that the Wine produced by our Lord was entirely drank, or that the Company went into Exceſſes. Nay, we may add, that if the Temperance of the *Galileans* bore any Proportion to [z] the Modeſty and Decorum of that People, there can be no room to doubt that their Behaviour at this Feaſt was more ſober and regular than was uſual with the other *Jews* on like Occaſions. All this ought to have been conſidered, before any Reflections had been made at random on *Jeſus*, for his being preſent at an Entertainment among the *Galileans.*

On the other Suppoſition, that our Lord converted no more than about ten Gallons and a half of Water into Wine, according to the [a] *Syrian Metretes* above-mentioned, though this is a much ſmaller Quantity than the former, it yet does not ſeem credible that more than forty of our Quarts ſhould have been drank at that Meeting, after the Company had well drank, or with ſome Degree of Cheerfulneſs. And if ſome of this leſſer *Syrian* Quantity be ſuppoſed to have been left till the following Days, or given as a ſmall Preſent to the Bridegroom, it muſt likewiſe be allowed that Sobriety might as well have been preſerved, though the greater *Attic* Quantity had been given by *Jeſus*, as a more noble Benefaction, and more worthy of his miraculous Bounty. So that, in fine, it cannot any ways be juſtly inferred, that an intemperate Abuſe was made of our Lord's miraculous Favour, ſhewn both to the Bridegroom and his Company.

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[o] Diſc. 4. p. 24, 39.
[p] Vind. V. 2. 122. &c.
[pp] μετρητης.
[q] ibid.
[r] p. 124.
[ſ] In Page 185. where in the Hiſtory of this Fact we ſuppoſe it to be either the third Day from the Calling of Philip and Nathaniel, or from Simon's Coming to Jeſus.
[t] See Leo Modena's Hiſtory of the preſent Jews, by Ockley, p. 172.
[u] 1 Kings xvii. 15, 16.
[w] 2 Kings iv. 2, 4, 7.
[x] Acts iii. 6, 7, &c.
[y] See Lewis's Jewiſh Antiquities. Vol. iii. p. 302.
[z] Vid. Seldeni Uxor. Hebraic. c. 16. p. 636. Lond. 1726.
[a] The Greek Word which is tranſlated Firkin in the Account of this Miracle.

[b] On this Occaſion, it cannot be improper to obſerve, that Mr. *Woolſton* has made an unjuſt Reflection on our *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Word *Metretes*, as ſignifying a Firkin, when he ſays, [c] that two or three Pints are a Meaſure as agreeable to the Original as two or three Firkins. For however unaccurate our Tranſlation may be in ſome other Reſpects, yet here his Criticiſm is very ill placed, on Suppoſition that the *Attic Metretes* be here underſtood, which anſwers to [d] *Cadus*, a Veſſel of about nine Gallons. And if the loweſt *Syrian* Meaſure, which ſunk the *Metretes* into a *Congius*, that is, a Veſſel of nine Wine Pints, be here underſtood, there was a Quantity of more than four Quarts in each *Metretes* of the Water that was made Wine by *Jeſus*. So that it is evident that two or three Pints a-piece is a very wrong Tranſlation of this Meaſure. But as this was an ill-guarded Piece of Criticiſm, ſo the Deſign of it was more to expoſe the Miracle than the Tranſlation.

XIII. But our [e] Author and his Rabbi go on to inſinuate, that not only the Company were drunk, but that *Jeſus and his Mother bore a Part in their Revellings*; which is what they expreſs in mean, vulgar Terms, that deſerve the utmoſt Contempt. And to ſupport this blaſphemous Inſinuation, the Author has falſified a Paſſage in St. *Chryſoſtom*, as mentioning an Objection of ſome in his time, [f] "Who accounted this Feaſt not only riotous, but moſt of all blamed *Jeſus*, his Mother, and his Diſciples, for bearing a Part in the Revellings of the Company, and that by the Change of ſo large a Quantity of Water into Wine, when Men had well drank." But there is not a Word in St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Homily here referred to, concerning any Objection made about *Jeſus*, his Mother, and his Diſciples, as bearing a Part in the Revellings of the Company; the moſt that the Father there ſays, being, [g] "That ſome Perſons endeavoured to expoſe this Miracle as wrought in an Aſſembly of drunken Men, upon whom ſome Art might be practiſed with regard to the Wine that was ſupplied by *Jeſus*." And ſo conſcious was our Author of his having uſed an unfair Artifice in this Quotation, that he only cites the Beginning of it, [h] with an *&c.* After this Miſrepreſentation, indeed, he profeſſes his own Inclination to believe with St. *Chryſoſtom*,[i] that "If *Jeſus* did grace this Wedding with his Preſence, there was no Exceſs encouraged, or ſo much as ſuffered, at it." Which Acknowledgment, if ſincere, is inconſiſtent with his repeated Charge of Intemperance on *Jeſus*, as well as on the reſt of the Company. But that this Conceſſion was counterfeit, and therefore both frivolous and malicious, appears immediately after, when he ſarcaſtically ſays, that [k] "If *Jeſus* was preſent, it was for the Opportunity of making a proper Diſcourſe to the People of conjugal Duties, tho' we read not of a ſeaſonable good Word ſpoken at it."

Here it may be proper to take notice, that if this Writer had been of opinion that *Jeſus* made no other occaſional Diſcourſes than what are recorded in the Goſpels, he would have done well to have peruſed what St. *Luke*[l] intimates of *Jeſus*'s Diſcourſe to his Diſciples immediately before his Aſcenſion, when he commented on the ſeveral Paſſages in the *Law of* Moſes, *and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms, concerning himſelf*, particularly concerning his *Sufferings*, and his *Reſurrection on the third Day*; and alſo what the ſame Evangeliſt ſays of his Diſcourſe to the two Diſciples who were journeying to *Emmaus* on the Day of his Reſurrection, when [m] *beginning at* Moſes, *and all the Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the Things concerning himſelf*. Theſe divine Sermons, if the Evangeliſts had thought fit to record them, would no doubt have been very edifying to all Chriſtians as well as they were to the Apoſtles, ſince they would have equally contributed to the *Opening of our Underſtanding*, that *we too might* more perfectly *underſtand the Scriptures*. But as the Omiſſion of theſe two Diſcourſes is no Argument that they were never made, ſo neither can we conclude that *Jeſus* uſed no occaſional Diſcourſe at the Feaſt of *Cana*, but that concerning his Miracle, becauſe we read of no other Diſcourſe of his at that Entertainment.

[n] By the way, the Compariſon between the imaginary Repaſt of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and this real Entertainment given by *Jeſus* at *Cana*, which is made by Mr. *Woolſton* in his Reflections on this latter, is ſo far from being juſt, that the Author of it appears to be perfectly ignorant of what *Philoſtratus* relates in his Life of *Apollonius*, tho' he frequently mentions that Impoſtor in his Diſcourſes. The magical Entertainment which he ſeems to have in View, [o] was not given by *Apollonius* to his Friends, but by *Jarchas* the Preſident of the *Brachmans* to the King of the *Medes* and *Apollonius*. 'Tis true, this is a Matter of no Conſequence in itſelf, and would not have been at all worth taking notice of, had it not been to ſhew how little the Author of the *Diſcourſes on the Miracles of our Saviour* is to be depended on in his Quotations.

To proceed: Our Rabbi pretends, [p] that *the Anſwer of* Jeſus *to his Mother was neither dutiful nor pertinent, and that therefore he was not ſober*

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[b] Vind. V. ii. p. 130, 131.

[c] Diſc. 4. p. 26.

[d] Vid. Hen. Stephan. Theſ. Græc. in voce μετρητης.

[e] Woolſton. See Diſc. 4. p. 24, 32, &c. and Vind. V. ii. p. 131. &c.

[f] Diſc. 4. p. 24.

[g] Vid. Chryſoſt. in loc. Johan.

[h] Rurſus hoc in loco calumniantur nonnulli hunc ebrioſorum fuiſſe Conventum, &c. See Diſc. 4. p. 24.

[i] P. 26.

[k] Ibid.

[l] See Luke xxiv. 44, 45, 46.

[m] Luke xxiv. 27.

[n] Vind. Vol. i. p. 15. & Vol. ii. p. 135.

[o] Vid. Philoſtrat. in Vit. Apollon. l. 3. c. 8.

[p] Diſc. 4. p. 33, &c.

when he made it. [q]But that this Suggeſtion is no leſs than impious, will, we hope, appear, when we have a little conſidered the Meaning of our Lord's Anſwer: In order to which, the Occaſion of it muſt be repeated. At a Marriage-Feaſt, where the Mother of *Jeſus* was preſent, probably as a Manager of the Entertainment, and *Jeſus* and his Diſciples were alſo preſent as invited Gueſts, there happened to be a Deficiency of Wine. [r]*And when they wanted Wine, the Mother of* Jeſus *ſaith unto him, They have no Wine.* Here ſhe ſeems to expect from him ſome miraculous Production of more Wine for the Company, in favour of the Modeſty and low Circumſtances of the new-married Couple. *Jeſus* on this Occaſion ſaid to her, [ſ]*Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine Hour is not yet come.* And theſe are the Words which have given Commentators ſo much Trouble, and of which Infidels have taken ſo much Advantage: Let us ſee the different Senſes that have been put on them.

Whitby ſays, [t]"We never find this Phraſe, *What have I to do with thee,* uſed in Scripture any otherwiſe than by way of Objurgation or Reprehenſion: As when *Jepththa* ſays to the King of *Ammon,* [u]*What have I to do with with thee, that thou comeſt to fight againſt my Land?* And *David* to the Sons of *Zeruiah,* [w]*What have I to do with you?* And *Maldonate* [x]confeſſes that moſt of the antient Fathers, either openly or obſcurely, intimate what *Irenæus* plainly expreſſes; [y]*That ſhe was guilty of ſome Fault or Error, in inciting her Son to this Miracle unſeaſonably.* The ſame Opinion is eſpouſed particularly by *Chryſoſtom, Eutychius,* and *Theophylact.*

On the other hand, [z]it is affirmed, that Woman in this Place is a Word of Reſpect, and that our Lord uſes it here to his Mother in the ſame Senſe as he afterwards did upon the Croſs, when he called his beloved Diſciple [a]*her Son:* So that the Senſe of this Phraſe runs thus: "Mother, Why do you interpoſe in an Affair that affects my Prophetical Authority. Where that is concerned, you ſhould have conſidered that the Relation of a Mother is ſuperſeded; and that I am exempted from the Submiſſion that is due to an earthly Parent, when acting in the ſuperior Character of the *Son of God.*"

To this *Jeſus* added, *Mine Hour is not yet come.* By which Expreſſion, according to [b]the Biſhop of *Litchfield,* he meant his laſt Hour, when he was again to ſhew that filial Duty and Reſpect to his Mother, which would be ſuſpended during the time of his Miniſtry, by making a ſuitable Proviſion for her; as in fact he did, when in his laſt Moments he [c]recommended her to the Care of St. *John* his beloved Diſciple. But Dr. *Lightfoot* [d]thinks this is ſpoken becauſe *Chriſt* was to begin his public Miniſtry, and to confirm it firſt with Miracles, at *Jeruſalem*; for which Reaſon he elſewhere ſays, [e]*My time of going up to* Jeruſalem *is not yet.* Others, as Dr. *Hammond,* ſay, this Hour ſignifies the Time of doing Miracles publicly; which was not yet come; and therefore tho' he did this Miracle, he did it ſo privately, that neither the Governor of the Feaſt, nor the Bridegroom, nor the Gueſts, but the Servants only, knew that he had done it. Laſtly, it is obſervable that *Gregory Nyſſen* reads theſe Words by Way of Interrogation, thus: *Woman, what have I to do with thee? I have begun to gather Diſciples, and to act as one ſent from God, and is not the Hour of my Exemption from thy Authority yet come?*

Which ſoever of theſe Opinions may be neareſt to the Truth, of this one thing we may be certain, That no Duty or Reſpect was wanting in our Lord, as far as it was conſiſtent with his higher Obligations. For our own part, we cannot think any Expoſition of this whole Paſſage is more natural, and has a better Appearance, than that which we have introduced in [f]our hiſtorical Paraphraſe on it, and which is there ſaid in a Note to be taken from M. *Le Clerc.* He told her, that *She had no need to put him in mind of whatever was fitting for him to perform:* That is, he told her ſo, not in a harſh and unreſpectful Tone, tho' in ſuch Words as might intimate to her, that, conſidering his Character as the Son of God, ſhe went a little beyond the Bounds of her maternal Authority, in ſeeming to require that of him which was no Part of his Duty to her. *Beſides, that the Time was not yet come, in which he was to work Miracles in public.* This Interpretation we believe to be ſupported by as many great Authorities as any other that has been put on the latter Part of our Lord's Words; and it is, moreover, the moſt agreeable of all to our Syſtem of the Years of his public Miniſtry, which ſuppoſes that he did not perſonally appear therein till three Years and a half after *John* began to preach, when that Fore-runner of him was caſt into Priſon by *Herod.* As to the additional Words in our Paraphraſe above referred to, wherein we make *Jeſus* tell his Mother, *that, notwithſtanding* the proper Time for him to work Miracles was not yet come, *he was ready to comply with her Requeſt in this Particular,* they are certainly a very eaſy Inference from the ſubſequent Part of the Relation, which proves that the bleſſed Virgin was content with his Anſwer, and ſatisfied thereby that he would do what ſhe deſired: For otherwiſe ſhe would not immediately have applied to the Servants, and ordered them to do what *Jeſus* commanded them; which, without doubt, ſhe knew would be ſomething relating to a new Supply of Wine for the Company.

In a Word, ſince it appears that the bleſſed Virgin herſelf took the Words of *Jeſus* in a good and kind Senſe, ſince the Evangeliſt aſſures us that *Jeſus* inſtantly complied with her Requeſt, and ſince it is plain that he afterwards lived with her as her Son in a private Capacity, when [g]*he went down to* Capernaum, *he, and his Mother,*

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[q] Vind. V. ii. p. 135.
[r] John ii. 3.
[ſ] Ver. 4.
[t] See his Note on the Place.
[u] Judges xi. 12.
[w] 2 Sam. xvi. 10. See alſo chap. xix. ver. 22.
[x] Vid. Maldonat. in loc.
[y] Iren. l. 3. c. 18.
[z] Vind. V. ii. p. 136, 137.
[a] John xix. 26.
[b] Vind. V. ii. p. 137.
[c] John xix. 27.
[d] Whitby on the Place.
[e] John vii. 8.
[f] See Page 185 of this Work.
[g] John ii. 12.

and his Mother, and his Brethren, and his Diſciples; ſince all this is evident, we would fain know how this Want of filial Reſpect in *Jeſus*, which has been ſo ſtrongly inſiſted on, can be made to appear from his Anſwer to his Mother, as related by St. *John*. But if this cannot be done at all, or, which is as bad, if it cannot be done from better Arguments than thoſe already produced, we muſt ſtill continue to affirm, that the ſaid Anſwer of *Jeſus* was not only pertinent, but dutiful, as far as his Duty to an earthly Parent was conſiſtent with his ſuperior Duty to his heavenly Father.

It is not worth while to offer a ſerious Confutation of the [h] burleſque Expoſition of this Anſwer of *Jeſus* by the *Rabbi*, who is here very facetious, but out of Character, about the Time of breaking up Company. It may only be obſerved, [i] that this merry Perſon needs no other Confutation of his libertine Suppoſition of Want of Sobriety in *Jeſus*, than what he gives himſelf in the Sequel of his Expoſition, when he inſinuates that *Jeſus* put a Trick upon the Company in his pretended Change of Water into Wine. Could a Perſon that was not ſober be capable of playing ſo artificial a Trick, as not only to make a ſort of counterfeit Wine, and impoſe it upon the Company for genuine, but even to make it be acknowledged for better Wine than what they before drank? Not to mention that the Burleſque of our Rabbi is very unnaturally brought in, and founded upon a Suppoſition, that *Jeſus* miſtook what his Mother ſaid. 'Tis eaſy to turn the graveſt Subject in the World into Ridicule, eſpecially if we might be allowed to invent what Circumſtances we pleaſe, in order thereto. But Laughter at any Perſon or Thing, when the Point of Ridicule is only in the Fancy of him that laughs, and not in the pretended Subject, will be far from taking with People of good Senſe and Honeſty.

XIV. But it is not only our bleſſed Lord himſelf, who has been taxed with Want of Sobriety in this Feaſt: The ſame [k] Charge is alſo brought againſt his Virgin Mother: But certainly our Rabbi and his Friend were very much diſtreſſed to make it good, when they had recourſe to the old *Jewiſh* Calumny concerning her Want of Chaſtity, in order to infer that ſhe alſo loved drinking, as a neceſſary Conſequence. By this means alſo they thought farther to aſperſe her Son, as being one of ſpurious Birth, and that loved drinking in an hereditary Way from a Soldier. Whatever Modeſty Mr. *Woolſton* may pretend to, in order to introduce his Rabbi's Invective, it is ſurely the moſt conſummate Impudence to pretend that there *were ſuch Stories* on this Occaſion, *which might be true*. 'Tis no Excuſe that this vile Imputation is thrown out by a perſonated *Jew*; the known Author being in this Caſe as much anſwerable for his profane Scandal, as *Celſus* was to *Origen*, for what he likewiſe produced in the Perſon of a *Jew*. Let us repeat *Origen*'s Anſwer to *Celſus* on this Occaſion.[l] "The whole Story of one *Panthera*, ſays he, as the Debaucher of *Mary*, the Mother of *Jeſus*, is a downright Falſhood, maliciouſly forged to expoſe the miraculous Conception of *Jeſus* by the Holy Ghoſt; and the blind Authors of this Fable have betray'd the Weakneſs of their Cauſe to any that are capable of the Examination of Fables." After this, *Origen* [m] argues on the Impropriety of ſuppoſing ſuch a polluted Original of a Soul, that was ſent into the World to teach Juſtice, Chaſtity, and all other Virtues, and to ſupport its Doctrine with Miracles; and ſhews likewiſe that this Suppoſition [n] is inconſiſtent with the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, that *Chriſt* ſhould be born of a Virgin.

'Twould, indeed, have been a ſufficient Anſwer to theſe Blaſphemies of the Oppoſers of Chriſtianity, to have paſſed over them entirely in Silence, if the pernicious Diſcourſes in which they are contained had not been ſtill induſtriouſly diſperſed, and the Public put in Mind by [o] freſh Advertiſements that ſuch Writings are yet to be procured; which, perhaps, would never have been imagined without ſuch public Notice. Whilſt this Method is continued, 'tis neceſſary that the Arguments in Defence of our bleſſed Lord, and his Actions, ſhould alſo be revived; and we ſhould have thought ourſelves inexcuſable, if in a Work of this Nature, we had not ſaid ſufficient to guard the Reader againſt the evil Influence of ſuch profane Inſinuations as are contained in the *Diſcourſes on our Saviour's Miracles*.

The *Jews* have preſerved theſe Imputations againſt *Chriſt* and his Mother, which were taken notice of by *Celſus*, in Books written for that Purpoſe; but they have done it with ſo little Art, that a Perſon who is but moderately acquainted with the Hiſtories of thoſe Times wherein *Chriſt* was born, will need no other Arguments than the Blunders of the Authors, to convince him of the ſmall Credit of the Pieces wherein theſe Imputations are contained. That the Reader may be able to judge for himſelf, we will give a ſhort Account of theſe Performances, of which Mr. *Baſnage* mentions two that are moſt remarkable, both publiſhed under the ſame Title, one by *Wagenſeil*, the other by *Huldricus*. Probably the latter may not ſo juſtly be called a diſtinct Piece, as an Improvement of the former, which is here purged of ſome of its groſſeſt Abſurdities; though at the ſame Time new Abſurdities are added, and many old ones left, as we ſhall make appear.

[p] Whether it be that the *Jews* were afraid, leſt ſome among them might at laſt get the better of their Prejudices, and aſcending to the eſſential

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[h] Diſc. 4. p. 33. Where he affirms that the Words, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* might have been tranſlated, *Woman, what haſt thou to do with me?* To which he adds this Paraphraſe, *I'll not be interrupted in my Cups, nor break Company; for mine Hour is not yet come to depart.*

[i] Vind. V. ii. p. 141.

[k] Diſc. 4. p. 32. Vind. Vol. ii. 142, &c.

[l] Vid. Orig. con. Celſ. p. 25, &c.

[m] p. 26.

[n] p. 27. See Iſai. vii. 14.

[o] Woolſton's Works have been lately advertiſed in ſix Volumes.

[p] Baſnage's Hiſtory of the Jews, B. iv. c. 27.

Characters of the Meſſiah as delivered by the Prophets, ſhould come to acknowledge them as viſible in the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt*, or whether it were Malice and Obſtinacy that influenced them, we ſhall not enquire; but thus much is certain, that they have endeavoured to make *Jeſus Chriſt* odious both to *Jews* and Chriſtians, by diſguiſing the Actions and Miracles of the Meſſiah whom we adore, after having read the Hiſtory of them in our Goſpels. To this Purpoſe they have been labouring many Ages to perfect the Work above-quoted, which, in imitation of the Beginning of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, they call *Toldos Jeſchu*, or *The Generations of Jeſus Chriſt*; a Piece which, after all the Pains that have been taken with it, betrays the Ignorance of its Authors, and is in Fact a moſt ridiculous Production. [q] This Work was at firſt publiſhed under the Name of *Jonathan*, a Scribe of *Jeruſalem*, contemporary with *Jeſus Chriſt*; yet it ſpeaks of *Jews* ſettled at *Worms*, who were called to *Herod*'s Council, which is ſuch an Anachroniſm as effectually lays open the whole Impoſture. In it are Blunders alſo about the Time when *Jeſus Chriſt* was born, and about divers of their own Cuſtoms, ſo very groſs, that ſome *Jewiſh* Doctors have been forced to diſown the Book, tho' compoſed purely for the Service of their Nation.

To give an Idea of the Work itſelf, we ſhall tranſcribe from Mr. *Baſnage* a ſhort Abſtract of it. This Writer ſays, [r] That tho' they call it *the Generation of Jeſus*, it begins with his Birth, and ſo goes thro' the Hiſtory of his Life and Death, without giving his Genealogy at all. The Author relates that "one named *Pandera*, living at *Bethlehem*, fell in love with a young Tire-woman, who had been married to *Jochanan*. He debauched her, and had a Son by her; then fled into *Babylon*, leaving the Child upon the Mother's hands, who called him *Jehoſchua*. Being ſent to School, the Boy had the Impudence to lift up his Head, and ſhew his bare Face before the Prieſts; whereas it was the Cuſtom to be veiled in their Preſence. This Boldneſs gave Occaſion to enquire after his Birth, which was judged impure. [s] After he had remained ſome time in *Galilee*, he went to *Jeruſalem*, and reſolved to ſteal away the Name of God. But to prevent ſuch a Theft, two Lions were made by Magic, and placed before the *Holy of Holies*, one on the Right-ſide, and the other on the Left. Theſe two Lions roared every time that any one went out; and their Roaring was ſo frightful, that it ſcared thoſe who heard it, and made them loſe their Memories. *Jeſus* the Son of *Pandera* eſcaped this Snare by cutting a Hole in his Skin, and ſlipping under it the Name of *Jehovah*, which he had ſtolen in Writing. He went from thence immediately to *Bethlehem*, the Place of his Birth, where by virtue of this Name, which he repeated, he raiſed one from the Dead, and cured a Leper. The Noiſe of thoſe Miracles drew a vaſt Multitude after him, who led him to *Jeruſalem* in Triumph upon an Aſs.

The Prieſts being met together, petitioned *Helena*, or *Oleina*, who at that time reigned with her Son *Mombas*, or *Hircanus*, and demanded that *Jeſus* might be puniſhed. He appeared before her, and by ſome new Miracles won her over to his Party: At which the Prieſts being amazed, conſulted how they might entrap him; and one of them, called *Juda*, offered to learn the Name of *Jehovah* alſo, provided they would take upon themſelves the Sin which he thereby committed. They conſented; he procured the Name, and to working of Miracles they went, both *Jeſus* and he, by way of Emulation. Both the one and the other, by pronouncing the Name, raiſed himſelf up into the Air, where *Juda* attempted to make his Enemy fall, but in vain, till he had piſſed upon him; when the Virtue of the Name being over, they both fell to the Ground, becauſe they were both defiled. *Jeſus* immediately waſhed himſelf in *Jordan*, and wrought new Miracles; and *Juda*, who would not be baulk'd, put himſelf among his Diſciples, obſerved all his Proceedings, and revealed them to the Sages. As *Jeſus* was coming into the Temple, they took him, with many of his Diſciples, whilſt the reſt fled to the Mountains. He was now faſten'd to a Marble Pillar in the City, and there whipt; after which he was crowned with Thorns; then they gave him Vinegar and Water to drink, becauſe he was thirſty; and laſtly, the *Sanhedrim* having condemned him to Death, he was ſtoned.

After he was ſtoned, they attempted to hang him upon Wood; but the Wood broke, becauſe *Jeſus*, foreſeeing the Manner of his Death, had enchanted it by the Name of *Jehovah*. However, *Juda* diſappointed the Effect of this Precaution, by taking a great Cabbage out of his Garden, and hanging the Body thereon. And now fearing leſt the Diſciples of *Jeſus* ſhould proclaim that he was riſen from the Dead, *Juda* took away his Corpſe from its Grave, and having diverted a running Stream, bury'd it in a Ditch. Neverthelefs, it was reported that *Jeſus* was riſen from the Dead, becauſe his Body was not found in the Sepulchre. Queen *Helena* believed it, and declared that he was the Son of God; but *Juda* diſcovered the Cheat by producing the Body. It was then faſtened to the Tail of a Horſe, and dragg'd before the Palace of the Queen, who was confounded, becauſe ſhe had ſaid that he was the Son of God. His Hair was then pluck'd off, and therefore the Monks are ſhaved: But the *Nazarites* were ſo provoked at this, that they made a Schiſm upon it among the *Jews*.

Notwithſtanding this, their Religion was ſpread abroad every where, by the Miniſtry of twelve Perſons, who preached it through all Countries. The Wiſemen being mightily concerned at their Progreſs, deputed one *Simon Kepha* to ſtop it; who taking with him the Name *Jehovah*, tranſported himſelf into the Metropolis of the *Nazarites*; where after he had wrought ſeveral Miracles, he engaged the People to promiſe him to do whatſoever he ordered them. He then forbid them to uſe the *Jews* ill, and commanded them to celebrate the Feſtival of the Stoning of *Jeſus*, inſtead of the *Paſſover*, and the fortieth Day after his Death, inſtead of the *Pentecoſt*. They promiſed to obſerve his Directions, provided he ſtaid among them: In order to which, they built him a Tower, where he ſhut himſelf up, and lived upon Bread and Water ſix Years, and then died. This Tower, or at leaſt the Stone on which *Simon* ſate, is yet to be ſeen at *Rome*, and is called *Peter*. *Elias* came afterwards to *Rome*, and declared that *Simon* had deceived them, for that he was the Perſon whom *Jeſus* had entruſted with his Orders. He then enjoined Circumciſion, and commanded the Obſervance of the [t] firſt Day of the Week inſtead of the Sabbath. But at the very Inſtant that he was preaching this Doctrine, a Stone fell upon his Head, and cruſhed him to Pieces. *May this be the End of all God's Enemies!*"—This is an Extract of that famous Book, the *Toldos Jeſchu*; which is a Romance, wherein ſome Parts of the Life of *Chriſt* are inſerted, and others obſcurely alluded to.

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[q] That Edition of it which was publiſhed and refuted by Wagenſeil.

[r] Ubi ſupra.

[s] Toldos Wagenſeil, p. 1.
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[u] Some learned Chriſtians, notwithſtanding their Conviction of the Falſhood of this Piece, have yet taken Part of it to ground their Conjectures upon. *Celſus* is excuſable, becauſe a Heathen, in having upbraided the Chriſtians with the Story of the Virgin's being forced by the Soldier *Pandeira*: But *Epiphanius* is much to blame for pretending that *Jacob*, the Father of *Joſeph*, was ſirnamed *Panther*. The learned *Grotius* alſo makes an Advantage of this Tradition, as if it were well grounded; tho' there is all the reaſon in the World to believe that not only the Story, but even the Name, was invented only to make the Birth of the Meſſiah more odious. *Panther* is [w] a *Greek* Word, and therefore could hardly be a Sirname in the Family of our Lord. But the Male [x] *Panther* is a ſavage and cruel Beaſt, that couples with a Lioneſs, and from thence proceeds a [y] Leopard: So, ſay they, *Jeſus Chriſt* ſprang from a *Greek* Soldier, and a *Jewiſh* Woman. And 'twas for the ſake of this Alluſion, which is as pitiful an one as ever was made, that the Name [z] *Panthera* was introduced on this Occaſion.

To refute this whole Fable, and prove the Ignorance of its Inventors, we need only conſider the Inconſiſtencies that are obvious in one ſmall Part thereof. The Birth of *Jeſus*, which they pretend was in the Reign of *Alexander Jannæus*, is by them placed an hundred and fifty Years before the Reign of *Helena*, Queen of the *Adiabeni*, who, if any of that Name, muſt be the Queen before whom *Jeſus* was brought. But this Queen never reigned in *Judea*, nor had ſhe any Authority there, and therefore it is ridiculous to drag *Jeſus* before her, in order to demand Sentence againſt him from her and her Son. Again, *Monobaſus* was the Name of *Helena*'s Son; but he is here called *Mombas*, and confounded with *Hyrcanus*. In a Word, *Jeſus Chriſt* was not born till about eighty Years after the Time to which they fix his Birth, and was put to Death above forty Years before the Time when they make him paſs thro' an Examination before a Perſon who never had any Authority in *Judea*. The taking notice of this Blunder, which may be confirmed from the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, is making as much Anſwer as the whole Book deſerves.

[a] The Author of the *Toldos Jeſchu* publiſhed by *Huldricus*, has followed the Goſpel cloſer, and without ſpeaking of *Helena*, "makes *Jeſus Chriſt* to be born in the Reign of *Herod*. Nay, he pretends that the Complaints againſt the Adulteries of *Pandera* and *Mary* were carried before this Prince; and that being exaſperated againſt the Guilty, who were fled into *Egypt*, he went to *Bethlehem*, and maſſacred the Children of that Place." This Relation is in Truth much more judicious than the former, but has nevertheleſs many conſiderable Faults, of which we ſhall produce [b] a few.

Firſt, it makes *Jeſus* to be born at the Beginning of *Herod*'s Reign, and to be put to Death under the ſame Prince, who pronounces Sentence againſt him: Whereas every Body knows that *Herod* died immediately after the Birth of *Jeſus*, who was not crucified till the Reign of *Tiberius*, when there were no more Kings in *Jeruſalem*. Theſe Facts cannot be contradicted, becauſe they are taken from prophane Hiſtory, of which our fabulous Author was wholly ignorant.

Secondly, it makes *Joſhua* the Son of *Perachia*, who had ſtudied under *Akiba*, to be the Preceptor of *Jeſus*; and yet *Akiba* himſelf did not live till the Reign of *Adrian*, which was an hundred Years after the Death of Chriſt.

Thirdly, it affirms that *John the Baptiſt* was a Diſciple of *Jeſus*, inſtead of being his Forerunner.

Fourthly, it talks of a War between *Herod* and the King of *Cæſarea* about Image-Worſhip, which, 'tis pretended, was practiſed by the Followers of *Jeſus*. Where this *Cæſarea* lay, is what no body can certainly tell, (though the Author gives room to think he means *Germany*) but 'tis certain that there was not any ſuch War carried on at that Time, neither was Image-Worſhip then introduced among Chriſtians.

Fifthly, it brings in beſides a whole Parcel of infidel Kings, who deſigned to wage War againſt *Iſrael*; and ſays, that this was made a Pretence for keeping a ſolemn Faſt, though the real Deſign of it was, to beg of God to deliver up *Jeſus*, who by the powerful Name above-mention'd kept himſelf out of their Hands.

What a Heap of Inconſiſtencies are here? And yet theſe are but a few in Compariſon of what might be collected from this boaſted Work. Is it not ſurprizing that any Man, who knew ſo little of the State of his own Nation when *Jeſus* lived, and of the true Actions of *Jeſus* and his Apoſtles, ſhould yet pretend to write their Hiſtory? Let the Reader judge how much he is to depend upon ſuch Books as theſe for the Characters of the bleſſed *Jeſus* and his holy Mother, and conſequently how impious it is to produce any Paſſages from them in the Diſpute about the Miracles of our Meſſiah. Can an unprejudiced Perſon be perſuaded to think that theſe Fables, which ſo manifeſtly deſtroy themſelves, have any manner of Force, when oppoſed to all that Modeſty, Humility, and Holineſs, which appear in the true Hiſtory of *Mary* the Mother of *Jeſus*? And whether it be not a Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, the true Author of the miraculous Conception of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as well as a blaſphemous Imputation on *Jeſus* himſelf, to bring in the Story of this *Pandeira*, or *Panthera*, and ſet it againſt the Authority of the inſpired Writings, is a Matter worth the ſerious Conſideration of thoſe who can give themſelves ſuch Liberties.

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[t] Toldos Wag. p. 23, &c.

[u] Baſnage ubi ſupra.

[w] Wagenſeil Confutatio Toldos Jeſchu, p. 26.

[x] Huldricus Not. ad Toldos Jeſchu, p. 8.

[y] Hi maculis patrem referent, & robore matrem. Claud.

[z] Sometimes Pandeira, as in Celſus. In like manner the bleſſed Virgin in the Talmud is ſometimes called Stada and Satda.

[a] Baſnage, B. iv. Ch. 28.

[b] Thoſe who are willing to ſee more of theſe Blunders, may conſult Baſnage himſelf.

Upon the whole, [c] we muſt not diſmiſs this no leſs ill-grounded than wicked Story, without taking notice, that notwithſtanding all the inconſiſtent Variations of the *Toldos Jeſchu*, both in itſelf and in the different Editions of it, the Author or Authors of it do expreſly acknowledge, that *Jeſus* actually performed many and great Miracles, ſuch as reſtoring Sight to the Blind, recovering confirmed Paralytics, and raiſing the Dead. For though theſe and other Miracles are abſurdly ſaid to be wrought by the myſterious Name *Jehovah*, the *Tetragammaton*, as ſtolen out of the Temple, yet the miraculous Facts themſelves are plainly confeſſed, though upon that falſe Suppoſition: And therefore ſtripping the Story of that ridiculous Part of it that relates to the Power of a mere Word, it is granted in it that *Jeſus* performed real Miracles in the Name and by the Power of the ſupreme God. So that the moſt virulent *Jews*, as well as *Celſus*, *Mahomet*, *Julian the Apoſtate*, and other Infidels, are Witneſſes to the Truth of the literal Senſe of *Jeſus*'s Miracles. And this being ſo, of what Service the impious Inſinuation concerning *Panthera* can be to an allegorical Scheme, is hard to ſee. Which makes it probable that this Story was here produced with the ſame View as it was formerly by *Celſus* and the *Jews*, not to fix another and a more ſublime Senſe upon the Actions of *Jeſus*, but to prove that *Jeſus* himſelf was really an Impoſtor, and conſequently all his Actions mere juggling Tricks; a Deſign that can never be reconciled with the Character of a Chriſtian, to which our Author ſo ſtrongly pretended.

Our Rabbi on this Occaſion goes on to cite St. *Auſtin* againſt ſome ancient Heretics, who inferred from this Expreſſion, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* that *Mary was neither a Virgin, nor Jeſus her Son*; which, he ſays, gave Perplexity to that Father, as to the Explication of this Expreſſion conſiſtently with her Virginity and his Filiation. And though the Rabbi calls this a Quibble, yet after ſo bold an Inſinuation, we ſhall ſet the whole, as a Matter of ſome Conſequence, in a true Light from St. *Auſtin* himſelf. That Father ſays, that there were ſome that derogated from the Truth of the Goſpel, and pretended that *Jeſus* was not born of the Virgin *Mary*, and palliated their Errors with a ſhew of Reaſoning from this reproving Paſſage in St. *John*, ſaying, How could ſhe be his Mother to whom he ſaid, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* On this Occaſion the good Father ſpeaks thus, "[d] What is the Meaning of this? Did he come to the Marriage-Feaſt to inſtruct Men in throwing Contempt on Mothers? Undoubtedly, my Brethren, there is ſome ſecret Meaning of this. I fear your Minds are corrupted from the Simplicity and Purity that is in *Chriſt*, by ſome who derogate from the Goſpel, and ſay that *Jeſus* was not born of the Virgin *Mary*, and endeavour to argue from hence in favour of their Error, and aſk, How was ſhe his Mother, when he ſays, *Woman, what have I to do with thee?* — Some Perſons from hence have corrupted the Faith of the Church, and they who ſeem ſo to honour Chriſt as to deny that he aſſumed a real Body, make him a Lyar." —— He adds, "If, *Mary* was not his true Mother, the Body he aſſumed was not a real one, his Death was not true, the Wounds given him at his Paſſion were not true, and the Scars of thoſe Wounds ſhewn at his Reſurrection were not true, *&c.*" *Auſtin* therefore here oppoſes with Zeal the Error of thoſe that denied from hence that our Lord had aſſumed the true human Nature.

XV. But our Author proceeds to another Objection againſt the Miracle of *turning Water into Wine*, and quotes St. *Chryſoſtom* on the place for it, as ſaying, "That great Offence was taken at the Story of this Wedding at *Cana*, and the Preſence of *Jeſus* at a riotous Feaſt; and that *Jeſus*, when the Company was drunk, uſed ſome Artifice in putting falſe and counterfeit Wine upon them." But at the ſame time that he cited *Chryſoſtom* as reporting the Objection, he ſhould in common Honeſty have reported that Father's Solution of it: But this, though highly reaſonable, was not agreeable to the principal Deſign of his Scheme, namely, to calumniate *Jeſus*, and to aſperſe the Honour of his Miracles. However, to ſet this Matter in a true Light, and to give an Anſwer from *Chryſoſtom* himſelf to the Objection propoſed, we ſhall cite both the Objection and Anſwer out of his Homily on the Place. Now they ſtand thus.[e] "Some again here ſcoff, and ſay this was an Aſſembly of drunken Men, and that the Senſes of the Judges were vitiated, and were not capable of forming a right Judgment of what was tranſacted; ſo that they could not know whether it was Water or Wine that was pretended to be made. For, ſay they, that the Company were drunk the Governor of the Feaſt ſhewed by what he ſaid. But this is a very ridiculous Pretence; beſides, the Evangeliſt has cut off this

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[c] Vind. V. ii. p. 148, 149.

[d] Vid. Auguſtin. in loc. Joan. p. 75. Tom. 9. Baſil.

[e] Vid. Chryſoſt. Hom. in loc. Johan.

Suſpicion of theirs: For he ſays, that it was not the Gueſts that gave their Judgments upon the Fact, but it was the Governor of the Feaſt, who was ſober, and as yet had taſted nothing. For it is well known that they who are chiefly entruſted with the Management of ſuch Entertainments are eminently ſober, as being only ſolicitous about the good Order and Decoration of the Feaſt. And therefore the Sobriety of the Governor of the Feaſt was appealed to by *Jeſus*, in teſtimony of the Reality of the Wine then made." And again, he adds, [c] "That the Words, *according to the manner of the purifying of the Jews*, were not inſerted without ſome View in this Narrative, but indeed were ſo in order to prevent the Suſpicion of certain Infidels, namely, *That ſome Lees of Wine were left in thoſe Pots, which being mix'd with Water poured upon them made a very ſmall ſort of Wine.* And therefore ſays the Evangeliſt, *this was according to the Purification of the Jews*, to ſhew that thoſe Veſſels never had been Receptacles of Wine." That is, in ſhort, that ſome Infidels calumniated this Fact of *Jeſus*; but that the *Offence which they took at it* was very unreaſonable: Conſequently, that the Company had not loſt their Taſte to ſuch a Degree, as not to be able to diſtinguiſh between Wine and Water. And *Chryſoſtom* very judiciouſly obſerves thus afterwards in this Homily[d]; "That Chriſt really turned the Water into Wine, the Servants who drew the Water, and filled the Pots with it at his Command, were Witneſſes; and that it was good Wine which was ſo made out of Water, the Governor of the Feaſt, to whom by the Command of Chriſt the ſame Servants filled it out and carried it, was a competent Witneſs; as was likewiſe the Bridegroom, to whom the Governor recommended it as good Wine, tho' his Suffrage was not thought neceſſary by the Evangeliſt to be added."

In a Word, St. *Chryſoſtom* is here quoted for a Gentile Objection againſt the Truth of the miraculous Change of Water into Wine, by the fraudulent Mixture of ſome Lees of Wine with Water: An Objection, which has now not only been anſwered by *Chryſoſtom*, but which is contrary to the Suppoſition, which has been now confuted, of making the Company drunk, ſince thoſe pretended Lees would be ſo much diluted by ſo great a Quantity of Water as to be incapable of making them ſo: And that Part of the Objection which ſuppoſed them to have been drunk before, has been already conſidered. But indeed, beſides the ſuppreſſing of *Chryſoſtom*'s own Anſwer, the old Gentile Objection as recorded in *Chryſoſtom*, is quite altered. For the Rabbi pretends, which the old Gentiles did not in *Chryſoſtom*, that Jeſus *palmed a falſe Miracle by the help of the Governor of the Feaſt upon a drunken Crew.* The Gentiles did not ſo much as pretend, according to their Objection in *Chryſoſtom*, that *Jeſus* uſed any Colluſion with, or practiſed it by the help of, the Governor of the Feaſt, in order to eſtabliſh his Miracle. This too is explain'd as done *by the help of ſome ſpirituous Liquors, which he had at Hand, and mingled with a Quantity of Water, which the Governor of the Feaſt vouched to be incomparable good Wine, miraculouſly made by* Jeſus. Whereas no ſuch thing was pretended by the old Gentiles in *Chryſoſtom*; but that the Lees or Remains of Wine in the Veſſels, being mixt with Water, made a ſmall ſort of Wine. They, however, forgot that thoſe Veſſels were Water-pots ſet there for Purification, and therefore could not be Wine-veſſels that might be ſuppoſed to have ſome Lees or Remains of Wine in them. And as to the inconſiſtent Additions of the Rabbi, they are capable of being anſwer'd in as ſolid a manner as *Chryſoſtom* did the real Gentile Objection. For the pretended Rabbi was ſenſible that the Teſtimony of the Governor of the Feaſt ſtood in his Way, ſince *Chryſoſtom* had ſhewn he was ſober when he gave his Judgment of the Goodneſs of *Jeſus*'s Wine; ſo his Teſtimony was neceſſarily to be attacked, in order to invalidate the Truth of the Miracle. This indeed is a Step taken beyond the old Gentile Objection, by a Perſon ſo full of endleſs Suſpicions as to form an imaginary Combination between *Jeſus* and the Governor, in order to weaken his Teſtimony. But the old Gentiles were more reaſonable than to fancy any ſuch thing, ſince there is no manner of Ground for ſuch a Suſpicion of Colluſion and Fraud in the Governor: On the contrary there appear all the Marks of Sincerity poſſible in his Teſtimony, and the Circumſtances of it. One of thoſe remarkable Circumſtances is, that it is expreſly mentioned that when the Governor of the Feaſt taſted the Wine, and gave his Teſtimony of the Goodneſs of it, *he knew not whence it was*; for this clearly ſhews, that his Teſtimony was not given in favour of *Jeſus*, ſince he was then ignorant whence and how it was produced. And conſequently this Teſtimony was not given by way of Colluſion, but very ſincerely, upon the Conviction of his own Taſte and Judgment. It is ſaid indeed, that *the Servants who drew the Water knew* whence the Wine was produced; but it is evident they had not then diſcovered that Change made from Water to Wine by *Jeſus*'s Order. Another Circumſtance is that of the Governor's Speech to the Bridegroom, which plainly evinces that the Governor was then wholly ignorant of the Miracle that was wrought by *Jeſus*; for all that he aimed at in that Speech was to compliment and comfort the Bridegroom on his unexpected good Wine. And this is ſuch a Confirmation of the Sincerity of his Teſtimony, that it unavoidably follows, that the Teſtimony of the Governor was not given in Combination with *Jeſus*, as is vainly pretended.

XVI. The laſt Objection of the Rabbi is, [c] "That if *Jeſus* had really and miraculouſly made Wine, which no Power or Art of Man could do, he ſhould, to prevent all Suſpicion of

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[b] Vid. Chryſoſtom in Homil in loc. Joan.

[c] Diſc. 4. p. 40.

[d] Vid. Chryſoſtom. in Homil. in loc. Joan. t. 2. Savil. Edit.

Deceit in the Miracle, have done it without the Uſe of Water." And afterwards he adds, [f] "This Subject-matter of Water ſpoils the Credit of the Miracle." And again, [g] "that a rational Anſwer ought to be given to ſo reaſonable a Queſtion, as why did not *Jeſus* create Wine without Water, if he could do ſo? [h] ſince that would have been an unexceptionable Miracle, and which no Infidels could have cavilled at, &c." Now on this Occaſion he cites *Chryſoſtom* for this Objection, as if he himſelf had made it, or had returned no Anſwer to it; whereas *Chryſoſtom* did not make it, but the Gentiles, who made the former recorded and anſwered by him. For after that Father had anſwered thoſe Infidels, who ſuppoſed the Fraud was committed by making a very ſmall ſort of Wine, by a Mixture of ſome Lees of Wine and Water, he immediately delivers thus another Objection of the ſame Infidels; [i] "And why did he not perform the Miracle before he filled the Pots with Water, which would have been a much more wonderful Work? For the Change of the Quality of the Subject-matter, and the Creation of a Subſtance out of nothing, are two different Things." Surely as this Objection is cited out of *Chryſoſtom*, the Rabbi ſhould have acted ſo fairly as to have reported at the ſame time the Anſwer to it that occurs in *Chryſoſtom*; which ſince he has not done, we will ſupply it from *Chryſoſtom* himſelf, and not from *Theophylact*, his Abridger, who alone is here cited. It is this; [k] "Such a Creation it is true would have been a Thing more wonderful, but it would not appear ſo credible a Miracle to the Majority of Mankind. For this Reaſon therefore *Jeſus* frequently leſſens with Deſign the Greatneſs of his Miracles, that they might be more eaſily received and believed." Here we find it is granted, and that very juſtly, by *Chryſoſtom*, that the Creation of Wine out of nothing would have been a greater Miracle than the Change of Water into Wine. But was not *Jeſus* a free Agent? Might not he chuſe what Degrees of miraculous Power he thought fit to exert? Are all his other Miracles equal to one another? Tho' he might if he pleaſed have created Wine out of nothing, yet probably he thought it not proper on that Occaſion to exert his creating Power; and indeed, there are ſome Reaſons aſſignable why he choſe at that Juncture rather to tranſmute than to create. One of them is, that as this was the firſt public Miracle that *Jeſus* wrought, ſo it was moſt proper and modeſt to diſcover gradually, and by way of Inference, in the preſent Caſe, his miraculous Power, and not to diſplay the higheſt Inſtance of Omnipotence at his very firſt Appearance in the World. And another Reaſon is, that whereas the Rabbi pretends that the Creation of Wine would have been freer from Suſpicion than the Change of Water into Wine, the Reverſe of that Aſſertion is true; ſince ſuch a ſuppoſed Creation of Wine would have been liable to the Suſpicion of a ſecret Conveyance of a Quantity of natural Wine, as ſupplied by *Jeſus* at his Expence or Order: And ſuch a Suſpicion would no doubt have been ſeverely aggravated by Infidels into a Piece of Legerdemain. And again, this Change of Water into Wine, tho' a Miracle confeſſedly inferior to that of Creation of Wine, has a conſiderable Advantage over the ſuppoſed Miracle of Creation of it, as the former is a thing of a more ſenſible and demonſtrable Nature than the latter, and therefore muſt have been more convincing tho' leſs aſtoniſhing than the other. For the Servants, who drew the Water, drew alſo the Wine made inſtantly out of that very Water, and therefore knew when the Change was made. This Change therefore is confirmed by the Teſtimony of their Senſes with regard to the whole Proceſs of the Miracle; which an unaccountable Creation of Wine could not have had, and therefore had been more liable to the Suſpicion of Fraud and Colluſion than the other.

But in Anſwer to *Theophylact*'s Reaſon, "that a Miracle by its Greatneſs might be leſs credible," our Rabbi objects farther, "[l] that a Miracle can't be too great in itſelf, when well atteſted, to tranſcend Credit." This is true in general, but it admits of ſome Exceptions in particular Caſes, that is, as the Miracle happens to be circumſtantiated. And thus the Miracle of turning Water into Wine is a leſs Miracle than that of creating Wine; but it muſt in the Circumſtances of the Wedding-Feaſt have been more credible than the other, as it has been ſhewn to be of a more ſenſible Nature, and of a Proceſs capable of better Teſtimony. The Atteſtation of the greater Miracle muſt bear a due Proportion to the Greatneſs of it; whereas the Atteſtation is greater in the Change of Water than in the Creation of Wine, as well as more agreeable to the Expectations and Notions of Men about the firſt Miracle of a Prophet not yet ſhewn to the World, who may reaſonably be thought to begin with ſome lower ſort of Miracle.

But tho' this Miracle was performed in ſo private and humble a Manner, that it was left to be diſcovered by the Teſtimonies of the Servants then employed; and tho' this Tranſmutation of Water into Wine was confeſſedly a Work inferior to that of Creation of Wine; yet ſuch a Tranſmutation was as real and unexceptionable a Miracle in itſelf as the Creation of Wine, tho' it be not of ſo high a kind. And in Proof of this Aſſertion, we ſhall offer the Judgment of a late learned Phyſician, Dr. *Connor*, ſince the Opinion of ſuch a Perſon is of greater Authority with ſome People, than that of profeſſed Divines.[m] For as he ſhews that a Miracle is an Effect produced by the remarkable Suſpenſion of ſome known Law of Nature, and that as the Laws of Nature were eſtabliſhed by God, they can be ſuſpended by him alone in any eminent Degree, and that therefore God alone can perform a real Miracle, or communicate a Power of doing ſo; ſo the Tranſmutation of the Nature or Eſſence of any Body into the Nature or Eſſence of any other

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[f] Diſc. 4. p. 40.

[g] Page 41.

[h] Page 40.

[i] Vid. Chryſoſtom. in loc.

[k] Vid. Chryſoſtom. in loc.

[l] Diſc. 4. p. 41.

[m] Evangel. Medici, p. 62, 72, 77, 206. Lond. 1697.

Body, is ſuch a Suſpenſion of the eſtabliſhed Laws of Nature, as is miraculous, and conſequently is produced by God; who alone, as he was the Author of Nature, can change the Motion, and Texture, and Figure, and Bulk of the Particles of Water into thoſe which ſpecifically conſtitute Wine. Such a Tranſmutation therefore is a real Miracle upon philoſophical Principles; and this very Change of Water into Wine is particularly referred to by that Writer. And indeed, when we conſider, by way of Illuſtration of this Miracle, that all the Wit and Induſtry of Man, for ſo many Ages, has not been able to diſcover the Art of tranſmuting the Nature or Eſſence of any Body whatſoever into the ſpecific Nature and Qualities of Gold; ſo perfect a Change of the Nature of Water into that of Wine ought to be conſider'd as a ſupernatural Effect, and therefore when proved by credible Teſtimonies as a miraculous Operation.

XVII. Having thus vindicated the miraculous Change of Water into Wine from the Objections offered in the pretended Rabbi's Invective, as to all the rational Parts of it, conſiſtently with the Letter, we now proceed to the Conſideration of his Authorities of the Fathers in favour of the myſtical Senſe of this Miracle. And as we have already not only introduced, but eſtabliſhed, ſuch Authorities of the Fathers as happen'd to be intermixt with Argument, we may hope to reduce the remaining Authorities of them into narrower Limits. For if the Fathers that are cited acknowledge the Truth of the Miracle in its literal Senſe, the Citation of their additional Allegories upon it is entirely foreign and uſeleſs to the allegorical Cauſe. However, they ſhall now be animadverted on in their due Order.

The Author of the *Diſcourſes* runs [n] out into a Digreſſion about the Marriages of the Patriarchs as underſtood literally, and cites *Juſtin Martyr* and *Origen* about them in the myſtical Senſe. But how pertinent this Excurſion is, is very obvious, when he does not ſo much as produce one Citation of thoſe Fathers about the Miracle performed at the Marriage in *Cana*, which is our immediate Subject. But ſince he cannot actually cite their Judgment about it, he tells us what they might poſſibly have been cited for. This is no doubt a very convincing Way of producing Authorities! But remote as it is from the Subject, it is all a Miſrepreſentation of the Authors any way cited by him. For tho' this Author pretends that *Juſtin Martyr* ſays, “It is abſurd to take the Stories of the Marriages of the Patriarchs in a literal Senſe,” it cannot be proved that *Juſtin Martyr* denies the literal Senſe of thoſe Marriages to be true. For that Father [o] repeats their Hiſtory, and then moralizes it. For Example, he ſays that the Marriages of *Jacob* were Figures and Types of what was to be performed by *Chriſt*. Then he mentions the Story of *Jacob*'s ſerving *Laban* for his two Wives; which he acknowledges in the plain literal Senſe. After this he makes *Leah* to ſignify the *Jewiſh* Synagogue, and *Rachel* the Chriſtian Church; an Allegory which he explains at large. But if according to the literal Senſe *Jacob* really had thoſe two Wives, tho' *Juſtin* afterwards allegorizes the Story, what is all this to their Purpoſe, who upon Principle deny the Truth of the literal Senſe of Scripture, and particularly of this and the other Miracles of *Jeſus*, and convert it into mere Allegory? But we have before taken notice that *Juſtin Martyr*, here cited, does not only in his Apology, but in this very Dialogue, moſt clearly acknowledge the Truth of the Miracles of *Jeſus* in their literal Senſe. And therefore Mr. *Woolſton* might have been more cautious in his Quotations of this Father.

But our Author goes on to inform us, that [p] on account of the Luſciouſneſs of the ſcriptural Relations of the Marriages of the Patriarchs, (that is, becauſe they were wrote with a Simplicity ſuitable to the Times of the Patriarchs) *Juſtin Martyr*, and St. *Paul*, and *Philo Judæus*, turn theſe Stories into Allegories. How *Juſtin Martyr* has turned them into Allegory, we have already ſeen; and ſhall now conſider how St. *Paul* and *Philo Judæus* underſtood this Matter. As for St. *Paul*, it has been ſhewn, that when he allegorizes the Marriage of *Abraham*, he does not deny that Abraham *had two Sons, the one by the Bond-Woman, and the other by the Free-Woman*, in the plain literal Senſe, tho' he afterwards gives an [q] allegorical Accommodation of it both to *Jews* and Chriſtians; which has been confeſſed by the two greateſt allegorical Fathers, *Origen* and *Auſtin*. The like allegorical Turn does *Philo* [r] give; for he firſt cites and acknowledges the Truth of the Hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Sarah* his Wife, in the literal Senſe; and after that ſays, that notwithſtanding this literal Story he had heard of an apt and appoſite Allegory of it, which was drawn from the Etymology or Signification of the Words, *Abraham* and *Sarah*. But we have already ſhewn that it does not follow from thence that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were not really married, according to *Philo*, becauſe he had heard of a myſtical Marriage as implied in their Names.

The ſame, or a worſe, Fate attends our Author's Tranſlation of a Paſſage in [s] *Origen* about Marriages, and particularly that of *Abraham*, to which he refers his Reader. For he has falſely tranſlated ſome Part of it, and the reſt of it is inconſiſtent with his avowed Opinion. He cites *Origen* on *Matthew* in theſe Words: “Since the Law is a Shadow of good Things to come, and writes ſometimes of Marriages, and of Huſbands and Wives, we are not to underſtand it of Marriages according to the Fleſh, but of the ſpiritual Marriage between *Chriſt* and his Church.” Whereas *Origen* ſays [t] expreſly in this very Paſſage, “That the Law is not to be principally underſtood of the merely carnal Marriages mentioned in it, but of ſuch future Marriages in the other World as that between *Chriſt* and the Church.”

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[n] Diſc. 4. p. 44.

[o] Vid. Juſtin Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 380——387. Edit. Jebb.

[p] Diſc. 4. p. 44.

[q] See Gal. chap. iv.

[r] Vid. Philon. Jud. de Abrahamo, p. 363, 364. Ed. Par. 1640.

[s] Diſc. 4. p. 44.

[t] Vid. Origin. Homil. in Matt. tom. 3. fol. 40, 41. Edit. Merlin. 1512.

Where it is moſt evident, that by omitting the Word *principally* in his Tranſlation, a falſe Turn is deſignedly given to the Senſe of *Origen*; which was not to exclude entirely the literal Senſe of the Scripture, in which carnal Marriages are mentioned. And again, whereas in this Tranſlation it is the very Marriage of *Chriſt* and the Church, that is ſaid to be underſtood by carnal Marriages in Scripture, we find in *Origen* himſelf only this, that carnal Marriages were morally to be underſtood of ſuch or like Marriages as that between *Chriſt* and the Church. *Origen*[u] goes on immediately to the Explication of his Senſe by that of St. *Paul*, in theſe Words: "For Inſtance, *Abraham* had two Sons, the one by a Bond-Woman, the other by a Free-Woman; and he who was by the Bond-Woman, was born according to the Fleſh; but he by the Free-Woman was born according to the Promiſe. It is not at all neceſſary for me to dwell on the Meaning of the carnal Marriages of the Free-Woman and the Bond-Woman; but theſe may ſignify different things by other Marriages." Now this is no more than what St. *Paul* ſays, *viz.* That this Hiſtory of *Abraham*'s two Sons is capable of being allegoriz'd. But does either St. *Paul* or *Origen* ſay that *Abraham* had not literally two Sons as the Foundation of the Allegory? It is certain they ſay the very reverſe, namely, that he had two real Sons. St. *Paul* ſays expreſly *Abraham had two Sons*, and *Origen* here, that "we ought not to confine our Thoughts to carnal Marriages, and their Offſprings, but to extend them to the Myſteries here ſignified." Expreſſions theſe, that plainly ſhew that *Origen* firſt acknowledged the Hiſtory of them to be literally true, though he did not ſtop there, but carried that Hiſtory farther to a myſtical Meaning.

The plain Truth of the Matter is this, that *Origen* throughout this whole Homily ſpeaks of the Error of thoſe that imagined there would be carnal Marriages after the Reſurrection; and to theſe miſtaken Notions he oppoſes ſpiritual and moral Marriages. After he had ſaid, [w] The "*Sadducees* thought that all things will hereafter be there as they are in the preſent World, namely, Huſbands and Wives, Fathers and Children;" He adds, "But if there is in that State any Father or Brother, or any thing of that relative kind, yet it is not according to any carnal Birth. But I am of Opinion, that there are not only Fathers and Children in that State according to the Spirit, not capable of Paſſion, but alſo Wife and Huſband in the Unity of the Spirit; agreeably to that Parable which ſays, *The Kingdom of Heaven is like to a King that made a Marriage for his Son*. Therefore the King's Son at the Reſurrection of the Dead will make a Marriage quite different from all Marriages which the Eye ſees, and the Ear hears, and above the Comprehenſion of the Heart of Man; and thoſe Marriages will be chaſte, and divine, and ſpiritual, and celebrated in myſtical Words, which it is not lawful for Men to utter." And again; "*For this Cauſe ſhall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife, and they two ſhall be one Fleſh.* We ought not ſo to conſider what is here ſaid, as if no Myſtery were pointed out in it, for *great is that Myſtery concerning Chriſt and the Church.* And there are a thouſand other Places in Scripture about Marriages, and every Place includes a chaſte and divine Meaning of Marriages, according to their moral Interpretation. Whoever therefore reads the Scriptures, and their Account of the Marriages of Huſbands and Wives, and thinks that nothing more is pointed out in them but ſimple Marriages, is miſtaken about them, as not *knowing the Scriptures nor the Power of God*; as the *Sadducees* were miſtaken when they read of Marriages in the Scriptures, and underſtood them in the carnal Senſe. For which Reaſon that Text, *You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the Power of God*, ſeems to me not capable of being otherwiſe underſtood, than by a moral and figurative Interpretation of the Scriptures; and as ſhewing in what reſpect the Scriptures ſpeak any Thing of Huſbands and Wives, and how they are miſtaken, who, not underſtanding the prophetical Writings in a moral ſenſe, think that after the Reſurrection Men will eat and drink carnal Food, becauſe the prophetical Writings have ſome Expreſſions of that kind; in like Manner as they who underſtand what is wrote about the Marriages of Huſbands and Wives in the literal Senſe, think that we ſhall alſo after Death have carnal Marriages." From all which it is evident, that *Origen* ſpoke only of ſuch a moral or ſpiritual Expoſition of the carnal Marriages mentioned in Scripture as is agreeable to the future State, and not to the preſent one: And conſequently, all that Mr. *Woolſton* cited from him was improperly produced, ſince *Origen*'s Opinion of the Marriage at *Cana* in *Galilee* cannot be known or inferred from it.

XVIII. We now go on to ſet right his other myſtical Authorities of the Fathers, and particularly thoſe of St. *Auſtin*; ſeveral of which he here cites, but not at all to his Purpoſe. For if it were granted that *Auſtin* aſſigns ſome myſtical Interpretations of *Jeſus*'s turning Water into Wine, what Advantage does our Author's Cauſe gain from this Conceſſion, if it is likewiſe evident (as it demonſtratively is) that *Auſtin* acknowledged the Reality of this Miracle in the literal and obvious Senſe? Now the Caſe of *Auſtin* on this Occaſion is this: There are two Homilies of that Father now extant upon this Miracle, in his Commentary on St. *John*'s Goſpel: In the former of theſe he acknowledges this Miracle as a Fact, and explains ſome Difficulties of it in the literal Senſe; in the latter he gives ſeveral myſtical Interpretations of it. Theſe latter myſtical Senſes then are founded on the former literal ones; and they are ſo far from deſtroying them that they neceſſarily preſuppoſe them. And that this may not be thought a precarious Aſſertion, we will ſelect a few Paſſages out of both thoſe Homilies to confirm it.

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[u] Vid. Origen. ibid.

[w] Vid. Origen. Homil. 22. in Matt. fol. 40. Tom. 3. Edit. Merl.

Auſtin even begins the former Homily with an expreſs Acknowledgment of the Truth of this Miracle, in theſe Words: "[x] The Miracle of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, in *making Wine out of Water*, is not ſurprizing to thoſe who know that he was God who made it ſo. For it was *he made Wine that Day at the Wedding in thoſe ſix Water-pots, which he commanded to be filled with Water*, who every Year makes Wine in Vines." Upon which he breaks out into Admiration of the wonderful Works of Creation and Redemption, as both were performed by the Word of God. And again ſays this Father; "[y] When therefore we ſee ſuch great Things performed by *Jeſus* as God, why do we wonder at the turning Water into Wine by the Man *Jeſus*? — It was he that performed this, who performed all the other Works: Let us therefore not wonder that God performed this; but let us love him becauſe he performed theſe Works among us, and for our Recovery." To which he immediately adds Mr. *Woolſton*'s own Citation, which turns directly againſt himſelf. "[a] For he intimates ſomewhat to us even in the Facts themſelves. I don't believe he came to the Marriage-Feaſt without ſome good Reaſon. *Beſides his Performance of the Miracle* there is ſome Myſtery couched under the Fact itſelf." So that it is moſt evident from this very Paſſage, as well as others, that *Auſtin* acknowledged the Reality or literal Senſe of the Fact itſelf, or that the Water was truly turned into Wine by *Jeſus*, though he afterwards ſuperadded ſome figurative and myſtical Expoſitions of that miraculous Fact. And therefore it is a ſufficient Anſwer to all other Citations of *Auſtin* in the myſtical Way, (ſuch as his Enquiries what is meant by the ſix Water-pots, and the Water as turned into Wine, who is the myſtical Governour of the Feaſt, and what the other Perſons and Circumſtances mean,) that he calls all this [a] the Myſtery of this Fact. If the Bridegroom in St. *Auſtin* [b] is *Chriſt*, it is only as he reſembled *Chriſt*; as the Goodneſs of the Wine of the one reſembled the Goodneſs of the other's Goſpel. But does it follow from this Reſemblance, that there was no real Bridegroom? Or becauſe *Auſtin* ſays, the Governour is or reſembles *Moſes*, that therefore there was no real Governour at this Marriage-Feaſt? And if the ſix Water-pots repreſent the ſix Ages of the World, containing Prophecy belonging to all Nations; if the two Firkins are *Jews* and *Gentiles*, or the three Firkins *Noah*'s three Son's; does it follow at all from theſe groſs Reſemblances, that there were no ſuch Things as ſix Water-pots that contained two or three Firkins a-piece? Surely theſe arbitrary Interpretations do by no Means deſtroy the Matters of Fact, by their near Reſemblances of other Things and Perſons. And therefore though ſome of theſe myſtical Senſes ſhould be allowed to be ingenious, as others of them muſt be granted to be flat and dull; yet they do no manner of Service to the allegorical Cauſe, after *Auſtin*'s Acknowledgments of the Miracle in its literal Senſe, which have been already produced.

As for the other Quotations of *Auſtin*, they prove nothing but that this Father recited the Circumſtances of the Fact, and then allegoriz'd them. All this is readily granted, but it is all foreign to our Author's Purpoſe for the Reaſons now aſſign'd. For his Buſineſs was not to ſhew, that the ſpiritual or myſtical Senſe of the Goſpel is to be adhered to in oppoſition to the literal Senſe of the Goſpel; but he here only ſhews, that the ſpiritual or myſtical Senſe of the Law of *Moſes*; that is, the Goſpel, is to be adhered to in oppoſition to the literal Senſe of the Law. But of the former St. *Auſtin* does not here ſpeak a ſingle Syllable. And as to the latter, he ſpeaks no more here or elſewhere than what St. *Paul* does about the *Letter that killeth, and the Spirit that giveth Life*; which the whole Context evinces to be no Oppoſition between the Letter and the Spirit of the Goſpel, but between the Letter and the Spirit of the Law.

Theophilus of *Antioch* is next cited, as ſaying, "[c] That by this Marriage is meant the Conjunction of *Chriſt* and his Church as it is the Tradition of the Old and New Teſtament; and that *Jeſus* himſelf is the Bridegroom, and *Moſes* the Governor of the Feaſt." But this is ſo imperfect a Citation even of a ſpurious Writer, as to amount to a Demonſtration of the Truth of the literal Senſe, when ſet in a true Light. For that Writer really ſpeaks thus: "[d] *Woman, what have I to do with thee? my Hour is not yet come.* Becauſe he was about to perform a myſtical Operation by turning Water into Wine, he aſſerts that he has nothing in common with his Mother, that is, that he was about to perform no human but a divine Work. For by this Marriage we ought to underſtand the Conjunction of *Chriſt* and his Church, as delivered in the Old and New Teſtament. —— By the *Governor of the Feaſt* is meant *Moſes*, and *Chriſt* is the new *Bridegroom*; and *by the Water turned into Wine* is ſignified that the Faithful do by Baptiſm deſire to be Partakers of his bloody Paſſion." Now is it not moſt plain and obvious that *Theophilus*, or whoever was the true Author, acknowledged that *Chriſt* performed Miracles, that in particular *he turned Water into Wine*, and that he herein *perform'd a divine Work*? And therefore, notwithſtanding the myſtical Application of this Story, in which *Jeſus* is the Bridegroom and *Moſes* the Governor of the Feaſt, the Truth of the miraculous Fact of turning Water into Wine by *Jeſus* is acknowledged by the pretended *Theophilus*.

'Tis proper to obſerve in paſſing, that our Author has miſrepreſented the Senſe of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; whom he quotes as ſpeaking of the "Fowls of the Air as invited to the Marriage of the Lamb, that is, of ſpiritual and heavenly-minded Chriſtians, who ſoar and fly aloft, in their divine and ſublime Contemplations on the anagogical Senſe of the Scriptures." But for this in the Place cited there is not the leaſt Foundation. For as *Clemens* [f] juſt before ſays, "That our Lord ſtiled thoſe Men Foxes, who dug Riches out of the Earth and buried them there," that is who mind nothing but earthly Riches; ſo he preſently after ſays, that he called thoſe "the Fowls of the Air, who are diſtinguiſhed from others by a real Purity, and a Readineſs to fly out in Purſuit of heavenly Truth, or the Word of God." This is *Clemens's* myſtical Explication of what our Lord ſaid, that *the Foxes have Holes, and the Birds of the Air have Neſts.* But though this Expoſition is myſtical, yet he ſays nothing in it of myſtical Interpretation as diſtinguiſhed from that which is literal.

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[x] Vid. Auguſtin. in Serm. 1. in loc.

[y] Ibid.

[a] Idem in loc. Joan. ibid.

[b] Vid Auguſtin. Serm. poſter. in loc. Joan.

[c] Diſc. 4. p. 48, 49.

[d] Vid. Theoph. Antioch. p. 147. tom. 2. part. 2. Bibl. Patr. Max. Lugd.

[e] Diſc. 4. p. 49.

As for the other Fathers referred to, but not quoted, in favour of a myſtical Interpretation of this Marriage, it is moſt evident that they (namely, *Cyril, Jerome*, and *Theophylact*,) acknowledge the literal Senſe of this miraculous Fact, though they ſuperadd a myſtical Expoſition of it. And therefore whenever any particular Quotations of them ſhall be produced in the myſtical Way, it will then be time enough to produce the fulleſt Citations of them in the literal Way, very conſiſtently with the former.

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[f] Vid. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 4. p. 577. Oxon.

CHAP. IV.

I. Our Lord goes up to *Jeruſalem*, and drives the Traders out of the Temple. II. His Diſcourſe with the *Jews* on that Occaſion, and Prophecy of his own Reſurrection. III. He converts many, &c. IV. *Nicodemus* comes to him. V. The Neceſſity of Regeneration. VI. Regeneration explained. VII. The Truth of this Doctrine. VIII. Chriſt declares the End of his Incarnation and Sufferings. IX. The different Effects of Faith and Incredulity, &c.

I. THE *Tranſactions mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, happened, as we there obſerved,* [a] *a little before* [b] *the Paſſover, to the Celebration of which* Jeſus, *according to Cuſtom, went up to* Jeruſalem. *When he came thither, he went into the outer Court of the Temple, where he ſaw thoſe who had brought Oxen, and Sheep, and Doves, for the Sacrifices, ſelling their Commodities to the People, and the Money-changers carrying on their Traffic, tho' the Place was conſecrated ſolely to divine Worſhip. Being filled with Indignation at the Sight, he immediately made a Scourge of ſmall Cords, and with no other Weapon but this drove them all out of the Temple, both the Merchants and their Cattle, and overturned the Counting-Tables of the Money-changers, pouring out their Money upon the Ground, none of them making any Reſiſtance againſt him. The Sellers of Doves alſo he commanded to depart with their Goods, charging them all to take it as a Warning for the future,* never more to turn the Temple of his Father into a Houſe of Merchandize.

II. [c] *When the Diſciples of* Jeſus *ſaw theſe things, they called to mind a Paſſage in the* Pſalms *(which is much more applicable to* Jeſus *than to the* Pſalmiſt) *wherein it is ſaid,* [d] The Zeal of thine Houſe has eaten me up, or conſumed me. *But the other* Jews, *who were then in the Temple, contended that this Fact could not be warranted but by a prophetical Authority; which Authority, they ſaid,* they would then believe him to have received from God, when they had ſeen him perform ſome Miracle as a Teſtimony of his Commiſſion. *In anſwer hereto,* Jeſus *told them, that this ſhould be a Sign to them:* They ſhould deſtroy this Temple, and he would raiſe it again in three Days. The Jews, *who underſtood him as ſpeaking of the Temple of Stone in which they were then converſing, replied,* That they could not conceive how it was poſſible for him to raiſe that Temple in three Days, which had already been ſix and forty Years in building, ſince the Time that it was undertaken by *Herod the Great. But the true Meaning of* Jeſus *was, That the Temple of his Body ſhould be deſtroy'd, or that he himſelf ſhould be put to Death, and that he would riſe again from the Dead in three Days. Which things he thus predicted in a figurative Manner, according to the Cuſtom of the antient Prophets, who were ſeldom underſtood till their Prophecies were actually fulfilled. And thus the Diſciples of* Jeſus, *after he was riſen from the Dead, remembered this Prophecy, and interpreted it in the right Senſe, adding thereto other of his Predictions concerning himſelf; of which, as well as of many Predictions concerning the Meſſiah in the Old Teſtament, they had ſeen very remarkable Parts accompliſhed. This confirmed them in their Belief on their Maſter, and made them more entirely depend upon thoſe Promiſes of his, which were not yet fulfilled.*

III. [e] *While* Jeſus *remained at* Jeruſalem, *during the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, many of the People believed on him, being convinced of his Divine Miſſion by the Miracles which they ſaw him perform. But* Jeſus *knowing the Secrets of Mens Hearts, and not wanting any outward Information concerning them, eaſily diſcerned the Nature of this their Belief, and how unlikely it was to bear any*

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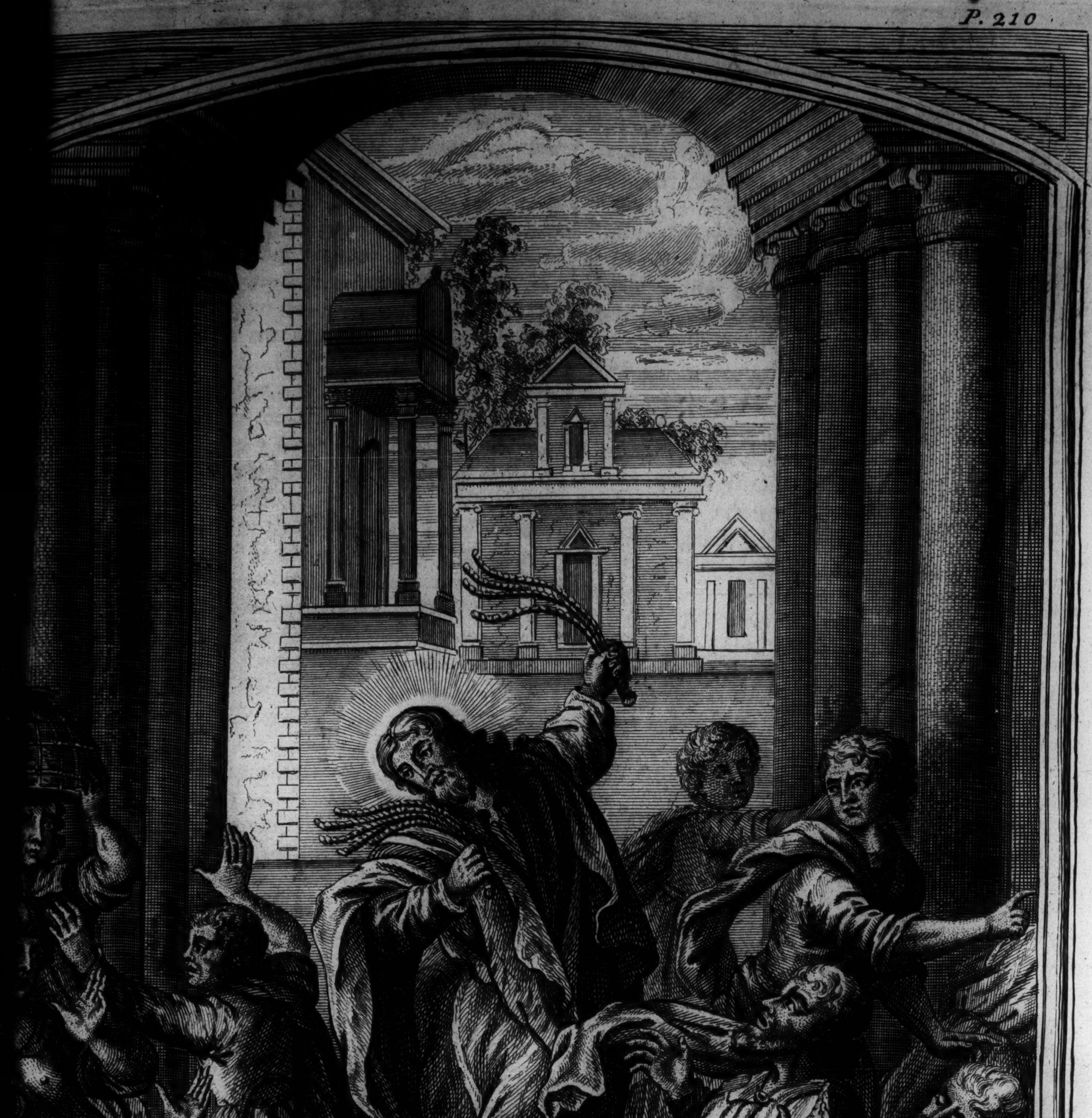
[a] John ii. 13——16.

[b] Some, who place this Tranſaction in the ſixteenth Year of Tiberius from the beginning of his proconſular Dignity, tell us that the Paſſover happened that Year on the Sixth of April. We believe this ſixteenth Year of Tiberius is too ſoon, and will not well agree with the placing John's Impriſonment in the eighteenth Year of the ſame Æra.

[c] John ii. 17——23.

[d] Pſal. lxix. 9.

[e] John ii. 23, 24, 25.



Jeſus drives the Buyers & Sellers out of the Temple.

John II. 13–16

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Streſs, and to hold out in a Time of Temptation and Suffering. And in conſequence of this Knowledge, he did not think fit to run the Hazard of their Inconſtancy, and truſt himſelf too much in their Hands: For which Reaſon, he avoided converſing too freely with them, and diſcovering more fully who he was. Not that he was not able to defend himſelf publicly againſt their utmoſt Efforts, had there been any Deſign formed againſt him; but becauſe, [f] *as Man, it was neceſſary he ſhould be ſubject to the common Laws of Humanity, without exerting a Divine Power in his own Defence; and conſequently that he ſhould keep himſelf out of the way of thoſe who were likely to betray him, till the time appointed by the Father for his being made a Sacrifice was fulfilled.*

IV. [g] *There was at this Time of our Lord's Abode in* Jeruſalem, *one* Nicodemus, *of the Sect of the* Phariſees, *a Member of the* Great Sanhedrim, *who being a pious Man, upon hearing of the Miracles wrought by* Jeſus, *began to look upon him as ſome extraordinary Perſon, and was very deſirous of converſing with him. But as he durſt not be ſeen or known to viſit one who was deſpiſed by the reſt of the Rulers, for fear of offending thoſe his Collegues in the Government, he therefore came to* Jeſus *by Night, and accoſted him in this Manner:* Maſter, [h] we are convinced that thou art ſent by God to teach and inſtruct us in his Way; for no Man is able to do ſuch Miracles as thou doſt, without having received his Power from God; and we are certain, that God would never grant ſuch a Power to confirm Falſities. *Having premiſed this,* [i] *he was about to aſk* Jeſus *what it behoved him to do, in order to his becoming a Partaker of the Kingdom of God, which he was informed was now near at hand.*

V. [k] Jeſus, *who, as we before remarked, knew the Thoughts of all Men, obſerving that the Attention of* Nicodemus *was not ſo much turned towards the Excellency and Power of his Doctrine, as towards the Miracles by which that Doctrine was confirmed, immediately gave him an Anſwer, which at the ſame time prevented his Queſtion, and corrected the falſe Notions on which he had conceived it.* Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, Except a Man be born again, he cannot ſee the Kingdom of God. *As if he had ſaid, "Aſſure thyſelf that the bare acknowledging me to be the Meſſiah, will not be ſufficient to render thee a Member of the Kingdom which I am to ſet up: For no Man can enjoy the Bleſſings of that Kingdom, without forſaking his former Courſe, and being renewed in his Mind, Will, and Affections, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit, ſo as to become a new Creature."* *But* Nicodemus, *not underſtanding what was meant by this figurative Expreſſion of* Jeſus, *and attending only to the literal Senſe of it, childiſhly demanded how it was poſſible for a Man to be born again when he is old.* Muſt he enter, *ſays he,* a ſecond time into his Mother's Womb, and from thence ſpring forth anew into Life? *To this* Jeſus *anſwered firſt in general, by a very ſhort Paraphraſe on what he had before ſaid,* Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. *That is, "Except a Man become one of my Diſciples by that baptiſmal* Regeneration, [l] *in which your Proſelytes are ſaid to be new-born, and be alſo purified in his Heart from all worldly and carnal Appetites, ſo as to live a new and ſpiritual Life according to my Doctrine, he cannot be admitted a Partaker of the Benefits of my Kingdom."*

VI. *And then going on to explain this Doctrine more fully, our Lord argues in the following Manner:* [m] *"The Reaſon and Neceſſity of this Regeneration by the Spirit are evident: For the Actions of a merely natural Man, who never paſſed thro' this new Birth, will be only natural Actions, or at moſt but external Purifications and Reſtraints from Sin: But the Actions of a ſpiritual Man, thus born anew from the higher Principle of which I am ſpeaking, will be all ſpiritual and pure, agreeable to the Directions of that Spirit by which he is moved. Nor ought my Doctrine (that Men muſt be born again after this ſpiritual Manner, in order to their getting Admiſſion into the Kingdom of Heaven,) to be either wondered at, or doubted of, by thee; it being no Objection to the Truth of it, that this Change is not actually viſible to your Eyes, and that the manner how it is effected, is not commonly known: For even in corporeal Things, ſome there are of which you make no Queſtion, which yet are inviſible, and of which you are ignorant in many Particulars. To inſtance* [n] *in the Wind, it comes with a great Force and Noiſe, it produces very diſcernible Effects, and by that Men know the Exiſtence of the Thing itſelf; yet what Beginning it hath when it riſes, and what becomes of it when it ceaſes, no Man can certainly determine: Thus a Perſon may be truly ſaid to be renewed in his Mind, when this Renovation is diſcoverable in its Fruits and Increaſe, tho' the manner in which the Influences of the Spirit are conveyed to him, and the Method of their Operation upon the Faculties of his Soul, cannot be preciſely known."*

VII. Nicodemus [o] *ſtill continued in the dark concerning the Meaning and Poſſibilty of what* Chriſt *ſaid, and therefore asked him again,* How theſe Things could be? *To which* Jeſus *anſwer'd to this Effect: "What I have told you concerning the new Birth in Baptiſm, is not only agreable to, but a Part of your own Doctrine about Proſelytes;*

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[f] This ſeems to be the true Reaſon of our Lord's avoiding the Jews on ſeveral other Occaſions, when he knew there was ſomething plotting againſt his Life.

[g] John iii. 1, 2.

[h] Or, *It may be certainly known*; for not many, if any at all, of Nicodemus's Friends were as yet convinced of it.

[i] See Page 142 of this Work.

[k] John iii. 3, 4, 5.

[l] See our Account of the Jewiſh Baptiſms in Pages 129 & 130 of this Work.

[m] John iii. 6, 7, 8.

[n] The ſame Greek Word, πνεῦμα, which is here tranſlated *Wind*, is rendered by *Spirit* at the End of the Verſe, as well as in moſt other Places of the New Teſtament. The Vulgate Tranſlation, and that of Eraſmus, have *Spiritus* in this Place alſo: And in this Senſe a French Commentator reads the whole Paſſage thus. "The Manner of this Birth is as imperceptible as the other Operations of the Spirit of God. Now the Spirit of God blows where he pleaſes, and you hear his Voice by the Mouth of his Prophets and Miniſters; but you know not whence he cometh, nor whither he goes: So it is with every one who is born of the Holy Spirit; you hear him ſpeak a new Language; all his Actions are of another kind than they were before; but you cannot ſee the Principle from which he acts, the end at which he aims, and the good things for which he hopes." See *Commentaire litteral ſur l'Hiſtoire & Concorde des quatre Evangeliſtes, par le R. P. De Carrieres.*

[o] John iii. 9—13.

and what I have delivered concerning the Renovation of the Spirit, anſwers to your own Notion, That Wiſdom comes from above; and this being ſo, 'tis very ſtrange that you, who are a learned Jew, *a Phariſee, and a Teacher in* Iſrael, *ſhould not underſtand any Thing at all of theſe Matters. But aſſure yourſelf that I tell you nothing, the Truth of which is not known to me, though the Generality of the* Jews *diſtruſt and disbelieve my Sayings. If I have ſpoken to you of things done by Men on Earth, or which may be repreſented to you by Similitudes taken from earthly Things, and you have not believed nor underſtood them, how ſhall you comprehend what I ſay when I tell you of heavenly Things, which cannot be thus repreſented, ſuch as my Deſcent from Heaven, and my Abode there at the ſame Time? And yet theſe heavenly Things are alſo true, though no other Perſon can acquaint you with them; for no other Perſon hath ever aſcended up to Heaven, to learn them there, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man, who, according to his divine Nature, is now preſent in Heaven, whilſt you ſee him converſing with Men here on Earth.*"

"VIII. *But* [p] *this Son of Man (continued our Lord) great as he is in his Divine Nature, muſt yet die for the Sins of Men. For as* Moſes [q] *lifted up a Serpent of Braſs in the Deſarts of* Arabia, *that thoſe who were bitten by poiſonous Serpents, and muſt otherwiſe have died, might, by looking up to it, be cured of their Malady and live; in like manner muſt the Son of Man be lifted up upon a Croſs, that whoſoever believes on him ſhould not periſh by that Death which the old Serpent brought upon all the Sons of* Adam, *but being delivered from it by this Antitype of that brazen Serpent, might be received into eternal Life. And herein hath God expreſs'd his unſpeakable Love to Mankind, that he hath ſent his Eternal and Only-begotten Son to aſſume their Nature, to inſtruct them, and give them Examples of holy Living, and at laſt to die for them, and riſe again, and aſcend into Heaven, all to this one great and glorious End, that every Perſon in the World, who ſhall receive and obey him, may be reſcued from eternal Death, and made a Partaker of everlaſting Life. For this my Miſſion from God the Father was deſigned all in Mercy and Charity, not to puniſh or condemn any Man, but that all Men thro' my Means might be redeemed from Puniſhment, unleſs they obſtinately reject this great Goodneſs.*"

IX. "*He* [r] *that believes on me and obeys my Precepts, ſhall by me be ſecured from all Puniſhment; but whoſoever ſhall reject me, ſhall certainly be ſubject to that Condemnation which he hath voluntarily brought upon himſelf, by not giving Credit to the Only-begotten Son of God, who came on purpoſe to deliver him from eternal Death. And this it is that will aggravate the Guilt and Puniſhment of obſtinate Men, that notwithſtanding God the Father has made ſuch Proviſion for them by a new and holy Revelation, and notwithſtanding God the Son came into the World to enlighten their Minds, and take them off from their former ſinful Courſes, they yet were ſo beſotted to their evil Ways, that they choſe rather to continue in thoſe deadly Principles which extinguiſh all Knowledge of Virtue, than to be reformed and purified by me, or ſo much as taught the true Notions of their Duty. For as 'tis certain, that a Perſon has ſomewhat to conceal, or that he is loth to part with, when he refuſes coming to the Light; ſo he that refuſes to come and be inſtructed by me, diſcovers that he a wicked Man, and that he means to continue ſo, for which Reaſon he will not ſuffer his Actions to be examined, leſt they ſhould be found faulty, and he be engaged to reform them againſt his Intention. On the contrary, he that lives a juſtifiable Life, ſincerely follows after Virtue, and reſolves to amend what is amiſs, ſuch an one will be glad of a Director who ſhall put him in the Way of ſtricteſt Duty; he will venture to have his Actions impartially judg'd of, and give a Proof that he does every thing in the Fear of God, and with a good Conſcience.*" *Theſe were the Leſſons of our bleſſed Lord to* Nicodemus.

DISSERTATION I.

A Defence of our Lord's miraculous driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.

I. *The firſt Objection in Point of Reaſon againſt the Letter of the Story, refuted.* II. *The ſecond Objection.* III. *Quotations from the Fathers againſt the literal Senſe conſidered: From* Origen. IV. *From* Hilary. V. *From* Ambroſe. VI. *From* Jerom. VII. *From* Auſtin. VIII. *From* Theophylact. IX. Eraſmus *unhappily quoted.* X. *Original Words falſely rendered.*

I. Concerning [a] *Chriſt*'s miraculous *Driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple*, Mr. *Woolſton* advances two Objections againſt the Letter of the Story in Point of Reaſon; which are propoſed in ſo curſory a Manner as not to require a long Anſwer. One of them is, [b] "that it is hard to conceive how any one in the Form of a Man, and of a deſpiſed one too, with a Whip in his Hand, could execute ſuch a Work upon a great Multitude of People, who were none of his Diſciples, nor had any regard for him." But it is very eaſy to reply to this, that *Jeſus* performed this great Work of Reformation, as he was inveſted with the Authority of a Prophet. And if our Author had not been blinded with Prejudices againſt the literal Senſe of the Goſpels, he muſt have herein diſcerned the prophetical Character of our Lord, that is ſo very legible in every one of the Evangeliſts.

The three former of the Evangeliſts record *Chriſt*'s ſecond Viſitation of the Temple; and the fourth, or laſt of them, mentions only *Chriſt*'s firſt Viſitation of it: This Diſtinction is according to St. *Chryſoſtome* and other Fathers, who very juſtly aſſign two diſtinct Viſitations of the Temple by him, the one in the Beginning of his Miniſtry, and the other towards the Concluſion of it.

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[p] John iii. 14—17.

[q] Numb. xxi. 8, 9.

[r] John iii. 18—21.

[a] Vind. V. I. p. 142, &c.

[b] See Diſc. p. 2.

of it. Now the three firſt Evangeliſts moſt clearly ſhew, that *Jeſus* was conſidered by the People as a Prophet. St. *Matthew*[c] expreſly mentions, in conſequence of his triumphant Entrance into *Jeruſalem*, when repeated *Hoſanna*'s were given to him as *the Son of David by the Multitudes* that then attended, that he was acknowledged by them to be a Prophet. Theſe are his Words: [d] *And the Multitude ſaid, this is Jeſus the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.* Immediately after which it is mentioned, that [e] *Jeſus went into the Temple of God, and caſt out all thoſe* that profaned it. And in the very ſame Chapter we are informed, that when [f] *the Chief Phariſees* were ſo irritated by his *Parables* as to *ſeek to lay Hands on him, they feared the Multitude, becauſe they took him for a Prophet.* It is mentioned too by St. *Mark* on this very Occaſion of reforming the Temple, that the [g] *Scribes and Phariſees feared him, becauſe all the People were aſtoniſhed at his Doctrine.* St. *Luke* tells us likewiſe, on occaſion of his foreſaid Entrance into *Jeruſalem* previouſly to his Reformation of the Temple, that [h] *the whole Multitude of the Diſciples began to rejoice and praiſe God for all the mighty Works which they had ſeen, ſaying, Bleſſed be the King that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* And preſently after his Expulſion of the Prophaners of the Temple, we are aſſured that [i] *he taught daily in the Temple; and that they that ſought to deſtroy him could not find what they might do; for all the People were very attentive to hear him.*

And though St. *John*, who is the only Evangeliſt that mentions *Chriſt's* firſt Reformation of the Temple, does not write of any ſuch Multitudes of his Diſciples attending him at that Viſitation as did at his ſecond Viſitation of it, yet he prepares the Way for it by the Authority he had acquired by the previous [k] *turning Water into Wine*, by which *he manifeſted forth his Glory*. And preſently after his Reformation of the Temple, the Evangeliſt adds, *that many believed on his Name, when they ſaw the Miracles that he did*; which implies other Miracles performed in ſupport of his Authority. However it is obſervable that at his firſt Purgation of the Temple from ſecular Pollutions, in the Beginning of his Miniſtry, he uſed more gentle Language than at his ſecond Reformation of it; for in the former he only ſaid, *Make not my Father's Houſe an Houſe of Merchandize*, but in the ſecond he ſpoke with a freer Air, *Ye have made it a Den of Thieves*; as having then gained greater Authority during the whole Courſe of his Miniſtry, and as acting againſt the aggravated Crime of repeated Prophaneneſs. No wonder then, that when [l] he *was known to be a Teacher come from God, ſince none could do thoſe Miracles that he did except God were with him*, his Authority in reforming the Temple was not oppoſed by Force. To this Submiſſion the Conſciouſneſs of the Guilt of the Profaners of it might ſomewhat contribute, in the ſame manner as the Enemies of *Jeſus* were ſtruck backward with their own Guilt as well as his Majeſty, and fell down to the Ground, when they came to apprehend him.

And as for the Whip of ſmall Cords that was uſed by our Lord on this Occaſion, no doubt it was of itſelf inſufficient to drive out ſo great a Multitude. And therefore, as the Clay and Spittle for curing the blind Man, was uſed to ſhew that it was by no means inſtrumental in itſelf, ſo this was only an Emblem of Diſcipline, proper to convince the Incredulous, that *Jeſus* exerted a divine Power, which was attended with ſo awful a Regard to his prophetical Authority, that not the leaſt Oppoſition was made to his Viſitation of the Temple. And indeed otherwiſe it had been impoſſible that ſo great Effects, as the ſubduing Covetouſneſs, Fraud, and Profaneneſs, ſhould have been produced by ſome an an Inſtrument as a *Scourge of ſmall Cords*. It could therefore be nothing elſe but the Veneration due to the Character of a Prophet, who exhibited the Credentials of Heaven, which occaſioned ſo profound an Obedience.

And if this Viſitation of the Temple was no more than what was foretold by *Malachi*, (as it ſeems to be,) the general Apprehenſion of the Completion of his Prophecy might contribute to an Acquieſcence of the People in *Chriſt*'s Reformation of the Temple, and of the Prieſts that officiated in it. Says that Prophet, [m] *The Lord whom ye ſeek ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple, even the Meſſenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in. But who may abide the Day of his Coming, and who ſhall ſtand when he appeareth? For he is like a Refiner's Fire, and like Fullers Soap. And he ſhall purify the Sons of* Levi, *that they may offer to the Lord an Offering in Righteouſneſs.* Than which prophetical Expreſſions none can be more applicable to *Chriſt*'s Viſitation and Reformation of the Temple.

III. The other Reaſon, or rather Query, offer'd on this Occaſion, is this: "Why was *Jeſus* ſo zealous againſt the Profanation of that Houſe, which he himſelf came to deſtroy, and which he permitted to be deſtroy'd not long after?" To this it may be anſwer'd, in ſhort, that the Honour of God was concerned in it, ſince the Temple-Service which was inſtituted by God himſelf was not yet annulled by his Authority; and therefore it was neceſſary to vindicate the relative Holineſs of God's own Houſe; an Houſe emphatically ſo ſtyl'd above all other Houſes of the like Nature, being originally erected by God's immediate Command, in order to *place his Name there*. It was ſtill ſtyled the Temple of God, and his Father's Houſe, and was therefore ſtill honoured by *Jeſus* as ſuch. And indeed it might have been as judiciouſly enquired, why *Jeſus* conformed to the legal Service of the Temple, which was as yet eſtabliſhed, though ſoon to be evacuated by the more perfect Sacrifice of himſelf, as why he vindicated the Honour of God that was profaned in his own Houſe, though that Houſe was after ſome Time to be finally abandoned, and judicially deſtroy'd. And certainly if Zeal for the Honour of God, as was ſhewed by our Lord on this Occaſion, he could never have offer'd ſuch trifling Objections againſt his Vindication of it, or the Poſſibility of doing ſo, when his Zeal was ſupported by prophetical Authority.

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[c] See chap. xxi. 9.
[d] Ver 11.
[e] Ver. 12.
[f] Ver. 45, 46.
[g] Mark xi. 18.
[h] Luke xix. 37, 38.
[i] Ver. 47, 48.
[k] See c. ii. 8, 9, 11.
[l] John iii. 2.
[m] See chap. iii. 1, 2, 3.

III. The Cavils of Mr. *Woolſton* being thus confuted, we proceed to conſider his Citations of the Fathers in favour of the allegorical Senſe of this Miracle of our Lord, by way of Excluſion of the literal Senſe of it. He begins with *Origen*, and pretends that this [o] *Father makes the whole but a Parable, and that he did not believe any Thing of the Letter of this Story.* But how falſe theſe Aſſertions are of *Origen*'s Sentiments of this Miracle, will fully appear from his genuine Commentary now extant, on this repeated Miracle. In the Beginning of his Commentary on this Miracle, as recorded by St. *Matthew*, he recapitulates what he had wrote in his former Commentary on it as deliver'd by St. *John*, and ſays, [p] "There we prove that even this Miracle was not the leaſt among the prodigious Powers or Works of *Jeſus*; becauſe being conſidered only as a Carpenter's Son, he uſed ſo great Liberty of Speech and Authority in caſting out of the Temple, in a public Aſſembly, thoſe that are deſcribed in this Account. —— And when *we had kept ſtrictly to, or obſerved, the Letter*, we likewiſe explained the Mind of *John* in a figurative Manner, to the beſt of our Capacity." After which *Origen* propoſes to conſider the Account of this Miracle as given by St. *Matthew*, and accordingly he writes thus: [q] "And firſt it ought to be mentioned what that Temple of God is, of which God made this Declaration in the Prophet, *My Houſe ſhall be called an Houſe of Prayer*. Agreeably then to the Circumciſion in the Fleſh, and the corporal Feaſts and Sacrifices of the Law, that was reputed the Temple of God, which was firſt built of inſenſible Stones by *Solomon*, was afterwards reſtored by *Ezra*, and after our Saviour's miniſterial Diſpenſation was at laſt deſtroy'd by the *Romans*. And that Houſe was underſtood to be an Houſe of Prayer, which being deſtroyed, it muſt be acknowledged that the *Jews*, as having now no longer an Houſe of Prayer, could no longer be ſaid to have the Privilege of being under the more immediate Care and Inſpection of God, which they were thought to enjoy, becauſe they offered up their Prayers in the Houſe of Prayer, after they had performed the Duties of their legal Service. But our Saviour, who likewiſe appointed ſome Symbols of his own Spiritual Actions, turned out of that Temple in the literal Senſe thoſe that ſold and bought there, overturned the Tables of the Money-changers, and the Seats of thoſe that ſold Doves, and ſpoke what is wrote of him on that Occaſion, for the Reformation of the People there preſent, who inſtead of keeping a ſolemn feſtival Aſſembly in the Name of God, abuſed that Leiſure in ſelling and buying, not in a Place properly ſuited to ſuch Affairs, but in the Temple, where thoſe that meet together ought to offer up Prayers, as in the Houſe of Prayer; but they did Things contrary to praying in it, there ſelling, and buying, and changing Money, and being placed on Seats to ſell Doves, as in an Houſe of Merchandize. But our Saviour then corrected thoſe indecent Actions of the *Jews*, reproving thoſe that, inſtead of keeping the Feſtival according to the Law, engaged there in Traffic, and indulged the Luxury of the Body." All this is ſo plain and Minute an Acknowledgment of the Truth of the literal Senſe of this Miracle by *Origen*, that it is amazing to conſider how any one could prevail with himſelf to aſſert ſo very roundly, that [r] *Origen* did not believe any Thing of the Letter of this Story. It is true indeed, that *Origen*, after this his Acknowledgment of the literal Senſe of this Miracle, allegorizes the whole Tranſaction, as a moral Purification of the living Temples of God, the Church of Chriſt; but this evinces too, that the myſtical Senſe, aſſign'd after the literal, was not thought by *Origen* to be at all inconſiſtent with it. And it is very obſervable, that even in the midſt of the myſtical Interpretation aſſigned by *Origen*, in order to carry on the Compariſon of both Senſes with greater Exactneſs, he repeats his Acknowledgment of the literal Senſe of this Miracle. For inſtance, he ſays thus in this very Commentary: [ſ] "Then *Jeſus* enter'd into the Temple of God, and purified it, by caſting out all thoſe that ſold and bought in the Temple, and by overthrowing the Tables of the Money-changers, and the Seats of thoſe that ſold Doves. But *now, &c.*" — Where he proceeds in a figurative manner to adapt this Miracle to the moral State of things both of the Clergy and Laity in his own Age. For *Origen* mentions both of them as the allegorical Objects of *Chriſt's* Reformation.

But 'tis ſaid, that [t] *Origen* has in his Commentary on this Miracle as recorded in St. *John's* Goſpel, formed a large Argument againſt the Letter of this Story. Of this Argument Mr. *Woolſton* gives the Subſtance, with ſome Improvements of his own. But certainly, if he had any honeſt Intention in reciting *Origen*'s Objections, he would likewiſe have recited *Origen*'s own Anſwer to thoſe Objections. We will here ſupply his Omiſſion. For *Origen* anſwers thus, notwithſtanding all his ſtrong Biaſs to myſtical Interpretation: " [u] But there is left one apologetical Anſwer to theſe Objections for any Perſon that is deſirous to preſerve the hiſtorical Senſe of this Miracle; namely, the very divine Power of *Jeſus*, which was ſuch, that he could, when he pleaſed, even appeaſe the inflamed Rage of his Enemies, overcome many thouſands of Men by his divine Grace, and diſſipate the Deſigns of the Factious: [w] *For the Lord bringeth the Counſel of the Nations to nought; he maketh the Devices of the People of none Effect; but the Counſel of the Lord ſtandeth for ever.* So that the Hiſtory of this Miracle, evinces that it was not at all leſs than any of his moſt amazing Miracles, that invited, by the Character of Divinity ſtamped upon them, all thoſe that ſaw them to the Chriſtian Faith. Indeed we may well pronounce it to be greater than that of changing Water into Wine at *Cana* of *Galilee*; becauſe he there only changed the Texture of inanimate Matter, but here he ſubdued the Free-Will of ſo many thouſand Perſons." But the Omiſſion of this Anſwer of *Origen* to his own Objection is very agreeable to our Author's diſingenuous Practice of repeating the Objections ſtarted, and paſſing over in Silence the Anſwers given to them, by the reſt of the Father as well as *Origen*.

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[o] See p. 23. Diſc. 1.

[p] Vid. Origen. Commentar. in Matt. p. 439, 440. part. prior. Edit. Huet.

[q] Vid. Origen. Commentar. in Matt. p. 440. ibidem.

[r] Pag. 23. Diſc. 1.

[ſ] Vid. Origen. Comment. in Matt. p. 441. ibid.

[t] Vid. Origen. in Matt. p. 443, 444. See p. 23. Diſc. 1.

[u] Vid. Origen. Commentar. in Joan. p. 173, 174. part. 2. edit. Huet.

[w] Pſ. xxxiii. 10, 11.

Before we leave *Origen*, we muſt beg of the Reader, that he will ſtop a little, and recollect that *Origen* himſelf, in this laſt Citation of him, has expreſly acknowledged that the moſt amazing Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* did invite, by the Character of Divinity ſtamped upon them, all that ſaw them to the Chriſtian Faith. This is an Aſſertion which cannot poſſibly be underſtood in any other than the literal Senſe of thoſe Miracles. And let the Reader at the ſame Time conſider, that Mr. *Woolſton* pretends, that thoſe Miracles were never wrought, in whole or in part, in the literal Senſe; that they were none of the proper Miracles of the Meſſiah, nor any good Proof of *Jeſus*'s Divine Authority. It is therefore demonſtrable how little Regard is due to this Author's Quotations of the Fathers, ſince even *Origen* oppoſes his Pretenſions, and acknowledges the Truth of the literal Senſe of this Miracle, and the true End and Deſign of this and all other Miracles of our bleſſed Lord.

IV. He goes on to cite *Hilary*,[x] as of the ſame Mind with *Origen*, and as ſaying that "this Story is only a Prefiguration of what will be done in *Chriſt*'s Church upon another Occaſion." But how true this Repreſentation of the Senſe of *Hilary* is, will ſoon appear very clearly. For though *Hilary* aſſerts that this Story is a Prefiguration of future Things, yet he does not deny nor exclude the literal Senſe when he applies the Words to that which is myſtical. And this, without any farther Trouble, is evident from the very Words that are cited out of *Hilary*, by our Author himſelf. For, ſays he, [y] "The Prefiguration of future Things is contained in what the Goſpel mentions as tranſacted at preſent." And if ſo, what contains future Things, muſt, by an unavoidable Conſequence, be a real Thing itſelf. And therefore the literal Senſe of this Story is preſuppoſed, as containing that which is myſtical. So that there may be a Prefiguration of future Things in this Story, as *Hilary* ſpeaks; and yet the whole is by no means merely a Prefiguration of what will be done hereafter, as is here pretended.

But our Author adds, [z] "As to the Letter of the Story, *Hilary* is plain enough that there was no ſuch Market kept in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*:" And on this Occaſion he reflects in the moſt ſcurrilous Manner on the Honour and Sincerity of the Evangeliſts. To give ſome Colour to this, he quotes *Hilary*, [a] as ſaying, that "the *Jews* had nothing to ſell, neither was there what could be bought by any one." But this Paſſage in *Hilary* is not at all uſed by him about the Market in the Temple. For after he has laid down in his myſtical Expoſition, that the *Doves* ſignify the *Holy Ghoſt*, he ſays, [b] "But neither is it to be imagined that the *Jews* could buy or ſell the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Synagogue." The Reaſon of which he ſubjoins immediately; [c] "For the *Jews* could neither ſell nor buy what they had not." It was therefore the Holy Ghoſt, and not the Market in the Temple, which was here ſpoken of immediately, and which *Hilary* here denied that the *Jews* had, and therefore could not ſell or buy what they had not. The Reſult, conſequently, is this, that 'tis a groſs Prevarication to aſſert, that *Hilary* is plain enough that there was no ſuch Market kept in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, as the Evangeliſts mention, and we may add likewiſe, as all the Fathers acknowledge.

V. The next Authority cited by Mr. *Woolſton* is that of St. *Ambroſe*, [d] *who is*, as he pretends, *for the Myſtery, and againſt the Letter of this Story*. But though he is confeſſedly for ſomething myſterious in it, yet he is not againſt the Letter of it. For can *Ambroſe*, though he is very fond of Allegories, be truly ſaid to be againſt the Letter of the Story, or to exclude the literal Senſe of it, when he ſays thus on this Occaſion?[e] "*Jeſus* taught in general, that there ought not to be any worldly Traffic in the Temple of God; and in particular, he drove the Money-changers out of it." And afterwards he acknowledges the Truth of the Facts relating to this Miracle, when he ſays in a witty Way; [f] "The Money is poured out, that Grace may be gather'd up; and the Table of the Money-changers is overthrown, that the Table of the Lord may be placed in its room," with more of the ſame Nature. —— He goes on, [g] "And it was not one ſupported with Forces and Riches that performed all this; but it was a Perſon that laſhed out the Crowd with a Scourge of ſmall Cords, to whom none of them durſt make Oppoſition." And even when he adds, [h] "that he does not underſtand according to the Letter, why *Chriſt* overthrew the Seats of thoſe that ſold Doves," he gives for it only this weak and inſufficient Reaſon (agreeably indeed to the uſual Method of Allegorizers) "That the Huckſters of Fowls could not claim to themſelves the Dignity of any honourable Chair in the Market; for what ſpecial Pre-eminence, ſays he, is there in Doves?" As if no other Sorts of Seats might have been uſed for the Eaſe and Conveniency of the Sellers of Doves. But whether or no the Letter was rightly underſtood by *Ambroſe*, this myſtical Senſe is not very intelligible to other Perſons. And indeed it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that this Father could not with the ſame Eaſe underſtand the Reaſon of the literal Senſe of *Chriſt's* overthrowing the Seats of thoſe who ſold Doves, as he did his overthrowing the Seats of the Money-changers, his forbidding ſecular Commerce in the Temple, or his driving the profane Multitude out of it; all which he acknowledged to be true in the literal Senſe, though on the very ſame Foundation with the other Inſtance. But though it ſhould be allowed, that *Ambroſe* did not diſcern, that the Reaſon aſſigned by himſelf, of our Lord's Prohibition of ſecular Commerce in the Temple, extended equally to his overthrowing the Seats of thoſe that there ſold Doves, and of the Money-changers there; yet it is evident that *Ambroſe* himſelf confeſſes the Fact, or the literal Senſe, of the one as well as of the other. For he takes for granted, even in the Quotation before us, that *Jeſus* did actually overthrow the Seats of thoſe that ſold Doves in the Temple, and only heſitates about the Reaſon of that Fact, which itſelf is acknowledged by him. And we may eaſily ſee the Reaſon of the Heſitation, namely that Father's being ſo blinded with the Prejudices of his myſtical Interpretations.

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[x] See pag. 24. Diſc. 1.

[y] Vid. Hilar. in Matt. c. 21.

[z] Ibid.

[a] In Matt. c. 21.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Ibid.

[d] See pag. 25. Diſc. 1.

[e] Vid. Ambroſ. in Luc. 19.

[f] Vid. Ambroſ. in Luc. 19. p. 143. Baſil. 1555.

[g] Vid. Ambroſ. ibid.

[h] Ambroſ. ibid.

VI. The next Father produced on the Occaſion of *Jeſus*'s Reformation of the Temple, is St. *Jerome:* Of whom Mr. *Woolſton* ſays, [i] that "as his Manner is in other Caſes, he firſt gives us a literal Expoſition of this Miracle, as far as it will bear it; but then corrects himſelf again, ſaying, there are Abſurdities in the Letter." Here it is very obſervable, that we have the Acknowledgment of this Author himſelf, that St. *Jerome* gives us a literal Expoſition of this Miracle, and that it is his Manner to do ſo in other Caſes. This Confeſſion of *Jerome*'s being a literal Commentator muſt have been extorted by the mere Force of Truth; and indeed if any Father can be ſaid to be a literal Expoſitor, *Jerome* is that Perſon. This is ſo certain a Truth, that the late great Scriptural Critic, *F. Simon*, has aſſured the World, that [k] "there is nothing left of any antient Author, from which we may better learn the literal Senſe of Scripture than from St. *Jerome*." And that he does not ceaſe to be a literal Expoſitor, when he ſuperadds a myſtical Interpretation to that which is literal, is acknowledged by this Father himſelf in the [l] Preface to his Commentary on St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel. The Truth of the Matter with regard to St. *Jerome*'s Expoſition of our Lord's Reformation of the Temple is this. That Father explains [m] the literal Senſe of this Miracle; and not only aſſerts "that it was a Miracle, but that it was in ſome reſpects the greateſt of all our Saviour's Miracles:" He ſhews "the evaſive Arts that were then uſed by the Prieſts in collecting ſeveral ſmall Gifts (inſtead of practiſing Uſury that was forbid by the Law) which were preſented by thoſe that had not any thing legal to offer. And as for thoſe that were rich enough, the Prieſts not only ſold them in the Temple what was wanting for Sacrifices, but this Father expoſes their Knavery by remarking farther, that they often ſold the very ſame Sacrifice to different Perſons." So that our Lord's ſevere Expreſſion of the Temple's being made not only an *Houſe of Merchandize*, but *a Den of Thieves*, is ſtrictly juſtified by *Jerome:* An Expreſſion, that was probably uſed by our Lord in alluſion to the rocky Caves or Dens in the mountainous Parts of *Judæa*, which were often the Receptacles of Thieves and Robbers.

It is true indeed, that after St. *Jerome*'s literal Expoſition of this Miracle, he allegorizes the Story, and transfers it from the Temple to the Church. In the midſt of which allegorical Expoſition he finds ſome Difficulty, and ſays thus: [n] "According to the plain Meaning *Doves* were not in Chairs, but in Coops or Penns; unleſs perhaps the Huckſters of Doves ſat in Chairs; which is wholly abſurd; becauſe the Dignity of Inſtructors is rather ſhewn in Chairs, or Seats; which Dignity is reduced to nothing when it is mixed with filthy Lucre." But does the Text ſay that *Doves* were in Chairs? Is it not expreſly mentioned, that the Seats here ſpoken of were thoſe of the Sellers of Doves? The Doves might ſurely be placed in Coops or Penns, and their Sellers ſit in Chairs for their own Conveniency.

But why is this Suppoſition abſurd? "Becauſe, ſays *Jerome*, the Chair is a Mark of Dignity, that is, of Maſters and Inſtructors; which Dignity ſuffers much when mixed with Gain." But if this be a Difficulty, it is one of *Jerome*'s creating, as founded on his own allegorical Expoſition; in which perhaps he too much gratified the Severity of his Temper, in reflecting on ſome of his Superiours that had diſguſted him, and particularly *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. He had ſpoken of Doves, as of the Gifts of the Spirit, and then thought fit to take notice that Doves were not in Chairs but in Coops, unleſs it be ſaid in the myſtical Senſe that the Huckſters of thoſe Spiritual Doves ſat in Chairs. Which Suppoſition, ſays he, is very abſurd, becauſe the Dignity of ſuch ſpiritual Huckſters is loſt by Gain. If therefore this be an Abſurdity, it is not one that is to be found in the Letter of the Story, but in the myſtical Expoſition itſelf that is aſſigned by St. *Jerome*. And conſequently, it is egregiouſly falſe as well as weak, to aſſert that *after* Jerome's *literal Expoſition of this Miracle, as far as it would bear, he corrects himſelf again, ſaying, there are Abſurdities in the Letter:* Which, we believe, now appears to every Reader, capable of reflecting, not to be ſaid by *Jerome*.

In fine, 'tis plain, that Mr. *Woolſton* had either ſuperficially read this Paſſage of *Jerome*, or repreſented it in a very unfair and partial Manner, not to uſe any harſher Expreſſions. And this Cenſure is ſtrongly confirmed by what *Jerome* writes immediately after in his 'foreſaid Commentary, in which he eſtabliſhes the literal Senſe aſſigned before by himſelf. [o] "Moſt Perſons, ſays he, are of Opinion, that the greateſt of *Jeſus*'s Miracles, are, *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, the giving Sight to the Man that was born blind, the Voice of God the Father heard at *Jordan*, and the Transfiguration of *Jeſus* on the Mount that ſhew'd the Glory of his triumphant State. But of all the Miracles that *Jeſus* performed, this ſeems to me to be the moſt wonderful, that a ſingle Man, and he at that Juncture deſpicable, could, in Oppoſition to the Scribes and Phariſees, who with Rage againſt him ſaw the Ruin of their worldly Gain, caſt out ſo great a Multitude with the Strokes of one ſmall Scourge, overthrow the Tables, deſtroy the Seats, and perform other Works that a great Army could ſcarce have effected. For in order to perform ſuch things, it muſt be ſuppoſed that there was ſome extraordinary bright and fiery Appearance which flaſhed out of his Eyes, and that the Majeſty of his Divinity ſhone in his very Aſpect."

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[i] Diſc. 1. p. 25.

[k] V. P. Simon dans l'Hiſt. Crit. du V. T. l. 3. c. 9.

[l] Vid. Hieron. Proœm. in Matt.

[m] Vid. Hieron. in Matt. tom. 9. p. 31, 32. Edit. Baſ. 1516.

[n] Vid. Hieron. in Matt.

[o] Vid. Hieron. in Matt. tom. 9. p. 31, &c.

VII. But we go on to conſider what is cited outof St. *Auſtin*, who, our Author ſays, is againſt the Letter of the Story of this Miracle. But this is what does by no means appear from the Paſſages here quoted. One of them runs thus: [p] "It was no great Sin if the *Jews* ſold in the Temple what was bought in order to be offer'd as Sacrifice in the Temple." To which ſhould be added "and yet he caſt them out from thence." Here it ought to be recollected, that the Fact itſelf is acknowledged by *Auſtin*; for otherwiſe it could have been no Sin at all, whereas it is ſtrongly implied by him to be a Sin. As to his ſaying it was not a great one, he ſpeaks merely in a comparative Senſe; for he adds immediately his Explication of it in theſe Words, [q] "What if he ſhould find Drunkards there? If the Houſe of God might not be made an Houſe of Merchandize, ought it to be made an Houſe of drinking to Exceſs?" So that immoderate Drinking there is conſider'd by *Auſtin* both as a Fact, and as one of greater Profaneneſs. And conſequently *Jeſus* did actually perform this Miracle in the literal Senſe; the Occaſion of it being compared by *Auſtin*, under the Character of a Fact, with another ſuppoſed Fact, as to their greater or leſs Enormity. This Father too ſays afterwards, [r] "He that was to be ſcourged himſelf by them, did firſt ſcourge them." And therefore *Auſtin* acknowledges the Truth of the Letter in the one as well as the other Scourging. Again, he ſays, [ſ] "Let us allegorically enquire into the Myſtery wrapped up in this Fact." By which he confeſſes the Truth of the Fact on which he grafts an Allegory, and with which his figurative Expoſition is ſo far from being inconſiſtent, that it neceſſarily ſuppoſes the Truth of the literal Senſe.

Again, *Auſtin* in his Allegory of this Miracle, does no more ſerve Mr. *Woolſton*'s ſatyrical than his allegorical Purpoſe. This Father asks, [t] "Who are they that ſell Sheep and Doves?" and immediately anſwers, "They are the Perſons that ſeek their own in the Church, and not the things that are *Jeſus Chriſt*'s." But this does not come up to our Author's Intention to abuſe the Clergy on this Occaſion. For whereas he ſays, that "*Auſtin* is very poſitive that Eccleſiaſticks, who are ſelfiſh, and make worldly Gain of the Goſpel, are here meant;" it is evident that *Auſtin* ſpoke not of their making worldly Gain in general, or of their having a juſt Maintenance, but only of ſuch worldly Gain and Selfiſhneſs as are inconſiſtent with their ſeeking the things that are *Jeſus Chriſt*'s: Which certainly a juſt Maintenance is not, as being what capacitates them more effectually to ſeek the things that are *Jeſus Chriſt*'s. And therefore thoſe allegorical Invectives againſt the Maintenance of the Clergy, which are to be found both here, and almoſt every where throughout his Diſcourſes on our Saviour's Miracles, have no Foundation.

Once more, when *Auſtin* repeats the Text, [u] *You have made my Houſe an Houſe of Merchandize, and a Den of Thieves*, he acknowledges, that thoſe whom *Jeſus* then ſpoke to had actually made it ſo; and therefore *Auſtin* confeſſes the Truth of the literal Senſe, tho' he adds, that others would in future Times ariſe in the Church that would abuſe their holy Office and the Church of Chriſt, and thereby would reſemble thoſe that profaned the Temple, and were actually expelled out of it by *Chriſt*. So that the Truth of the Fact is here again ſuppoſed, as it was indeed aſſerted before, by this Father. For on any other Suppoſition it would have been the ſame thing to ſay, "You have made my Houſe a Den of Thieves," as to uſe this Expreſſion, "Others will hereafter make my Houſe a Den of Thieves;" which is ſuch a Confuſion of paſt and future Times, and different Perſons, as is too abſurd to be admitted by any one that is not an Allegoriſt inconſiſtently with common Senſe as well as literal.

VIII. Laſtly, *Theophylact* is introduced by Mr. *Woolſton* [w] as agreeing with the foregoing Fathers, and as being an Allegoriſt too upon this Miracle. But the Pretence of his Authority againſt the Letter of it, is as vain and ill-founded as that of the other Fathers that have been now examined: For *Theophylact* is ſo far from denying the Fact of *Jeſus*'s driving the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, that he affirms our Lord performed that very Fact more than once; and indeed he gives excellent Reaſons for it.

This Father, after a Recital of the Words of the Text, ſays, [x] that "*Jeſus* caſt out thoſe that ſold there, as being Lord of that Houſe or Temple, ſhewing that his Father's Property, or Concerns, and his own are the very ſame. He likewiſe performed this Work, as well out of Sollicitude for preſerving the Decency of the Temple, as in order to ſignify the Alteration that would be made of the Sacrifices there, *&c.*" That is, the Alteration that would be made by the Subſtitution of Prayer alone, and of the Sacrifice of himſelf inſtead of the legal ones; and therefore the Cattle to be ſacrificed were emblematically driven out of the Temple. We may readily admit ſuch a Signification with *Theophylact*, as he does likewiſe the Fact, or literal Senſe of this Miracle. Nay, conſiſtently with the Acknowledgment of the Truth of the Fact, we may grant that *Chriſt* by this Miracle did farther ſignify the Calling of the Gentiles to be God's People; the Holineſs of whoſe Court was here vindicated by him from the Profaneneſs of ſecular Commerce; a Court, which however deſpiſed by the *Jews*, was Part of that Houſe of Prayer which was to be common to all Nations.

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[p] Auguſtin. in loc. Joan.
[q] Ibid.
[r] Ibid.
[ſ] Ibid.
[t] Ibid.
[u] Apud. Auguſtin. l. 2. Evang. Quæſt. ad Quæſt. 48.
[w] Diſc. 1. p. 27.
[x] Vid. Theophylact. Comment. in Matt. c. 21. p. 121. Ed. Paris.

But *Theophylact* farther comments on this Paſſage as a Fact in the other Goſpels, and particularly in that of St. *John*; where he tells us, [y] "that *Jeſus* here performed a Work full of great Authority." And again, "That by expoſing himſelf to Danger for the Houſe of God, he did not diſſolve the Law in oppoſition to God, but altogether as the Son of God, and as having equal Power with God the Father, who gave the Law concerning the Sabbath."

Our Author pretends, that *Theophylact* [z] "intimates in another Place that by Oxen and Sheep is meant the literal Senſe of the Scriptures." But he ſhould have expreſly referred to that Place of *Theophylact*, that it might be examined: For no ſuch Paſſage is to be found in his Commentaries on the Goſpels. And without ſome immediate Reference, 'tis already plain what little Regard is due to theſe imaginary Intimations of the Senſe of the Fathers. Much leſs do indecent Jeſts deſerve to be taken notice of on ſo ſerious an Occaſion. Neither is there more in our Author's Quotation of *Theophylact* in the allegorical Way, "That the Lord likewiſe overthrows the Table of ſuch an Inſtructor as does not teach the Word but for Gain;" ſince the Connection of this Paſſage requires that by Gain is here to be underſtood a Simoniacal Selling of ſpiritual Gifts; which is by no means to the Purpoſe. In a Word, notwithſtanding *Theophylact*'s additional Allegory of this Miracle, he not only acknowledges the Truth of the literal Senſe of this Miracle, but likewiſe of the reſt of the Scriptures, however they may be allegorized by him. And indeed it would be ſurprizing if he did not acknowledge and explain the literal Senſe of Scripture, ſince it is well known that his Commentaries, are chiefly Abridgments of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who muſt be confeſſed by all that conſult him to be far from excluding the literal Senſe of the Scriptures, which he generally explains in a very clear and rational Manner.

When therefore Mr. *Woolſton*, after the ſeveral Authorities of the Fathers that have been now examined, writes thus with much Aſſurance, [a] "Behold a wonderful Harmony among the Fathers in their Rejection of the literal, and Eſpouſal of the myſtical Senſe of this Miracle," the impartial Reader cannot but obſerve from what has been now laid before him, how falſe a Claim he has made to the Authorities of the Fathers that are cited by him; ſince it has been ſo fully evinced from themſelves, that they unanimouſly acknowledged the literal Senſe of this Miracle, notwithſtanding the allegorical Expoſitions that were added by them, in a manner very conſiſtent with the obvious Senſe of it. So that on the contrary, there is the greateſt Harmony poſſible among theſe Fathers, not excepting *Origen* himſelf, in favour of this miraculous Fact and the literal Interpretation of it.

IX. Having thus finiſhed the Examination of the Fathers upon this Miracle, we ſhould add a Word or two about our Author's Claim to the Authority of a celebrated modern Writer, namely [b] *Eraſmus*, to whom our profeſſed Admirer of the Antients has found it neceſſary to recur for Aſſiſtance. But he has done this with the very ſame ill Succeſs as he ſought the Protection of the Fathers. For *Eraſmus* not only explains literally this miraculous Fact of *Jeſus* in all the four Goſpels, and [c] particularly exſpatiates on the knaviſh Confederacy between the Merchants, and Prieſts, and *Levites*, to impoſe upon and rob the People with regard to Sacrifices, in his Expoſition of this Miracle as recorded by St. *John*; but that eminent Critic acknowledges the Fact itſelf in our Author's own Citation of him, where he ſays, [d] "that by this Fact *Jeſus* did ſignify ſome other thing," or had a much farther View, with regard to the inſatiable Avarice of ſome Perſons in his own Church. All this is readily allow'd, on Suppoſition of his Acknowledgment of the Truth of the Fact. For whatever myſtical Meaning *Eraſmus* might think fit to aſſign, it did not exclude, but was very conſiſtent with, a confeſſed miraculous Fact of *Jeſus* in reforming the Temple. And indeed *Eraſmus* was a Perſon of that good Judgment as to acknowledge the Truth of the literal Senſe not only of this, but of all the other Miracles of our Lord, however capable they may be of any additional Expoſitions in the figurative or myſtical Way. By this Method he has done no manner of Service to that extravagant Scheme, which excludes the literal Senſe of our Saviour's Miracles.

X. But after mentioning ſo able a Critic as *Eraſmus*, it is ſurprizing that Mr. *Woolſton* has thought fit to [e] offer his own Pretenſions to ſacred Criticiſm, and thereby to ſhew how vaſt an Interval there is between *Eraſmus* and himſelf in the Art of critically interpreting the Scriptures. For he is farther pleaſed to obſerve, tho' in too ludicrous a Manner, that "if the Fathers are right, (as they have been ſhewn to be, tho' not in his Senſe) then our Tranſlation is wrong, and that in a main Point; ſince inſtead of reading the foreſaid Place in St. *Matthew*, *And* Jeſus *caſt out them that ſold and bought*, it ſhould be, *thoſe that ſold and preached*, that is, *ſold what they preached*. For the Word *Agorazein*, does more properly ſignify to preach than to buy." Now that this Piece of Criticiſm was thrown out at all Adventures, or rather was deſigned to be abuſive, tho' very falſe in itſelf, appears very clearly to any Perſon that will be at the Trouble of conſulting the *Greek* Lexicographers. For whoever does ſo, will find that this Word does not at all ſignify, and much leſs properly, to ſpeak in a popular Aſſembly, or to preach. [f] *Heſychius* acquaints us that it ſignifies, to be converſant in the Market; and to buy, and to conſult or deliberate, *i. e.* judicially. But not one Syllable occurs in him of that Word's ſignifying, to preach or harangue. The very ſame Significations, and no other, are aſſigned by *Suidas* and *Phavorinus:* And therefore we need not be ſo tedious as to repeat them. And the ſame are mention'd too by *H. Stephanus*, the excellent Collector of the *Greek Theſaurus*, out of thoſe and many other Writers. In all theſe Authors not one Inſtance is produced to patronize the ſaid Criticiſm. But the plain Truth of the Matter is this: Mr. *Woolſton* was ſo tranſported with his favourite Inclination to throw Dirt upon his antient Brethren the Clergy, that he expoſed his own Ignorance in [g] confounding this Word with others, ſomewhat like it, which properly ſignify to ſpeak in a popular Aſſembly. This ought to have been a little better conſider'd, before he had given up the Reins to his Malice in ſo unſkilful a Manner. But whatever Diſpoſition any Perſon might have to play upon the Ambiguities of Language, yet it were enough to cure one of ſo indecent an Application, that he finds the Senſe of this Word to be here unavoidably fixed and determined to the Idea of *Buying*, not only by the very Occaſion of uſing that Word, the Temple's being made an Houſe of Merchandize, but likewiſe by its relative Connexion with the other Word, that gives the Idea of *Selling*, the [h] *Sellers* and *Buyers* being joined together in the Goſpel as the Perſons that *Jeſus* caſt out of the Temple.

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[y] Vid. Theophylact. in Joan. c. 2.

[z] Diſc. 1. p. 27.

[a] Diſc. 1. p. 27.

[b] Diſc. 1. p. 29.

[c] Vid. Eraſmi Paraph. in Johan. c. 2. p. 520. Baſ. 1541.

[d] Hoc facto longe aliud ſignificabat Jeſus, &c.—Vid. Eraſm. in Matt. c. 21. p. 114 ibid.

[e] Diſc. 1. p. 29 30.

We conclude with obſerving in a curſory Manner, how unfortunate Mr. *Woolſton* is in another critical Attempt to abuſe the Pulpit, a Place frequented formerly by himſelf. Says he, [i] "If *Trapezas*, which is tranſlated *Tables*, does properly ſignify *Pulpits*, who can help it?" And on this Occaſion he refers to *Scapula's Lexicon*, to prove that the Word *Trapeza* ſignifies the ſame with *Pulpitum* in *Ariſtophanes*. But does *Scapula*, or rather his great Original the foreſaid *H. Stephanus*, ſay any thing more than that *Trapeza* is the ſame with *Pulpitum*, as this Word ſignifies a *Stage* or *Scaffold* on which Slaves were publickly expoſed to Sale? Is it in the leaſt pretended by either of them, that *Trapeza* is the ſame with *Pulpitum*, as that Word ſignifies a raiſed Place, out of which it was, and is, uſual to make Orations, or to preach to the People? And if *Julius Pollux* is [k] there cited as quoting *Ariſtophanes* for the Uſe of the Word *Trapeza* in the Senſe of a raiſed Place to ſell Slaves on, what Connexion has it with a raiſed Place to harangue in, in which Senſe *Ariſtophanes* does not uſe it? And what is all this but ſporting with the equivocal Sound of the Word *Pulpitum*, tho' on a ſolemn Subject? But this is too trifling a Piece of nominal Ridicule to deſerve any other Treatment than mere Neglect.

DISSERTATION II.

A Deſcription of *Cana*, *Capernaum*, *Jeruſalem*, the Temple, *&c.*

I. *Deſign of this Diſcourſe.* Cana *and* Capernaum. II. Jeruſalem, *its Antiquity, Names, Extent*, &c. III. *Its Revolutions and Sieges.* IV. *To what Condition reduced by the* Romans. V. *Particulars concerning this City from the* Rabbies, &c. VI. *The Temple built.* VII. *Deſcription of the firſt Temple.* VIII. *Its Revolutions, Deſtruction by the* Babylonians, *and Rebuilding.* IX. *The firſt and ſecond Temple compared.* X. *Hiſtory of the ſecond Temple, and its Reſtoration by* Herod, *down to its final Deſtruction.* XI. *Deſcription of* Herod's *Temple from* Joſephus. XII, XIII. *Different Deſcriptions of the Temple from ſeveral Authors, with other Particulars.*

I. THE Scene of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of our Lord's Life was *Jeruſalem*, the Capital of *Judea*, ſo famous in the Hiſtorical Books both of the Old and New Teſtament. We have already had Occaſion frequently to mention this City and its Temple, and we ſhall find ourſelves continually under the ſame Neceſſity of naming them throughout our whole Hiſtory. As we promiſed, therefore, at the Beginning, to give ſome Account of all the Towns and Countries mentioned in the Evangelical Story, 'twill be but doing Juſtice to the Dignity of the ſaid City and Temple, if we treat of them a little more particularly than of any other Places. Indeed, the Helps which may be had under theſe Articles are greater than may be had elſewhere; many eminent and learned Men having taken abundance of Pains to bring together all the Materials that are to be found in the Bible, *Joſephus*, and the Rabbies, relating hereto, and from the whole to draw up very minute Deſcriptions. But we ſhall not, however, trouble the Reader with more of their Performances, than is neceſſary either for the Expoſition or Illuſtration of the preſent Work: And we could not any where more properly introduce theſe Extracts, than after a Chapter which treats of our Lord's firſt Appearance at *Jeruſalem* after his Baptiſm, and of his driving out of the Temple the Buyers and Sellers, who had profaned that Houſe of Prayer by turning it into a public Market.

But firſt, to obſerve Order, we muſt take ſome little Notice of two other Towns mentioned [a] in the third Chapter of this Book, which have not yet been deſcribed, becauſe we were unwilling to intermix a topographical Account with what followed in the Diſſertation ſubjoined to that Chapter, we mean the Arguments in Defence of our bleſſed Saviour's Miracles, and particularly of that performed at *Cana*, the firſt of the ſaid Towns.

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[f] Vid. Heſychium, p. 15. Lugd. Bat. 1668.

[g] Ἀγοράζω with ἀγορεύω and ἀγοράομαι

[h] Vid. Matt. xxi. 12.

[i] Diſc. 1. p. 30.

[k] Apud. H. Stephani Theaſaur. Græc.——

[a] See Page 185.

1. This little City[b], belonging to the Tribe of *Zabulon*, is ſaid to lie between *Sepphoris* and *Nazareth*, about ſix Miles Weſtward of the former. It is called *Cana* of *Galilee* to diſtinguiſh it from other Places of the ſame Name; one of which,[c] belonging to the Tribe of *Aſher*, was ſituate not far from *Sidon*, and conſequently ſeveral Miles Northward of this *Cana* of *Galilee*. *Calmet* mentions likewiſe another *Cana*, commonly called *Sepher-Cana*, about four Miles to the North of *Nazareth*. As for the *Cana* ſpoken of by *Joſephus*[d], it ſeems more likely that he ſhould have called it *Kenath*. Mr. *Mandrell* tells us, [e] "That he and his Company taking their leaves of *Nazareth*, directed their Courſe for *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*; in order to which, going firſt Northward, they croſſed the Hills that encompaſs the Vale of *Nazareth* on that Side: After which they turned to the Weſtward, and paſſed in View of *Cana* of *Galilee*, the Place ſignalized with the beginning of *Chriſt*'s Miracles." [f] Here lived, as ſome ſuppoſe, *Alphæus*, otherwiſe named *Cleophas*, whoſe Wife was *Mary*, the Siſter or Couſin-German of the bleſſed Virgin: And at her Houſe the Marriage, to which our Lord was invited, is ſuppoſed to have been kept. However this be, certain it is that this *Cana* of *Galilee* was the native Place, or at leaſt the Dwelling-place, of *Nathaniel*, otherwiſe called *Bartholomew*: For the Evangeliſt *John* expreſly ſtiles him [g] *Nathaniel* of *Cana* in *Galilee*.

2. The other of thoſe two Towns is *Capernaum*, whither our Lord went with his Relations and Diſciples after the Miracle at *Cana*, and where he abode till he went to *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of unleavened Bread. Hither alſo he afterwards went when he made his miraculous Eſcape from his Townſmen of *Nazareth*; and this was, in ſhort, the uſual Place of his Reſidence during the three Years and a half of his public Miniſtry. On theſe Accounts *Capernaum* may ſeem to merit a larger Deſcription than we ſhall here give, or indeed than we are able to give, there being very little extant that can be of any Service in this Matter. [h] 'Tis never once mentioned in the Old Teſtament, either under this or any other Name, and therefore we may conclude, that it was not then in being, and conſequently that it was one of the Towns built by the *Jews* at their Return from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, *upon the Sea-Coaſt*, that is on the Coaſt *of the Sea of* Galilee, *in the Borders of* Zabulon *and* Nephtalim, which was the upper Part of the ſaid Sea-Coaſt. It took its Name, ſays [i] Dr. *Wells*, without doubt, from an adjoining Spring, of great Repute for its Chryſtaline flowing Waters; this Fountain or Spring being, as *Joſephus* [k] informs us, called by the Natives [l] *Capernaum*. And as the Excellency of this Fountain was, in all probability, one Inducement to the Building of the Town in the Place where it ſtood; ſo the Conveniency of it for a Waſting-Place from *Galilee* to the other Side of the Sea, ſeems to have been another Motive for the making choice of that Situation. The remarkable Prophecy of [ll] *Iſaiah*, (which, as quoted [m] by St. *Matthew*, runs thus, *The Land of* Zabulon *and the Land of* Nephtalim, *by the Way of the Sea beyond* Jordan, Galilee *of the Gentiles*,) as it was fulfilled by our Saviour's Habitation in *Galilee*, ſo it ſeems peculiarly to allude to the Situation of *Capernaum*: For it intimates, that as the Goſpel ſhould be preached chiefly within *the Lands of* Zabulon *and* Nephtalim in general, ſo more particularly at that City or Town, whence was, or ſhould be, *the Way by Sea* from *Galilee* to the Country *beyond Jordan*. This Northern Part of *Galilee* was called *Galilee of the Gentiles*, either becauſe it was very populous, or becauſe it was inhabited by Gentiles as well as *Jews*. If for the latter Reaſon, as we are moſt ready to believe, we may diſcover ſome farther Meaning in our Lord's Choice of this Place for his Dwelling; as the Mixture of People who were his frequent Auditors, alluded to the Univerſality of his Goſpel, which after his Reſurrection he ſent by his twelve Apoſtles *to all Nations*, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, *Greeks* and *Barbarians*.

What may further be obſerved concerning *Capernaum*, is, that on account of the ſignal Honour conferred on it by its being choſen for his Dwelling-Place, it is ſaid by our Lord himſelf to [n] *be exalted unto Heaven*: But on account of its not making a right Uſe of this extraordinary Favour, it drew from him that ſevere Sentence, that it *ſhould be brought* [o] *down to Hell*. Which latter Words are now fully verified; it being [p] quite fallen from the State it enjoy'd in the Times of the New Teſtament, and ſo decay'd, as long ſince to conſiſt but of ſix poor Fiſhermen's Cottages. According to *Calmet*, indeed, [q] this Place was ſtill to be ſeen in the ſeventh and eighth Centuries: For which he quotes *Adamnanus* and St. *Willibaldus*; the firſt of whom ſays, that it extended itſelf from Weſt to Eaſt, having a Mountain on the North, and the Lake of *Tiberias* on the South. But how much theſe Authors are to be relied on, we leave to their Determination who think the Matter deſerves a ſtrict Enquiry into, and proceed to what is more material, the Deſcription of *Jeruſalem* and its Temple.

II. The ancient Names of this City (called by the *Greeks* and *Romans Solyma* and *Ieroſolyma*) were [r] *Jebus* and *Salem*. The *Hebrews* called it *Jeruſchalaim*, or *Jeruſchelem*; which Word, ſays

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[b] Calmet's Dict. and Wells's Geog. of the New Teſtament.

[c] Joſh. xix. 28.

[d] Joſeph. Ant. l. 5. c. 8.

[e] Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 115.

[f] Wells, ibid.

[g] John xxi. 2.

[h] Wells's Geog. of the New Teſt. Pt. I. p. 64.

[i] Ibid.

[k] De Bello, l. iii. c. 18.

[l] Caper noma, or Capharnaüm, ſays Calmet, who places it at a diſtance from the Town of Capernaum.

[ll] Iſai. ix. 1, 2.

[m] Matth. iv. 15, 16.

[n] Matth. xi. 23.

[o] Ibid.

[p] Wells ubi ſupra.

[q] See Calmet's Dict. *in Capernaum*.

[r] Joſh. xviii. 28. Gen. xvi. 18. Heb. vii. 1.

[s] *Calmet*, may ſignify *The Viſion of Peace*, or *the Poſſeſſion*, or *Inheritance of Peace*. According to ſome, the Word *Jeruſalem* is compounded of the two antient Names, *Jebus* and *Salem*, where the *b* in *Jebus* is changed into *r* for the ſake of a better Sound. There is ſome Difficulty in determining to which Tribe *Jeruſalem* originally belonged: For we find, on one hand, that *Joſhua* [t] gave it to the Tribe of *Benjamin*, after he had [u] taken and put to Death the King of *Jeruſalem* at the famous Battle of *Gibeon*. By what means the Natives became again poſſeſſed of it, and [w] why the *Benjamites* did not entirely drive them ont, is no where ſaid; but we are certain that it was partly, at leaſt, in the Hands of the *Jebuſites* again, ſoon after the Death of *Joſhua*, and [x] continued ſo till the Time of *David*. On the other Side, this City appears to have been within the Diviſion of the Tribe of *Judah*, when we read, [y] *That the Children of* Judah *could not drive out the* Jebuſites, *the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem; that the [z] *Children of* Judah *took and burnt* Jeruſalem; that *David*, [a] who was of the Tribe of *Judah*, as ſoon as he was acknowledged King, *marched againſt* Jeruſalem, *took it*, and made it *the Seat of his Kingdom*. In a Word, the Pſalmiſt makes *Jeruſalem* to be a Part of *Judah*, when he ſays [b] that the Lord *choſe not* Ephraim, *but the Tribe of* Judah, *and Mount* Sion. To reconcile theſe different Texts, it may be ſaid, that *Jeruſalem* being upon the Frontiers of the two Tribes, it was ſometimes made a Part of the one, and ſometimes of the other; and that tho' *Benjamin* might have moſt right to it, according to *Joſhua*'s Diviſion, yet it was *Judah*'s by right of Conqueſt, that Tribe having thrice ſubdued it.

Herodotus [c] makes mention of *Jeruſalem* by another Name; for ſpeaking of the Expedition of *Necho*, and of the Battle which he fought at *Megiddo*, [d] (or *Magdolum* as he calleth it) where *Joſiah* was ſlain, he ſaith, "that after the Victory there obtained by him, he took the great City *Cadytis*: Which City he afterwards deſcribes to be a mountainous City in *Paleſtine*, of the Bigneſs of *Sardis* in *Lydia*, the chief City of all *Leſſer Aſia* in thoſe Times. By which Deſcription this City of *Cadytis* could be none other than *Jeruſalem*. For that is ſituated in the Mountains of *Paleſtine*, and there was then no other City in thoſe Parts, which could be equalled to *Sardis*, but that only. And it is certain from Scripture that after this Battle *Necho* did take *Jeruſalem*: For he [e] was there when he made *Jehoiakim* King. There is indeed no mention of this Name, either in the Scripture, or in *Joſephus*. But that it was however called ſo in the Time of *Herodotus* by the *Syrians* and *Arabians* doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the Eaſtern Nations by no other Name, but one of the ſame Original, and the ſame Signification, even to this Day. For *Jeruſalem* is a Name now altogether as ſtrange among them, as *Cadytis* is to us. They [f] all call it by the Name of *Al-kuds*, which ſignifies the ſame that *Cadytis* doth, that is, *The Holy*. For from the Time that *Solomon* built the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and it was thereby made to all *Iſrael* the common Place of their religious Worſhip, this Epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called in the ſacred Writings of the Old Teſtament, [g] *Air Hakkadoſh*, that is, *The City of Holineſs*, or, *The Holy City*, and ſo alſo [h] in ſeveral Places in the New Teſtament. And this ſame Title they gave it in their Coins: For the Inſcription of their Shekles (many of which are ſtill extant) was, [i] *Jeruſalem Keduſhah*, that is, *Jeruſalem the Holy*. And this Coin going current among the neighbouring Nations, eſpecially after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity had made a Diſperſion of that People over all the Eaſt, it carry'd this Name with it among them, and they from hence called this City by both Names, *Jeruſalem Keduſhah*, and at length for Shortneſs ſake, *Keduſhah* only; and the *Syrians* (who in their Dialect uſually turned the *Hebrew ſh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the *Syriac* in the Time of *Herodotus* being the only Language that was then ſpoken in *Paleſtine* (the *Hebrew* having been no more uſed there, or any where elſe, as a vulgar Language, after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity) he found it when he travelled thorough that Country to be called there in the *Syriac* Dialect *Kedutha*, from whence by giving it a *Greek* Termination, he made it in the *Greek* Language *Cadytis* in his Hiſtory, which he wrote about the Time that *Nehemiah* ended his twelve Years Government at *Jeruſalem*. And for the ſame Reaſon that it was called *Keduſha*, or *Kedutha*, in *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, the *Arabs* in their Language called it [k] *Bait Almokdes*, that is, *The Holy-Buildings*, or, *The Holy City*; and often, with another Adjective of the ſame Root and the ſame Signification, *Bait Alkuds*, and at length ſimply *Alkuds*, or, *The Holy*, by which Name only [l] it is now called by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other Nations of the *Mahometan* Religion in thoſe Parts. And that it may not look ſtrange to prove an antient Name by the modern Name which is now given that Place, it is neceſſary to acquaint the Reader, that the *Arabs* being the antienteſt Nation in the World, (who have never been by any Conqueſt diſpoſſeſſed, or driven out of their Country, but have there always remained in a continued Deſcent from the firſt Planters of it even to this Day) and being alſo as little given to make Changes in their Manners and Uſages, as they are to their Country, they have ſtill retained thoſe ſame Names of Places, which were at firſt given them, and on their getting the Empire of the Eaſt, reſtored them again to many of them, after they had been for ſeveral Ages extinct by the intermediate

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[s] Calmet's Dict. in Verb.

[t] Joſh. xviii. 28.

[u] Joſh. x. 23—40. & xii. 10.

[w] Judg. i. 21.

[x] 2 Sam. v. 6—10.

[y] Joſh. xv. 63.

[z] Judg. i. 8.

[a] 2 Sam. v. 6.

[b] Pſal. lxxviii. 68.

[c] Prideaux's Connect. Pt. I. b. 1.

[d] 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

[e] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

[f] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137. Sandys's Travels, B. iii. p. 155. Baudrandi Geographia ſub voce Hieroſolyma.

[g] Nehem. xi. 1—18. Iſa. xlviii. 2. & chap. lii. 1. Dan. ix. 24.

[h] Matth. iv. 5. & chap. xxvii. 53. Rev. xxi. 2.

[i] See Lightfoot's Works, V. I. p. 497. & V. II. p. 303. and Walton's Apparatus before the Polyglot Bible, p. 36, 37.

[k] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137.

[l] Sandys's Travels, B. iii. p. 155. Baudrandi Geograph. ſub voce Hieroſolyma.

Changes that had happen'd in them. And thus [m] the antient Metropolis of *Egypt*, which from *Mezraim* the Son of *Ham*, the firſt Planter of that Country after the Flood, was called *Meſri*, and afterwards for many Ages had the Name of *Memphis*, was on the *Arabs* making themſelves Maſters of *Egypt* again called *Meſri*, and hath retained that Name ever ſince, tho' by the building of *Cairo* on the other Side of *Nile* over-againſt it (for *Meſri* ſtands on the Weſt-ſide of that River) that antient and once noble City, is now brought in a manner to Deſolation. For the ſame Reaſon the City of *Tyrus*, which was antiently called [n] *Zor*, or *Zur*, (from whence the whole Country of *Syria* had its Name) hath ſince it fell into the Hands of the *Arabs* on the erecting of their Empire in the Eaſt, been again called [o] *Sor*, and is at this Day known by no other Name in thoſe Parts. And by the ſame Means the City of *Palmyra* hath again recovered the old Name of *Tadmor*, by which it was called [p] in the Time of *Solomon*, and is now known in the Eaſt by no other Name. Abundance of Inſtances might be given in the Eaſt to this Purpoſe: And the like may be found nearer home: For it is well known, that the *Welſh* in their Language do ſtill call all the Cities in *England* by the old *Britiſh* Names, by which they were called 1300 Years ago, before the *Saxons* diſpoſſeſſed them of this Country; and ſhould they recover it again, and here get the Dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again reſtore to all Places here the ſame *Britiſh* Names by which they ſtill call them."

Having ſaid thus much of the Original and Name of this City, and to prove that it was not ſo much unknown to the moſt antient prophane Authors, as ſome would inſinuate, we ſhall now take a ſhort View of the Place itſelf. And here we cannot follow a better Author than the learned and judicious Mr. *Sandys*, whoſe Deſcriptions and Draughts of the remarkable Places in and about *Jeruſalem*, are acknowledged to be ſo faithful and perfect by the Reverend Mr. *Maundrell*, who travelled thither about eighty Years after him, that they leave very little to be added by After-comers, and nothing to be corrected.

"This City, ſays our [q] Author, is ſeated upon a rocky Mountain, every Way to be aſcended (except a little on the North:) With ſteep Deſcents, and deep Valleys, naturally fortified: For the moſt part environed with other not far removed Mountains; as if placed in the midſt of an Amphitheatre. For on the Eaſt is Mount *Olivet*, ſeparated from the City by the Valley of *Jehoſaphat* (which alſo circleth a Part of the North;) on the South the Mountain of *Offence*, interpoſed with the Valley of *Gehinnon*; and on the Weſt it was formerly fenced with the Valley of *Gihon*, and Mountain adjoining. To ſpeak ſomething thereof as it flouriſhed in the Days of our Saviour; it was divided then into four Parts, ſeparated by ſeveral Walls, ſtretching Eaſt and Weſt, as if ſo many ſeveral Cities. The next the South over-looking the reſt, and including Mount *Sihon*, was then called, *The upper City*, but before, *The City of* David. In the midſt whereof he erected a ſtrong and magnificent Caſtle; the Seat of the ſucceeding Kings. In the Weſt-corner, and upon the Wall, ſtood his Tower. Here King *Herod* built a ſumptuous Palace, containing two Houſes in one, which he named by the Names of *Cæſar* and *Agrippa*: It was adorned with Marble, and ſhining with Gold; in Coſt and State ſuperior to the Temple. The Walls of this Part of the City, broken down by *Antiochus*, were ſtrongly repaired by the *Maccabees*; which adjoining every way with the Downfall of the Rock did make it impregnable. But *Sion* raiſed in that general Subverſion, is now for the moſt part left out of the City. From the Upper City they deſcended into the Nether, which was plentifully inhabited. This Part, as ſome deliver, was named *The Daughter of Sion*; in Greatneſs by far exceeding the Mount. On the Eaſt-ſide of this *Sion*, upon Mount *Moriah*, ſtood that glorious Temple of *Solomon*; and between it and the Mount *Sion*, his Throne, his Palace, (which by a high Bridge had a Paſſage into the Temple) the Palace of the Queen, and the Houſe of the Grove of *Libanus*; now all without the Walls of the City. Weſt of the Temple, and on a high Rock, the Palace of the *Maccabees* was ſeated, which ſurveyed the whole City. It was re-edify'd, and dwelt in by King *Agrippa*; near unto which ſtood the Theatre built by King *Herod*, adorned with exquiſite Pictures; expreſſing the Conqueſts, Trophies, and Triumph of *Auguſtus*. Againſt the South-corner of the Temple ſtood the Hippodrome, made alſo by *Herod*, wherein he inſtituted divers Exerciſes, of five Years Continuance, in honour of the Emperor. And [r] when he grew old, and unrecoverably ſick, knowing how acceptable his Death would be to the *Jews*, he cauſed the chief of them to be aſſembled together, and to be there ſhut up; that his Death, accompanied with their Slaughter, might at that Time, in deſpite of their Hatred, procure a general Lamentation.

Within the Weſt Wall of the City, and near it, was Mount *Acra*, ſteep and rocky, where once ſtood a Citadel erected by *Antiochus*, and razed by *Simon*, who abated the extraordinary Height thereof, that it might not ſurmount the Temple. Hereon *Helena*, Queen of the *Adiabeni*, (a Nation beyond *Euphrates*) built her Palace; who converting from Paganiſm to Judaiſm, forſook her Country, and dwelt in *Jeruſalem*. Afterwards embracing the Chriſtian Religion, ſhe much relieved the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in that Famine prophecied of by *Agabus* (which happened in the Reign of *Claudius Cæſar*) with the Corn ſhe bought, and cauſed to be brought out of *Egypt*. Without the City ſhe had her Sepulchre, not far from the Gate of *Ephraim*; adorned with three

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[m] Bocharti Phaleg. Pt. I. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 152, 153, &c.

[n] So it is called in the Original Hebrew Text of the Old Teſtament wherever there is mention of this City therein.

[o] Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130, 131. Baudrandi Geogr. ſub voce Tyrus. Thevenot's Travels, Pt. I. b. 2. chap. 60. p. 220.

[p] 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.

[q] Sandys's Travels, lib. iii. p. 121, 122.

[r] See Page 89 of this Work.

Pyramids, and undemoliſhed in the Days of *Euſebius*. On the North-ſide of *Acra* ſtood *Herod*'s Amphitheatre, ſpacious enough to contain fourſcore thouſand People, imitating in the Shews there exhibited, the barbarous Cruelty of the *Romans*. Near unto the North-Wall of this ſecond Part ſtood the Common Hall, and Courts of Juſtice. And adjoining well-nigh to the North-ſide of the Temple, upon a ſteep Rock, fifty Cubits high, ſtood the Tower of *Baris*, belonging to the Prieſt of the Race of *Aſmonæans*. But *Herod* obtaining the Kingdom, and conſidering how convenient a Place it was to command the City, built thereon a ſtately ſtrong Caſtle, having at every Corner a Tower, two of them being fifty Cubits in height, and the other two threeſcore and ten; which, to inſinuate with *Antonius*, he called *Antonia*. In this the *Romans* did keep a Garriſon, ſuſpiciouſly over-eying the Temple; leſt the *Jews* being animated with the Strength thereof, ſhould attempt ſome Innovation. On the North-ſide of *Antonia*, a Gallery croſſed the Street unto the Palace of the *Roman* Preſident.

Now for the third City, which was but narrow, and whoſe Length did equal the Breadth of the other: The Weſt-end thereof, as the Circuit then ran, was wholly poſſeſſed by the Royal Manſion of King *Herod*; confining on the three Walls: For Coſt exceſſive, and for Strength impregnable; containing Groves, Gardens, Fiſh-Ponds, and other Places of Delight, and for Exerciſe. On the South-Eaſt Corner of the Wall ſtood *Mariamne*'s Tower, fifty Cubits high, beſides the natural Height of the Place. It was of excellent Workmanſhip, and built in the Memory, and retaining the Name, of his too well-beloved Wife, by him raſhly murdered. On the South-Weſt Corner ſtood that of *Phaſaelis*, threeſcore and ten Cubits high, exceeding ſtrong, and in Form reſembling the Tower of *Pharus*. And in the North-Wall, on a lofty Hill, ſtood the Tower of *Hippicus*, eighty four Cubits high, four-ſquare, and having two Spires at the Top, in Memorial of the *Hippici* his two Friends, both of them ſlain in his Wars. In this third City were the Houſes of many of the Prophets, and that of *Mary* the Mother of *John Mark*, frequented by the Primitive Chriſtians."

The fourth Part of *Jeruſalem* lay North of this, and was called the *New City*; once but a Suburb to the other, and inhabited by the baſer Tradeſmen. The Out-wall hereof was re-edified by King *Agrippa*, and made of a wonderful Strength, (the whole City only on that Side aſſailable) in Height twenty-five Cubits, and fortified with ninety Towers, two hundred Cubits diſtant from each other. The Soil where the *New City* ſtood, and a part of the next, is now left out of the Walls of *Jeruſalem*.

The learned Gentleman from whom this is quoted, makes the Compaſs of *Jeruſalem*, before it was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar* [s], to be about fifty Furlongs: But *Calmet*, [t] after obſerving that it was at no Time ſo large as when beſieged by the *Romans*, allows it then to be no more than three and thirty Furlongs in Circumference, that is four Miles and an hundred and twenty-five Paces. This he confirms by a Quotation from *Joſephus*, who ſpeaking of the Wall of Circumvallation which *Titus* made about the City, informs us, that it was nine and thirty Furlongs round. This Author, [u] however, allows, that others deſcribe it to be of a much larger Extent, and refers for the Arguments on both Sides to *Villalpandus* and *Reland*. [w] We ſhall ſee hereafter how far the preſent *Jeruſalem* is in Circuit.

III. Tho' 'tis a pretty general Opinion that *Salem*, of which *Melchiſedek* was King, was *Jeruſalem* in its Infant State, yet there are ſome who make a Difficulty of allowing this. St. *Jerom* [x] thinks that the *Salem* of *Melchiſedek* was a Village near *Scythopolis*, where, he ſays, the Ruins of that Prince's Palace were to be ſeen in his Time, and were ſo extraordinary as ſufficiently to ſhew what had formerly been the Magnificence of the Edifice. The Author of the Paſchal Chronicle ſays likewiſe, that he ſaw the Village where was formerly the Dwelling-place of *Melchiſedek*; and Mr. *Reland* will not believe that this Prince ever reigned in *Jeruſalem*. On the other hand, the Name of *Salem* is given to *Jeruſalem* in the Old Teſtament, after this latter Name was appropriated to it. We ſhall not enter into a Diſpute of ſo little Conſequence, but inſtead of it run over the Revolutions of this City in Times that are better known.

The *Jebuſites* were Maſters of it during the Times of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, the *Judges*, and till the Reign of *David*. The Children of *Judah*, after the Death of *Joſhua*, got Poſſeſſion of it: But either they could not keep it, or they took only the Lower Town, the Citadel continuing in the Hands of the *Jebuſites*. Theſe People, [y] 'tis thought, were Maſters of this City, either wholly or in part, eight hundred and twenty four Years: And ſo confident were they of the Fort's being impregnable, that when *David* came againſt it, they [z] placed their Blind and Lame upon the Walls, in Contempt of his Power, as ſufficient to repulſe ſuch an Enemy. But *David* [a] took Mount *Sion* by Force, drove out the *Jebuſites*, embelliſhed and conſiderably augmented the City, and, removing from *Hebron*, made it the Capital of his Kingdom. From this Time, if not before, the Name of *Jebus* began to be loſt in *Jeruſalem*.

Solomon added to *Jeruſalem* ſo many great and beautiful Works, that he made it one of the fineſt Cities in the Eaſt. Under the Reign of *Rehoboam*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Solomon*, [b] it was taken and ſack'd by *Shiſhak* King of *Egypt*, who carried away all the Treaſures of the Temple and of the Royal Palace, both of which were built and adorned by *Solomon* at almoſt an incredible Expence. Under the Reign of *Joaſh*, *Hazael* King of *Syria* being come againſt *Jeruſalem*, [c] it was redeemed with a great Sum of Money; to raiſe which, *Joaſh* made uſe of all the Treaſures of God's Houſe, and of the Palace. Yet *Hazael* ſent an Army the next Year, who defeated that of *Judah*, took and ſlew ſeveral of the Princes, and left *Joaſh* himſelf languiſhing under violent Diſeaſes. And ſome time after this, *Amaziah* the Son of *Joaſh*, King of *Judah*, havingly raſhly declared War againſt *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael*, this [d] latter took him Priſoner, entered *Jeruſalem*, carried away all the Treaſures, and demoliſhed four hundred Cubits of the City Walls.

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[s] Sandys ubi ſupra.

[t] Calmet's Dict. in Jeruſalem.

[v] Ibid.

[w] Palæſtin t. 2. l. 3. p. 836, 837.

[x] Hieron. Ep. ad Evang. See Gen. xiv.

[y] See Sandys, who quotes Adrichomius.

[z] 2 Sam. v.

[a] An. Mund. 2956. Ant. Chriſt. 1044. Ant. Ær. Vulg. 1048.

[b] 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26, 27. An. M. 3033. Ant. Chriſt. 967. Ant. Ær. Vulg. 971.

[e] About two hundred Years after this, *Joſiah* being ſlain at *Megiddo*, *Pharaoh Necho* [f] entered *Jeruſalem* took *Jehoahaz*, whom the People had ſet on the Throne in the room of his Father, and carried him into *Egypt*, where he died. We do not read in Scripture, that *Necho* pillaged either the City or the Temple; but he impoſed a Tax on the Land of an hundred Talents of Silver, and ten Talents of Gold; which *Jehoiakim*, whom he left King in the room of *Jehoahaz*, was obliged to raiſe by a Capitation upon all the People, in proportion to their Fortunes.

In the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*'s Reign, *Nebuchadnezzar* being come into *Judea*, laid Siege to *Jeruſalem*, which was then tributary to the King of *Egypt*; and having ſubdued it, [g] he left *Jehoiakim* to reign there as his Tributary, tho' he had at firſt put him in Irons, with an Intent to carry him Priſoner to *Babylon*. Thus the different Paſſages wherein this Event is ſpoken of, are reconciled; ſome of which imply, that *Jehoiakim* was carried to *Babylon*, and others that he continued to reign. From this firſt taking of *Jeruſalem*, began the famous ſeventy Years of Captivity; and they may be juſtly computed from hence, if we conſider to what a degree of Servitude the Nation was now reduced. At the end of three Years *Joboiakim* rebelling againſt his Maſter, this latter came and enter'd *Jeruſalem* a ſecond time, took *Jehoiakim* and put him to Death, and caſt his Body into a Common Sewer. After this, though two more Kings ſucceeded to the Throne of *Judah*, their Reigns were only a continued Series of Troubles: *Jeruſalem* was twice more taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and pillaged of its Wealth, which, together with the Veſſels of the Temple, and almoſt all the People, were tranſported to *Babylon*.

When the ſeventy Years of Captivity were over, [h] *Jeruſalem* began to be rebuilt and repeopled, in conſequence of the Decree made by *Cyrus* for that purpoſe: But it was above eighty Years longer before the Walls and Gates of it were finiſhed. From this Time till *Jeruſalem* fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, and from thence till it was deſtroy'd by *Titus*, it would be tedious to recount all the Changes it underwent. Two of the moſt remarkable of its Sieges during this long Period, were thoſe by *Antiochus Sedetes* and *Herod*; the firſt of whom came to revenge himſelf for the Affronts he had received from *Simon Maccabæus*, the latter to make himſelf Maſter of the *Jewiſh* Nation. But beſides the Hardſhips it underwent during theſe Blockades, it was ſeveral times moſt unmercifully pillaged by the foreign Princes, who, in the Courſe of their Conqueſts got it into their Poſſeſſion. Notwithſtanding which, it was very much enlarged and beautify'd by the *Aſmonæan* Princes, ſome of whom reigned with great Splendor. And all theſe were again outdone in Magnificence by *Herod*, of whoſe public Buildings and Benefactions we have before ſpoken in our [i] Account of his Life.

In fine, the laſt, and moſt memorable, of all the Sieges of antient *Jeruſalem*, was that which it maintained againſt *Titus*, at the Head of the *Roman* Army, under the Empire of his Father *Veſpaſian*. All the moſt profound and wonderful Effects of Art were put in practice at this Siege; and the Courage and Reſiſtance of the Beſieged was not inferior to the Skill, Valour, and Bravery of the Beſiegers. All the Calamities which generally accompany long Defences, fell upon this unhappy City, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* [k] had foretold: Peſtilence and Famine were as deſtructive to it, as the Fury of its Enemies. In a Word, this was the laſt Effect of God's Wrath, which determined the utter Annihilation of that proud People, the *Jews*, for all their Ingratitude and Perfidiouſneſs towards him. The Deſcription which *Joſephus* gives of this Siege is admirably grand and pathetic, and ſhews how exactly the Prophecies of our bleſſed Saviour were fulfilled therein: To illuſtrate which Prophecies, we may hereafter take from the *Jewiſh* Author ſome ſhort Extracts of his ſaid Deſcription. A few other Particulars concerning the Revolutions of *Jeruſalem*, will naturally come in with our Account of the Temple; all we ſhall ſay more of it in this Place, is only, that it was in the Year of the World 4070, of *Jeſus Chriſt* 70, and of the Vulgar Æra 66, that *Jeruſalem* was taken by *Titus*, and reduced to a Wilderneſs.

IV. *Joſephus* remarks, [l] that *Titus*, after he had taken the City of *Jeruſalem*, commanded his Soldiers to demoliſh it entirely, excepting [m] three Towers, which were the largeſt and moſt beautiful. Theſe he was deſirous to preſerve, as a Monument of the Valour of the *Romans*, who were able to take a Place of ſuch great Strength. He likewiſe ordered the Wall to be left ſtanding, which encloſed the City on the Weſt-ſide, that it might ſerve as a Rampart to the Camp, there appointed to remain, with Troops to guard the Country. All the reſt of the City was ſo deſtroy'd and levelled, that they who had never before ſeen it, could ſcarce perſuade themſelves it had ever been inhabited. Nay, the *Jewiſh* Authors aſſure us farther, that *Turnus Rufus*, or rather *Terentius Rufus*, [n] whom *Titus* left to command the Troops, plowed up the Ground on which the Temple ſtood, that none might ever after be permitted to rebuild it. The *Roman* Laws indeed prohibited the rebuilding of Places, where this Ceremony had been performed, without firſt obtaining Permiſſion from the Senate: But it is believed that this did not happen, we mean that the Ground on which the Temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood, was not plowed up, till after the Revolt of the *Jews* under *Adrian*. Some are of Opinion, that *Jeruſalem* was not deſtroy'd in ſuch a manner, but that ſtill ſome Inhabitants remained there, either dwelling among the Ruins with the *Roman* Troops, or living in Lodgings which they had provided themſelves ſomewhere thereabouts.

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[c] 2 Kings xii. 17. & 2 Chron. xxiv. 24, 25.

[d] 2 Kings xiv. 13. & 2 Chron. xxv. 23. An. Mund. 3178. ant. Chriſt. 822. ant. Ær. Vulg. 826.

[e] An. Mund. 3394. ant. Chriſt. 606. ant. Ær. Vulg. 610.

[f] 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2, &c. Dan. i. 1. Jer. xxv. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[g] An. Mund. 3401.

[h] An. Mund. 3468. ant. Chriſt. 532. ant. Ær. Vulg. 536.

[i] See from Page 84 to 90 of this Work.

[k] Jerem. ix.

[l] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 18.

[m] Phaſaelis, Hyppicus, & Mariamne.

[n] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 20.

Epiphanius aſſerts, that the Houſe whither the Apoſtles retired after the Aſcenſion of the Son of God, and in which they received the Holy Ghoſt, was preſerved, together with ſeven Synagogues, which were likewiſe on Mount *Sion*, and in the Neighbourhood of this Houſe. Beſides, [o] ſays *Calmet*, we know the Names of the ſeveral Biſhops taken from the Synagogue, who governed the Church at *Jeruſalem* from *Jeſus Chriſt* till *Adrian*'s Time, when a Biſhop choſen from among the Gentiles was placed there. And *Euſebius* [p] goes ſtill farther than *Epiphanius*; for he will have it that *Titus* preſerved half the City, agreeably to the Prediction of the Prophet [q] *Zachary*, which ſays, *Half of the City ſhall go forth into Captivity, and the Reſidue of the People ſhall not be cut off from the City*; where by the Reſidue he underſtands, that Portion of the Buildings and People that remained till the Days of *Adrian*. Laſtly, St. *Jerome* maintains, [r] that Mount *Moriah*, where the Temple ſtood, and *Sion*, where the Palace was, were left entire by *Titus*. But all this is [s] founded only on what *Joſephus* ſays, of *Titus*'s leaving that Part of the Wall ſtanding, which encloſed *Jeruſalem* on the Weſt-ſide; for that Part of the Wall, it has been imagined, included half the City, eſpecially ſince it is added, that the Towers *Phaſaelis*, *Hippicus*, and *Mariamne*, which are believed to have been in the upper Part of the City, were left untouched. However, there is ſtill a better Argument to prove that *Jeruſalem* was not utterly deſtroy'd by *Titus*, which is, that as the tenth Legion was appointed to remain on the Spot, we may preſume they did not continue there alone and naked, but that they preſerved ſome Houſes to dwell in, and ſome Families of the *Jews* for the Service of their Troops. Nor will the allowing thus much in the leaſt derogate from the literal Accompliſhment of our Saviour's Prophecy, ſince what was left unfiniſhed by *Titus*, was completed a few Reigns after by *Adrian*, and ſince even *Titus* put an End both to the Temple Worſhip of the *Jews*, and to all Appearance of Civil Authority amongſt them.

V. The [t] Rabbies pretend, that God wrought continual Miracles in the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. 1. No Women, they ſay, ever miſcarried by ſmelling the Meats ſacrificed in the Temple, or by eating to Exceſs of them. 2. Fleſh placed upon the Altar never corrupted, tho' it were left there ſeveral Days without conſuming; as it ſometimes happened, when the Victims were many. 3. The High-prieſt never contracted any Pollution the Night before the great Day of Expiation. 4. The Rain never extinguiſhed the Fire of the Altar. 5. The Wind did not hinder the Smoke from aſcending like a Pillar towards Heaven. 6. There never was any Defect or Putrifaction diſcovered in the Manna which was preſerved in the golden Omer, nor in the Shew-bread. 7. The *Iſraelites* never found that they were too much crouded in the Courts of the Temple, let the Aſſembly be ever ſo numerous. 8. No one ever failed to get a Lodging at *Jeruſalem*, when he came thither to worſhip. 9. *Jeruſalem* never ceaſed to be Holy after its Conſecration by *Solomon*; nothing that happened to it from that time being capable to pollute it.

They affirm farther, that this City was common to all the Tribes, and not ſubject to the Law which required all Murders committed within the Confines of any Tribe to be expiated with the Blood of a young Heifer. No Houſe there belong'd to him that had bought it, as his Property. None were allow'd to have Gardens or Orchards within the Compaſs of the City, nor were there any Sepulchres there but thoſe of *David* and *Huldah*. Dead Bodies were not permitted to be carried thro' the Streets, when they were removed from one Place to another.

Jeruſalem at firſt was very ſmall, and this is the Manner, [u] ſay the ſame Doctors, by which it was gradually enlarged. When any additional Buildings were to be raiſed, the King, the Great Sanhedrim, and ſome Prophet, conſulted the *Urim* and *Thummim* thereupon. Having agreed in the Meaning of the Oracle, the Counſellors of the Sanhedrim pronounced two Hymns of Thankſgiving to the Lord. This done, they took two Loaves of leavened Bread, and going out amidſt People playing on Muſic, ſtopp'd at each Corner of a Street, and at every public Building pronounced theſe Words: [w] *I will praiſe thee, O God, for thou haſt lifted me up.* Being come at laſt as far as the Place to which the City was to be enlarged, the Proceſſion ſtopp'd; and of the two Loaves, one was eaten, the other burnt. We may add to theſe Remarks from the Rabbies, [x] that the other Eaſtern Nations, as well as the *Jews*, affirm *Jeruſalem* to have been built by *Melchiſedek* the Son of *Shem*, who, they ſay, brought hither the Body of *Adam*, which had been kept by *Noah* in the Ark. They alſo maintain, that it is ſituated in the very Center of the habitable Earth, agreeable to this Expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt, [y] *Thou haſt wrought Salvation in the midſt of the Earth.*

Thoſe Inhabitants that were left in *Judea* after the Deſtruction of the Temple, [z] were ſeverely taxed by *Titus* and *Domitian*, thoſe Emperors adding to their own Revenues (which before were three hundred ſeventy thouſand, eight hundred and thirty three Pounds, ſix Shillings and Eightpence, annually from that little Province) the vaſt Sums which were raiſed for the Service of the Temple; and in exacting thoſe Sums *Domitian* was ſo rigorous as to cauſe antient Perſons to be ſtripp'd, in order to diſcover whether or no they were *Jews*. *Nerva*, who ſucceeded *Domitian*, abated ſomewhat of this Severity; but notwithſtanding this, as Miſery is apt to make People mutinous, the *Jews* rebelled in the Reign of *Trajan* the next Emperor, when they did abundance of Miſchief, and were reduced at laſt with great Difficulty. Under *Adrian* their Inſurrections were renew'd; and *Barchochebas*, who at that Time aſſumed the Character of the Meſſiah, encouraged theſe Diſorders to ſuch a Degree, that they ended in a more complete Deſtruction of that miſerable People and their darling City.

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[o] Dict. in the Word *Jeruſalem*.
[p] Euſeb. Demonſtrat. Evang. l. 6.
[q] Zech. xiv. 2.
[r] Hieron. & Cyril. in Zach.
[s] Calmet in Verb.
[t] Calmet, ibid.
[u] Talmud. Halacah, Beith, Habberhira, c. 10.
[w] Pſalm xxx. 1.
[x] Calmet, ubi ſup.
[y] Pſalm lxxiv. 12.
[z] Baſnage, Hiſt. of the Jews, b. vi. c. 8.

In theſe Struggles the *Jews* fought like People in Deſpair, and ſeveral Times worſted the *Roman* Lieutenants in *Judea*; ſo that the Emperor thought it neceſſary to ſend for *Julius Severus*, one of his beſt Generals, out of *England*, to put an end to theſe Troubles, and quite demoliſh *Jeruſalem*. He did it at laſt; but not till five hundred and fourſcore thouſand of the *Jews* were ſlain, according to their own Computation; and on the Side of the *Romans* periſh'd not a few. *Adrian* rebuilt *Jeruſalem* from the Ground, and call'd it [a] *Ælia Capitolina*; forbidding the *Jews*, under the ſevere Penalty of Death, ever to enter it any more. Many of theſe unhappy Wretches were ſold at public Fairs for the Price of Horſes; and thoſe who could not be put off in this Manner, were ſent into *Egypt*. In a Word, a Temple was built to *Jupiter* in the Place where *Chriſt* roſe from the Dead; a Marble *Venus* was ſet up on Mount *Calvary*, where the Croſs ſtood; a Hog in Marble was plac'd upon the Gate that led to *Bethlehem*; and at *Bethlehem*, a Grove was planted in honour of *Adonis*, to whom was dedicated the Cave of our bleſſed Saviour's Nativity: From all which Particulars it appears, that the Emperor's Vengeance was levelled againſt the *Jews* and the Chriſtians at the ſame Time, tho' theſe latter were not excluded from entering the City, but continued to have their Biſhops there as before. *Julian* the Apoſtate, we are told, encourag'd the *Jews* to rebuild their Temple, in order to croſs the Prophecy of our Saviour: But Providence viſibly oppoſed their Undertaking, tho' ſo ſtrongly ſupported.

Calmet [b] ſays, that the Eaſtern Nations at preſent call *Jeruſalem Ilia*, as well as the *Holy City*; which is a manifeſt Corruption of *Ælia*. The ſame Author [c] adds, That *Mahomet*, when his Sect firſt appear'd in the World, commanded all *Muſſulmen* at their Devotions to turn towards *Jeruſalem*; and that after his Death, the Generality of his Companions were for burying him in that City. When the Chriſtians had Peace, they built a magnificent Church, where the Temple had formerly ſtood: But the *Turks* becoming Maſters of the Holy City, they built a Moſque in the ſame Place, which, of all their Places of Devotion, next to thoſe of *Mecca* and *Medina*, is the moſt frequented by them. Beſides the Church abovementioned, there were ſeveral other fine Structures raiſed at *Jeruſalem* by the Chriſtians, and particularly by *Helena* the Mother of *Conſtantine*, in ſuch Places as are moſt remarkable in the Goſpel. 'Twould be too tedious to give an Account of them all in this Place, and of the many Struggles which Chriſtian Princes have had with the *Saracens* for maintaining of them.

VI. And now we muſt return back as far as the Original of this Temple which we have juſt mention'd, in order to give the Deſcription and Hiſtory of it; as we have already done of the City.

Upon the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Egypt*, it pleaſed God to give poſitive command to *Moſes*, [d] for making a Tabernacle, to be a Sanctuary, or Place ſet apart for religious Worſhip. This Tabernacle was no other than a ſort of large moveable Tent. Hereupon, [e] after the Lord had reveal'd to *David* that *Jeruſalem* was the Place he had choſen, wherein to fix his Habitation, that pious Prince, having by the divine Bleſſing got reſt from all his Enemies round about him, began to think it very improper that *he himſelf ſhould dwell in a Houſe of Cedar, whilſt the Ark of the Lord dwelt only within Curtains*; and, in conſequence of this Reflection, projected a Deſign of preparing a Temple for the God of *Iſrael*, that might be ſomething worthy of his divine Majeſty. This bare Reſolution was highly acceptable to God; who nevertheleſs in his infinite Wiſdom thought it not convenient that *David* ſhould execute his Project, but acquainted him by the Prophet *Nathan*, that this Honour was reſerv'd for *Solomon*, his Son and Succeſſor, who was to be a peaceable Prince, whereas he himſelf had ſhed much Blood in the many Wars he had waged. And by way of Recompence for his religious Intention, the Prophet had Commiſſion to tell him moreover, in the Name of the Lord, *The Lord will build thee an Houſe*; that is, *I will not take away my Mercy from thy Son, which ſhall ſucceed thee, as I took it from him that was before thee, but I will ſettle him in mine Houſe, and in my Kingdom, for ever, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſh'd for evermore.* Upon this Notice of the divine Approbation of his Purpoſe, tho' not of his perſonal Execution thereof, *David* [f] return'd thanks to God in a very devout Manner, and applied himſelf to the collecting of great Quantities of Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, and ſuch other Materials as were neceſſary for the Accompliſhment of this great Undertaking.

What God had foretold, that *Solomon*, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne of his Father, punctually perform'd; building an Houſe to the Name of the Lord God of *Iſrael*, the moſt magnificent, rich, beautiful, and every way glorious Structure, that ever was erected, as appears from the [g] Accounts of it in Scripture. And yet this incomparable Edifice was no more than ſeven Years in building; a Thing hardly credible, if we were not alſo informed particularly what a vaſt Number of People were employ'd only in providing Materials for it in Mount *Lebanon*; namely, [h] thirty thouſand Workmen, who wrought ten thouſand a Month by Courſes; threeſcore and ten thouſand Labourers, that bare Burdens; and fourſcore thouſand Hewers in the Mountains; beſides three thouſand and three hundred Officers, to overlook the Work of the Reſt.

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[a] Ælia from the Name of his own Family, and Capitolina in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom it was dedicated.

[b] In the Word *Jeruſalem*.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Exod. xxv. 8, 9.

[e] 2 Sam. vii. 1—17. See alſo, 1 Chron. xxii. 6—16. 1 Kings viii. 18, 19, 20. v. 5. and vi. 12.

[f] 2 Sam. vii. 17, &c.

The Place that was pitch'd upon for erecting this magnificent Temple, was Mount *Moriah*, which was a Part of Mount *Sion*. Its Entrance or Frontiſpiece ſtood towards the Eaſt, and the moſt holy and retir'd Place was towards the Weſt. *Solomon* laid the Foundations of it in the Year of the World 2992, before *Chriſt* 1008, before the vulgar Æra 1012: It was finiſh'd in the Year of the World 3000, juſt 1000 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, and [i] dedicated in 3001, which was 1003 Years before the Vulgar Æra. The Reader may ſee ſo much in the Chapters referr'd to concerning the immenſe Sums expended in this Work, that we believe he will be better pleaſed with having a ſatisfactory Account of the Means by which *David* and *Solomon* procur'd ſuch ſurpriſing Quantities of Gold and Silver, than with a Catalogue of the Ornaments and Utenſils in which it was employ'd.

“[k] King *David* was the firſt that began a Traffic through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coaſts of *Africa*, on the Weſt, but alſo to thoſe of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*, on the Eaſt. This Trade was carried on by him and his Succeſſors, till the Days of *Ahaz* King of *Judah*; and they reaped a prodigious Profit from it. For *David* having [l] conquered the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Maſter of two Seaport Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, [m] which then belonged to that Kingdom; and ſeeing the Advantage, which might be made of the Situation of theſe two Places, he wiſely took the Benefit of it, and there began this Traffic. There are two Places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is *Ophir* and *Tarſhiſh*. From the former of theſe *David* in his Time drew great Profit: For the three thouſand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is ſaid [n] to have given to the Houſe of God, ſeem to be of that Gold of *Ophir* which he himſelf had by his Fleets in ſeveral Voyages brought to him from thence. For what he had reſerved for this Work out of the Spoils of War, the Tributes of the conquered Nations, and the public Revenues of his Kingdom, is before mentioned [o], and amounted to a [p] prodigious Sum. The three thouſand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, and *out of his own proper Goods*, or private Eſtate, which he had beſides what belonged to him as a King. And how he could increaſe that ſo far, as out of that only to be able to give ſo great a Sum, can ſcarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great Returns, which were made him from this Traffic. For the Gold alone amounted to [q] above one and twenty Millions of our Money, beſides the ſeven thouſand Talents of refined Silver [r] which were included in the ſame Gift. After *David* [s] *Solomon* carried on the ſame Traffic to *Ophir*, and had from thence in one Voyage [t] four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold. And if *Solomon* got ſo much in one Voyage, well might *David* have gained the Sum above-mentioned in the ſeveral Voyages, which were made thither for him from the Time that he had ſubdued the Land of *Edom* to the Time of his Death, which was at leaſt twenty five Years. But it muſt be acknowledged that *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only by his greater Wiſdom, but alſo by his greater Application to all the Buſineſs of it: For not being perplexed and incumber'd with ſuch Wars as his Father *David* was, he had more Leiſure to attend thereto. And therefore for the better ſettling of it, he [u] went in Perſon to *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, and there took care by his own Inſpection for the Building of his Ships, the fortifying of both thoſe Ports, and the ſettling of every thing elſe, which might tend to the ſucceſsful carrying on of this Traffic, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other Parts where the Sea, on which theſe Ports lay, opened a Paſſage. But his chiefeſt Care was to plant thoſe two Towns with ſuch Inhabitants, as might be beſt able to ſerve him in this Deſign. For which Purpoſe he brought thither from the Sea-Coaſts of *Paleſtine* as many as he could get, of thoſe who had been there uſed to the Sea, eſpecially of the *Tyrians*, [x] whom his Friend and Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from thence furniſhed him with in great Numbers; and theſe were the moſt uſeful to him in this Affair. For they being in thoſe Days, and for many Ages after, the moſt ſkilful of all others in Sea Affairs, they were the beſt able to navigate his Ships, and conduct his Fleets, through long Voyages. But the Uſe of the Compaſs not being then known, the way of Navigation was in thoſe Times only by Coaſting, which often made a Voyage to be of three Years, which now may be finiſhed almoſt in three Months. However this Trade ſucceeded ſo far, and grew to ſo high a Pitch under the wiſe Management of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to theſe two Ports, and from thence to *Jeruſalem*, all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*; which was the chief Fountain of thoſe immenſe Riches, which he acquired, and [y] whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his Time as much as he did by his Wiſdom; ſo that [z] he made Silver to be at *Jeruſalem* as the Stones of the Street, by reaſon of the great Plenty, with which it there abounded during his Reign."

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[g] See 1 Kings v, vi, vii. and 2 Chron. ii, iii, iv.

[h] 1 Kings v. 13.

[i] 1 Kings viii. and 2 Chron. v, vi, vii.

[k] See Prideaux's Connect. Pt. i. b. 1.

[l] 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Kings xi. 15, 16. 1 Chron. xviii. 13.

[m] 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

[n] 1 Chron. xxix. 4.

[o] Chron. xxiv. 14.

[p] This Sum is ſo prodigious, as gives Reaſon to think that the Talents, whereby that Sum is reckoned, were another ſort of Talents, of a far leſs Value than the Moſaic Talents. For what is ſaid to be given by David, (1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16, and xxix. 3, 4, 5.) and contributed by his Princes, (xxix. 6, 7, 8.) toward the building of the Temple at Jeruſalem, if valued by theſe Talents, exceeded the Value of eight hundred Millions of our Money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that Temple of ſolid Silver.

[q] For three thouſand Hebrew Talents of Gold reduced to our Money amount to twenty one Millions and ſix hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling.

[r] 1 Chron. xxix. 4.

[s] 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, 28. and x. 11, 12. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. and x. 10—21.

[t] 2 Chron. viii. 18. The four hundred and fifty Talents here mentioned amount to three Millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds of our preſent Sterling Money.

[u] 2 Chron. viii. 17.

[x] 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron. viii. 18. and ix. 10—21.

VII. To return from this Digreſſion. The Authors of the firſt Book of *Kings*, and of the Second Book of *Chronicles*, (to whom we referr'd the Reader for an Account of the Ornaments and Utenſils of the Temple) have chiefly made it their Buſineſs to deſcribe the *Sanctum*, the *Holy of Holies*, and the Apartments thereunto belonging, which were ſometimes, by way of emphaſis, and indeed not improperly, called the Temple, in diſtinction from the Courts and open Areas that encloſed them. Nevertheleſs theſe latter made far the largeſt, and perhaps the moſt magnificent, tho' not the moſt holy and moſt coſtly, Part of that auguſt Edifice, which *Solomon* raiſed for the Worſhip of the Supreme Being: And for this Reaſon they deſerve to be deſcribed, as well as the ſacred Apartments themſelves. Theſe Courts were, indeed, all of the Temple that the Laity were ſuffered to enter; ſo that when we read of the People's going into the Temple, or of any particular Perſon's going thither, that was not a Prieſt, theſe Courts only are to be underſtood. Thus it is throughout the whole Hiſtory of our bleſſed Saviour, and his Apoſtles: From which we may learn, that how much ſoever the Name of Temple was confined at firſt, or in a more emphatical way of uſing it; in the latter Times of the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation, and in the vulgar and general Acceptation of it, that Name was common to the whole Fabrick, including as well the Courts as the Sanctuary.

The Prophet *Ezekiel* has ſupplied the abovemention'd Defect of the ſacred Hiſtorians, in the Account he gives of his Viſion, where he makes the Angel his Attendant to [a] meaſure the Courts of his viſionary Temple, as well as the more retired Parts thereof. It muſt be own'd, indeed, that the Temple, after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, was never reſtored according to the Plan which *Ezekiel* hath delineated; but as the Meaſures which he ſets down for the Sanctum and Sanctuary, are nearly the ſame with thoſe of *Solomon's* Temple, and as *Ezekiel* himſelf was a Prieſt, and had ſeen the whole Building before its Deſtruction, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that he hath obſerved the ſame Exactneſs throughout his whole Deſcription, as he hath in thoſe Parts which we are capable of examining by comparing them with the Hiſtory. The following may ſerve for a general View of the whole Building.

[b] The Ground-plot upon which the Temple was built, was a Square of ſix hundred [c] Cubits, or twenty five thouſand Royal Feet. This Space was encompaſſed with a Wall, of the Height of ſix Cubits, and of the ſame Breadth. Beyond this Wall was the Court of the Gentiles, being fifty Cubits wide. After this was ſeen a great Wall, which encompaſſed the whole Courts of the Children of *Iſrael:* This Wall was a Square of five hundred Cubits. The Court of *Iſrael* was encompaſſed all round with magnificent Galleries, ſupported by two or three Rows of Pillars. It had four Gates, or Entrances; one to the Eaſt, another to the Weſt, a Third to the North, and the Fourth to the South. They were all of the ſame Form and Largeneſs, and each had an Aſcent of ſeven Steps. The Court was paved with Marble of divers Colours, and had no Covering; but the People, in Caſe of need, could retire under the Galleries that were all round about. The Court of the Prieſts was placed in the midſt of the Court of the People, and was a perfect Square, having on every Side the Length of an hundred Cubits. It was encompaſſed without by a great Wall, of an hundred Cubits in the Square; and all within were covered Galleries, and Apartments round about. Theſe Apartments were to lodge the Prieſts in, and to lay up ſuch Things as were neceſſary for the Uſe of the Temple. There were but three Ways to come in, to the Eaſt, to the North, and to the South, and they went to it by an Aſcent of eight Steps. Before, and over-againſt, the Eaſtern Gate of the Prieſt's Court, in the Court of *Iſrael*, was erected a Throne for the King, being a magnificent Alcove, whereon the King ſeated himſelf when he came into the Temple. Within the Court of the Prieſts, and over-againſt the ſame Eaſtern Gate, was the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, of twelve Cubits ſquare according to [d] *Ezekiel*, or of ten Cubits high and twenty broad, according to the Author of the [e] *Chronicles*. They went up to this Altar on the Eaſtern Side, whether by Steps or [f] without is a matter of Diſpute.

Beyond this, and to the Weſtward of the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, was the Temple, ſtrictly ſo called; that is to ſay, The Porch or Entrance, the Sanctum or Holy Place, and the Sanctum Sanctorum or Holy of Holies. The Porch was twenty Cubits wide, and ſix Cubits deep: Its Gate was fourteen Cubits wide. The Sanctum was forty Cubits wide, and twenty deep: There ſtood the Golden Candleſtick, the Table of Shew-bread, and the Golden Altar, upon which Incenſe was offered. The Holy of Holies was a Square of twenty Cubits; having nothing in it but the Ark of the Covenant, which included the Tables of the Law, the Golden Pot of Manna, and *Aaron*'s Rod. The High-Prieſt entered here but once a Year; and none but he was permitted to enter. *Solomon* had embelliſhed the Inſide of this Place with Palm-Trees in *Relievo*, and Cherubims of Wood covered with Plates of Gold: And in general the whole Sanctuary was adorned, or as it were overlaid, with Plates of Gold. Round the Sanctum and Sanctorum were three Stories of Chambers, to the Number of thirty three. *Ezekiel* makes them but four Cubits wide; but in the firſt Book of *Kings* five Cubits are allowed to the firſt Story, ſix to the Second, and ſeven to the Third. The Reader may from hence have a general Idea of the firſt Temple, properly called the Temple of *Solomon*.

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[y] 1 Kings x. 23. and 2 Chron. ix. 22.
[z] 1 Kings x. 27. and 2 Chron. xx. 36.
[a] Ezek. xl, xli, xlii.

[b] Calmet's Diction. in the Word *Temple*. The curious Reader may compare this Deſcription with thoſe in the Books of Kings, Chronicles, and Ezekiel, jointly. Such Draughts as are neceſſary for the Illuſtration of theſe Things, will be delivered before this Work is completed.

[c] A Cubit originally was nothing elſe but the Diſtance from the Elbow bending inwards to the Extremity of the middle Finger; which Meaſure, ſays Ariſtotle, is the fourth Part of a well-proportioned Man's Stature. This Definition fixes the Cubit to about eighteen Inches: in which Proportion we had better acquieſce, than trouble ourſelves with the various Opinions of learned Men about the different Sorts of Cubits.

[d] Ezek. xliii. 12, 13.
[e] 2 Chron. iv. 1.
[f] Dr. Prideaux, whoſe Words we ſhall quote a little lower, is of the latter Opinion.

VIII. This Edifice, as well as the City in which it was contained, ſuffered a great many Revolutions, from the Time that it was firſt conſecrated by *Solomon* till it was finally deſtroy'd by *Titus*. We ſhall not here enlarge upon thoſe Revolutions that were common to both City and Temple, at leaſt not repeat ſuch Particulars as were taken notice of in our Account of the City, but proceed immediately to what was there omitted.

[f] *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, having called to his Aſſiſtance *Tiglath-Pilneſer* King of *Aſſyria*, againſt the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Damaſcus*, who were at War with him, robb'd the Temple of the Lord of its Riches, to give away to this ſtrange King; and not contented with this, he [g] prophaned the Holy Place, by ſetting up there [h] an Altar like one he had ſeen at *Damaſcus*, and taking away the brazen one that *Solomon* had made. He alſo took away the brazen Sea from off the brazen Oxen that ſupported it, and the brazen Baſons from their Pedeſtals, and the King's Throne, or Oratory, which was of Braſs. Nor did he ſtop here, but carried his Wickedneſs ſo far [i], as to ſacrifice to ſtrange Gods, and to erect profane Altars in all the Corners of the Streets of *Jeruſalem*. He pillaged the Temple of the Lord, broke the ſacred Veſſels, and laſtly ſhut up the Houſe of God. All this happened between the Years of the World 3264, when he began theſe Prophanations, and the Year 3278, when he ended his wicked Life.

Hezekiah, the Son and Succeſſor of *Ahaz*, opened again, and repaired, the Gates of the Temple, which his Father had ſhut up, and robb'd of their Ornaments. [k] He reſtored the Worſhip of the Lord, and the Sacrifices, and made new ſacred Veſſels, in the room of thoſe that *Ahaz* had deſtroy'd; and all this immediately after he came to the Throne. But in the fourteenth Year of his Reign, [l] *Sennacherib* King of *Aſſyria* coming with an Army into the Land of *Judah*, *Hezekiah* was forced to take all the Riches of the Temple, and even the Plates of Gold which he himſelf had put upon the Gates of it, to give them to the King of *Aſſyria*. But when *Sennacherib* was gone back into his own Country, there is no doubt but the pious *Hezekiah* reſtored all theſe Things to their former Condition.

The wicked Offspring of this good Prince was *Manaſſeh*, who, when he came to the Throne, prophaned the Temple of the Lord, by ſetting [m] up Altars *to all the Hoſt of Heaven*, even in the Courts of the Houſe of the Lord. [n] For this Idolatry God delivered him into the Hands of the King of *Babylon*, who loaded him with Chains, and carried him away beyond the *Euphrates*. There he acknowledged and repented of his Sins; and, being ſent back to his Dominions, redreſs'd the Prophanations he had made in the Temple, by taking away the Idols, deſtroying the prophane Altars, and reſtoring the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, upon which he offered his Sacrifices. This Repentance and Reſtoration happened about the Year of the World 3328, that is 672 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*, and before the vulgar Æra 676 Years.

Joſiah King of *Judah*, the Grandſon of *Manaſſeh*, [o] laboured with all his Might in repairing the Edifice of the Temple, which had either been neglected or demoliſhed by his Predeceſſors. He alſo [p] commanded the Prieſts and Levites to replace the Ark of the Lord in the Sanctuary, in its appointed Place, and ordered that it ſhould not any more be removed about at Pleaſure, as it had been during the Reigns of his wicked Forefathers.

Nebuchadnezzar took away Part of the ſacred Veſſels of the Temple of the Lord, and placed them in the Temple of his God at *Babylon*, during the Reign of *Jehoiakim*, King of *Judah*. He carried away others under the Reign of *Jeconiah*. And, laſtly, he took *Jeruſalem*, and entirely deſtroy'd the Temple, in the eleventh Year of *Zedekiah*. This was the End of the firſt Temple; and therefore this Tranſaction, and the building of the ſecond Temple fifty two Years after, deſerve to be a little more particularly related than any of the preceding Revolutions.

[q] It was in the fifth Month, on the ſeventh Day of the Month (the City having been taken about a Month before) that [r] *Nabuzaradan* Captain of the Guards to the King of *Babylon* came to *Jeruſalem*; and after having taken out all the Veſſels of the Houſe of the Lord, and gathered together all the Riches, that could be found either in the King's Houſe, or in any of the other Houſes of

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[f] Calmet's Dict. [g] Chron. xxviii. 21, 22, &c. [h] 2 Kings xvi. 10, 11, &c. [i] 2 Chron. xxviii. 24, 25.
[k] 2 Chron. xxix. 3, 4, &c. [l] 2 Kings xviii. 15, 16. An. Mund. 3291. ant. Chriſt. 709 Years.
[m] 2 Kings xxi. 4, 5, 6, 7. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5, 6, 7. An. Mund. 3306. [n] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 12, &c.
[o] 2 Kings xxii. 4, 5, 6, &c. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. An. Mund. 3380. [p] 2 Chron. xxxv. iii.
[q] What follows to the End of the Hiſtory of the firſt and ſecond Temple is chiefly extracted from Dr. Prideaux.
[r] 2 Kings xxv. 8—17. Jer. lii. 12—23.

the City, he did on the tenth Day of the ſame Month, purſuant to the Command of his Maſter, ſet both the Temple and City on fire, and abſolutely conſumed and deſtroyed them both, overthrowing all the Walls, Fortreſſes, and Towns belonging thereto, and wholly razing and levelling to the Ground every Building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect Deſolation; and ſo it continued for fifty-two Years after, till by the Favour of *Cyrus* the *Jews* being releaſed from their Captivity, and reſtored again to their own Land, repaired theſe Ruins, and built again their holy City. In memory of the Calamities that now befel them, the *Jews* keep two Faſts even to this Day, the ſeventeenth of the fourth Month (which falls in our *June*) for the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the ninth of the fifth Month (which falls in our *July*) for the Deſtruction of the Temple; both which are made mention of [s] in the Prophecies of the Prophet *Zechary*, under the Names of the Faſt of the fourth Month and the Faſt of the fifth Month, and are there ſpoken of as annually obſerved from the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to this Time, which was ſeventy Years after. *Joſephus* [t] remarks, that the burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* happen'd on the very ſame Day of the Year, on which it was afterwards again burned by *Titus*.

We before fixed the Beginning of the ſeventy Years Captivity to the Year of the World 3398, that is to the Time when *Jeruſalem* was firſt taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, eighteen Years before that Prince demoliſhed the City and Temple; and this agrees with what we have juſt now ſaid, that from the Deſtruction of the Temple to the Decree of *Cyrus* for rebuilding it, were fifty two Years; for eighteen Years added to fifty-two, amount in the whole to the ſaid Number of ſeventy Years. [w] *Now it was in the firſt Year of* Cyrus *King of* Perſia, according to *Ezra*'s Account, that *the Lord ſtirred up the Spirit of* Cyrus *King of* Perſia, *to make a Proclamation throughout all his Kingdoms*, &c. In order to reconcile this with Chronology, we muſt underſtand, that (like as in the Caſes of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* Emperors of *Rome*) there was more than one Beginning aſſigned to the Reign of *Cyrus*; for his Reign is reckoned, from his firſt coming out of *Perſia* with an Army for the Aſſiſtance of *Cyaxares* to his Death, to have been thirty Years, from the taking of *Babylon* nine Years, and from his being ſole Monarch of the whole Empire after the Death of *Cyaxares* and *Cambyſes* ſeven Years. *Tully* [x] reckons by the firſt Account, [y] *Ptolemy* by the ſecond, and [z] *Xenophon* by the third. And the firſt of theſe ſeven Years, during which he was ſole Monarch, is that [a] firſt Year of *Cyrus* mentioned in the firſt Verſe of the Book of *Ezra*, wherein an End was put to the Captivity of *Judah*, and a Licenſe given them by a public Decree of the King's again to return into their own Country. The ſeventy Years, which *Jeremiah* had propheſied ſhould be the Continuance of this Captivity, were now juſt expired. For they began a Year and two Months before the Death of *Nabopollaſar*: After that *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned forty-three Years, *Evil-Merodach* two Years, *Nerigliſſar* four Years, *Belſhazzar* ſeventeen Years, and *Darius* the *Median* two Years; which being all put together, make juſt ſixty-nine Years and two Months; and if you add hereto ten Months more to complete the ſaid ſeventy Years, it will carry down the End of them exactly into the ſame Month in thē firſt Year of *Cyrus*, in which it began in the laſt ſave one of *Nabopollaſſar*, that is the ninth Month of the *Jewiſh* Year, which is the *November* of ours. For in that Month *Nebuchadnezzar* firſt took *Jeruſalem*, and carried great Numbers of the People into Captivity, as hath been before related.

There can be no doubt, ſays Dr. *Prideaux*, but that this Decree in favour of the *Jews* was obtained by *Daniel*. When *Cyrus* firſt came into *Babylon*, on his taking the City, he found him there an old Miniſter of State, famed for his great Wiſdom all over the Eaſt, and long experienced in the Management of the public Affairs of the Government, and ſuch Counſellors wiſe Kings always ſeek for. And therefore on *Cyrus*'s having made himſelf Maſter of the City, he was ſoon called for, as a Perſon, that was beſt able to adviſe, and direct about the ſettling of the Government on this Revolution, and was conſulted with in all the Meaſures taken herein. On which Occaſion he ſo well approved himſelf, that afterwards on the ſettling of the Government of the whole Empire, he was made firſt Superintendant, or Prime Miniſter of State, over all the Provinces of it. And ſince he had been ſo earneſt with God in Prayer for the Reſtoration of his People, as we find in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, it is not to be thought, that he was backward in his Interceſſions for it with the King, eſpecially when he was in ſo great Favour, and of ſo great Authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his Requeſt, he ſhewed him the Prophecies of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, [b] which ſpake of him by Name an hundred and fifty Years before he was born, as one whom God had deſigned to be a great Conqueror, and King over many Nations, and the Reſtorer of his People, in cauſing the Temple to be built, and the Land of *Judah*, and the City of *Jeruſalem*, to be again dwelt in by its former Inhabitants. That *Cyrus* had ſeen and read theſe Prophecies, [c] *Joſephus* tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did ſo: For they are recited [d] in his Decree in *Ezra*, for the rebuilding of the Temple. And who was there, that ſhould ſhew them unto him, but *Daniel*, who in the Station that he was in, had conſtant Acceſs unto him, and of all Men living had it moſt at Heart to ſee theſe Prophecies fulfilled in the Reſtoration of *Sion*?

At the ſame time that *Cyrus* iſſued out his Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, he [e] ordered all the Veſſels to be reſtored, which had been taken from thence. *Nebuchadnezzar* on the burning of the former Temple had brought them to *Babylon*, and placed them there in the Temple of *Bel* his God. From thence they were, according to *Cyrus*'s Order by *Mithredath* the King's Treaſurer, delivered to *Zerubbabel*, who carried them back again to *Jeruſalem*. All the Veſſels of Gold and Silver, that were at this Time reſtored, were five thouſand four hundred; the remainder was brought back by *Ezra* in the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* many Years after.

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[s] Zech. viii. 19.

[t] De Bell. Judaic: lib. 7. c. 10.

[w] Ezra i. 1.

[x] De Divinatione, lib. 1.

[y] In Canone.

[z] Cyropædia, lib. 8. Where Xenophon ſaith that Cyrus reigned after the Death of Cyaxares ſeven Years.

[a] That is, the Year of the World 3468, before Chriſt 532. before the Vulgar Æra 536.

[b] Iſai. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1.

[c] Ant. lib. 11. c. 1.

[d] Ezra i. 2.

Thoſe who made this firſt Return into *Judea*, arrived there in *Niſan*, the firſt Month of the *Jewiſh* Year (which anſwers to Part of *March* and Part of *April* in our Kalendar:) For the [f] ſecond Month of the next Year is ſaid to be in the ſecond Year after their Return, and therefore they muſt then have been a whole Year in the Land. As ſoon as they came thither, [g] they diſperſed themſelves according to their Tribes, and the Families of their Fathers, into their ſeveral Cities, and there betook themſelves to rebuild their Houſes, and again manure their Lands, after they had now lain deſolate and uncultivated fifty-two Years, according to the Number of the Sabbatical Years, which they had neglected to obſerve. For according to the *Moſaical* Law they ought to have [h] left their Lands fallow every ſeventh Year: But among other Commandments of God, this alſo they had neglected, and therefore [i] God made the Land lie deſolate without Inhabitants or Cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full Number of its Sabbaths that it had been deprived of. During all the Solemnities of this Year the People ſtaid at *Jeruſalem*, and employed all that Time to the beſt of their Power to ſet forward the Reſtoration of God's Worſhip again in that Place, toward which, all that had Riches contributed according to their Abilities. And the [k] Free-will Offerings which were made on this Occaſion, beſides an hundred Veſtments for the Prieſts, amounted to ſixty-one thouſand Drachms of Gold, and five thouſand Mina's of Silver; which in all comes to about ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred Pounds of our Money. Upon this Fund they began the Work: And a great Sum it was to be raiſed by ſo ſmall a Number of People, and on their firſt Return from their Captivity, eſpecially if they were only of the poorer Sort, as the Rabbins ſay. It muſt be ſuppoſed that theſe Offerings were made by the whole Nation of the *Jews*, that is by thoſe who ſtaid behind, as well as by thoſe who returned, otherwiſe it is ſcarce poſſible to ſolve the Matter.

The firſt thing they did, was [l] to reſtore the Altar of the Lord for Burnt-Offerings. This ſtood [m] in the Middle of the inner Court of the Temple, exactly before the Porch leading into the Holy Place, and hereon were made the daily Offerings of the Morning and Evening Service, and all other Offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by Fire. It had been beaten down and deſtroyed by the *Babylonians* at the burning of the Temple, and in the ſame Place was it now again reſtored. It was [n] a large Pile built all of unhewn Stones, thirty-two Cubits, or forty-eight Foot, ſquare at the Bottom. From thence it riſing one Cubit, benched-in one Cubit: And from thence, being thirty Cubits ſquare, it did riſe five Cubits, and benched-in one Cubit. And from thence being twenty-eight Cubits ſquare, it did riſe three Cubits, and benched-in two Cubits. From whence it did riſe one Cubit, which was the Hearth, upon which the Offerings were burned; and the benching-in of two Cubits breadth was the Paſſage round it, on which the Prieſts ſtood, when they tended the Fire, and placed the Sacrifices on it. So this Hearth was a Square of twenty-four Cubits, or thirty-ſix Foot on every Side, and one Cubit high, which was all made of ſolid Braſs; and from hence it was called the [o] Brazen Altar. On the four Corners of the Altar, on the laſt Benching-in, where the Prieſts ſtood when they offered the Sacrifices, there were fixed four ſmall Pillars, of a Cubit height, and a Cubit on every Side, in the Form of an exact Cube: And theſe were the Horns of the Altar ſo often mentioned in Scripture. The Middle of each of them was hollow, becauſe therein was to be put ſome of the Blood of the Sacrifices. The Aſcent up to the Altar was by a gentle riſing on the South-ſide, called the *Kibbiſh*, which was thirty-two Cubits in length, and ſixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the Hearth, or the top of the Altar: For [p] to go up to the Altar by Steps was forbid by the Law.

But their Zeal for the Temple being that, which had brought moſt of them back again into *Judea*, the rebuilding of this was what they had their Hearts moſt intent upon. And therefore having employed the firſt Year [q] in preparing Materials, and contracting with Carpenters, and Maſons, for the Work, [r] in the ſecond Month of the ſecond Year they laid the Foundation of the Houſe; which was done with great Solemnity: For *Zerubbabel* the Governor, and *Jeſhua* the High-prieſt, being preſent with all the Congregation, the Trumpeters blew their Trumpets, and the Muſicians ſounded their Inſtruments, and Singers ſung, all in Praiſe to the Lord their God, and all the reſt of the People ſhouted for Joy, while the firſt Stones were laid: Only the old Men, who had ſeen the Glory of the firſt Temple, and had no Expectation, that this, which was now a building by a few poor Exiles lately returned into their Country, could ever equal that, which had all the Riches of *David* and *Solomon*, two of the wealthieſt Princes of the

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[e] Ezra i. 7——11.

[f] Ezra iii. 8.

[g] Ezra ii. 1. & ii. 70. & iii. 1. Nehemiah vii. 6.

[h] Levit. xxv. 2——4.

[i] Levit. xxvi. 34——43. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

[k] Ezra ii. 69.

[l] Ezra iii. 3.

[m] See Lightfoot of the Temple, chap. 34.

[n] Miſnaioth in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth-Habbechirah, cap. 2.

[o] 1 Kings viii. 64.

[p] Exod. xx. 26.

[q] Ezra iii. 7.

[r] Ezra iii. 8, 9, 10, &c.

Eaſt, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the Remembrance of the old Temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the Foundations of the new.

This Work was twenty Years in finiſhing: For ſo many Years elapſed from the ſecond of *Cyrus*, when it was firſt begun, to the ſeventh of *Darius*, when it was fully finiſhed. During the latter Part of the Reign of *Cyrus*, and through the whole Reign of *Cambyſes*, it met with ſuch Diſcouragements through the fraudulent Devices of the *Samaritans*, that it went but ſlowly on for all that Time. And during the Uſurpation of the *Magians*, and for almoſt [s] two Years after, it was wholly ſuppreſſed, that is till towards the latter End of the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Darius*. But then it being again reſumed on the Preaching of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the Decree of *Darius*, it was thenceforth carried on with that Vigour, eſpecially through the Exhortations and Prophecies of the two Prophets here mentioned, that in the Beginning of the ſeventh Year of *Darius* it was fully finiſhed, and dedicated anew to the Service of God in the manner as hath been ſaid. In this Dedication the 146th, 147th, and the 148th Pſalms ſeem to have been ſung: For in the Septuagint Verſion they are ſtyled the Pſalms of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, as if they had been compoſed by them for this Occaſion. And this, no doubt, was from ſome ancient Tradition; but in the original *Hebrew* theſe Pſalms have no ſuch Title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

IX. But tho' the Difference between the former Temple and this, was ſo great, that God himſelf told the Prophet *Haggai* [t]; that the latter in Compariſon of the former *was as nothing*, yet this is not to be underſtood of its Bigneſs: For the ſecond Temple was of the ſame Dimenſions with the Firſt, it being built upon the very ſame Foundations. The Glory of *Solomon*'s Temple was not in the Temple itſelf, much leſs in the Bigneſs of it: For that alone was but a ſmall Pile of Building, as containing no more than a hundred and fifty Foot in Length, and an hundred and five in Breadth, taking the Whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our Pariſh Churches. The main Grandeur and Excellency of it conſiſted, *Firſt*, in its Ornaments; its Workmanſhip being every where exceeding curious, and its Overlayings vaſt and prodigious: For the Overlayings of the Holy of Holies only, which was a Room but thirty Foot ſquare, and thirty Foot high, amounted [v] to ſix hundred Talents of Gold, which comes to four Millions three hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling of our Money, which is much more than the *Jews* who built the ſecond Temple were able to raiſe. *Secondly*, in its Materials: For *Solomon*'s Temple was all built of new large Stones, hewn out in the moſt curious and artful Manner; whereas the ſecond Temple was moſtly built of ſuch Stones only, as they dug up out of the Ruins of the former. *Thirdly*, in its out Buildings: For the Court, in which the Temple ſtood, was built round with ſtately Buildings and Cloiſters; and the Gates entering thereinto were very beautiful and ſumptuous: And the outer Court, which was a large Square encompaſſing all the reſt of ſeven hundred and fifty Foot on every Side, was alſo ſurrounded with a moſt ſtately and magnificent Cloiſter. But all the Out-buildings now lay in their Rubbiſh, without any Proſpect of a ſpeedy Reparation: And there could then be no ſuch Ornaments or Materials in this new Temple, as there were in the former. In proceſs of Time indeed all the Out-buildings were reſtored, and ſuch Ornaments and Materials were added on *Herod*'s repairing of it, that the ſecond Temple after that came little ſhort herein of the former; and there are [w] ſome, who will ſay, that it exceeded it. But ſtill what was the main Glory of the firſt Temple, thoſe extraordinary Marks of the divine Favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the Second. The *Jews* reckon them up in theſe [x] five Particulars; 1, The Ark of the Covenant, and the Mercy-Seat, which was upon it; 2, The *Shecinah*, or Divine Preſence; 3, The *Urim* and *Thummim*; 4, The Holy Fire upon the Altar; and 5, The Spirit of Prophecy.

1. The Ark of the Covenant was [y] a ſmall Cheſt, or Coffer, three Foot nine Inches in Length, and two Foot three Inches in Breadth, and two Foot three Inches in Height; in which were put the two Tables of the Law, as well the broken ones (ſay the Rabbies) as the whole: And that there was nothing elſe in it, when it was brought into *Solomon*'s Temple, is ſaid in [z] two Places of Scripture. But the Rabbies raiſe a Controverſy concerning *Aaron*'s Rod, and the Pot of Manna, and the original Volume of the Law, written by *Moſes*'s own Hand, whether they were not alſo in the Ark. It is ſaid of [a] *Aaron*'s Rod, and the [b] Pot of Manna, that they were laid up *before the Teſtimony*; and it being agreed on all Hands, that by the Teſtimony are meant the two Tables, thoſe, who interpret theſe Words in the ſtrict Senſe, will have the ſaid Rod and Pot of Manna to have been laid up immediately before the Tables within the Ark: For otherwiſe (ſay they) they would not have been laid up before the Teſtimony, but before the Ark. But others, who do not underſtand the Words in ſo ſtrict a Senſe, ſay they were laid up in the Holy of Holies without the Ark, in a Place juſt before it, thinking that in this Poſition without the Ark, they may be as well ſaid to be laid up before the Teſtimony or Tables of the Law, as if they had been placed immediately before them

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[s] In the firſt of Eſdras ver. 73. it's ſaid, that the Time of the Stop, which was put to the Building, was two Years.

[t] Haggai ii. 3.

[v] 2 Chron. iii. 8.

[w] R. Azarias in meor. Enaiim Pt. 3. c. 51.

[x] Talmud Bab. in Yoma, c i. f. 21. & Talmud Hieroſol. in Taanith, c. 2. f. 65.

[y] Exod. xxv. 10—22.

[z] 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10.

[a] Num. xvii. 10.

[b] Exod. xvi. 33. where To lay up before the Lord, is by the Jewiſh Commentators interpreted as the ſame with Before the Teſtimony of the Lord.

within the Ark. But the holy Apoſtle St. *Paul* decides this Controverſy. For he poſitively tells us, [c] *That within the Ark were the Golden Pot, that had Manna, and* Aaron's *Rod, and the Tables of the Covenant.* As to the Book, or Volume of the Law, it being commanded to be put [d] *on the Side* of the Ark, thoſe who interpret that Word of the Inſide place it within the Ark; and thoſe who interpret it of the Outſide, place it on the Outſide of it, in a Caſe or Coffer made of purpoſe for it, and laid on the Right Side, meaning by the Right Side that End of it which was on the Right Hand: And the laſt ſeem to be in the Right as to this Matter. Over [e] the Ark was the Mercy-Seat, and it was the Covering of it. It was all made of ſolid Gold, and of the thickneſs (ſay the Rabbies) of an Hand's Breadth. At the two Ends of it were two Cherubins looking inward towards each other, with Wings expanded, which embracing the whole Circumference of the Mercy-Seat did meet on each Side in the Middle. All which (ſay the [ee] Rabbies) was made out of the ſame Maſs without joining any of the Parts by Solder. Here [f] it was where the *Shecinah*, or Divine Preſence, reſted both in the Tabernacle and Temple, and was viſibly ſeen in the Appearance of a Cloud over it. And from hence [g] the divine Oracles were given out by an audible Voice, as often as God was conſulted in behalf of his People. And hence it is, that God is ſo often ſaid in Scripture [h] to dwell between the Cherubins, that is between the Cherubins on the Mercy-Seat, becauſe there was the Seat or Throne of the viſible Appearance of his Glory among them. And [i] for this Reaſon the High-Prieſt appeared before this Mercy-Seat once every Year on the great Day of Expiation, when he was to make his neareſt Approach to the Divine Preſence to mediate, and make Atonement, for the whole People of *Iſrael*. And all elſe of that Nation, who ſerved God according to the *Levitical* Law, made it the Center of their Worſhip. And not only in the Temple, when they came up thither to worſhip, but every where elſe in their Diſperſion through the whole World, whenever they prayed, [k] they turned their Faces towards the Place where the Ark ſtood, and directed all their Devotions that Way. And therefore had there nothing elſe of the firſt Temple been wanting in the ſecond, but the Ark only, this alone would have been reaſon enough for the old Men to have wept, when they remembred the firſt Temple in which it was, and alſo for the ſaying of *Haggai*, That [l] the ſecond Temple was as nothing in compariſon of the firſt; ſo great a Part had it in the Glory of this Temple, as long as it remained in it. However the Defect was ſupplied, as to the outward Form. For in [m] the ſecond Temple there was alſo an Ark made of the ſame Shape and Dimenſions with the firſt, and put in the ſame Place. But though it was thus ſubſtituted in its ſtead, yet it had none of its Prerogatives or Honours conferred upon it. For there were no Tables of the Law, no *Aaron*'s Rod, no Pot of Manna in it, no Appearance of the Divine Glory over it, no Oracles given from it. The firſt Ark was made and conſecrated by God's Appointment, and had all theſe Prerogatives, and Honours, given unto it by him. But the ſecond being appointed and ſubſtituted by Man only, to be in the Stead and Place of the other, could have none of them. And the only Uſe, that was made of it, was to be a Repreſentative of the former on the great Day of Expiation, to be a Repoſitory of the Holy Scriptures, that is of the original Copy of that Collection, which was made of them after the Captivity by *Ezra*, and the Men of the Great Synagogue. And in imitation hereof the *Jews* in all their Synagogues have a like [n] Ark or Coffer, of the ſame Size or Form, in which they keep the Scriptures belonging to the Synagogue, and from whence they take it out with great Solemnity, whenever they uſe it, and return it with the like, when they have done with it.

2. The ſecond thing wanting in the ſecond Temple, which was in the firſt, was the *Shecinah*, or the Divine Preſence, manifeſted by a viſible Cloud reſting over the Mercy-Seat, as hath been already ſhewn. This Cloud did there firſt appear, when *Moſes* conſecrated the Tabernacle, and was afterwards on the conſecrating of the Temple by *Solomon* tranſlated thither. And there it did continue in the ſame viſible Manner, till that Temple was deſtroyed; but after that it never appeared more. Its conſtant Place was [o] directly over the Mercy-Seat, but it reſted there only, when the Ark was in its proper Place in the Tabernacle firſt, and afterwards in the Temple, and not while it was in movement from Place to Place, as it often was during the time of the Tabernacle.

3. The third thing wanting in the ſecond Temple, which was in the firſt, was the *Urim* and *Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much, but by offering their various Opinions have helped rather to perplex, than explain the Matter. Without troubling the Reader with their Arguments, (having [p] on another Occaſion introduced what appeared to be the moſt reaſonable Account of it) we ſhall here only add theſe few things concerning the Hiſtory of this extraordinary Mark of the Divine Favour.

Altho' the Way of aſking counſel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim* was frequently uſed during the Tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the *Chaldeans*, yet we have no Inſtance of it in Scripture during the whole Time of the firſt Temple; and it is moſt certain, that it was wholly wanting in the ſecond Temple: For [q] both *Ezra* and

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[c] Heb. ix. 4. and hereto agree Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. and R. Levi Ben Gerſon.

[d] Deut. xxxi. 26.

[e] Exod. xxv. 17—22.

[ee] R. Levi Ben Gerſon, R. Solomon, Abarbanel, and others.

[f] Lev. xvi. 2.

[g] Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.

[h] 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15. 1 Chron. xiii. 6. Pſalm lxxx. 1. and Pſalm xc. 1.

[i] Levit. xvi. 29—34. Numb. xxix. 7. Heb. ix. 7. Talmud in Yoma.

[k] 1 Kings viii. 48. Dan. vi. 10.

[l] Chap. ii. 3.

[m] Lightfoot of the Temple, cap. xv. Sect. 4.

[n] Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam cap. 14.

[o] Levit. xvi. 2.

[p] See Page 13 of this Work.

[q] Ezra. ii. 63. Nehemiah vii. 65.

Nehemiah tell us as much. And hence is that Saying among the *Jews*, that the Holy Spirit ſpake to the Children of *Iſrael* during the Tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the firſt Temple by the Prophets, and under the ſecond by [p] *Bath-Kol*.

They, who would have the *Urim* and *Thummim* abſolutely to have ceaſed under the firſt Temple, give two Reaſons for it. *Firſt*, [q] That it was an Appendant of the Theocracy. For as long as God was the immediate Governor of *Iſrael*, it was neceſſary, ſay they, that a Method ſhould be eſtabliſhed, whereby he might at all times be applied to and conſulted with by his People; and for this Reaſon, they tell us, the Oracle by *Urim* and *Thummim* was appointed. But when the Theocracy ceaſed (which, they ſay, it did when *Solomon* the firſt Hereditary King ſate upon the Throne) this Oracle ceaſed with it. And, *Secondly*, they ſay, that the *Urim* and *Thummim* was eſtabliſhed to aſk counſel only about that, which belonged to the common Intereſt of all *Iſrael*, and therefore whenever the High-Prieſt aſked counſel of God this way, it was with the Names of all the Tribes of *Iſrael* upon his Breaſt, to denote that what was aſked, was for the common Intereſt of all of them. But that common Intereſt ceaſing upon the Diviſion of the Kingdom, this way of aſking counſel of God muſt in the Nature of the thing have then ceaſed alſo, as being no longer practicable. But how far theſe Arguments may conclude, is left to every one to conſider.

4. The fourth thing wanting in the ſecond Temple, which was in the firſt, was the Holy Fire, which came down from Heaven upon the Altar. [r] It deſcended firſt upon the Altar in the Tabernacle at the conſecrating of *Aaron*, and his Sons, to the Prieſthood; and afterwards it deſcended anew [ſ] upon the Altar in the Temple of *Solomon*, at the conſecrating of that Temple. And there it was conſtantly fed and maintained by the Prieſts Day and Night, without ever ſuffering it to go out, in the ſame Manner, as it had been before in the Tabernacle; and with this all the Offerings were offered, that were made by Fire. And for uſing other Fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* conſumed by Fire from the Lord. This, ſay ſome [t] of the *Jewiſh* Writers, was extinguiſhed in the Days of *Manaſſeh*. But the more general Opinion among them is, that it continued till the Deſtruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more reſtored, but inſtead of it they had only common Fire in the ſecond Temple: For what is ſaid of its being [u] hid in a Pit by *Jeremiah*, and again brought thence, and revived upon the Altar in the ſecond Temple, is a Fable that deſerves no Regard.

5. The fifth thing wanting in the ſecond Temple, which was in the firſt, was the Spirit of Prophecy; but this was not wholly wanting there. For the Prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, lived after the ſecond Temple was built, and propheſyed under it. But on their Death, which (ſay the Rabbins) happen'd all in one Year, the prophetic Spirit wholly ceaſed from among them.

Beſides theſe five things, there was wanting alſo a Sixth, that is the holy anointing Oil, [w] which was made by *Moſes* for the anointing and conſecrating of the King, the High-Prieſt, and all the ſacred Veſſels made uſe of in the Houſe of God. And for this uſe it was commanded to be kept by the Children of *Iſrael* throughout their Generations: And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the Moſt-holy-Place. And as the original Copy of the Law was placed there on the right Side of the Ark of the Covenant, ſo perchance the Veſſel containing this Oil was placed on the other Side of it, and there kept till the firſt Temple being deſtroyed that alſo was deſtroyed with it. Theſe, as well as many other Particulars of the Glory of the firſt Temple, being wanting in the ſecond, there was reaſon enough for thoſe to weep at the rebuilding of the ſecond Temple, who remembred the firſt. But all theſe Wants and Defects were abundantly repaired in the ſecond Temple, [x] when the Deſire of all Nations, the Lord whom they ſought, came to this his Temple, and *Chriſt* our Saviour, who was the true *Shecinah* of the Divine Majeſty, honoured it with his Preſence; and in this Reſpect the Glory of the latter Houſe did far exceed the Glory of the former Houſe. And herein the Prophecies of the Prophet *Haggai*, [y] which foretold it ſhould be ſo, had a very thorough Completion.

This Dedication of the ſecond Temple was celebrated by the Prieſts and Levites, and all the reſt of the Congregation of *Iſrael*, on the third Day of the twelfth Month, called the Month of *Adar*, (which anſwers to part of our *February*, and part of *March*) in the Year of the World 3489, before *Chriſt* 511, before the Vulgar Æra 515. The Joy and [z] Solemnity on this Occaſion was exceeding great.

X. In the Year of the World 3837, the Temple was profaned by Order of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the immediate Occaſion of which was as follows. *Menelaus*, the Brother of *Jaſon* the High-prieſt, being [a] ſent to *Antioch* to carry the Tribute-Money which the *Jews* paid to the Kings of *Syria* at that time; when he was admitted to Audience, inſtead of purſuing the Intereſt of the State, he offered the King three hundred Talents more for the High-prieſthood than his Brother gave for it. By this means he obtained his Deſire; for *Antiochus* was willing to make the moſt he could of his Authority over the *Jewiſh* Nation, and *Jaſon* was unable to aſſert the Right of his former Purchaſe.

About two Years after this, [b] while *Antiochus* was in *Egypt*, a falſe Rumour having been ſpread through all *Paleſtine*, that he was dead, *Jaſon* thinking this a fit Opportunity for him again to recover his Station at *Jeruſalem*, which he formerly had there as High-prieſt, marched thither with above a thouſand Men, and having by the Aſſiſtance of the Party he had there, taken the City, and driven *Menelaus* to flee for Shelter into the Caſtle, he acted all manner of Cruelties upon his Fellow-Citizens, putting to Death without Mercy as many of thoſe whom he thought his Adverſaries, as he could light upon.

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[p] By this the Jews mean a Voice from the Clouds, ſuch as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour, Matth. iii. 7. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17. See Page 14 of this Work.

[q] Spencerus de Urim and Thummim, cap. ii. Sect. 2.

[r] Lev. ix. 24.

[ſ] 2 Chron. vii. 1.

[t] Talmud in Zebuchim, cap. vi.

[u] 2 Macc. i. 18, 19.

[w] Exod. xxx. 22—33.

[x] Malach. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 7.

[y] Hag. ii. 9.

[z] Ezra. vi. 16, 17.

[a] 2 Maccab. iv. 23, 24, 25.

[b] See Prid. Connect. Pt. ii. b. 3.

Antiochus, on his being informed of all this in *Egypt*, ſuppoſed that the whole *Jewiſh* Nation had revolted from him, and therefore [c] marched with all haſte out of *Egypt* into *Judea*, to quell this Rebellion; and being told, that the People of *Jeruſalem* made great Rejoicings on the News which came to them of his Death, he was very much provoked thereat; and therefore in a great Rage laying Siege to *Jeruſalem*, and taking the City by Force, he ſlew of the Inhabitants in three Days time forty thouſand Perſons, and having taken as many more Captives, ſold them for Slaves to the neighbouring Nations. And not content with this, he impiouſly forced himſelf into the Temple, and entered into the inner and moſt ſacred Receſſes of it, polluting by his Preſence both the Holy Place, and alſo the Holy of Holies, the wicked Traitor *Menelaus* being his Conductor, and ſhewing him the Way into both. And to offer the greater Indignity to this ſacred Place, and to affront in the higheſt manner he was able the Religion, whereby God was worſhipped in it, he ſacrificed a great Sow upon the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, and Broth being by his Command made with ſome part of the Fleſh thereof boiled in it, he cauſed it to be ſprinkled all over the Temple for the utmoſt defiling of it. And after this having ſacrilegiouſly plundered it, by taking thence the Altar of Incenſe, the Shew-bread Table, the Candleſtick of ſeven Branches, that ſtood in the Holy Place, which were all of Gold, and ſeveral other golden Veſſels, Utenſils, and Donatives of former Kings, to the Value of eighteen hundred Talents of Gold, he returned to *Antioch*, carrying thither with him the Spoils of *Judea* as well as of *Egypt*, which both together amounted to an immenſe Treaſure of Riches.

Antiochus, during his whole Reign, made four Expeditions into *Egypt*, againſt *Ptolemy Philometor*, the King that then reigned in that Country. It was at the End of his ſecond Expedition, in the ſixth Year of his Reign, that the Prophanations above-mentioned were committed. The two following Years he went thither again, in the laſt of which he was driven back by the *Romans*, who interpoſed in this War, to prevent his uniting *Egypt* to *Syria*, and ſo becoming a too potent Enemy to the growing Greatneſs of their State. Upon this, *Antiochus* returning full of Wrath and Indignation at his Diſappointment, vented it all upon the *Jews*, who had no way offended him. For on his marching back thro' *Paleſtine*, [d] he detached off from his Army twenty two thouſand Men under the Command of *Apollonius*, who was over the Tribute, and ſent them to *Jeruſalem* to deſtroy the Place.

It was [e] juſt two Years after *Antiochus* had taken *Jeruſalem*, that *Apollonius* came thither with his Army. On his firſt Arrival he carried himſelf peaceably, concealing his Purpoſe, and forbearing all Hoſtilities till the next Sabbath; but then, [f] when the People were all aſſembled together in their Synagogues for the celebrating of the religious Duties of the Day, thinking this the propereſt Time for the executing of his bloody Commiſſion, he let looſe all his Forces upon them, with Command to ſlay all the Men, and take captive the Women and Children to ſell them for Slaves; which they executed with the utmoſt Rigour and Cruelty, ſlaying all the Men they could light on, without ſhewing any Mercy to any, and filling the Streets with their Blood. After this having ſpoiled the City of all its Riches, they ſet it on fire in ſeveral Places, demoliſhed the Houſes, and pulled down the Walls round about it, and then with the Ruins of the demoliſhed City built a ſtrong Fortreſs on the Top of an Eminence in the City of *David*, which was over-againſt the Temple, and over-looked and commanded the ſame, and there placed a ſtrong Garriſon, and making it a Place of Arms againſt the whole Nation of the *Jews* ſtored it with all Manner of Proviſions of War, and there alſo they laid up the Spoils, which they had taken in the ſacking of the City. And this Fortreſs by the Advantage of its Situation being thus higher than the Mountain of the Temple, and commanding the ſame, from thence the Garriſon Soldiers fell on all thoſe, that went up thither to worſhip, and ſhed their Blood on every Side of the Sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of Pollutions; ſo that from this time the Temple became deſerted, and the daily Sacrifices omitted, and none of the true Servants of God durſt any more go up thither to worſhip, [g] till *Judas* after three Years and an half having recovered it out of the Hands of the Heathens, purged the Place of its Pollutions, and by a new Dedication reſtored it again to its priſtin Uſe. For [h] all that eſcaped this Carnage being fled from *Jeruſalem*, left that Place wholly in the Hands of Strangers, ſo that the Sanctuary was lain waſte and the whole City deſolated of its natural Inhabitants. At this time [i] *Judas Maccabæus*, with ſome others that accompanied him, fled into the Wilderneſs, and there lived in great Hardſhip, ſubſiſting themſelves upon Herbs, and what elſe the Mountains and the Woods could afford them, till they gained an Opportunity of taking up Arms for themſelves and their Country in manner as will be hereafter related.

As ſoon as *Antiochus* was return'd to [k] *Antioch* he iſſued out a Decree, that all Nations within his Dominions, leaving their former Rites and Uſages, ſhould conform to the Religion of the King, and worſhip the ſame Gods, and in the ſame manner, as he did; which, altho' couched in general Terms, was levelled mainly againſt the *Jews*, that thereby an Handle might be afforded for the further oppreſſing of that People; and it ſeems for no other End to have been extended to all the Nations of the *Syrian* Empire, but that thereby it might reach all of the *Jewiſh* Worſhip, wherever they were diſperſed among them, it being reſolved by *Antiochus*, to carry on this Proſecution not only againſt the *Jews* of *Paleſtine*, but againſt all others of that Religion, who were ſettled any where elſe within his Dominions.

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[c] 1 Maccab. i. 20——28. 2 Maccab. v. 11——20. Joſeph. Ant. l. 12. c. 7. l. 13. c. 16. De Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 1. Contra Apionem, l. 2. & in libro de Maccab. c. 4. Diod. Sic. l. 34. Ecloga prima, p. 901. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 27.

[d] 1 Maccab. i. 29——40. 2 Maccab. v. 24, 25, 26. Joſeph. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 7.

[e] 1 Maccab. i. 29.

[f] 1 Maccab. i. 30——40. 2. Maccab. v. 24, 25, 26. Joſph. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 7.

[g] Joſephus in Præfatione ad Hiſt. de Bell. Jud. & ejuſdem Hiſt. l. 1. c. 1. & l. 6. c. 11. 1 Maccab. iv. 2 Maccab. x.

[h] 1 Maccab. i. 38, 39.

[i] 2 Maccab. v. 27.

[k] 1 Maccab. i. 41——64. 2 Maccab. vi. Joſeph. Ant. l. 12, cap. 7. & de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 1. & l. de Maccabæis, c. 4. Hieron. in Dan. c. 8. & c. 9.

The Overſeer, who was ſent to ſee this Decree of the King's executed in *Judea* and *Samaria*, was [l] one *Athenæus*, an old Man, who being well verſed in all the Rites of the *Grecian* Idolatry, was thought a very proper Perſon to initiate thoſe People into the Obſervance of them. On his coming to *Jeruſalem*, and there executing his Commiſſion, [m] all Sacrifices to the God of *Iſrael* were made to ceaſe, all the Obſervances of the *Jewiſh* Religion were ſuppreſſed, the Temple itſelf was polluted and made unfit for God's Worſhip, their Sabbaths and Feſtivals were prophaned, their Children forbidden to be circumciſed, and their Law wherever it could be found was taken away or deſtroyed, and the Ordinances which God commanded them were wholly ſuppreſſed throughout the Land, and every one was put to Death that was diſcovered in any of theſe Particulars to have acted againſt what the King had decreed. The *Syrian* Soldiers under this Overſeer were the chief Miſſionaries, and by them this Converſion of the *Jews* to the King's Religion was effected; in the ſame manner as a [n] late neighbouring Prince converted his Proteſtant Subjects to the idolatrous Superſtition of *Rome*, which falls very little ſhort of being altogether as bad. Having thus expelled the *Jewiſh* Worſhip out of the Temple, they introduced thither the Heathen in its ſtead, and conſecrating it to the chief of their falſe Gods, called it [o] the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; and having erected his Image upon one Part of the Altar of *Holocauſt*, that ſtood in the inner Court of the Temple, upon another Part of it juſt before that Image they built another leſſer Altar, whereon they ſacrificed to him. This was done [p] on the fifteenth Day of the *Jewiſh* Month *Ciſleu*, which anſwers in part to *November* and in part to *December* in our Kalendar; and [q] on the twenty-fifth Day of the ſame Month they there begun their Sacrifices to him. And they did the ſame [r] to the *Samaritan* Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, conſecrating it to the ſame *Grecian* God *Jupiter* by the Name of *Jupiter the Protector of Strangers*. It was the Requeſt of the *Samaritans* themſelves to have their Temple conſecrated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and it was alſo [ſ] at their Deſire, that it was conſecrated to him under this additional Title of *Protector of Strangers*, that thereby it might be expreſſed, that they were Strangers in that Land, and not of the Race of *Iſrael*, who were the old Inhabitants of it. And whereas [t] two Women were found at *Jeruſalem* to have circumciſed their Male Children, of which they had been lately delivered, they hanged thoſe Children about their Necks, and having led them in this manner thorough the City, caſt them headlong over the ſteepeſt Part of the Walls, and alſo ſlew all thoſe who had been acceſſary with them in the Performance of this forbidden Rite. And with the ſame Severity they treated all others, who were found in the Practice of any one of their former religious Uſages contrary to what the King had commanded. And the more to propagate among the People that heathen Worſhip, which was enjoin'd, and to bring all to conform thereto, [u] they did ſet up Altars, Groves, and Chapels of Idols in every City; and Officers [w] were ſent to them, who on the Day of the King's Birth in every Month forced all to offer Sacrifice to the *Grecian* Gods, [x] and eat of the Fleſh of Swine, and other unclean Beaſts then ſacrifiſed to them. And when the Feaſt of *Bacchus*, the God of Drunkenneſs, came, and Proceſſions were made, as uſual among the heathen *Greeks*, to the Honour of that abominable Deity, the *Jews* [y] were forced to join therein, and [z] carry Ivy, as the reſt of the Heathens did, according to the idolatrous Uſage of the Day.

When theſe Officers were thus ſent to make all *Judea* conform to the King's Religion, and ſacrifice to his Gods, [a] one of them called *Apelles* came to *Modin*, where dwelt *Mattathias* a Prieſt, a very honourable Perſon, and one truly zealous for the Law of his God. He had with him five Sons, all very valiant Men, and equally with himſelf zealous Obſervers of the Law of their God, *Johanan* called *Kaddis*, *Simon* called *Thaſſi*, *Judas* called *Maccabæus*, *Eleazer* called *Avaran*, and *Jonathan*, whoſe Sir-name was *Apphus*. [b] *Apelles* on his coming to this City having called the People together, and declared unto them for what Intent he was come, addreſſed himſelf in the firſt Place to *Mattathias*, to perſuade him to comply with the King's Commands, that by the Example of ſo honourable and great a Man all the reſt of the People of the Place might be induced to do the ſame, promiſing him, that thereon he ſhould be taken into the Number of the King's Friends, and he and his Sons ſhould be promoted to Honour and Riches. To this *Mattathias* anſwered with a loud Voice, in the hearing of all the People of the Place, *That no Conſideration whatſoever ſhould induce him, or any of his Family, ever to forſake the Law of their God.* And when he had ſaid thus much, ſeeing one of the *Jews* of the Place preſenting himſelf at the Heathen Altar, which was there erected, to ſacrifice on it according to the King's Commands, he was moved hereat with a religious Zeal, and run upon the Apoſtate, and ſlew him; and then in the Heat of his Wrath fell alſo on the King's Comiſſioner, and by the Aſſiſtance of his Sons, and others that joined with them, ſlew him and all that attended on him. And after this getting together all of his Family, and calling all others to follow, who were zealous for the Law, he retired with them to the Mountains, [c] and many others followed the ſame Example; whereby the Deſarts of *Judea* became filled with thoſe, who fled from this Perſecution.

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[l] 2 Maccab. vi. 1.

[m] 1 Maccab. i. 44—64. 2 Maccab. vi. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. De Bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. i. De Maccabæis cap. 4.

[n] Lewis XIV. of France.

[o] 2 Maccab. vi. 2.

[p] 1 Maccab. i. 54.

[q] 1 Maccab. i. 59. iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

[r] 2 Maccab. vi. 2. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.

[ſ] 2 Maccab. xi. 2.

[t] 1 Maccab. i. 60, 62, 63. 2 Maccab. iv. 10. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.

[u] 1 Maccab. i. 47.

[w] 1 Maccab. i. 51, 58. ii. 15.

[x] Maccab. i. 47. Diodorus Sic. lib. 34. Eclog. 1.

[y] 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

[z] Ivy was ſacred to Bacchus, and therefore the Bacchanals always carried it in their Proceſſions.

[a] 1 Maccab. ii. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

[b] 1 Maccab. ii. 15—28.

This Action of *Mattathias* was the Beginning of the *Jews* Deliverance from the Tyranny of the *Syrians:* For he himſelf ſo long as he lived, and after him his Son *Judas*, headed their faithful Companions againſt *Antiochus*, and his Lieutenants, with ſuch Succeſs, that at the end of three Years and an half, upon the Retreat of *Lyſias*, one of the ſaid Lieutenants, [d] *Judas* being left Maſter of the Country, propoſed to his Followers their going up to *Jeruſalem* for the Recovery of the Sanctuary out of the Hands of the Heathen, and to cleanſe and dedicate it anew for the Service of the Lord their God, that his Worſhip might be there again reſtored and daily carried on as in former Times; to which all conſenting he led them up thither, where they found all Things in a very lamentable State. For the City was in Rubbiſh, the Sanctuary deſolated, the Altar prophaned, the Gates of the Temple burnt up, Shrubs were in its Courts as in a Foreſt, and the Prieſts Chambers pulled down. At the Sight hereof the whole Aſſembly fell into great Lamentation, and preſſed earneſtly to have all theſe Deſolations and Profanations removed out of the Houſe of God, that ſo his Worſhip might be again performed in it, as in former Times. And accordingly in order hereto, *Judas* having choſen Prieſts of unblameable Converſation, appointed them to the Work; who having cleanſed the Sanctuary, pulled down the Altars which the Heathens had there erected, borne out all the defiled Stones of them into an unclean Place, taken down the old Altar which the Heathens had prophaned, built a new one in its ſtead of unhewn Stones, [e] according to the Law, and hallowed the Courts, made thereby the whole Temple in all things again fit for its former Service. And whereas *Antiochus* [f] had, in his ſacrilegious Pillage of it, taken away the Golden Altar of Incenſe, the Shewbread-Table which was all over-laid with Gold, and the Golden Candleſtick (which all three ſtood in the Holy Place,) and had alſo robbed it of all its other Veſſels and Utenſils, (and the Service of the Temple could not be perfectly performed without them,) *Judas* took care that all theſe Defects ſhould be ſupplied. [g] For out of the Spoils, which he had taken from the Enemy, he cauſed to be made a new Altar of Incenſe, and a new Candleſtick all of Gold, and a new Shewbread-Table all overlaid with Gold, all three formed in the ſame Manner as they were before. And by his Care all other Veſſels and Utenſils both of Gold and Silver, that were neceſſary for the divine Service, were again provided, and a new Veil was alſo made to ſeparate between the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, and there hung in its proper Place. And when all theſe things were made ready, and all placed according to their former Order, each in the particular Place, and each for the particular Uſe, which they were ordained for, a new Dedication of the Altar was reſolved on. The Day [h] appointed for it was the twenty-fifth Day of their ninth Month called *Ciſleu*, which fell about the Time of the Winter Solſtice. This was the very ſame Day of the Year, [i] on which, three Years before, it had been prophaned in the Manner as above related, [k] juſt three Years and a half after the City and Temple had been deſolated by *Apollonius*, and [l] two Years after *Judas* had taken on him the chief Command of the *Jews* on his Father's Death; that is in the Year of the World 3840, before Chriſt 160, before the Vulgar Æra 164.

About ſixty-nine Years after this Reſtoration, King *Alexander Jannæus*, one of the Succeſſors of *Judas Maccabæus*, entring into the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, there to officiate as High-Prieſt in the Feaſt of Tabernacles, [m] had a great Affront and Indignity there offered him by the People. For they joining in a Sort of a Mutiny againſt him, pelted him with Citrons, while he was offering the Feſtival Sacrifices on the great Altar, calling him Slave, and adding other opprobrious Language; which enraged him to that Degree, that he fell upon them with his Soldiers, and ſlew of them ſix thouſand Men. And to ſecure himſelf from ſuffering any more from them the like Affront, he ſurrounded the Court of the Prieſts, within which were the Altar and the Temple, with a Wooden Partition, thereby to hinder the People from doing this any more to him.

Two and thirty Years after this, in the Year before *Chriſt* 59, before the Vulgar Æra 63, from the Creation 3941, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* having been at War for the Crown of *Judea*, of which the latter was then in Poſſeſſion, the Matter was referr'd to the Deciſion of *Pompey the Great*, who promiſed to come from *Damaſcus* to *Jeruſalem* in order to end the Diſpute. But *Ariſtobulus*, ſuſpecting that Sentence would be given againſt him, in the mean Time prepared for a War againſt the *Roman* General; who being enraged at this Affront, immediately enters *Judea* with his Army, and [n] leads it up to *Jeruſalem*. On his Approach thither, *Ariſtobulus* repenting of what he had done, went out to *Pompey*, and endeavoured to reconcile Matters with him by promiſing a thorough Submiſſion, and alſo a Sum of Money, that ſo the War might be prevented. *Pompey* accepting the Propoſal, ſent *Gabinius* one of his Lieutenants with a Body of Men to receive the Money. But when he came to *Jeruſalem*, he found the Gates ſhut againſt him, and no Money to be had; but was told from the Walls, that thoſe within would not ſtand to the Agreement; whereon *Pompey*, not bearing thus to be mock'd, clapp'd *Ariſtobulus* (whom he retain'd with him) in Chains, and marched with the whole Army directly to *Jeruſalem*. That Party, which was for *Ariſtobulus*, were for defending the Place, eſpecially by reaſon of the Indignation, with which they were moved at *Pompey*'s making their King a Priſoner. But thoſe, who favoured the Cauſe of *Hyrcanus*, were for receiving *Pompey* into the City; and they being the greater Number, the other Party retired into the Mountain of the Temple, and having broken down the Bridges over the deep Ditches and Vallies that ſurrounded it, reſolved there to maintain themſelves. Whereon *Pompey* being received into the City by the other Party, ſet himſelf to beſiege the Place. Moſt of the Sacerdotal Order ſtuck by the Cauſe of *Ariſtobulus*, and were ſhut up with thoſe that ſeized the Temple for the Support of it. But the Generality of the People were on the other Side; and *Hyrcanus* at the Head of them ſupplied *Pompey* with all Neceſſaries within his Power, for the carrying on of the Siege. The Northſide of the Temple being obſerved to be the weakeſt Part of it, *Pompey* there begun his Approaches. At firſt he offered the Beſieged Terms of Peace; but theſe being rejected, he forthwith begun with the utmoſt Vigour to preſs the Place. However it held out three Months, and perchance would at laſt have neceſſitated the *Romans* to have raiſed the Siege, had it not been for the ſuperſtitious Rigour with which the *Jews* obſerved their Sabbath. Formerly it had been carried ſo high, [o] that they would not defend their Lives on that Day. But the Miſchief and Folly of this being ſufficiently made appear, in what they ſuffered from it in the firſt Beginnings of the *Maccabean* Wars, [p] it was then determined, that a neceſſary Defence of a Man's Life was not within the Prohibition of the fourth Commandment. But this being underſtood to hold good only againſt a direct and immediate Aſſault, but not againſt any antecedent Preparative leading thereto, for this Reaſon, [q] tho' they vigorouſly defended themſelves on the Sabbath-Day when aſſaulted, yet they would not then ſtir an Hand, either for the hindring of the Enemy's Works, or the deſtroying of their Engines, or obſtructing their erecting of them, as they did on other Days: Which *Pompey* perceiving, ordered that no Aſſault ſhould be made upon them during their Sabbaths, but that thoſe Days ſhould be employed wholly in carrying on their Works, and in erecting and fitting their Engines in ſuch Manner as they might beſt do Execution in the next Days of the Week following. Having at length, by theſe Advantages, beaten down a great ſtrong Tower, which drew a great Part of the adjoining Wall with it into the ſame Ruin, a Breach was made large enough for an Aſſault, which *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the Son of *Sylla*, who had his Station next it, immediately mounting, drew the reſt of the Army after him, who on their thus entering the Place made a dreadful Slaughter of thoſe whom they found within; ſo that it is reckoned no leſs than twelve thouſand of them fell in this Carnage; and none acted more cruelly herein than the *Jews* of the contrary Faction did againſt their own Brethren. Amongſt all this Scene of dreadful Deſtruction, it's remarked, [r] that the Prieſts that were then in the Temple went on with the daily Service of it, without being deterred either by the Rage of their Enemies or the Death of their Friends, chuſing rather to loſe their Lives amidſt the Swords of the prevailing Adverſary, than deſert the Service of their God; and many of them, while they were thus employed at this time, had their own Blood mingled with the Blood of the Sacrifices, which they were offering, and fell themſelves by the Sword of their Enemies a Sacrifice to their Duty; which was a Inſtance of ſteady Conſtancy much admired by *Pompey* himſelf, and is ſcarce any where elſe to be thoroughly parallel'd.

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[c] 1 Maccab. ii. 29, 30. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 8.

[d] 1 Maccab. iv. 36, 37, &c. 3 Maccab. x. 1, 2, 3, &c. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 11.

[e] Exod. xx. 25. Deuteron. xxvii. 5. Joſhua viii. 31

[f] 1 Maccab. i. 21, 22, 23. 2 Maccab. v. 16.

[g] 1 Maccab. iv. 49.

[h] 1 Maccab. iv. 52. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

[i] 1 Maccab. i. 59. iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5.

[k] Joſephus in præfatione ad Librum de Bello Judaico, & in ipſo Libro de Bello Judaico, lib. i. cap. 1. & lib. vi. cap. 11.

[l] 2 Maccab. x. 3.

[m] Joſephus de Bello Judaico, lib. i. cap. 3. Antiq. lib xiii. cap. 21.

And thus, after a Siege of three Months, was the Temple of *Jeruſalem* taken by the *Romans*, in the End of the firſt Year of the hundred and ſeventy-ninth Olympiad, *Caius Antonius* and *M. Tullius Cicero* being then Conſuls at *Rome*, about the Time of our *Midſummer*, and on the Day which the *Jews* kept as a ſolemn [s] Faſt for the taking of *Jeruſalem* and the ſame Temple with it by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*. As ſoon as the *Romans* had thus made themſelves Maſters of the Place, *Pompey*, with ſeveral others of the chief Commanders of the Army accompanying him, went up into it, and not contenting themſelves with viewing the outer Courts [t], cauſed the moſt ſacred Parts of the Temple itſelf to be opened unto them, and entered not only into the Holy Place, but alſo into the Holy of Holies; which was a great Profanation offered this Holy Place, and the Religion, whereby God was there worſhipped. But tho' *Pompey* found in the Treaſuries of the Temple [v] two thouſand Talents in Money, beſides its Utenſils, and other Things of a great Value there laid up, yet he touched nothing of all this, but left it all there entire for the ſacred Uſes to which it was devoted, without the leaſt Diminution of any Part. And the next Day after he ordered the Temple to be cleanſed, and the Divine Service to be there again carried on in the ſame manner as formerly. However, this did not expiate for his Prophanation of God's Holy Temple, and the Impiety which he made himſelf guilty of thereby. Hitherto he had found wonderful Succeſs in all his Undertakings, but in this Act it all ended. For hereby having drawn God's Curſe upon him, he never proſpered after. This over the *Jews* was the laſt of his Victories.

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[n] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 7. De Bello Judaico, lib. i. cap. 5.

[o] 1 Maccab. ii. 32—38.

[p] Ibid. Ver. 41.

[q] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 8. & De Bello Judaico, lib. i. cap. 5. Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 762, 763. Dion Caſſius, lib. xxxvii.

[r] Joſephus ibid.

[s] That the Temple was now taken on the Day of a ſolemn Faſt is ſaid, not only by Joſephus in the Places laſt above cited, but alſo by Strabo lib. xvi. p. 763. The Faſt for the taking of Jeruſalem by Nebuchadnezzar was on the ninth Day of their Month Tamuz, (2 Kings xxv. 31.) which uſually falls about the Time of our Midſummer ſooner or later, according as their Intercalations happen. But in their preſent Kalender it is tranſlated to the 18th of that Month.

[t] Joſephus Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 8. & De Bello Judaico lib. i. cap. 5. Lucius Florus lib. iii. cap. 5. Tacit. Hiſt. lib v. cap. 9.

After *Herod* had reigned eighteen Years over the *Jews*, [w] he made them a Propoſal for rebuilding the Temple; to which they conſenting with ſome Reluctancy, he went about preparing Materials for the Work. And having in two Years got all things ready, he pulled down the old Edifice, and began the erecting of his new one, juſt forty-ſix Years before the Paſſover mentioned in the [x] preceding Chapter, when the *Jews* told our Lord that the Temple had been *forty and ſix Years in building*. For although then forty-ſix Years had paſſed from the Time this Building was begun, and in nine Years and an half it was made fit for Divine Service, yet a great Number of Labourers and Artificers were there ſtill continued at work, for the carrying on of the Out-buildings, all the time of our Saviour's being here on Earth, and for ſome Years after, till the coming of *Geſſius Florus* to be Governor of *Judea*; [y] when eighteen thouſand of them being diſcharged at one time, after that, for want of Work, they began thoſe Mutinies and Seditions, which at laſt drew on the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Temple with it.

After an Year and a half that Part which was moſt properly the Temple (that is that which contained the Holy Place, the Holy of Holies, and the Porch through which was the Paſſage leading to both) was wholly finiſhed; and after eight Years more all the reſt was built, which *Herod* propoſed. However this Temple was ſtill the ſame Temple, and ſtill retained the ſame Denomination as before. For *Herod*'s rebuilding of it was only by way of Reparation, and not by way of Reſtoration and new Erection after a long and total Demolition, as was the caſe of the Temple rebuilt by *Zerubbabel*; and therefore it was ſtill called the *ſecond Temple*, and *the latter Temple*, after this Reparation, as it was before, to the Time of its ultimate Demolition by *Titus*.

The whole Work being finiſhed at the end of nine Years and an half from his firſt beginning of the Building, [z] *Herod* celebrated with great Pomp and Expence the Dedication of it; and the Day appointed for it falling in with the Day of the Year when he firſt received the Crown, this augmented the Solemnity. And it was very proper and requiſite that this Houſe ſhould be thus repaired and fitted up in its beſt Dreſs, when he that was Lord thereof was coming to it: For within leſs than four Years after this *Chriſt* was born.

This Temple, as rebuilt by *Herod*, did not ſubſiſt above ſeventy-ſeven Years, being deſtroy'd by the *Romans* in the Year of *Chriſt* 73, that is of the Vulgar Æra 70; of which latter Deſtruction we ſhall ſay more when we come to ſpeak of our Lord's Prophecies concerning it. In a Word, it was begun by *Herod* in the Year of the World 3987, dedicated in 3996, burnt and deſtroy'd in 4073.

XI. [a] This Temple of *Herod* was very different from that of *Solomon*, and from that which was built by *Zerubbabel* after the Captivity. *Joſephus*, who himſelf had ſeen it, and was preſent at its Deſtruction, has left us a Deſcription of it to this Effect.

" [b] The Temple, properly ſo called, was but ſixty Cubits high, and as many broad; but there were two Sides of Front, like two Arms or Shoulderings, which advanced twenty Cubits on each Side, and ſo gave in the whole an hundred Cubits in Width as well as in Height. The Stones made uſe of in this Building were white and hard, twenty five Cubits long, eight high, and twelve wide.

The Front of this magnificent Building reſembled that of a Royal Palace. The two Extremes of each Face were lower than the Middle; which Middle was ſo exalted, that thoſe who were over-againſt the Temple, or who approached it at a Diſtance, might ſee it, tho' they were many Furlongs from it. The Gates were almoſt of the ſame Height as the Temple; and on the Top of them were Veils, or Tapeſtry of ſeveral Colours, embelliſhed with purple Flowers. On the two Sides of the Doors were two Pillars, the Corniſhes of which were adorned with Branches of a Golden Vine, which hung down with their Grapes and Cluſters, and were ſo well imitated, that Art did not yield to Nature. *Herod* made very large and high Galleries about the Temple, which were ſuitable to the Magnificence of the reſt of the Building, and exceeded in Beauty and Sumptuouſneſs all of the kind that had been ſeen before.

The Temple was built upon a very irregular Mountain; and at firſt there was hardly Plain enough on the Top of it for the Site of the the Temple and the Altar, the reſt of it being ſteep and ſloping. [c] But when King *Solomon* built it, he raiſed a Wall towards the Eaſt, to ſupport the Earth on that Side; and after that Side was filled up, he there built one of the Portico's or Galleries. At that Time this Face only was caſed with Stone; but in ſucceeding Times the People endeavouring to enlarge the Space, and the Top of the Mountain being now much extended, they broke down the Wall which was on the North Side, and encloſed a ſecond Space as large as that on which the whole Temple was built at firſt. So that in time, againſt all Hope and Expectation, this Work was carried ſo far, that the whole Mountain was ſurrounded by a treble Wall. But for completing this great Work whole Ages were no more than ſufficient; and all the ſacred Treaſures were applied to this Uſe, that the Devotion of the People had brought to the Temple from all the Provinces of the World. In ſome Places theſe Walls were above three hundred Cubits high; and the Stones uſed in this Work were ſome forty Cubits long. They were faſtned together with Iron Cramps and Lead, that they might be able to reſiſt the Injuries of Time.

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[v] Joſephus Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 8. & De Bello Judaico lib. i. cap. 5. Cicero in Oratione pro Flacco.

[w] See Page 87 and 88 of this Work.

[x] Ibid. Page 210.

[y] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.

[z] Ibid. lib. xv. cap. 14.

[a] Calmet in the Word *Temple*.

[b] Joſeph. De Bello Judaico lib. vi. cap. 6.

[c] Antiq. lib. xv. cap. 14.

The Platform of the Temple was a Furlong ſquare, or a hundred and twenty five Cubits. The Entrance into the firſt Encloſure, which was a Furlong on every Side, was by ſeven Gates, one to the Eaſt, one to the North, one to the South, and four towards the Weſt. Of theſe laſt one led to the Palace, another to the City, and the other two to the Fields. This Encloſure was ſecured without by a very high and ſolid Wall; and within, all round about it on the four Sides, were ſtately Porticos or Galleries, ſuſtain'd by Columns ſo thick that hardly any three Men could graſp them with their Arms. The Number of theſe Columns was an hundred and ſixty two: They ſupported a Roof of Cedar very well worked, and made three Galleries, of which the middlemoſt was forty five Feet wide, and an hundred high, thoſe on the two Sides thirty Feet wide and fifty high.

The Court or Area before theſe Galleries was paved with Marble of ſeveral Colours; and at a little Diſtance was a ſecond Encloſure, formed by a handſome Baluſtrade of Stone, with Pillars at equal Diſtances, on which were Inſcriptions in *Greek* and *Latin*, to warn all Strangers, and ſuch as were unclean, not to proceed any farther on Pain of Death. This Encloſure had but one Entrance towards the Eaſt, but towards the North and South it had three at equal Diſtances.

The third Encloſure, which included the Temple and the Altar of Burnt-Sacrifices, was ſurrounded by a Wall of forty Cubits high. It was a Square as well as the former; and the Height of the Wall did not appear ſo much without as it really was, becauſe it was loſt behind the Steps by which it was ſurrounded, and partly covered. Firſt, there were fourteen Steps, upon which was a Terras of about ten Cubits wide, which went all round the Encloſure. From thence there was another Aſcent of five Steps, to come to the Platform of the Gate; ſo that the Wall was but five and twenty Cubits high within. The Entrance into this Portico was by a Gate towards the Eaſt, by four towards the South, and as many towards the North. There was no Gate on the Weſt Side, but a great Wall ranged all along, from North to South. At the Entrance of each Gate within were large Rooms, in form of Pavilions, of thirty Cubits ſquare and forty high, each ſuſtain'd by a Pillar of twelve Cubits in Circumference.

Within this Encloſure were alſo double covered Galleries, with two Rows of Pillars, to the Eaſt, to the North, and to the South, but none to the Weſt. The Women had the Gate to themſelves which was on the Eaſt Side, and one of thoſe on the South and the North, by which they paſſed to the Place appointed for them, which was diſtinct from that of the Men.

The Altar of Burnt-Sacrifices was fifteen Cubits high, and forty Cubits wide every Way. They went up to it by a Slope without Steps, towards the South. At the four Corners were ſo many Eminences like Horns; and it was built of rough Stones, on which no Tool of any Metal was uſed.

The Front of the Temple was adorned with many rich Spoils, which the Kings of the *Jews* had dedicated to God, as Monuments of their Victories: When *Herod* had finiſhed the Temple, he dedicated them anew, and added to them ſeveral Trophies of his own, which he had gotten in his Wars.

The Porch of the Temple was ninety Cubits high, and an hundred in Length, taking up all the Front of the Temple, except ten Cubits of its Height. The Door was ſeventy Cubits high and twenty-five wide. Within the laſt Encloſure above-mentioned was a Wall of one Cubi high, which ſurrounded the Temple and the Altar of Burnt-Sacrifices, and which parted the Prieſts from the reſt of the *Iſraelites*. The Lai ty durſt not enter beyond this Wall, but wer permitted to bring their Sacrifices up to it. This is the Subſtance of what *Joſephus* ſay without the Figures and Ornaments of Speec with which he has dreſs'd up his Deſcriptio We have indeed purpoſely omitted his Accou of the Inſide of the Temple, and of the Apar ments of the Prieſts which were ranged on t two Sides of it, becauſe they have nothing them very ſingular, or different from what w before deſcribed in the Temple of *Solomon*.

XII. The Author laſt quoted relates a thi which he ſays he received by Tradition from Fathers, and which is remarkable enough to here taken notice of. It is, that all the Ti they were at work upon the Temple, there no Rain in the Day-time, but only in Night; ſo that the Workmen were never dred in their Work. The ſame Author obſe that as ſoon as it was reſolved to build the Te and the Altar, *Herod* durſt not enter into Courts of the Prieſts, as being only a Laic; that he left to the Prieſts the Care of fini this Work themſelves, who completed it in teen Months, tho' the reſt had taken up Years in perfecting.

In the Corner of the Northern Side of th Encloſure of the Temple was a very ſtrong er, built by the *Aſmonean* Kings, who w Poſſeſſion both of the regal State and the prieſthood at the ſame Time: 'Twas her kept the ſacred Ornaments, worn by the Prieſt on ſolemn Occaſions. After the *Aſm* *rod* continued to keep them there; and after *rod* the *Romans* had them in their Power, the Time of the Emperor *Tiberius.* But during Reign, *Vitellius* coming to *Jeruſalem* in uality of Governor of *Syria*, the Inhabitants that City received him with ſo much Honour, at, to ſhew his Acknowldgement for it, he tained from *Tiberius* that this ſacred Depoſit ould be put into their Hands. They enjoyed is Favour till the Death of King *Agrippa*, hen the Governors of *Syria* and *Judea* commanded the *Jews* to lay it up in the Caſtle of *ntonia*, that it might be in the Cuſtody of the *mans* as before. The *Jews* ſent to deſire it ain of *Claudius*; and young *Agrippa* being en at *Rome*, obtained the Charge of it for himf.

This precious Habit uſed to be kept in the ſaid ower, under the Seals of the High-Prieſt, and the Treaſures of the Temple. On the Eve of y ſolemn Feſtival, they went to wait upon him at commanded the Caſtle for the *Romans*; hen after they had view'd and examined the als, they receiv'd the holy Veſtments from his ands, which they brought back as ſoon as the ſtival was over, and ſealed them up as before. his Tower or Caſtle was very ſtrong in the ime of the *Aſmoneans*; but *Herod* fortified it yet ore, and called it *Antonia* in honour of his tron *Antony*. The ſame Prince alſo made a ſſage under Ground, from the Tower *Antonia* the Eaſtern Gate of the Temple, near which likewiſe built another Tower. This was to ſerve a Communication between the two wers and the Temple, which might be ſervible to himſelf and his Succeſſors, in caſe of a Sedition in the City.

XIII. The moſt common Prints of the Tem- which we now ſee, are copied from thoſe Father *Villalpandus*, a *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, who g employ'd by the King of *Spain* to write a ſcription of the City and Temple of *Jeruſa-* has obtain'd immortal Glory by a Work ch he publiſhed on that Subject, in three umes in *Folio*. As he was a very skilful Arect, he was much more capable of doing ice to this Deſign than the Generality of Inreters of Scripture, who commonly have but ender Acquaintance with Architecture.

he above Character is given to *Villalpandus* Father *Calmet*, who nevertheleſs afterwards ſures this Jeſuit, under the Sanction of very Men, as being too much prejudiced in fa- of the Temple of *Solomon*, and as think- he could not make it too ſplendid, too d, and too magnificent, by the utmoſt ch of his Imagination. "He has introdu- many Embelliſhments, ſays [e] *Calmet*, which not to be found in the ſacred Text, but h ought to have been there according to the s of Architecture, of which it is ſuppoſed *non* could not be ignorant: As if the ſame Taſte muſt needs prevail in Architecture among all Nations, and in all Ages; and as if *Solomon*, who lived long before the firſt Architects of *Greece*, muſt needs have followed the ſame Rules that they afterwards found out, and gave." This Author goes on, and inſtances in ſevera Particulars of *Villalpandus*'s Syſtem, for which he has little or no Foundation in the Scripture. He [f] does the ſame by the Syſtem which Dr. *Prideaux* has extracted from the Rabbies; inſinuating, that the greateſt Part of the Things ſet down in the Plan of this learned *Engliſhman*, are but of little Certainty: But he allows, however, that this Plan gives us very plauſible Explications of whatever is ſaid in Scripture concerning the Parts of the Temple, and their ſeveral Uſes.

To conclude this Diſcourſe, we ſhall take from [g] Dr. *Wells*'s Account of the Temple a ſhort Extract, which contains not only a Recapitulation of ſeveral Things, but alſo a Supplement to ſome of the Articles, and, what is moſt to our preſent Purpoſe, an Application of ſeveral Texts in Scripture to what has been already ſaid, and more particularly of the Hiſtory of Our Saviour's purging the Temple of the Buyers and Sellers.

Within the Fabric it ſelf there were theſe two Parts: The *Firſt* or Outmoſt was that, [h] *wherein was the Candleſtick, and the Table, and the Shew-Bread, which was called the Sanctuary*; *the Second* or Inmoſt was that *which is called the Holieſt of All, which had the Golden Cenſer, and the Ark of the Covenant overlaid round about with Gold, wherein was the Golden Pot that had Manna, and* Aaron's *Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant, and over it the Cherubims of Glory ſhadowing the Mercy-ſeat. Now the other Prieſts went always into the Firſt* Part or *Tabernacle, accompliſhing the* daily *Service of God: But into the ſecond went the High-Prieſt Alone, and that but Once every Year*, &c.

As to the Courts of the Temple, they were at firſt but two, the *Prieſts Court*, and the *Peoples Court*. The *Prieſts Court* was next to the Temple, and had in it the Brazen Altar for the Sacrifices, and the Laver for the Waſhing both of the Prieſts and the Sacrifices alſo; and into this Court might none enter but the Prieſts.

The *Peoples Court* was ſeparated from the former by a Wall of [i] three Cubits height, to which the People did repair to perform their Sacrifices, to ſay their Prayers, and to pay their Vows. In the midſt of this Court did *Solomon* [k] make a Brazen Scaffold for the Kings his Succeſſors. In After-Times this Court came to be built round with Porches, into which the People retired in rainy Weather; whence this Court is ſometimes denoted by the Name of *Solomon*'s *Porch*, [l] having the Name of *Solomon* added to it, either to continue his Memory, or becauſe the Porches here built had ſome Reſemblance of [m] that Porch which he built before the Temple.

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almet in the Word *Temple*.

eb. ix. 2, 3, 4, &c.

hn x. 23. Acts iii. 11.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Ibid.

[g] See Wells's Geography of the New Teſtament Pt. 1 p. 52 &c.

[i] One Cubit according to Joſephus.

[k] 2. Chron. vi. 13.

[m] . King. vi. 3.

The fore-mentioned Court of the People was one entire Court in *Solomon*'s Days; but afterwards it was divided by a low Wall, ſo that the Men ſtood in[nn] the inward Part of it, and the Women in the outward. This Diviſion is thought to have been made in *Jehoſaphat*'s time, of whom we read, that he ſtood in the Houſe of the Lord, before[o] *the New Court*, that is, before the *Women's Court*. In this ſtood the Poor's Treaſury, or the Alms-Box, as may be gathered from the poor Widow's caſting her two Mites into it; on which Account this whole Court is ſometimes denoted by the Name of[p] the *Treaſury*.

Laſtly, in *Herod*'s Temple there was a fourth Court added, before, or without the three already mention'd, namely, for ſuch as were unclean by legal Pollutions, and for Strangers; whence it was commonly called, the *Court of the Gentiles.* being deſign'd chiefly for the Uſe of ſuch Gentiles or Strangers, as were only *Proſelytes of the Gate*, and not *of the Covenant*, that is, as had bound themſelves only to the Obſervation of the Precepts of *Noah*, and not to the Obſervation of the *Moſaical* Law. This laſt or outmoſt Court of all was ſeparated from the[q] *Iſraelites Court* with a Wall, adorn'd with certain Pillars at equal Diſtances, bearing this Inſcription, *Let no Alien enter into this Holy Place.* And to this Wall it is, that the Apoſtle alludes, when he ſaith, [r] *He hath broken down the* middle *Wall of Partition between us* (that is, between *Jews* and Gentiles) *making one of twain*, and when he thence infers, that the Gentiles are to be no more eſteemed [ſ] *Foreigners and Strangers, but Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the Houſhold of God.* It was in this Fourth Court, or *Court of the Gentiles*, that the *Jews* permitted to be kept a Market of Sheep, Oxen, and Doves, and the Tables of the Money-Changers to ſtand; whereby the *Jews* ſhew'd the mean Regard they had for the Gentiles, placing them in the ſame Court with their Cattle. And therefore out of this Part or Court of the Temple it was, that our Saviour caſt the Buyers and Sellers; and herein it was that he overthrew the Tables of the Money-Changers; aſſerting hereby the Temple to that ſacred Uſe mention'd by the Prophet, namely, to be *an Houſe of Prayer for all Nations.*

A Supplement *to the foregoing* Diſſertation.

Being an Account of the modern State of *Jeruſalem*, the Temple, and Places adjacent.

I. *Ceremonies at the Entrance of Strangers.* II. *Deſcription of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.* III. *Sects of Chriſtians reſiding there.* IV. *Ceremonies on* Good-Friday *and the following Days.* V. *The Sepulchres of the Kings.* VI. *The Function of the Holy-Fire.* VII. *St.* Peter's *Priſon*, St. Mark's *Church*, *Houſes of* Annas *and* Caiaphas, *Church of the* Cænaculum, *&c.* VIII. Bathſheba's *Pool*, *the* Potter's Field, *Valley of* Jehoſaphat, Brook Cedron, *Pool of* Siloam, *Pillar of Judgment*, *Sepulchre of the Bleſſed Virgin*, &c. IX. *Vaults of the Apoſtles*, Mount Olivet, *Chapel of Aſcenſion*, &c. X. *Palace of* Pilate, *the Temple*, *the* Dolorous Way, *the Pool of* Betheſda, &c. XI. *Circumference of* Jeruſalem, *&c.*

I. WE doubt not but ſuch of our Readers, as are not already inform'd of the ſeveral Particulars contained in this Supplement, will be pleaſed with the Peruſal of it, becauſe the Author from whom we have extracted it, the ingenious Mr. *Maundrell*, has met with a general Approbation from the Curious. More might be here ſaid of his [t] Performance, if we were not ſatisfied that the ſeveral Quotations already made from it in this Work, are ſufficient to recommend it. No Perſon, we preſume, will object again our taking ſo much from a modern Author, from this Pretence, "That a particular Account of the preſent State of the *Holy Land*, and Places mentioned in the *New Teſtament*, can be of little Service to us in learning the State of thoſe Places at the Times of which the *New Teſtament* ſpeaks." For when a Man is reading over the Hiſtory of our Redemption, and pleaſing himſelf with an Idea of the Place where ſuch a particular thing therein mentioned was tranſacted, he muſt certainly find an additional Pleaſure in his Mind if he can run over the ſeveral Revolutions which that Place has ſince gone through, and take a View of the preſent Face which it bears, and of the ſeveral Marks which it retains of that Barbariſm and Superſtition, which has for many Ages paſt, and doth to this Day, prevail in the Country that was once honoured with the Preſence of the Son of God himſelf. The intelligent Reader will find this Reflection very much heighten'd whilſt he is peruſing the following Paragraphs, and indeed whenever he is referred to this Extract, or others of the ſame kind; which will often be the Caſe in the Progreſs of our Hiſtory.—— As to the Extract itſelf, we ſhall give it in the very Words of our Author, only throwing his Quotations, which he has inſerted in the Text, into Notes, as we have all along done on the like Occaſions.

"[u] Leaving *Beer*, we proceeded in a rude ſtony Country, which yet yielded us the Sight of ſeveral old ruin'd Villages. In two Hours and one Third we came to the Top of Hill, from whence we had the firſt Proſpect of *Jeruſalem*; *Rama*, antiently call'd *Gibeah* of *Saul*, being within View on the Right Hand, and the Plain of *Jericho* and the Mountains of *Gilead* on the Left. In one Hour more we approached the Walls of the Holy City; but we could not enter immediately, it being neceſſary firſt to ſend a Meſſenger, to acquaint the Governor of our Arrival, and to deſire Liberty of Entrance: Without which preceding Ceremony, no *Frank* dares come within the Walls. We therefore paſſed along by the Weſt Side of the City, and coming to the Corner above *Bethlehem* Gate, made a Stop there, in order to expect the Return of our Meſſenger. We had not waited above half an Hour, when he brought us our Permiſſion, and we enter'd accordingly at *Bethlehem* Gate. It is required of all *Franks*, unleſs they happen to come in with ſome Publick Miniſter, to diſmount at the Gate, to deliver their Arms, and enter on Foot; but we coming in Company with the *French* Conſul, had the Privilege to enter mounted and arm'd. Juſt within the Gate, we turned up a Street on the Left Hand, and were conducted by the Conſul to his own Houſe, with moſt friendly and generous Invitations to make that our Home, as long as we ſhould continue at *Jeruſalem*. Having taken a little Refreſhment, we went to the *Latin* Convent, at which all *Frank* Pilgrims are wont to be entertained. The Guardian and Friars receiv'd us with many kind Welcomes, and kept us with them at Supper; after which we returned to the *French* Conſul's to Bed. And thus we continued to take our Lodging at the Conſul's, and our Board with the Friars, during our whole Stay at *Jeruſalem*.

[nn] Or rather the Men in the Southern and Northern Parts, and the Women in the Eaſtern Part.

[o] 2 Chron. xx. 5.

[p] John viii. 20.

[q] More properly from the whole ſecond Encloſure.

[r] Eph. ii. 14, 15.

[ſ] Ibid. Ver. 19.

[t] Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

[u] Page 65, &c. Leſt there ſhould be Difference in the Editions of this Book, 'tis proper to take notice once for all, that that Edition which we uſe is, we believe, the Firſt; for it was printed at Oxford in 1703.

[x] The next Day, being *Good Friday* in the *Latin* Style, the Conſul was oblig'd to go into the Church of the Sepulchre, in order to keep his Feaſt; whither we accompanied him, altho' [y] our *Eaſter* was not till a Week after theirs. We found the Church Doors guarded by ſeveral *Janizaries*, and other *Turkiſh* Officers; who are placed here to watch, that none enter in, but ſuch as have firſt paid their appointed Caphar. This is more or leſs according to the Country, or Character, of the Perſons that enter. For *Franks* it is ordinarily fourteen Dollars *per* Head, unleſs they are *Eccleſiaſtics*, for in that Caſe it is but half ſo much.

Having once paid this Caphar, you may go in and out *gratis* as often as you pleaſe during the whole Feaſt; provided you take the ordinary Opportunities, in which it is cuſtomary to open the Doors: but if you would have them open'd at any Time out of the common Courſe, purpoſely for your own private Occaſion, then the firſt Expence muſt be paid again.

The Pilgrims being all admitted this Day, the Church Doors were lock'd in the Evening, and open'd no more till *Eaſter-Day*; by which we were kept in a cloſe, but very happy, Confinement for three Days. We ſpent our Time in viewing the Ceremonies practis'd by the *Latins* at this Feſtival, and in viſiting the ſeveral holy Places: All which we had an Opportunity to ſurvey, with as much Freedom and Deliberation as we pleaſed.

II. The Church of the Sepulchre is founded upon *Mount Calvary*, which is a ſmall Eminency or Hill upon the greater Mount of *Moriah*. It was antiently appropriated to the Execution of Malefactors, and therefore ſhut out of the Walls of the City, as an execrable and polluted Place. But ſince it was made the Altar, on which was offer'd up the precious and all-ſufficient Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, it has recover'd itſelf from that Infamy, and has been always reverenc'd and reſorted to with ſuch Devotion by all Chriſtians, that it has attracted the City round about it, and ſtands now in the midſt of *Jeruſalem*; a great Part of the Hill of *Sion* being ſhut out of the Walls, to make Room for the Admiſſion of *Calvary*.

In order to the fitting of this Hill for the Foundation of a Church, the firſt Founders were oblig'd to reduce it to a plain Area; which they did by cutting down ſeveral Parts of the Rock, and by elevating others. But in this Work Care was taken, that none of thoſe Parts of the Hill, which were reckon'd to be more immediately concerned in our Bleſſed Lord's Paſſion, ſhould be alter'd or diminiſhed. Thus that very Part of *Calvary*, where they ſay *Chriſt* was faſten'd to, and lifted upon his Croſs, is left entire, ſtanding at this Day eighteen Steps above the common Floor of the Church: And the Holy Sepulchre itſelf, which was at firſt a Cave hewn into the Rock under Ground, having had the Rock cut away from it all round, is now as it were a Grotto above Ground.

The Church is leſs than one hundred Paces long, and not more than ſixty wide, and yet is ſo contrived, that it is ſuppoſed to contain under its Roof twelve or thirteen Sanctuaries, or Places conſecrated to a more than ordinary Veneration, by being reputed to have ſome particular Actions done in them, relating to the Death and Reſurrection of *Chriſt*. As firſt, the Place where he was derided by the Soldiers: Secondly, where the Soldiers divided his Garments: Thirdly, where he was ſhut up, whilſt they digg'd the Hole to ſet the Foot of the Croſs in, and made all ready for his Crucifixion: Fourthly, where he was nailed to the Croſs: Fifthly, where the Croſs was erected: Sixthly, where the Soldiers ſtood that pierced his Side: Seventhly, where his Body was anointed in order to his Burial: Eighthly, where his Body was depoſited in the Sepulchre: Ninthly, where the Angels appear'd to the Women after his Reſurrection: Tenthly, where *Chriſt* appear'd to *Mary Magdalen*, &c. The Places where theſe and many other Things relating to our Bleſſed Lord are ſaid to have been done, are all ſuppoſed to be contain'd within the narrow Precincts of this Church, and are all diſtinguiſhed and adorned with ſo many ſeveral Altars.

III, In Galleries round about the Church, and alſo in little Buildings annex'd to it on the Outſide, are certain Apartments for the Reception of Friars and Pilgrims, and in theſe Places almoſt every Chriſtian Nation antiently maintain'd a ſmall Society of Monks, each Society having its proper Quarter aſſigned to it, by the Appointment of the *Turks.* Such as the *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, *Abyſſines*, *Gregorians*, *Neſtorians*, *Cophtites*, *Maronites*, &c. All which had antiently their ſeveral Apartments in the Church. But theſe have all, except four, forſaken their Quarters; not being able to ſuſtain the ſevere Rents, and Extortions, which their *Turkiſh* Landlords impoſe upon them. The *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Cophtites* keep their footing ſtill. But of theſe four the *Cophtites* have now only one poor Repreſentative of their Nation left. And the *Armenians* are run ſo much in Debt, that 'tis ſuppoſed they are haſtening apace to follow the Example of their Brethren, who have deſerted before them.

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[x] Friday Mar. 26. 1697.

[y] That is in 1685.

Beſides their ſeveral Apartments, each Fraternity have their Altars and Sanctuary, properly and diſtinctly allotted to their own Uſe. At which Places they have a particular Right to perform their own Divine Service, and to exclude other Nations from them.

But that which has always been the great Prize contended for by the ſeveral Sects, is the Command and Appropriation of the holy Sepulchre, a Privilege conteſted with ſo much unchriſtian Fury and Animoſity, eſpecially between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, that in diſputing which Party ſhould go into it to celebrate their Maſs, they have ſometimes proceeded to Blows and Wounds even at the very Door of the Sepulchre, mingling their own Blood with their Sacrifices. An Evidence of which Fury the Father Guardian ſhewed us in a great Scar upon his Arm, which he told us was the Mark of a Wound, given him by a ſturdy *Greek* Prieſt in one of theſe unholy Wars. Who can expect ever to ſee theſe holy Places reſcued from the Hands of Infidels? or if they ſhould be recover'd, what deplorable Conteſts might be expected to follow about them? ſeeing even in their preſent State of Captivity, they are made the Occaſion of ſuch unchriſtian Rage and Animoſity.

For putting an End to theſe infamous Quarrels, the *French* King interpos'd, by a Letter to the Grand Vizier about [z] twelve Years ſince; requeſting him, to order the Holy Sepulchre to be put into the Hands of the *Latins*, according to the Tenour of the Capitulation, made in the Year 1673. the Conſequence of which Letter, and of other Inſtances made by the *French* King, was, that the Holy Sepulchre was appropriated to the *Latins*. This was not accompliſh'd till the Year 1690. they alone having the Privilege to ſay Maſs in it. And tho' it be permitted to Chriſtians of all Nations to go into it for their private Devotions, yet none may ſolemnize any public Office of Religion there but the *Latins*.

The daily Employment of theſe Recluſes is to trim the Lamps, and to make devotional Viſits and Proceſſions to the ſeveral Sanctuaries in the Church. Thus they ſpend their Time, many of them for four or ſix Years together; nay ſo far are ſome tranſported with the pleaſing Contemplations in which they here entertain themſelves, that they will never come out to their dying Day, burying themſelves as it were alive in our Lord's Grave.

The *Latins*, of whom there are always about ten or twelve reſiding at the Church, with a Preſident over them, make every Day a ſolemn Proceſſion, with Tapers and Crucifixes, and other proceſſionary Solemnities, to the ſeveral Sanctuaries; ſinging at every one of them a *Latin* Hymn relating to the Subject of each Place. Theſe *Latins* being more polite and exact in their Functions than the other Monks here reſiding, and alſo our Converſation being chiefly with them, I will only deſcribe Their Ceremonies, without taking notice of what was done by others, who did not ſo much come under our Obſervation.

IV. Their Ceremony begins on *Good Friday* Night, which is call'd by them *Nox tenebroſa*, and is obſerv'd with ſuch an extraordinary Solemnity, that I cannot omit to give a particular Deſcription of it.

As ſoon as it grew dusk, all the Friars and Pilgrims were conven'd in the Chapel of the Apparition (which is a ſmall Oratory on the North Side of the Holy Grave, adjoining to the Apartments of the *Latins*) in order to go in a Proceſſion round the Church. But, before they ſet out, one of the Friars preached a Sermon in *Italian* in that Chapel. He began his Diſcourſe thus; [a] *In queſta notte tenebroſa* &c. at which Words all the Candles were inſtantly put out, to yield a livelier Image of the Occaſion. And ſo we were held by the Preacher for near half an Hour very much in the Dark. Sermon being ended, every Perſon preſent had a large lighted Taper put into his Hand, as it were to make amends for the former Darkneſs, and the Crucifixes and Utenſils were diſpoſed in order for beginning the Proceſſion. Amongſt the other Crucifixes there was one of a very large Size, which bore upon it the Image of our Lord as big as the Life. The Image was faſten'd to it with great Nails, crown'd with Thorns, beſmear'd with Blood, and ſo exquiſitely was it form'd, that it repreſented in a very lively Manner the lamentable Spectacle of our Lord's Body, as it hung upon the Croſs. This Figure was carried along in the Head of the Proceſſion; after which the Company follow'd to all the Sanctuaries in the Church, ſinging their appointed Hymn at every one.

The firſt Place they viſited was that of the Pillar of Flagellation, a large Piece of which is kept in a little Cell juſt at the Door of the Chapel of the Apparition. There they ſung their proper Hymn, and another Friar entertain'd the Company with a Sermon in *Spaniſh*, touching the Scourging of our Lord.

From hence they proceeded in ſolemn Order to the Priſon of *Chriſt*, where they pretend he was ſecur'd whilſt the Soldiers made things ready for his Crucifixion: Here likewiſe they ſung their Hymn, and a third Friar preach'd in *French*.

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[z] That is in 1685.

[a] In this gloomy Night.

From the Priſon they went to the Altar of the Diviſion of *Chriſt*'s Garments: Where they only ſung their Hymn, without adding any Sermon.

Having done here, they advanc'd to the Chapel of the Deriſion; at which, after their Hymn, they had a fourth Sermon (as I remember) in *French*.

From this Place they went up to *Calvary*, leaving their Shoes at the Bottom of the Stairs. Here are two Altars to be viſited; one where our Lord is ſuppoſed to have been nailed to his Croſs; another where his Croſs was erected. At the former of theſe, they laid down the great Crucifix (which I but now deſcribed) upon the Floor, and acted a kind of Reſemblance of *Chriſt*'s being nail'd to the Croſs; and after the Hymn, one of the Friars preached another Sermon in *Spaniſh* upon the Crucifixion.

From hence they removed to the adjoining Altar, where the Croſs is ſuppos'd to have been erected, bearing the Image of our Lord's Body. At this Altar is a Hole in the natural Rock, ſaid to be the very ſame individual one, in which the Foot of our Lord's Croſs ſtood. Here they ſet up their Croſs, with the bloody crucified Image upon it, and leaving it in that Poſture, they firſt ſung their Hymn, and then the Father Guardian, ſitting in a Chair before it, preached a Paſſion Sermon in *Italian*.

At about one Yard and a half diſtance from the Hole in which the Foot of the Croſs was fix'd, is ſeen that memorable Cleft in the Rock, ſaid to have been made by the Earthquake which happen'd at the Suffering of the God of Nature: When (as St. *Matthew* [b] witneſſeth) *the Rocks rent and the very Graves were open'd.* This Cleft, as to what now appears of it, is about a Span wide at it's upper Part, and two deep; after which it cloſes: But it opens again below, (as you may ſee in another Chapel under this) and runs down to an unknown Depth in the Earth. That this Rent was made by the Earthquake, that happen'd at our Lord's Paſſion, there is only Tradition to prove: But that it is a natural and genuine Breach, and not counterfeited by any Art, the Senſe and Reaſon of every one that ſees it may convince him; for the Sides of it fit like two Tallies to each other, and yet it runs in ſuch intricate Windings as could not well be counterfeited by Art, nor arriv'd at by any Inſtruments.

The Ceremony of the Paſſion being over, and the Guardian's Sermon ended, two Friars, perſonating the one *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, the other *Nicodemus*, approach'd the Croſs, and with a moſt ſolemn concern'd Air, both of Aſpect and Behaviour, drew out the great Nails, and took down the feigned Body from the Croſs. It was an Effigies ſo contriv'd, that its Limbs were ſoft and flexible, as if they had been real Fleſh; and nothing could be more ſurpriſing, than to ſee the two pretended Mourners bend down the Arms, which were before extended, and diſpoſe them upon the Trunk, in ſuch a manner as is uſual in Corpſes.

The Body being taken down from the Croſs, was receiv'd in a fair large Winding-Sheet, and carried down from *Calvary*; the whole Company attending as before, to the Stone of Unction. This is taken for the very Place where the precious Body of our Lord was anointed, and prepar'd for the Burial [c]. Here they laid down their imaginary Corpſe, and caſting over it ſeveral ſweet Powders and Spices, wrapp'd it up in the Winding-Sheet. Whilſt this was doing, they ſung their proper Hymn, and afterwards one of the Friars preached in *Arabic* a Funeral Sermon.

Theſe Obſequies being finiſhed, they carried off their fancied Corpſe, and laid it in the Sepulchre; ſhutting up the Door till *Eaſter-Morning*. And now, after ſo many Sermons, and ſo long, not to ſay tedious, a Ceremony, it may well be imagin'd that the Wearineſs of the Congregation, as well as the Hour of the Night, made it needful to go to reſt.

[d] The next Morning nothing extraordinary paſs'd; which gave many of the Pilgrims leiſure to have their Arms mark'd with the uſual Enſigns of *Jeruſalem*. The Artiſts who undertake the Operation, do it in this Manner: They have Stamps in Wood of any Figure you deſire; which they firſt print off upon your Arm with Powder of Charcoal; then taking two very fine Needles, ty'd cloſe together, and dipping them often, like a Pen, in a certain Ink, compounded (as I was inform'd) of Gunpowder and Ox-Gall, they make with them ſmall Punctures all along the Lines of the Figure which they have printed, and then waſhing the Part with Wine conclude the Work. Theſe Punctures they make with great Quickneſs and Dexterity, and with ſcarce any Smart, ſeldom piercing ſo deep as to draw Blood.

In the Afternoon of this Day, the Congregation was aſſembled in the Area before the Holy Grave: Where the Friars ſpent ſome Hours in ſinging over the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*; which Function with the uſual Proceſſion to the Holy Places, was all the Ceremony of this Day.

[e] On *Eaſter Morning* the Sepulchre was again ſet open very early. The Clouds of the former Morning were clear'd up, and the Friars put on a Face of Joy and Serenity, as if it had been the real Juncture of our Lord's Reſurrection. Nor doubtleſs was this Joy feigned, whatever their Mourning might be, this being the Day in which their *Lenten* Diſciplines expir'd, and they were to come to a full Belly again.

The Maſs was celebrated this Morning juſt before the Holy Sepulchre, being the moſt eminent Place in the Church, where the Father Guardian had a Throne erected; and being array'd in Epiſcopal Robes, with a Mitre on his Head, in the Sight of all the *Turks*, he gave the Hoſt to all that were diſpos'd to receive it, not refuſing

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[b] Matth. xxvii. 51.

[c] John xix. 39.

[d] Saturday, March 37.

[e] Sunday, March 28.

Children of ſeven or eight Years old. This Office being ended, we made our Exit out of the Sepulchre, and returning to the Convent din'd with the Friars.

V. After Dinner we took an Opportunity to go and viſit ſome of the remarkable Places without the City Walls. We began with thoſe on the North Side.

The firſt Place we were conducted to was a large Grot, a little without *Damaſcus* Gate; ſaid to have been ſome time the Reſidence of *Jeremiah*. On the left Side of it is ſhewn the Prophet's Bed, being a Shelve on the Rock, about eight Foot from the Ground; and not far from this, is the Place, where they ſay he wrote his Lamentations. This Place is at preſent a College of Derviſes, and is held in great Veneration by the *Turks* and *Jews*, as well as *Chriſtians*.

The next Place we came to was thoſe famous Grots call'd the Sepulchres of the Kings: But for what Reaſon they go by that Name is hard to reſolve; for it is certain none of the Kings either of *Iſrael* or *Judah* were buried here, the holy Scriptures aſſigning other Places for their Sepultures: Unleſs it may be thought perhaps that *Hezekiah* was here interr'd, and that theſe were the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David* [f]. Whoever was buried here, this is certain, that the Place itſelf diſcovers ſo great an Expence, both of Labour and Treaſure, that we may well ſuppoſe it to have been the Work of Kings. You approach to it on the Eaſt Side, through an Entrance cut out of the natural Rock, which admits you into an open Court of about forty Paces ſquare, cut down into the Rock, with which it is encompaſs'd inſtead of Walls. On the South Side of the Court is a Portico nine Paces long and four broad, hewn likewiſe out of the natural Rock. This has a kind of Architrave running along it's Front, adorn'd with Sculpture, of Fruits, and Flowers, ſtill diſcernable, but by Time much defaced. At the End of the Portico, on the left Hand, you deſcend to the Paſſage into the Sepulchres. The Door is now ſo obſtructed with Stones and Rubbiſh, that it is a Thing of ſome Difficuly to creep thro' it. But within you arrive in a large fair Room, about five or ſix Yards ſquare, cut out of the natural Rock. It's Sides and Ceiling are ſo exactly ſquare, and its Angles ſo juſt, that no Architect with Levels and Plumets could build a Room more regular. And the whole is ſo firm and entire, that it may be call'd a Chamber hollow'd out of one Piece of Marble. From this Room, you paſs into I think ſix more one within another, all of the ſame Fabric with the firſt. Of theſe the two innermoſt are deeper than the reſt, having a ſecond Deſcent of about ſix or ſeven Steps into them.

In every one of theſe Rooms, except the firſt, were Coffins of Stone, placed in Niches in the Sides of the Chambers. They had been at firſt cover'd with handſome Lids, and carv'd with Garlands: But now moſt of them were broke to Pieces by ſacrilegious Hands. The Sides and Ceiling of the Room were always dropping with the moiſt Damps condenſing upon them. To remedy which Nuiſance, and to preſerve theſe Chambers of the dead polite and clean, there was in each Room a ſmall Channel cut in the Floor, which ſerv'd to drain the Drops that fall continually into it.

But the moſt ſurprizing Thing belonging to theſe ſubterraneous Chambers were their Doors; of which there was only one remaining entire, being left as it were on purpoſe to puzzle the Beholders. It conſiſted of a Plank of Stone of about ſix Inches in Thickneſs, and in its other Dimenſions equalling the Size of an ordinary Door, or ſomewhat leſs. It was carv'd in ſuch a manner, as to reſemble a Piece of Wainſcot. The Stone of which it was made, was viſibly of the ſame Kind with the whole Rock, and it turn'd upon two Hinges in the nature of Axels. Theſe Hinges were of the ſame entire Piece of Stone with the Door, and were contain'd in two Holes of the immoveable Rock, one at the Top the other at the Bottom.

From this Deſcription it is obvious to ſtart a Queſtion, how ſuch Doors as theſe were made? whether they were cut out of the Rock, in the ſame Place and Manner as they now hang? or whether they were brought, and fix'd in their Station like other Doors? One of theſe muſt be ſuppos'd to have been done, and whichſoever Part we chuſe, as moſt probable, it ſeems at firſt Glance to be not without its Difficulty. But thus much have I to ſay, for the reſolving of this Riddle (which is wont to create no ſmall Diſpute amongſt Pilgrims) That the Door which was left hanging, did not touch its Lintel by at leaſt two Inches; ſo that I believe it might eaſily have been lifted up, and unhinged. And the Doors which have been thrown dwon, had their Hinges at the upper End twice as long as thoſe at the Bottom; which ſeems to intimate pretty plainly, by what Method this Work was accompliſhed.

From theſe Sepulchres we return'd toward the City again, and juſt by *Herod*'s Gate were ſhewn a Grotto, full of filthy Water and Mire. This paſſes for the Dungeon in which *Jeremiah* was kept by *Zedekiah*, till enlarged by the Charity of *Ebed Melech*. [g] At this Place we concluded our Viſits for that Evening,

VI. [h] The next Day, being *Eaſter Monday*, the *Moſolem* or Governor of the City ſet out, according to Cuſtom, with ſeveral Bands of Soldiers, to convey the Pilgrims to *Jordan*.

After our Return, we were invited into the Convent, to have our Feet waſh'd; a Ceremony perform'd to each Pilgrim by the Father Guardian himſelf. The whole Society ſtands round ſinging ſome *Latin* Hymns, all the while the Father Guardian is doing his Office: And when he has done, every Friar comes in Order, and kiſſes the Feet of the Pilgrim. All this was perform'd with great Order and Solemnity; and if it ſerv'd either to teſtify a ſincere Humility and Charity in them, or to improve thoſe excellent Graces in others, it might paſs for no unuſeful Ceremony.

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[f] Mention'd 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

[g] Jer. xxxviii.

[h] Monday Mar. 29.

[i] We next went to ſee the Function of the *Holy Fire.* This is a Ceremony kept up by the *Greeks* and *Armenians,* upon a Perſuaſion, that every *Eaſter-Eve* there is a miraculous Flame deſcends from Heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, and kindles all the Lamps and Candles there, as the Sacrifice was [k] burnt at the Prayers of *Elijah.*

Coming to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we found it crouded with a numerous and diſtracted Mob, making a hideous Clamour very unfit for that ſacred Place, and better becoming Bacchanals than Chriſtians. Getting with ſome Struggle through this Croud, we went up into the Gallery on that Side of the Church next the *Latin* Convent; whence we could diſcern all that paſs'd in this Religious Frenzy.

They began their Diſorders by running round the Holy Sepulchre with all their Might and Swiftneſs, crying out as they went, *Huia,* which ſignifies *This is he,* or *This is it:* An Expreſſion by which they aſſert the Verity of the Chriſtian Religion. After they had by theſe vertiginous Circulations and Clamours turn'd their Heads, and inflam'd their Madneſs, they began to act the moſt antic Tricks and Poſtures, in a thouſand Shapes of Diſtraction. Sometimes they dragg'd one another along the Floor all round the Sepulchre; ſometimes they ſet one Man upright on another's Shoulders, and in this Poſture march'd round; ſometimes they took Men with their Heels upward, and hurry'd them about in ſuch an undecent Manner as to expoſe their Nudities; ſometimes they tumbled round the Sepulchre, after the manner of Tumblers on the Stage: In a Word, nothing can be imagin'd more rude or extravagant than what was acted upon this Occaſion.

In this tumultuous frantic Humour they continued from twelve till four of the Clock: The Reaſon of which Delay was, becauſe of a Suit that was then in Debate before the *Cadi* betwixt the *Greeks* and *Armenians;* the former endeavouring to exclude the latter from having any Share in this Miracle: Both Parties having expended (as I was inform'd) five thouſand Dollars between them. In this fooliſh Controverſy, the *Cadi* at laſt gave Sentence, that they ſhould enter the Holy Sepulchre together, as had been uſual at former Times. Sentence being thus given, at four of the Clock both Nations went on with their Ceremony. The *Greeks* firſt ſet out, in a Proceſſion round the Holy Sepulchre; and immediately at their Heels follow'd the *Armenians.* In this Order they compaſs'd the Holy Sepulchre thrice, having produced all their Gallantry of Standards, Streamers, Crucifixes, and embroider'd Habits, upon this Occaſion.

Toward the End of this Proceſſion, there was a Pigeon came fluttering into the Cupola over the Sepulchre; at Sight of which, there was a greater Shout and Clamour than before. This Bird, the *Latins* told us, was purpoſely let fly by the *Greeks,* to deceive the People into an Opinion that it was a viſible Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Proceſſion being over, the Suffragan of the *Greek* Patriarch (he being himſelf at *Conſtantinople*) and the principal *Armenian* Biſhop, approach'd to the Door of the Sepulchre, and cutting the String with which it was faſtned and ſeal'd, enter'd in; all the Candles and Lamps within having been before extinguiſh'd, in the Preſence of the *Turks,* and other Witneſſes. The Exclamations were doubled, as the Miracle drew nearer to it's Accompliſhment, and the People preſs'd with ſuch vehemence toward the Door of the Sepulchre, that it was not in the Power of the *Turks,* ſet to guard it, with the ſevereſt Drubs to keep them off. The Cauſe of their preſſing in this Manner, is the great Deſire they have to light their Candles at the Holy Flame, as ſoon as it is firſt brought out of the Sepulchre; it being eſteem'd the moſt ſacred and pure, as coming immediately from Heaven.

The two Miracle-Mongers had not been above a Minute in the Holy Sepulchre, when the Glimmering of the Holy Fire was ſeen, or imagin'd to appear, through ſome Chinks of the Door; and certainly *Bedlam* itſelf never ſaw ſuch an unruly Tranſport, as was produc'd in the Mob at this Sight.

Immediately after out came the two Prieſts, with blazing Torches in their Hands, which they held up at the Door of the Sepulchre, while the People throng'd about with inexpreſſible Ardour; every one ſtriving to obtain a Part of the firſt, and pureſt Flame. The *Turks* in the mean Time, with huge Clubs, laid them on without Mercy: But all this could not repel them, the Exceſs of their Tranſport making them inſenſible of Pain. Thoſe that got the Fire applied it immediately to their Beards, Faces, and Boſoms, pretending that it would not burn like an earthly Flame. But I plainly ſaw none of them could endure this Experiment long enough to make good that Pretenſion.

So many Hands being employ'd, you may be ſure, it could not be long before innumerable Tapers were lighted. The whole Church, Gallerys, and every Place, ſeem'd inſtantly to be in a Flame; and with this Illumination the Ceremony ended.

It muſt be own that thoſe two within the Sepulchre, perform'd their Part with great Quickneſs and Dexterity: But the Behaviour of the Rabble without very much diſcredited the Miracle. The *Latins* take a great deal of Pains to expoſe this Ceremony, as a moſt ſhameful Impoſture, and a Scandal to the Chriſtian Religion; perhaps out of Envy that others ſhould be Maſters of ſo gainful a Buſineſs. But the *Greeks* and *Armenians* pin their Faith upon it, and make their Pilgrimages chiefly upon this Motive; and 'tis the deplorable Unhappineſs of their Prieſts, that having acted the Cheat ſo long already, they are forc'd now to ſtand to it, for fear of endangering the Apoſtacy of their People.

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[i] Saturday, April 3.

[k] 1 Kings xviii.

Going out of the Church, after the Rout was over, we ſaw ſeveral of the People gather'd about the Stone of Unction: Who having got a good Store of Candles, lighted with the Holy Fire, were employ'd in daubing Pieces of Linen with the Wicks of them and the melting Wax, which Pieces of Linen were deſign'd for Winding-Sheets: And 'tis the Opinion of theſe poor People, that if they can but have the Happineſs to be buried in a Shroud ſmutted with this Celeſtial Fire, it will certainly ſecure them from the Flames of Hell.

VII. [l] TwoDays after we went to ſee ſome more of the Curioſities which had been yet unviſited by us. The firſt Place we came to was that which they call St. *Peter*'s Priſon, from which he [m] was deliver'd by the Angel. It is cloſe by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and ſtill ſerves for it's primitive Uſe. About the Space of a Furlong from thence we came to an old Church, held to have been built by *Helena*, in the Place where ſtood the Houſe of *Zebedee*. This is in the Hands of the *Greeks*, who tell you, that *Zebedee* being a Fiſherman, was wont to bring Fiſh from *Joppa* hither, and to vend it at this Place. Not far from hence we came to the Place where they ſay ſtood antiently the Iron Gate, which open'd to *Peter* of it's own accord. A few Steps farther is the ſmall Church built over the Houſe of *Mark*, to which the Apoſtle directed his Courſe, after his miraculous Goal Delivery. The *Syrians* (who have this Place in their Cuſtody) pretend to ſhew you the very Window at which *Rhoda* look'd out, while *Peter* knock'd at the Door. In the Church they ſhew a *Syriac* Manuſcript of the *New Teſtament* in Folio, pretended to be eight hundred and fifty two Years old, and a little Stone Font uſed by the Apoſtles themſelves in baptizing. About one hundred and fifty Paces farther in the ſame Street, is that which they call the Houſe of St. *Thomas*, converted formerly into a Church, but now a Moſque. Not many Paces farther is another Street croſſing the former, which leads you on the Right Hand to the Place, where they ſay our Lord appear'd [n], after his Reſurrection, to the three *Marys*. Three *Marys* the Friars tell you, though in St. *Matthew* mention is made of but two. The ſame Street carries you on the Left Hand to the *Armenian* Convent. The *Armenians* have here a very large and delightful Space of Ground; their Convent and Gardens taking up all that Part of Mount *Sion*, which is within the Walls of the City. Their Church is built over the Place, where, they ſay, [o] St. *James* the Brother of *John* was beheaded. In a ſmall Chapel on the North Side of the Church is ſhewn the very Place of his Decollation. In this Church are two Altars ſet out with extraordinary Splendor, being deck'd with rich Mitres, embroider'd Copes, Croſſes both Silver and Gold, Crowns, Chalices, and Church Utenſils without Number. In the Middle of the Church is a Pulpit, made of Tortoiſe-ſhell and Mother of Pearl, with a beautiful Canopy or Cupola over it, of the ſame Fabric. The Tortoiſe-ſhell and Mother of Pearl are ſo exquiſitely mingled, and inlaid in each other, that the Work far exceeds the Materials. In a kind of Anti-Chapel in this Church, there are laid up on one Side of an Altar three large rough Stones, eſteem'd very precious, as being one of them the Stone upon which *Moſes* caſt the two Tables, when he broke them, in Indignation, at the Idolatry of the *Iſraelites*; the other two being brought, one from the Place of our Lord's Baptiſm, the other from that of his Transfiguration.

Leaving this Convent, we went a little farther to another ſmallChurch, which was likewiſe in the Hands of the *Armenians*. This is ſuppos'd to be founded in the Place where *Annas*'s Houſe ſtood. Within the Church, not far from the Door, is ſhewn a Hole in the Wall, denoting the Place, where [p] one of the Officers of the High-Prieſt ſmote our Bleſſed Saviour. The Officer, by whoſe impious Hand that Buffet was given, the Friars will have to be the ſame *Malchus*, whoſe Ear our Lord had heal'd. In the Court before this Chapel is an Olive-Tree, of which it is reported, that *Chriſt* was chain'd to it for ſome time by order of *Annas* to ſecure him from eſcaping.

From the Houſe of *Annas* we were conducted out of *Sion* Gate, which is near adjoining to that which they call the Houſe of *Caiaphas*; where is another ſmall Chapel, belonging alſo to the *Armenians*. Here, under the Altar, they tell us, is depoſited the very Stone which [q] was laid to ſecure the Door of our Saviour's Sepulchre. It was a long time kept in the Church of the Sepulchre; but the *Armenians*, not many Years ſince, ſtole it from thence by a Stratagem, and convey'd it to this Place. The Stone is two Yards and a Quarter long, high one Yard, and broad as much. It is plaiſter'd all over, except in five or ſix little Places, where it is left bare, to receive the immediate Kiſſes, and other Devotions of Pilgrims. Here is likewiſe ſhewn a little Cell, ſaid to have been our Lord's Priſon till the Morning, when he was carried from hence before *Pilate*; and alſo the Place where *Peter* was frighted into a Denial of his Maſter.

A little farther, without the Gate, is the Church of the *Cænaculum*; where, they ſay, *Chriſt* inſtituted his laſt Supper. It is now a Moſque, and not to be ſeen by Chriſtians. Near this is a Well, which is ſaid to mark out the Place at which the Apoſtles divided from each other, in order to go every Man to his ſeveral Charge; and cloſe by the Well are the Ruins of a Houſe, in which the Bleſſed Virgin is ſuppos'd to have breath'd her laſt. Going Eaſtward, a little way down the Hill, we were ſhewn the Place where a *Jew* arreſted the Corps of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, as ſhe was carried to her Interment; for which impious Preſumption, he had his Hand wither'd wherewith he had ſeiz'd the Bier. About as much lower in the middle of the Hill, they ſhew you the Grot, in which St. *Peter* wept ſo bitterly for his Inconſtancy to his Lord.

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[l] Monday, April 5.

[m] Acts xii.

[n] Matth. xxviii. 9.

[o] Acts xii. 2.

[p] John xviii. 22.

[q] Matth. xxvii. 60.

We extended our Circuit no farther at this Time; but enter'd the City at *Sion* Gate. Turning down as ſoon as we had enter'd on the right Hand, and going about two Furlongs cloſe by the City Wall, we were had into a Garden, lying at the Foot of *Mount Moriah*, on the South Side. Here we were ſhewn ſeveral large Vaults, annex'd to the Mountain on this Side, and running at leaſt fifty Yards under Ground. They were built in two Iſles, arch'd at Top with huge firm Stones two Yards in Diameter. This might poſſibly be ſome under-ground Work, made to enlarge the Area of the Temple. For [r] *Joſephus* ſeems to deſcribe ſome ſuch Work as this, erected over the Valley on this Side of the Temple.

From theſe Vaults, we return'd towards the Convent, In our Way, we paſs'd thro' the *Turkiſh Bazars*, and took a View of the beautiful Gate of the Temple. But we could but juſt view it in paſſing, it not being ſafe to ſtay here long, by reaſon of the Superſtition of the *Turks*.

[ſ] VIII. The next Morning we took another Progreſs about the City. We made our Exit at *Bethlehem* Gate, and turning down on the left Hand under the Caſtle of the *Piſans*, came in about a Furlong and an half to that which they call *Bathſheba*'s Pool. It lies at the Bottom of *Mount Sion*, and is ſuppos'd to be the ſame in which *Bathſheba* was waſhing herſelf, when *David* ſpied her from the Terras of his Palace. But others refer this Accident to another leſſer Pool, in a Garden juſt within *Bethlehem* Gate, and perhaps both Opinions are equally in the right.

A little below this Pool begins the Valley of *Hinnon*, on the Weſt Side of which is the Place call'd antiently the *Potters Field*, and afterwards the *Field of Blood*, from its being purchas'd with the Pieces of Silver which were the Price of the Blood of *Chriſt*; but at preſent, from that Veneration which it has obtain'd amongſt *Chriſtians*, it is call'd [s] *Campo Sancto*. It is a ſmall Plat of Ground not above thirty Yards long, and about half as much broad. One Moiety of it is taken up by a ſquare Fabric twelve Yards high, built for a Charnel Houſe. The Corpſes are let down into it from the Top, there being five Holes left open for that Purpoſe. Looking down thro' theſe Holes, we could ſee ſeveral Bodies under ſeveral Degrees of Decay: From which it may be conjectur'd, that this Grave does not make that [t] quick Diſpatch with the Corpſes committed to it, which is commonly reported. The *Armenians* have the Command of this Burying-Place, for which they pay the *Turks* a Rent of one Zequin a Day. The Earth is of a chalky Subſtance hereabouts.

A little below the *Campo Sancto* is ſhewn an intricate Cave or Sepulchre, conſiſting of ſeveral Rooms one within another, in which the *Apoſtles* are ſaid to have hid themſelves, when they forſook their Maſter, and fled. The Entrance of the Cave diſcovers Signs of its having been adorn'd with Paintings in antient Times.

A little farther the Valley of *Hinnon* terminates, that of *Jehoſaphat* running croſs the Mouth of it. Along the Bottom of this Valley runs the Brook *Cedron*, a Brook in Winter Time, but without the leaſt Water in it all the Time we were at *Jeruſalem*.

In the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, the firſt Thing you are carried to is the Well of *Nehemiah*, ſo call'd becauſe reputed to be the ſame Place from which that Reſtorer of *Iſrael* recovered the Fire of the Altar, [u] after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. A little higher in the Valley, on the left Hand, you come to a Tree, ſuppos'd to mark out the Place where the [w] *Evangelical Prophet* was ſawn aſunder. About one hundred Paces higher on the ſame Side, is the Pool of *Siloam*. It was antiently dignified with a Church built over it: But when we were there, a Tanner made no ſcruple to dreſs his Hides in it. Going about a Furlong farther on the ſame Side, you come to the Fountain of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, ſo called, becauſe ſhe was wont (as it is reported) to reſort hither for Water; but at what Time, and upon what Occaſions, it is not yet agreed. Over againſt this Fountain, on the other Side of the Valley, is a Village call'd *Siloe*, in which *Solomon* is ſaid to have kept his ſtrange Wives; and above the Village is a Hill call the *Mountain of Offence*, [x] becauſe there *Solomon* built the High-Places, his Wives having perverted his wiſe Heart, to follow their idolatrous Abominations in his declining Years. On the ſame Side, and not far diſtant from *Siloe*, they ſhew another *Aceldama* or *Field of Blood*, ſo call'd, becauſe there it was, [y] that *Judas* by the juſt Judgment of God, met with his compounded Death. A little farther on the ſame Side of the Valley, they ſhew'd us ſeveral *Jewiſh* Monuments. Amongſt the reſt there are two noble Antiquities, which they call the Sepulchre of *Zachary* and the Pillar of *Abſolom*. Cloſe by the latter is the Sepulchre of *Jehoſaphat*, from which the whole Valley takes it Name.

Upon the Edge of the Hill, on the oppoſite Side of the Valley, there runs along in a direct Line, the Wall of the City. Near the Corner of which there is a ſhort End of a Pillar, jetting out of the Wall. Upon this Pillar, the *Turks* have a Tradition that *Mahomet* ſhall ſit in Judgment, at the laſt Day, and that all the World ſhall be gathered together in the Valley below, to receive their Doom from his Mouth. A little farther Northward is the Gate of the Temple. It is at preſent wall'd up, becauſe the *Turks* here have a Prophecy, that their Deſtruction ſhall enter at that Gate, the Completion of which Prediction, they endeavour by this Means to prevent. Below this Gate, in the Bottom of the Valley, is a broad hard Stone, diſcovering ſeveral Impreſſions upon it, which you may fancy to be Footſteps. Theſe, the Friars tell you, are Prints made by our Bleſſed Saviour's Feet, when after his Apprehenſion he was hurried violently away to the Tribunal of his Blood-thirſty Perſecutors.

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[r] Ant. Jud. Lib. 15. Cap. ult. [ſ] Tueſday April 6. [s] The Holy Field.
[t] 'Tis ſaid that Bodies thrown into this Vault are conſumed in eight and forty Hours. [u] 2 Mac. i. 19. [w] Iſaiah.
[x] Mention'd 1 Kings xi. 7. [y] Mat. xxvii. 5. Acts i. 18, 19.

From hence, keeping ſtill in the Bottom of the Valley, you come in a few Paces to a Place, which they call the Sepulchre of the Bleſſed Virgin. It has a magnificent Deſcent down into it of forty ſeven Stairs: On the Right Hand, as you go down, is the Sepulchre of St. *Anna*, the Mother, and on the Left that of St. *Joſeph*, the Husband, of the Bleſſed Virgin.

Having finiſh'd our Viſit to this Place, we went up the Hill toward the City. In the Side of the Aſcent, we were ſhewn a broad Stone on which, they ſay, St. *Peter* ſuffer'd Martyrdom; and not far from it, is a Grot into which they tell you the outrageous *Jewiſh* Zealots caſt his Body, when they had ſatiated their Fury upon him. From hence we went immediately to St. *Stephen*'s Gate, ſo call'd from it's Vicinity to this Place of the Protomartyr's Suffering; and ſo return'd to our Lodging.

IX. [z] The next Morning we ſet out again, in order to ſee the Sanctuaries, and other viſitable Places upon Mount *Olivet*. We went out at St. *Stephen*'s Gate, and croſſing the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*, began immediately to aſcend the Mountains. Being got about two Thirds of the Way up, we came to certain Grots, cut with intricate Windings and Caverns under Ground: Theſe are call'd the Sepulchres of the Prophets. A little higher up are twelve arch'd Vaults under Ground, ſtanding Side by Side; theſe were built in Memory of the twelve Apoſtles, who are ſaid to have compil'd their Creed in this Place. Sixty Paces higher you come to the Place where they ſay *Chriſt* utter'd his [a] Prophecy concerning the final Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. And a little on the Right Hand of this, is the Place where they ſay he [b] dictated a ſecond Time the *Pater Noſter* to his Diſciples. Somewhat higher is the Cave of St. *Pelagia*, and as much more above that a Pillar, ſignifying the Place where an Angel gave the Bleſſed Virgin three Days warning of her Death: At the Top of the Hill, you come to the Place of our Bleſſed Lord's Aſcenſion. Here was antiently a large Church, built in honour of that glorious Triumph. But all that now remains of it is only an octogonal Cupola, about eight Yards in Diameter, ſtanding as they ſay over the very Place, where were ſet the laſt Footſteps of the Son of God here on Earth. Within the Cupola there is ſeen, in a hard Stone, as they tell you, the Print of one of his Feet. Here was alſo that of the other Foot ſome time ſince; but it has been mov'd from hence by the *Turks*, into the great Moſque upon Mount *Moriah*. This Chapel of the Aſcenſion the *Turks* have the Cuſtody of, and uſe it for a Moſque. There are many other holy Places about *Jeruſalem*, which the *Turks* pretend to have a Veneration for, equally with the Chriſtians, and under that Pretence they take them into their own Hands. But whether they do this out of real Devotion, or for Lucre's Sake, and to the End that they may exact Money from the Chriſtians for Admiſſion into them, I will not determine.

About two Furlongs from the Place Northward, is the higheſt Part of Mount *Olivet*, and upon that was antiently erected an high Tower, in memory of that Apparition of the two Angels to the Apoſtles, after our Bleſſed Lord's Aſcenſion, [c] from which the Tower itſelf had the Name given it of *Viri Galilæi!* This antient Monument remain'd [cc] till about two Years ſince, when it was demoliſh'd by a *Turk*, who had bought the Field in which it ſtood; but nevertheleſs, you have ſtill from the natural Height of the Place, a large Proſpect of *Jeruſalem*, and the adjacent Country, and of the *Dead-Sea*, &c.

From this Place we deſcended the Mount again by another Road. At about the Midway down, they ſhew you the Place [d] where *Chriſt* beheld the City and wept over it. Near the Bottom of the Hill is a great Stone, upon which, you are told, the Bleſſed Virgin let fall her Girdle after her Aſſumption, in order to convince St. *Thomas*, who, they ſay, was troubled with a Fit of his old Incredulity upon this Occaſion. There is ſtill to be ſeen a ſmall winding Channel upon the Stone, which they will have to be the Impreſſion made by the Girdle when it fell, and to be left for the Conviction of all ſuch as ſhall ſuſpect the Truth of their Story of the Aſſumption.

About twenty Yards lower they ſhew you *Gethſemane*, an even Plat of Ground, not above fifty ſeven Yards ſquare, lying between the Foot of Mount *Olivet* and the Brook *Cedron*. It is well planted with Olive-Trees, and thoſe of ſo old a Growth, that they are believ'd to be the ſame that ſtood here in our Bleſſed Saviour's Time. In Virtue of which Perſuaſion, the Olives, and Olive Stones, and Oil which they produce, became an excellent Commodity in *Spain*. But that theſe Trees cannot be ſo antient as is pretended, is evident from what [e] *Joſephus* teſtifies, *viz.* That *Titus* in his Siege of *Jeruſalem*, cut down all the Trees within about one hundred Furlongs of *Jeruſalem*; and that the Soldiers were forced to fetch Wood ſo far, for making their Mounts when they aſſaulted the Temple.

At the upper Corner of the Garden is a flat naked Ledge of Rock, reputed to be the Place on which the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, fell aſleep during the Agony of our Lord. And a few Paces from hence is a Grotto, ſaid to be the Place in which *Chriſt* underwent that bitter Part of his Paſſion.

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[z] Wedneſday, April 7.

[a] Matth. xxiv.

[b] Luke xi. 1, 2.

[c] Acts i. 10, 11.

[cc] Till about Ann. 1695.

[d] Luke xix. 41.

[e] Lib. vii. Bell. Jud. cap. 15.

About eight Paces from the Place where the Apoſtles ſlept, is a ſmall Shred of Ground, twelve Yards long, and one broad, ſuppos'd to be the very Path on which the Traitor *Judas* walk'd up to *Chriſt*, ſaying, *Hail Maſter! and kiſſed him.* This narrow Path is ſeparated by a Wall out of the midſt of the Garden, as a *Terra damnata*, a Work the more remarkable, as being done by the *Turks*, who as well as *Chriſtians* deteſt the very Ground, on which was acted ſuch an infamous Treachery.

From hence we croſs'd the Brook *Cedron*, cloſe by the reputed Sepulchre of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and entring at St. *Stephen*'s Gate return'd again to the Convent.

X. [f] We went next to ſee the Palace of *Pilate*; I mean the Place where they ſay it ſtood, for now an ordinary *Turkiſh* Houſe poſſeſſes its Room. It is not far from the Gate of St. *Stephen*, and borders upon the Area of the Temple on the North Side. From the Terraſs of this Houſe you have a fair Proſpect of all the Place where the Temple ſtood; indeed the only good Proſpect that is allow'd you of it, for there is no going within the Borders of it, without forfeiting your Life, or (which is worſe) your Religion. A fitter Place for an auguſt Building could not be found in the whole World than this Area. It lies upon the Top of *Mount Moriah*, over againſt *Mount Olivet*, the Valley of *Jehoſaphat* lying between both Mountains. It is, as far as I could compute by walking round it without, five hundred and ſeventy of my Paces in Length, and three hundred and ſeventy in Breadth, and one may ſtill diſcern Marks of the great Labour that it coſt, to cut away the hard Rock, and to level ſuch a ſpacious Area upon ſo ſtrong a Mountain. In the middle of the Area ſtands at preſent a Moſque of an octagonal Figure, ſuppos'd to be built upon the ſame Ground where antiently ſtood the *Sanctum Sanctorum.* It is neither eminent for its Largeneſs nor its Structure, and yet it makes a very ſtately Figure, by the ſole Advantage of its Situation.

In this pretended Houſe of *Pilate* is ſhewn the Room in which *Chriſt* was mock'd with the Enſigns of Royalty, and buffeted by the Soldiers. At the coming out of the Houſe is a Deſcent, where was antiently the *Scala Sancta.* On the other Side of the Street (which was antiently Part of the Palace alſo) is the Room where they ſay our Lord was ſcourged. It was once us'd for a Stable by the Son of a certain *Baſſa* of *Jeruſalem:* But preſently upon this Prophanation, they ſay there came ſuch a Mortality amongſt his Horſes, as forc'd him to reſign the Place; by which Means it was redeem'd from that ſordid Uſe. But nevertheleſs when we were there, it was no better than a Weaver's Shop. In our Return from *Pilate*'s Palace, we paſs'd along the *Dolorous Way*, in which Walk we were ſhewn in order; Firſt the Place where *Pilate* brought our Lord forth, to preſent to the People, with this myſtic Saying, *Behold the Man!* Secondly, where *Chriſt* fainted thrice, under the Weight of his Croſs: Thirdly, where the *Bleſſed Virgin* ſwoon'd away at ſo tragical a Spectacle: Fourthly, where St. *Veronica* preſented to him the Handkerchief to wipe his bleeding Brows: Fifthly, where the Soldiers compell'd *Simon* the *Cyrenian* to bear his Croſs: All which Places I need only to name.

[g] We went next to take a View of that which they call the Pool of *Bethſeda.* It is one hundred and twenty Paces long, and forty broad, and at leaſt eight deep, but void of Water. At its Weſt End it diſcovers ſome old Arches now damm'd up. [h] Theſe ſome will have to be the five Porches in which ſate the Multitude of Lame, Halt and Blind, but the Miſchief is, inſtead of five there are but three of them. This Pool is contiguous on one Side to St. *Stephen*'s Gate, on the other to the Area of the Temple.

From hence we went to the Convent or Nunnery of St. *Ann.* The Church here is large, and entire, and ſo are Part of the Lodgings; but both are deſolate and neglected. In a Grotto under the Church is ſhewn the Place where they ſay the *Bleſſed Virgin* was born. Near this Church they ſhew the *Phariſee*'s Houſe, where *Mary Magdalen* exhibited thoſe admirable Evidences of a penitent Affection towards our Saviour; [i] *waſhing his Feet with her Tears, and wiping them with her Hair.* This Place alſo has been antiently dignified with holy Buildings, but they are now neglected.

This was our Morning's Work. In the Afternoon we went to ſee *Mount Gihon*, and the Pool of the ſame Name. It lies about two Furlongs without *Bethlehem* Gate Weſtward. It is a ſtately Pool, one hundred and ſix Paces long, and ſixty ſeven broad, and lin'd with Wall and Plaiſter, and was, when we were there, well ſtor'd with Water.

XI. [k] The next Day we took our Leaves of the holy Sepulchre; this being the laſt Time, that it was to be open'd this Feſtival.

Upon this finiſhing Day, and the Night following, the *Turks* allow free Admittance for all People, without demanding any Fee for Entrance as at other Times; calling it a Day of Charity. By this promiſcuous Licence, they let in not only the Poor, but, as I was told, the Lewd and Vicious alſo; who come hither to get convenient Opportunity for Proſtitution, prophaning the holy Places in ſuch a Manner (as it is ſaid) that they were not worſe defil'd even than when the Heathens here celebrated their *Aphrodiſia.*

I was willing before our Departure to meaſure the Circuit of the City; ſo taking one of the Friars with me, I went out in the Afternoon, in order to pace the Walls round. We went out at *Bethlehem* Gate, and proceeding on the Right Hand came about to the ſame Gate again. I found the whole City four thouſand ſix hundred and thirty Paces in Circumference, which I computed thus:

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[f] Thurſday April 8.

[g] Friday April 9.

[h] John v.

[i] Luke vii. 38.

[k] Saturday April 10.

	Paces.
From *Bethlehem* Gate to the Corner on the Right Hand	400
From that Corner to *Damaſcus* Gate	680
From *Damaſcus* Gate to *Herod's*	380
From *Herod's* Gate to *Jeremiah's* Priſon	150
From *Jeremiah's* Priſon to the Corner next the Valley of *Jehoſaphat*	225
From that Corner to St. *Stephen's* Gate	385
From St. *Stephen's* Gate to the *Golden* Gate	240
From the *Golden* Gate to the Corner of the Wall	380
From that Corner to the *Dung* Gate	470
From the *Dung* Gate to *Sion* Gate	605
From *Sion* Gate to the Corner of the Wall	215
From that Corner to *Bethlehem* Gate	500
In all, Paces	4630

The Reduction of my Paces to Yards, is by caſting away the tenth Part; ten of my Paces making nine Yards: By which reckoning the four thouſand ſix hundred and thirty Paces amount to four thouſand one hundred and ſixty ſeven Yards, which make juſt two Miles and a half."

The ingenious Author has here brought together, in a ſmall Compaſs, ſuch a prodigious Number of Particulars, that 'tis hardly poſſible to make this Deſcription of modern *Jeruſalem* more perfect, by any thing we can add to it from other Writers. Thoſe that have Opportunity, may, however, compare what is here ſaid with Mr. *Sandys*'s Account of the ſame Places, as given in the third Book of his Travels, where is to be ſeen a larger Number of Draughts of the ſacred Buildings, than in any other *Engliſh* Book that we know of. And to theſe Draughts Mr. *Maundrell* refers his Readers, for an Illuſtration of what he has himſelf written, giving them the Character of being faithful and perfect, as we once before obſerved.

To conclude: If this Extract, and the Diſſertation before it, be thought ſomewhat longer than was abſolutely neceſſary, we have yet good Reaſon to hope that no body will find them tedious; ſuch an hiſtorical Digreſſion (if that may be called a Digreſſion which helps to illuſtrate) being very proper to relieve the Mind, after ſo much grave Argumentation as was before introduced. It hath all along been our Endeavour, to make this Work as agreeable as it is inſtructive; and the Succeſs of this Method, hath ſufficiently convinced us that we have made a right Choice. The different Taſtes of a great Number of our Readers are, indeed, to be ſatisfy'd by no other Way but this; for there are ſome Perſons, who cannot be excited by any other Principle than that of Curioſity, to read a Book that treats even of the moſt important Things. Perſons of the beſt Senſe will eaſily excuſe our ſaying thus much by way of Apology, ſince 'tis very likely that they themſelves have often made the ſame Reflexion in our Behalf. But we proceed with our Hiſtory.

CHAP. V.

I. *Jeſus* departs from *Jeruſalem*, and baptizes. *John* continues to do the ſame. II. A Diſpute between ſome of *John's* Diſciples and the *Jews* about the Baptiſm of *Jeſus*. III. IV. V. *John* reproves his Diſciples, bears a freſh Teſtimony to *Jeſus*, and teaches the Neceſſity of Faith in him. VI. *John* is caſt into Priſon by *Herod*.

I. AFTER [a] *the Holy Days of the* Paſſover *were ended,* Jeſus, *together with ſome of his Diſciples, went into another Part of* Judea, *where he continued* [b] *ſome Time, and by* [c] *the Miniſtry of his Diſciples,* [d] *baptized thoſe* Jews *who reſorted to him, and offered themſelves for that Purpoſe. In the mean Time* John *remained at* Ænon, *in that Part of* Samaria *that is near to* Jordan, *not far from* Scythopolis *and* Salim; *which Place was choſen by him, as commodious for the Purpoſe of baptizing, becauſe of the large Pools of Water which there abounded; and hither the People came to him, and were baptized of him according to his Inſtitution. For* John *was not as yet caſt into Priſon, when* Jeſus *himſelf firſt began* [e] *to publiſh the Doctrine of Repentance to the World, and perſonally to receive Proſelytes into his Kingdom by Baptiſm.*

II. [f] *About this time there aroſe a Debate between the* Phariſees *and ſome of* John's *Diſciples, concerning the receiving of Penitents by waſhing them in Water, as it was practiſed by* Jeſus *and* John. *Probably the* Phariſees *might aſk what need there was of Baptiſm to purify the* Jews, *who were born in Holineſs; or, if the Baptiſm of their Maſter was ſufficient, why* Jeſus *baptized after*

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[a] John iii. 22, 23, 24.

[b] About ſeven or eight Months.

[c] John iv. 2. We read that *Jeſus baptized not, but his Diſciples.*

[d] Not into his own Name, ſays Whitby, ſo as to exact from them a Belief that he was the Chriſt, (for this he forbid his Diſciples to divulge till he was riſen, Matth. xvi. 20. xvii. 9) but into the Faith of the Meſſiah to come, as John had done before.

[e] Jeſus and John at this Time both intended the ſame Thing by their Preaching and Baptiſm. Whitby.

[f] John iii. 25, 26.

him, ſince that ſeemed to argue him greater than John, *and able to confer a higher Degree of Purity. For as the* Phariſees *believed in neither, 'tis likely they might prefer* Jeſus *in their Diſpute with* John's *Diſciples, merely from a Spirit of Oppoſition. Now* John's *Diſciples, who were zealous for their Maſter, and had no true Notions of the Character of* Jeſus, *were ſo much diſturbed at what the* Phariſees *ſaid, that they repaired to* John *with a ſort of Complaint againſt* Jeſus, *For that he drew many to his Baptiſm, and thereby hindred them as it were from coming to* John, *who alone they thought was a proper Perſon for adminiſtring this Ordinance.* How comes it to paſs, *ſaid they,* that he who was with thee the other Day beyond *Jordan*, to whom thou gaveſt ſo remarkable a Teſtimony, ſhould himſelf alſo baptize, and draw ſo many unto him? ſeeſt thou not that the Number of thy Diſciples, and thy Fame, which is now very great throughout all the Country of the *Jews*, will be hereby leſſened?

III. [g] *To this* John *anſwered and ſaid:* " *It is not the Part of a good Man to aſſume greater Authority to himſelf than he hath been inveſted with by God; and therefore as my Commiſſion doth not equal me to* Jeſus, *I dare not intermeddle with what he is pleaſed to do. You yourſelves can bear me witneſs, that I ingenuouſly own'd I was not the* Meſſiah, *but only ſent before him by God, to prepare the Minds of the* Jews *for his Reception. Would you have me call him to account for his Actions, whoſe Servant and Fore-runner I am? When a Bridegroom is* [h] *alone with his Bride in ſecret Conference, the Friend of the Bridegroom, who liſtens at the Door, and underſtands by ſome Signal that all Things ſucceed to his Wiſhes, will be ſo far from envying him his Happineſs, that he will rather congratulate him, and rejoice with him.* Jeſus *is this Bridegroom, and the Church is his Bride; I am only the Bridegroom's Friend: My Joy is therefore fulfilled, now I hear that he to whom I bore a public Teſtimony is graciouſly ſpeaking to his Church, and calling her by this and other Methods to fit herſelf for his Embraces; or, in other Words, that* Jeſus *ſo chearfully executes his Office, and that ſo many repair unto him, to receive his Baptiſm.*

IV. *Of this* Jeſus, *continued the* Baptiſt, *I will now inform you farther:* [i] *He muſt daily increaſe in Reputation and Authority; but I, who am only his Harbinger, and whoſe Office is at an End when he manifeſts himſelf to the World, muſt proportionably decreaſe. And it is very reaſonable that it ſhould be ſo; for he is ſuperior not only to me, but to* Moſes *himſelf, and to all the other Prophets that ever came into the World. For he that cometh from above, not only by his Miſſion from God, as I and all the Prophets did, but by his Original, is above all that are deſcended of earthly Parents only. Furthermore, he that is thus earthly as to his Riſe, can be a Miniſter of ſuch Things only as are ſuited to the Nature of an Inhabitant of the Earth: (For inſtance,* Moſes *of carnal Ordinances, I of Water Baptiſm, the Prophets of Obedience to the Law of* Moſes.) *But he that came immediately from Heaven, to teach the Will of his Father to Men, is above all, as well in the ſpiritual Nature of his Doctrine, Ordinances, and Promiſes, as in the Excellency of his Perſon: For he teſtifies to the World what he hath ſeen by the Irradiation, and heard by the immediate Dictate, of the Holy-Ghoſt dwelling in him. And yet thoſe who embrace his Doctrine, compared with thoſe who do not, are as none.*

V. [k] *He that receiveth the Teſtimony of* Jeſus, *doth thereby in effect only profeſs that he taketh for certain Truth whatever proceedeth from God: For what Doctrines* Jeſus *declares, are not to be taken as the Expreſſions of a Man's Thoughts, but as divine Oracles; it being as impoſſible for him to lie, as that God ſhould lie himſelf. The former Prophets had the Spirit given them in a limited Manner, to go only at ſuch a Time, and impart ſuch a particular Revelation: But* Jeſus *always ſpeaketh the Words of God; for the Spirit is not given by Meaſure to him, in* whom [l] are all the hidden Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge. *The Father loveth his Son, and hath given into his Hands the entire Knowledge and Revelation of his Will, with a Power to diſpoſe of Happineſs or Miſery according to his good Pleaſure: And therefore he that believeth on the Son, may be ſure he hath a perfect Right to, and ſhall hereafter enjoy, everlaſting Felicity; but he that rejecteth the Authority and Doctrine of the Son, ſhall never taſte this Felicity, but continues immutably and inevitably under the Wrath of God, due to him for his former Sins, and for this additional Crime of Impenitence and Obſtinacy.*

VI. [m] *Not long after his bearing this fourth Teſtimony to* Jeſus, *the* Baptiſt, *being in that Part of the Country which was under the Government of* [n] Herod Antipas, *Tetrarch of* Galilee, *a Man of a tyrannical Diſpoſition, was by him undeſervedly ſhut up in Priſon, for having had the Courage to reprimand him for a Marriage, which he had contracted contrary to the Law of* Moſes. *For* Herod *had married* Herodias, *the Wife of his Brother* [o] Herod Philip, *and the Daughter of* Ariſtobulus *the Brother of them both: And this he had done too during the Life of* Philip; *which* John, *who did not ſpare his other Vices, plainly told him was inceſtuous, and contrary to the Law.* Herodias *being very much offended with* John *upon this Account, ſought all Occaſions to ſlay him; but hitherto in vain: For* Herod *himſelf had a Reverence for* John, *and was con-*

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[g] John iii. 27, 28, 29.

[h] Amongſt the Jews, in their Rites of Eſpouſals, there is frequent Mention of a Place where, under a Covering, it was uſual for the Bridegroom to diſcourſe familiarly but privately with his Spouſe, whereby their Affections might be more knit one to the other. And whilſt the Bridegroom thus talked with the Bride, the Friends of the Bridegroom hearken'd to hear whether all ſucceeded well or no; and when they heard the Voice of Joy, which was an Intimation from the Bridegroom that all was well, they rejoiced and celebrated the Nuptials. See Hammond on John iii. 29.

[i] John iii. 30 31, 32.

[k] Ver. 33 —— 36.

[l] Col. ii. 3.

[m] Math. xiv. 3, 4, 5. Mark. vi. 17→20, Luke iii. 19, 20.

[n] See p. 100 and 101 of this Work.

[o] Ibid. 101.

vinced of his Integrity and Innocence; on which Account he frequently attended to his Diſcourſes, and did many Things according to his Admonitions, ſhewing Reſpect to the Authority of the Man. Nevertheleſs, being naturally of a cruel Temper, he would have gratified Herodias *in this Affair, had he not feared the Jews, who looked upon* John *as a Prophet. And tho' he did not immediately put him to Death, yet his ſhutting up this famous Harbinger of the Goſpel in Priſon, put an End to his Miniſtry,* [p] *after it had continued about three Years and an half; ſo that here began what is properly called the perſonal Miniſtry of* Jeſus *himſelf, of which we ſhall treat in the following Books.*

DISSERTATION I.

On ſeveral Particulars of the preceding Chapter.

I. *When and where* John *was impriſoned,* &c. II. *His Character from* Joſephus. III. *Obſervations on his Deportment towards* Herod. IV. *Traditionary Stories concerning him.* V. St. John's *laſt Sermon compared with our Lord's to* Nicodemus. VI. *That the Satisfaction of* Chriſt *was univerſal.* VII. *Of the Father's Love to Sinners, conſiſtent with his Hatred to Sin.* VIII. *How the Son is ſaid to be ſent, and to have Power given him.* IX. *Illuſtration of the preceding Aſſertion from Scripture.*

I. THE Impriſonment of *John* happened, in all probability, about the End of the thirtieth Year of the Vulgar Æra, that is in the true Year of *Chriſt* 34: For if *Jeſus* was about thirty Years of Age when *John* began to baptize, as we read he was, and if *John* continued three Years and an half in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, as we have endeavoured to prove he did; it follows, that *Jeſus* muſt be in the thirty-fourth Year of his Age when *John* was caſt into Priſon by *Herod.* The Time of the *Baptiſt*'s Continuance in Priſon, till he was put to death at the Requeſt of *Salome* the Daughter of *Herodias*, was a Year or more, if it be true, as is generally agreed, that his Death happened at the End of the thirty-firſt, or the Beginning of the thirty-ſecond, Year of the Vulgar Æra.

We are informed by *Joſephus* [a], that the Priſon into which *John* was caſt, was the Caſtle of *Machærus*, or *Macheronte*, which lay beyond *Jordan*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, to the North-Eaſt of the Lake *Aſphaltites*, two or three Leagues from *Jordan*, and not far from the Place where that River diſcharges itſelf into the *Dead-Sea*. This Caſtle had been fortified by the *Aſmoneans*, but *Gabinius* [b] demoliſhed it: After which it was fortified anew [c] by *Ariſtobulus*, and laſtly by *Herod*, who made it much ſtronger than it ever was before. Either at *Machærus*, or in the Neighbourhood of it, was an excellent Hot-Spring.

As for *Ænon*, near *Salim*, where *John* was baptizing when he heard of the great Reſort of Diſciples to *Jeſus*, the very Name of it imports it to have been what is expreſly ſaid, a Place where there was *much Water*; for the Word [d] *Enon* ſignifies *a Place of Springs*. The Situation of *Salim*, near which *Enon* is deſcribed to have been, is not altogether certain. If it were the ſame with the [e] *Shalem*, or [f] *Shalim*, mentioned in the *Old Teſtament*, which is very probable, it lay within the Province of *Samaria*, not far from *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſhan*, a City on the Weſt Side of *Jordan*, at ſome Diſtance from the Place where that River comes out of the Lake of *Genneſareth*.

II. *Joſephus* gives a very remarkable Teſtimony concerning *John the Baptiſt*, in the Place where he mentions his Impriſonment: For having been ſpeaking of a Battle, in which *Herod* was routed, he goes on in the following Manner, according to our [g] moſt common *Engliſh* Tranſlation.—— "Now the Generality of the *Jews* were of Opinion, that this was only a juſt Judgment of God upon *Herod* and his Army, for the Buſineſs of *John*, ſur-named *the Baptiſt*, which excellent Man this Tetrarch murdered. And what was his Crime, but only his exhorting the *Jews* to the Love and Practice of Virtue, and in the firſt Place of Piety and Juſtice; and to a Regeneration by Baptiſm, and a new Life, not by abſtaining from this and that particular Sin, but by an habitual Purity of Mind, as well as of Body! Now ſo great was the Credit and Authority of this holy Man, as appeared by the Multitude of his Diſciples, and the Veneration they had for his Doctrine, (for he had them entirely at his Devotion) that *Herod* did not know how far a Man of his Reputation and Spirit might influence the People towards a Revolt. So that, for fear of the worſt, he choſe rather to take him out of the way in time, before any Hurt was done, than to put it to the Hazard of an unprofitable Repentance when it ſhould be too late. Wherefore he ſent him bound to *Machærus*, (the Place before mentioned) with Order to have him put to death; which was accordingly executed: And that impious Fact was followed with a divine Vengeance upon *Herod*, for the Blood of that juſt Man, as the *Jews* reaſonably enough perſuaded themſelves." This Character of the *Baptiſt* from ſuch a Perſon as *Joſephus*, redounds very much to the Honour of that Harbinger of the Goſpel.

III. "In St. *John*'s Deportment towards *Herod*, ſays a [h] modern Author, we may obſerve three excellent Properties of a good Miniſter of *Chriſt*.

1. His Courage and Fidelity in the Diſcharge of his Duty. Notwithſtanding *Herod*'s Reſpect to him, and Compliance in many Things, he

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[p] See what we have ſaid in the Diſſertation on Daniel's Seventy Weeks, particularly in Pages 182 and 183.

[a] Ant. lib. xviii. c. 7.

[b] Ibid. lib. xiv. c. 10.

[c] Ibid. lib. xiv. c. 11.

[d] Wells's Geog. of the New Teſtament, Pt. i. c. 4.

[e] Gen. xxxiii. 18.

[f] 1 Sam. ix. 4.

[g] That of Sir Roger L'Eſtrange.

[h] The Rev. Mr. Reading.

will not diſpenſe with him in any one criminal Caſe. He was not like the [i] unjuſt Steward, who could ingratiate himſelf with his Maſter's Debtors, by making them large Abatements in their Accounts, by altering the Sum of one hundred to fifty, allowing the habitual Practice of one Vice or Sin in exchange for ſome good Works. Thus St. *Paul* calls upon the *Corinthians* for entire Obedience: [k] *As ye abound in every thing, in Faith, in Utterance, in Knowledge, in all Diligence, and in your Love to us, ſee that ye abound in this Grace alſo.*

2. His Simplicity and Honeſty. He ſtrikes at a Crime wherever he finds it, without fearing what the Conſequence will be. Too many politic Preachers would have reaſoned thus with themſelves: *I am now in the Favour of this great Man; and if I ſtill keep him my Friend, I may through him do much good, not only to particular Perſons, but to the Church in general: But if I ſhould affront him, by telling him plainly of his Lewdneſs, I might not only endanger my own Head, but ſtir him up to perſecute all my Diſciples.* But alas! this is the Wiſdom of this World: The Piety of thoſe Times required it not: Neither our Lord, nor St. *John*, nor any of the Apoſtles, ever practiſed it, but the quite contrary, though they foreſaw the Conſequences plainly enough.

3. His Zeal and Earneſtneſs in admoniſhing *Herod.* He tells him plainly of his Sin, to his Face, in his own Court, among all his Attendants and Guards. This ſome would have called a Zeal without Knowledge. He could have done no more, if he had been aſked to ſolemnize this Marriage, or been enjoined by ſome Penalty to maintain it in Word or Writing. But he is only required to let it alone, to chuſe ſome other Text, to preſs ſome other Duties, and all ſhall be well. No, he dares not hold his Peace, but muſt ſpeak this Word to *Herod*, whether he will hear, or whether he will forbear. This Opinion Prophets, and Teachers of old, had of their Office: If they ſuffered Sin upon any Man, if he died in it without their Admonition, they, as Watchmen over his Soul, were to anſwer for it. And therefore [l] their Faces are ſaid to be hardened as Flint and Adamant, that they might not be diſmay'd at the Looks of the moſt lofty Sinners, but freely and impartially ſpeak to them every Word of God.”

IV. The Death of St. *John the Baptiſt*, with the immediate Occaſion and the Manner of it, will come into our Hiſtory at the proper Place. But there are ſeveral traditionary Stories concerning him, which cannot properly be there introduced; and therefore ſuch of them as we ſhall take any notice of at all, may be inſerted in this Place.

[m] 'Tis reported that *Herodias*, when the Head of this good Man was given her by her Daughter *Salome*, pierced the Tongue of it with a Bodkin, in Revenge for the Affront which ſhe had receiv'd from his Admonition to *Herod.*

The [n] *Oriental* People pretend, that when *John*'s Head was cut off, the Blood that iſſued from his Body could not be ſtaunched, till God had revenged it by bringing Deſolation upon the *Jewiſh* People. But probably this Expreſſion, *the Blood was not ſtaunched*, is in the Eaſtern Taſte, that is only figurative, and ſo ſignifies no more than that his Blood cried for Vengeance, till the Time of the Deſolation of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans.*

[o] The *Mahometans* cite ſeveral Expreſſions of the Goſpel, as uſed by St. *John*, though they really were our Saviour's. They have likewiſe compoſed Dialogues between *Jeſus Chriſt* and *John the Baptiſt.* All this, though done without Ground, proves the Veneration which that People have for the latter.

We have no Account in the Goſpel where *John* was buried: But in the Time of *Julian the Apoſtate*, a Tomb was ſhewn for his at *Samaria*, where the Inhabitants of the Country opened it, and burnt part of the Bones: The reſt were ſaved by ſome Chriſtians, who carried them to an Abbot of *Jeruſalem*, named *Philip.* 'Tis needleſs to enlarge on the pretended Tranſlations of theſe Bones, particularly of the Head, which, if we believe the *Romaniſts*, is yet to be ſeen at *Amiens.* This Head was ſaluted by the ingenious Abbot *Villeloin*, who tells us [p] in his Memoirs, that it was the fifth or ſixth Head of St. *John* which he had had the Honour to kiſs: So apt is Superſtition to multiply its Objects.

[q] The Church of St. *John Baptiſt* at *Damaſcus* is celebrated, not only among Chriſtians, but likewiſe among *Mahometans* and *Sabians.* This Church was at firſt dedicated in Honour of *Zachary*, St. *John*'s Father; but it was transferred to the Son after the pretended finding of his Head at *Emeſa*, in the Days of *Theodoſius the Younger.* This Church is at preſent a Moſque; and the *Caliph Abdalmelech*, who took it from the Chriſtians, for many Years laid out the Revenues of *Syria* in the Embelliſhment of it. But we return to what is more ſolid than theſe Relations.

V. There is a remarkable Agreement between ſeveral Paſſages of our Lord's Sermon to *Nicodemus*, and this laſt Diſcourſe of *John* to his Diſciples. In the former *Jeſus* ſays, [r] *Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, we ſpeak that we do know, and teſtify that we have ſeen; and ye receive not our Witneſs.* In the latter *John*, ſpeaking of *Jeſus*, declares, that [ſ] *what he hath ſeen and heard, that he teſtifieth; and no Man receiveth his Teſtimony.* [t] *No Man*, ſays our Lord, *hath aſcended up into Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven, even the Son of Man, who is in Heaven:* In which Place he affirms the ſame Thing concerning himſelf that *John* afterwards intimates, when he tells his Diſciples, that [u] *he that cometh from Heaven is above all.* Again, [w] *He that believeth on him*, ſays our Lord, ſpeaking of himſelf, *is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned*

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[i] Luke xvi. 1—8.

[k] 2 Cor. viii. 7.

[l] Ezek. iii. 8, 9.

[m] Calmet's Dict.

[n] Bibl. Orient. p. 471.

[o] Calmet's Dict.

[p] Memoires de Villeloin, p. 132.

[q] Calmet ibid.

[r] John iii. 2.

[ſ] Ver. 32.

[t] Ver. 13.

[u] Ver. 31.

[w] Ver. 18.

already, becauſe he hath not believed in the Name of the only-begotten Son of God: Which anſwers exactly to St. *John*'s Declaration, that, [x] *He that believeth on the Son, hath everlaſting Life; and he that believeth not the Son, ſhall not ſee Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him.*

From theſe Inſtances, and others, which we ſhall produce as we go on, conſidered together with the Circumſtances of the Perſons who ſpoke, we are naturally led to a Reflection on the viſible Appearance of divine Wiſdom and Providence on this Occaſion. *John* had, during the whole Time of his Miniſtry, told the People that he was the Harbinger of another Perſon, who was to ſucceed him in a ſuperior Character, and baptized them with the Baptiſm of Repentance, into the Faith of this Meſſiah to come. After this, at the ſeveral Times when he ſaw *Jeſus*, he bore witneſs that this was the Perſon of whom he had before ſpoken, and publicly declared how much his own Office was inferior to that of *Jeſus*. At laſt, *Jeſus* himſelf begins to appear, and in a Diſcourſe with *Nicodemus*, a Ruler of the Jews, explains the Occaſion of his coming into the World, and aſſumes to himſelf the Character of a divine Perſon, ſent immediately from God, capable of inſtructing with more Authority and Certainty than any other Teacher, and of ſaving to the uttermoſt all that ſhould believe in him. This *John* confirms in the Wilderneſs, with a Teſtimony in almoſt the ſame Words; adding that he himſelf *muſt decreaſe*, whilſt *Jeſus increaſed*; which was an Intimation that the Time of his Miniſtry was juſt at an End, and that he muſt now make Way for this greater Perſonage, as he immediately did upon being impriſoned by *Herod*. Here was a Chain of Evidences, for the Confirmation of their Faith, who had either attended hitherto on the Preaching of *John*, or might afterwards attend on the Preaching of *Jeſus*, and hear from Report in what Manner he was introduced to the World. Every Teſtimony of *John* concerning *Jeſus* had the Force of a Prophecy, as it was given of one with whom he had no perſonal Acquaintance, and yet was found on the Proof ſo exactly true; and this latter Teſtimony in particular, as it is ſo nearly the ſame with that which *Jeſus* gave of himſelf, could be dictated only by that Wiſdom which dwelt in *Jeſus*, and at this Time influenced them both. Thus much was neceſſary when *John* reſign'd his Office, to make the Paſſage eaſy and ſhort from his School to that of *Jeſus*; to which the Diſciples of *John* were now to be advanced, in order to their being taught the Inſtitutions of the Goſpel, and made Partakers of the Covenant of Grace. And every Thing here was worthy of the Author of that new Diſpenſation: *John* reſigns, *Jeſus* aſſumes, the prophetical Office, tho' in diſtant Parts of the Country, and free from all Suſpicion of a ſecret Correſpondence, in ſuch a Manner as proved they were conſcious of what each other was doing, and conſequently that they both acted under the Direction of the ſame Spirit. There is not a little Beauty in the Hiſtory of this Fact.

VI. The preſent ſhort Diſcourſe, as it has conſiſted hitherto, ſo it ſhall conſiſt to the End, of miſcellaneous Remarks; and of theſe the two Sermons abovementioned will furniſh us with ſeveral more, even tho' we leave the Doctrines of Faith and Regeneration, the principal Matters therein treated of, to be the Subjects of diſtinct Diſſertations, as they well deſerve.

Our Lord declares to *Nicodemus*, that [y] *God ſo loved the World, that he ſent his only-begotten Son, that whoſoever believed in him, ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting Life*; and again, [z] *that God ſent not his Son into the World to condemn the World, but that the World through him might be ſaved.* Which Paſſages, with thoſe above quoted, wherein it is affirmed indefinitely, that [a] *He that believes ſhall be ſaved*, &c. are very expreſs for the Doctrine of univerſal Redemption by *Chriſt*. We purpoſe not to enter far into Points of this Nature; but a Doctrine ſo manifeſtly hurtful as the contrary to this, ought to be oppoſed when ſo fair an Opportunity is offered. [b] The *Jews* imagined, that God firſt made [c] the World only for their Sakes, and alſo, that the Redemption of it was deſigned only for their Good, and that their *Meſſiah* would come to ſubdue and condemn the Nations, whom he hated. *Chriſt* on the contrary here declares, that God was ſo far from hating or condemning any Nation, that he ſent the *Meſſiah* into the World, to ſave *the World*, and conſequently to die for all Mankind. Vain therefore was the Imagination of theſe People, [d] and no leſs vain is theirs, who by the World underſtand only the Elect: For if this Opinion be true, then *Chriſt* muſt here only ſay, that he was ſent to ſave from periſhing thoſe who were abſolutely elected to Faith and Salvation; as if ſuch as theſe could either periſh or not believe, after they were thus abſolutely predeſtinated, both to believe, and to be ſaved. Is not the World, which *Chriſt* was ſent to ſave, plainly divided into Believers and Unbelievers, and into thoſe who ſhall be ſaved and thoſe who ſhall be condemned? and is not the Reaſon of their Condemnation who periſh plainly ſaid to be, *Becauſe they believe not in thy only-begotten Son of God?* this is the only natural Conſtruction of the Words before us: And can any thing be more abſurd than to ſay, that Men ſhall be eternally condemned for not believing in him who died not for them, and was not ſent for their Salvation? Certainly then, ſince *Chriſt* here, and frequently elſewhere declares, that all to whom the Goſpel is propounded, ſhall be condemned, if, and becauſe, they believe not in him, we ought from hence to conclude, that *Chriſt* died for thoſe who periſh as well as for thoſe who are ſaved, and that Incredulity is our own Fault. For what other Reaſon could our Lord with any Propriety ſay' [e] *This is the Condemnation.*

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[x] John iii. 36.

[y] Ver. 16.

[z] Ver. 17.

[a] Ver. 13, and 31.

[b] Whitby on John iii. 17.

[c] Eſdr. vi. 55, 56, 57.

[d] Whitby ibid.

[e] John iii. 19.

demnation, that Light is come into the World, but Men loved Darkneſs rather than Light? Their Condemnation is here attributed to their own Choice, their own Love, which determined them to reject the Light that was come into the World, and that if received [f] would lighten every Man therein.

VII. In the next Place, it has been objected by the *Socinians*, "That this Son of God, who was ſent by the Father, and who ſuffered for the Sins of the World, could not be God, becauſe then God muſt have ſent himſelf, and God muſt alſo have ſuffered, which are both Abſurdities." In anſwer to this, it is ſufficient to ſay, 1. [g] That tho' he who was ſent by God the Father could not be God the Father, yet he might be God *of* God, by the Union of the Divinity to his human Nature: And ſecondly, that tho' he that ſuffered was God, yet he did not ſuffer as God. This was believed by the antient Fathers, who ſay that *Chriſt* ſuffered, his Divinity ſuffering nothing.—Theſe Things are the expreſs Doctrine of the Scripture, and therefore ought to be believed by us, without bringing them to the Teſt of Reaſon; to which however they are not contradictory, tho' they are ſuperior to it, and not to be learned but from Revelation. We may wonder at this *Myſtery of Godlineſs*, but muſt not call it in Queſtion.

'Tis again objected, "That ſince God ſhew'd the higheſt Love to Men in thus ſending his Son to die for them, it follows that he could not be angry with thoſe whom he thus loved, and conſequently could not require any Attonement to be made for them: *Chriſt* did not die therefore, ſay they, to reconcile this kind and loving God to the World." To this Dr. *Whitby* anſwers thus:

"[h] We are taught by plain Examples of holy Scripture, that Love of Benevolence in God towards the Sinner, is well conſiſtent with his Diſpleaſure againſt him for his Sin; as in the Caſe of *Job*'s three Friends: [i] *For the Lord ſaid to* Eliphaz *the* Temanite, *My Anger is kindled againſt thee, and againſt thy two Friends, becauſe you have not ſpoken of me the Things that are right.* In which Words there is a Declaration of God's Anger againſt them for their Sin, exactly parallel to that ſuppoſed in the Caſe before us; and yet we find a like Expreſſion of his Love in the enſuing Words: [k] *Therefore take to you now ſeven Bullocks, and ſeven Rams, and go to my Servant* Job, *and offer up for yourſelves a Burnt-Offering; for him will I accept; leſt I deal with you after Folly.* God's Love is viſible, in directing them to that Sacrifice which would obtain his Favour; but it was only after the Oblation offered, and the Prayer of *Job, that he forgave them their Sins.* Again, did not God ſhew his Kindneſs to his People *Iſrael*, in admitting a Beaſt to ſuffer in their ſtead, and appointing his Blood to make Attonement for them? and yet, did not himſelf require this Attonement to be made, that ſo their Sins might be forgiven? The Victim died, and his Blood was offered to God as a Propitiation for Sin, to reconcile this loving God to Sinners. Is it not hence evident, that God's Love to Sinners is well conſiſtent with his Diſpleaſure for their Sins?"

VIII. Again: There is a [l] general Objection brought againſt the Divinity of *Chriſt*, from a great Number of Paſſages in the Goſpel of *John*, and among others from ſome of thoſe that are paraphraſed in the foregoing Chapter. 'Tis asked, "Why *Chriſt* ſtill ſpeaketh in this Goſpel, as one who did, and could do, nothing of himſelf, but acted all Things by Commiſſion from, and by the Power and Authority of, God the Father?"

In anſwer hereto let it be conſider'd, once for all, that we have [l] before aſſerted, and would always have it underſtood on thoſe Occaſions, *That* Chriſt *did not execute his prophetic Office on Earth, by any immediate Efflux or Exertion of his Divinity, but by Virtue of the Holy-Ghoſt, conferred upon him without Meaſure at his Baptiſm.* Which Aſſertion, that it may not appear to be extraordinary and ſingular, we will here, [m] after Dr. *Whitby* confirm, firſt from the Suffrages of ſome of our moſt able and judicious Divines, ſecondly from plain Teſtimonies of Scripture.

Dr. *Barrow*, in his Sermon on theſe Words, [n] *Ye ſhall receive the Gift of the Holy-Ghoſt*, expreſſes himſelf thus: [o] "The holy Spirit not only conducted God our Saviour into his fleſhly Tabernacle, and with unmeaſurable Communications of himſelf did continually reſide within him, but alſo did attend him in the conſpicuous Performance of innumerable miraculous Works of Power and Goodneſs, exceeding not only any natural, but all created Power; ſuch as were by mere Word and Will, healing the Sick, and reſtoring the Maimed, ejecting evil Spirits, diſcerning the ſecret Thoughts of Men, fortelling contingent Events, reviving the Dead, raiſing himſelf from the Grave; which Works, ſome expreſly, others by Parity of Reaſon, are aſcribed to the Holy-Spirit: [p] *For if*, ſays our Lord, *I by the Spirit of God caſt out Devils*; and *God*, ſaith [q] St. *Peter*, *anointed him with the Holy-Ghoſt, and with Power.*"

The ſecond Author we ſhall quote, is the judicious Dr. *Scot*, who ſpeaks thus. [r] "When *Chriſt* came down into the World, to tranſact perſonally with Men, he generally acted by the Holy-Spirit; for at his Baptiſm we are told, that [s] *the Holy-Ghoſt deſcended on him in a bodily Shape*; upon which it is ſaid, that he went away [t] *full of the Holy-Ghoſt.* After which it is plain, that it was by the Holy-Ghoſt in him that he propheſied, and wrought his Miracles; for ſo the [u] Prophet attributes the whole Prophecy of *Chriſt* to *the Spirit of the Lord, which was upon him*; and Our Saviour himſelf affirms, [w] *that he caſt out Devils by the Spirit of God.* And therefore he ſaith, [x] that the *Jews*, by attributing his miraculous Works to the Devil, *blaſphemed againſt the Holy-Ghoſt*, becauſe it was by the Power of the Holy-Ghoſt that he wrought them."

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[f] John i. 9.

[g] Whitby on John iii. 16.

[h] Ibid.

[i] Job. xlii. 7.

[k] Ver. 8.

[l] By Crellius in his Book de Uno deo Patre Sect. 2. And Woltzogenius in his Præparatio ad utilem lectionem Librorum N. Teſtamenti.

[l] See Pages 155 and 156 of this Work.

[m] See Whitby's Preface to the Goſpel of St. John.

[n] Acts ii. 38.

[o] Vol 3. Serm. 45. p. 524.

[p] Matth. xii. 28.

[q] Acts x. 38.

[r] Vol. ii. Part 2. Chap 7. p. 60, 61.

[s] Luke iii. 22.

[t] Luke iv. i.

A third Quotation (and three ſuch good Authorities are enow) is from the learned Dr *Lightfoot*; [y] who ſays, "We muſt diſtinguiſh between the Excellencies and Perfections of *Chriſt*, which flow'd from the hypoſtatical Union of the two Natures, and thoſe which flow'd from the Donation and Anointing of the Holy-Spirit. From the hypoſtatical Union of the Natures, flow'd the infinite Dignity of his Perſon, his Impeccability, his Self-ſufficiency to obſerve the Law, and to ſatisfy the divine Juſtice: From the Anointing of the Spirit, flow'd his Power of Miracles, his Fore-knowledge of Things to come, and all kind of Knowledge of evangelical Myſteries. Thoſe render'd him a fit and perfect Redeemer; theſe, a fit and perfect Miniſter of the Goſpel."

IX. Now we are to illuſtrate and confirm this by plain Paſſages of Scripture; in order to the doing which, we ſhall range the Texts made uſe of in this Diſpute, under three general Heads. Firſt, thoſe that affirm that *Jeſus Chriſt*, whilſt he was upon Earth, delivered all his Doctrines and Precepts in his Father's Name, or as one ſent from him, and authorized to ſpeak what he delivered in his Name; according to thoſe Words of his Fore-runner, [z] *He whom God hath ſent ſpeaketh the Words of God.* This *Jeſus* himſelf often declares; [a] *I am come*, ſays he, *in my Father's Name.* Again, he tells the *Jews*, that [b] *he came not of himſelf, but the Father ſent him*; that [c] *he came not to do his own Will, but the Will of him that ſent him*; that [d] *the Works which he did bore witneſs of him, that the Father had ſent him*; that [e] *he ſpake thoſe Things which he had heard of, and ſeen with his Father*; and that the *Jews* were guilty of great Sin, in that [f] *they believed not in him, whom the Father had ſent.* Of his Doctrine he ſaith, [g] *My Doctrine is not mine, but his that ſent me; and if any Man will do his Will, he ſhall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I ſpeak of my ſelf.* Upon which Text Dr. *Whitby* notes, to obviate an Objection, "that what he removes from himſelf, when he ſpeaks of himſelf as acting here on Earth, may truly be aſcribed to him in an higher Senſe;" ſo that tho' his Doctrine was not his, as he was Man, yet as he was God, it was properly his. "When therefore *Chriſt* ſaith, *My Doctrine is not mine*, he ſpeaks not this in Reſpect of his own Knowledge, having in him all *the Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge*; not in Reſpect of his Authority, for he often ſtiles it *his Word, his Commandment*; nor in Reſpect of his Will, which was always one with that of the *Father*: But he only denies that he ſpake as a falſe Prophet, ſaying Things of himſelf, without Commiſſion from his Father, or running when he had not been ſent, as they did." To proceed, Our Lord ſays, that [h] *as the Father had taught him, ſo he ſpake thoſe Things*; that [i] *he had told the* Jews *the Truth which he had heard of God*; that the [k] *Word which they had heard was not his, but his Father's that ſent him*; that [l] *he had not ſpoken of himſelf, but the Father, which ſent him, gave him Commandment, what he ſhould ſay, and what he ſhould ſpeak; whatſoever he ſpake therefore, even as the Father ſaid to him, ſo he ſpake.* And of his Diſciples he ſpeaks thus to his Father: [m] *I have given to them the Words which thou gaveſt me, and they have received them, and have known ſurely that I came out from thee, and they have believed that thou haſt ſent me.* From all which Sayings he concludes, [n] *He that heareth me, heareth him that ſent me, and he that believeth in me, believeth in him that ſent me*; a plain Proof that they are to be interpreted in the Senſe above given.

Secondly, *Jeſus Chriſt*, whilſt he was upon Earth, preached his Doctrines, and delivered his Sayings to the World, not only in the Name of the Father, but profeſſedly by Virtue of that Spirit, with which he was anointed. This is alſo agreeable to the Words of *John the Baptiſt* in the Place before referred to: [o] *He whom God hath ſent ſpeaketh the Words of God, for God giveth not the Spirit by Meaſure unto him.* So alſo Our Lord himſelf declares, in his firſt Sermon preached at *Nazareth* after his Temptation; for having read thoſe Words of *Iſaiah*, [p] *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe he hath anointed me to preach the Goſpel to the Poor, he hath ſent me to heal the Broken-hearted, to preach Deliverance to the Captives — to preach the acceptable Year of the Lord*; — when he had *cloſed the Book*, and given it *to the Miniſter, he began to ſay unto them, This Day is this Scripture fulfilled in your Ears.* —— Indeed it ſeems eſſential to a Prophet to act as he is moved, aſſiſted, and incited by the Holy-Ghoſt: For *a Prophet*, ſays [q] *Philo, ſpeaks nothing from himſelf, but all Things from another*; no *Prophecy* being, ſaith St. [r] *Peter*, [s] *of the proper Motion, or Intimation, of the Prophet*, they ſpeaking ſtill *as they were moved by the Holy-Ghoſt.* And if this be eſſential to the Character of a Prophet in general, ſhould we wonder that *Jeſus Chriſt*, our great Prophet, who was ſent from the Boſom of the Father, and who ſpoke in his Father's Name, ſhould ſpeak that only which he had received from his Father by the Inſpiration of the Holy-Ghoſt, with which he is ſaid to [t] *be ſanctified*, or conſecrated to his Office, *and ſent into the World*?

Thirdly, Not only his Doctrine and Sayings were delivered, but the Miracles which he did on Earth in Confirmation of his Miſſion, were performed, by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy-Ghoſt. This we learn plainly from theſe Words of the Apoſtle *Peter:* [u] *Ye know how God anointed* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *with the Holy-Ghoſt, and with Power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppreſſed of the Devil, for God was with him.* And *Chriſt* himſelf affirms in one Place, that he [w] *caſt out Devils by the Finger of God*; and in another, that he caſt them out [x] *by the Holy-Ghoſt.* From the Collation of which two Places, we may rationally conclude, that what he elſewhere ſaith he did by the Power of God, was done by the Spirit of God abiding in him. Thus when Our Lord came from the Wilderneſs, where he was tempted of the Devil, he goes throughout all *Galilee*, [y] *healing every Diſeaſe and every Malady in the People; and the Fame of him goes out through all* Syria, *and they brought to him all ſick People, and all that were taken with divers Diſeaſes and Torments, and thoſe that were poſſeſſed with Devils, and thoſe that were Lunatic, and thoſe that had the Palſy, and he healed them.* Now by what Power he healed all thoſe Diſcaſes and Maladies, which raiſed this Fame of him in *Galilee*, St. *Luke* inſinuates by ſaying, [z] *He returned in the Power of the Holy-Ghoſt into* Galilee, *and the Fame of him was ſpread throughout all that Region.*

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[u] Iſai. lxi. 1.
[w] Matth. xii. 28.
[x] Ibid. ver. 31.
[y] In his Note on Mark xiii. 32.
[z] John iii. 34.
[a] John v. 43.
[b] John viii. 29, 42
[c] John vi. 38, 39, 40, 57.
[d] John v. 36, 37.
[e] John viii. 26, 38.
[f] John v. 38.
[g] John vii. 16, 17.
[h] John xviii. 28.
[i] ver. 40.
[k] John xiv. 24.
[l] John xii. 49.
[m] John vii. 18.
[n] John xii. 44 xiii. 20.
[o] John iii. 34.
[p] Iſai. lxi. 1. See Luke iv. 18, 19, 21.
[q] Quis rer. div. Hæres. p. 404.
[r] 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.
[s] ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως.
[t] John. x. 36.

The ſame Power of working Miracles, is elſewhere aſcribed by our Lord to the *Father abiding in him*; as when he bids the *Jews* believe his Works, [a] *that they might know, and believe, that the Father was in him, and he in the Father.* In another Place he proves, that [b] *he is in the Father, and the Father in him, becauſe,* ſaith he, *the Father that dwelleth in me, he doth the Works:* And he adds, [c] *Believe me, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, or elſe believe me for the Works ſake.* Now theſe Works being done, as hath been proved, by the Holy Ghoſt, it follows, that he muſt here be ſaid *to be in the Father, and the Father in him,* becauſe the Spirit of the Father, ſtiled the [d] *Power of the moſt High,* reſided in him without meaſure. This is farther illuſtrated by what follows, where our Lord having [e] promiſed to ſend the Holy Ghoſt upon his Apoſtles, and ſaid that *they ſhould do greater Works than he had done, becauſe he went to the Father,* to ſend this Promiſe of the Father unto them, he adds, [f] *At that Day ye ſhall know, that I am in the Father, and you in me, and I in you:* For as *Chriſt* was in his Apoſtles [g] by his Spirit abiding with them, and they were in him by the ſame [h] Spirit uniting them to their Head; ſo *Chriſt* was in the Father, and the Father in him, by the Spirit of the Father, which was given to him abundantly.

From the whole it appears, That *Jeſus Chriſt*, being then in his State of Humiliation, and diveſted of the Form of God, acted, in Things relating immediately to his prophetic Office, not as God, but only as a Prophet ſent from God; no by the Power of his Divine Nature, but of that Spirit by which he was anointed and ſanctified to that Office: Though being alſo God, of the ſame Eſſence derived from the Father, he did many Things at certain Times by virtue of his Divinity; ſuch, for inſtance, as diſcerning what was in the Hearts of Men, ſuch alſo as walking on the Sea, and ſtilling the ſtormy Winds with a Word, and other Things of a like Nature, which he did only in the Preſence of his Diſciples. Thus have we ſufficiently accounted for all thoſe Paſſages of the New Teſtament, where *Chriſt* is ſpoken of, or ſpeaks of himſelf, as acting by Deputation from, and under the Authority of, the Father, and by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt. And in the ſame Manner we may account for his aſſuming a higher Character to himſelf on certain Occaſions: For his Divinity being a Part of the Doctrine, which, as a Prophet, he had Commiſſion to publiſh, he might upon Occaſion aſſert it, by ſaying *that God was properly his Father,* and that *he was properly the Son of God*; that *he and his Father was One, and that all Men were to worſhip the Son, even as they worſhipped the Father*; with other Things of a like Nature, relating to his Divinity.

DISSERTATION II.

Of being born of Water and of the Spirit; or, of Baptiſm and Regeneration.

I. *The Terms conſidered.* II. *Regeneration is the Countertype of Baptiſm.* III. *The Analogy between the Type and Countertype.* IV. *Of what Regeneration conſiſts.* V. *What Sins are, and what Sins are not, reconcileable to a regenerate State.* VI. *Of the Strife between Fleſh and Spirit, the Members and the Mind.* VII. *Whether a Vow, Wiſh, or Prayer, for Repentance, be acceptable to God.* VIII. IX. *Of the Apoſtacy of Regenerate Perſons.*

I. NICODEMUS, we read, was at a Loſs to underſtand what our Lord meant by *being born again,* and ignorantly demanded whether a Man *muſt enter a ſecond Time into his Mother's Womb, and be born?* To this we have the following ſhort Anſwer of our Lord recorded by St. *John,* which deſerves to be explained a little more largely than it could be in the Hiſtory: *Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* Of which Word we have given this Paraphraſe. [a] "Except a Man become one of my Diſciples by that baptiſmal Regeneration, in which your Proſelytes are ſaid to be new born, and be alſo purified in his Heart from all worldly and carnal Appetites, ſo as to live a new and ſpiritual Life, according to my Doctrine, he cannot be admitted a Partaker of the Benefits of my Kingdom." Here being *born of Water* is taken for *Baptiſm*, and being *born of the Spirit*, for a *Change in the Mind and Affections*: And that this is the genuine and commonly received Senſe of theſe Words, we are now in the firſt Place to ſhew, in order to our conſidering the Doctrine contained in them.

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[u] Acts x. 37, 38.
[w] Luke xi. 20.
[x] Matth xii. 28.
[y] Matth. iv. 23, 24.
[z] Luke iv. 14.
[a] John x. 37, 38.
[b] John xiv. 10.
[c] Ver. 11.
[d] Luke i. 35.
[e] John xiv. 12, 17.
[f] Ver. 20.
[g] Ver. 16.
[h] Eph. ii. 22. iii. 16, 17. iv. 16.
[a] See Page 211 of this Work.

That *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the Words, *Except a Man be born of Water*, ſpeaks of baptiſmal Regeneration, the whole Chriſtian Church from the beginning, [b] hath always taught, and that with very good Reaſon: For,

1. Tho' Water is ſometimes put to ſignify, or repreſent, the purifying Operations of the Holy-Spirit, yet to be *born of Water* is a Phraſe never uſed in Scripture for being born of the Spirit; but very properly is it uſed of that Baptiſm, which is called the [c] *Laver of Regeneration*, and which was by all the Antients abſolutely ſtiled, *Regeneration*.

2. To be [d] *baptized with the Holy-Ghoſt and with Fire*, as oppoſed to the Water-Baptiſm of *John*, ſignified to be baptized with the Holy-Ghoſt deſcending in the Symbol of Fire; as the Event declared, in the Caſe of the Apoſtles, upon whom the Holy-Ghoſt came down [e] *in the Shape of cloven Tongues, like as of Fire*: And therefore, in the ſame Manner, *to be baptized with Water and the Holy-Ghoſt*, ſignifies in all likelihood, to be baptized with the Holy-Ghoſt, and with that Symbol of it, Water; the Fitneſs of which Symbol we ſhall hereafter ſhew.

3. If the Water here mentioned be taken in a figurative Senſe, for the Purifyings of the Holy-Spirit, then the two Expreſſions, of *Water* and the *Holy-Ghoſt*, muſt ſignify the ſame Thing, and there is a Redundancy in what our Saviour ſays to *Nicodemus*, which ought by no Means to be admitted.

4. The Queſtion between *Chriſt* and *Nicodemus*, was about that which is requiſite to fit a Man to enter into the Kingdom, or Church of God, and make him Partaker of the Bleſſings of the Goſpel. Now it is certain, that Baptiſm by Water is by our Lord himſelf declared to be the ordinary Means of entring into his Kingdom, or of becoming his Diſciples; for he ſaith, [f] *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; and he gave Commiſſion to his Apoſtles to [g] *make Diſciples in all Nations by baptizing them.* And St. *Peter* [h] commanded *Cornelius* and his Friends, even after the Holy-Ghoſt was fallen on them, *to be baptized in the Name of the Lord* Jeſus, in order to their being admitted as his Diſciples. Hence it follows, that Baptiſm by Water is a neceſſary Rite for the Entrance of adult Perſons into the Church; and therefore doubtleſs, *Chriſt* ſpeaks of it as ſuch in this Place.

A *being born of the Spirit*, which is joined by our Saviour to the *Birth by Water*, ſignifies that *thorough Change of Mind*, which makes what is called in Scripture, and the common Language of Divines, a *new Creature*. 'Tis alſo ſtiled Regeneration, Converſion, ſpiritual Reſurrection, Mortification of Sin, habitual Sanctification, ſincere and faithful Reſolution of new Life, &c. We have given a pretty full Idea of the Thing itſelf, according to the general Scripture Senſe, in our Paraphraſe on the Words which occaſion this Diſcourſe; and therefore ſhall here only add two or three Texts that are parallel thereto, and may help to illuſtrate and confirm what we have already ſaid, after the beſt Commentators.

The Apoſtle *Peter* [i] *bleſſes the God and Father of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *who according to his abundant Mercy hath begotten us again*, or regenerated us, *unto a lively Hope, by the Reſurrection of* Jeſus Chriſt *from the Dead*. And St. *Paul*, ſpeaking to *Titus* of the Kindneſs and Love of God that appeared in the Salvation of Men, informs him, that it was [k] *not by Works of Righteouſneſs, which we have done, but according to his Mercy he ſaved us, by the Waſhing of Regeneration, and Renewing of the Holy-Ghoſt.* And in like Manner, to add no more, St. *John* in his general Epiſtle ſays, [l] *Whoſoever is born of God, doth not commit Sin; for his Seed remaineth in him, and he cannot ſin, becauſe he is born of God.*—— From the Commentary of a very learned Divine on the ſecond of theſe Texts, we ſhall now proceed to ſhew, that this inward Regeneration by the Spirit is the only proper Countertype of our baptiſmal Regeneration by Water, and alſo what Analogy there is between the Sign and Thing ſignified.

II. " [m] In every Sacrament there is the outward Symbol or Sign, and the Thing ſignified and repreſented thereby. In that of Baptiſm, the Sign is, *waſhing with Water:* The Queſtion is, what is the inviſible or celeſtial Thing anſwering thereto? in our catechetical Explications of this Myſtery, it is affirmed to be the *Blood of Chriſt*; that as *Water* waſheth away the Filth of the Body, ſo the *Blood of Chriſt* cleanſeth us from the Guilt and Pollution of Sin. And there is no Queſtion but the *Blood of Chriſt* is the Fountain of all the Grace and Good communicated unto us, either in this or any other Sacrament, or Myſtery of the Goſpel. But that this ſhould be the Counterpart, or Thing figured by the *Water* in *Baptiſm*, I believe not, becauſe the Scripture, which muſt be our Guide and Direction in this Caſe, makes the *Spirit* or *Holy-Ghoſt* to be that, whereby the Soul is cleanſed and renewed within, as the Body with Water is without. So ſaith our Saviour to *Nicodemus*, " *Except a Man be born of Water, and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* And the Apoſtle to *Titus* in theſe Words parallels *the Waſhing of Regeneration*, and *the Renewing of the Holy-Ghoſt*, as Type and Countertype. *God*, ſaith he, *hath ſaved us*, that is, brought us into the State of Salvation, *by the Waſhing of Regeneration, and the Renewing of the Holy-Ghoſt:* Where none will deny that he ſpeaks of *Baptiſm*. The ſame was repreſented by that Viſion, at our at our Saviour's Baptiſm, of the Holy-Ghoſt deſcending upon him, as he came out of the Water, in the Similitude of a Dove: For in that Baptiſm of his, the Myſtery of all our Baptiſms was viſibly acted; and God ſays to every one truly baptized, as he ſaid to him, in a proportionable Senſe, *Thou art my Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.*

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[b] Whitby on the Place.

[c] Tit. iii. 5.

[d] Matth. iii. 2. Luke iii. 16.

[e] Acts ii. 2, 3.

[f] Mark. xvi. 16.

[g] Matth. xxviii. 19.

[h] Acts x. 47, 48.

[i] 1 Pet. i. 3.

[k] Tit. iii. 5.

[l] 1 John iii. 9.

[m] See Mede's Diatribæ: Diſcourſes on divers Texts of Scripture. 4º. p. 184.

And how pliable the Analogy of Water is to typify the *Spirit*, well appears by the figuring of the Spirit thereby in other Places of Scripture: As in that of *Iſaiah:* [n] *I will pour Water upon him that is thirſty, and Floods upon the dry Ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Bleſſing upon thine Offspring*; where the latter Part expounds the former: Alſo by the Diſcourſe of our Saviour with the *Samaritan* Woman: [o] *Whoſoever* (ſaith he) *drinketh of the Water that I ſhall give him, ſhall never thirſt; but the Water that I ſhall give him, ſhall be in him a Well of Water ſpringing up to everlaſting Life:* By that alſo, where, on the laſt Day of the great Feaſt, [p] Jeſus *ſtood and ſaid, If any Man thirſt, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me,* [q] *as the Scripture ſaith, out of his Belly ſhall flow Rivers of living Water. But this,* ſaith the Evangeliſt, *he ſpake of the Spirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive.*

Nor did the Fathers, or antient Church, ſuppoſe any other Correlative to the Element in Baptiſm, but this: Of this they ſpeak often, of the *Blood of Chriſt* they are altogether ſilent in their Explications of this Myſtery. Many are the Alluſions they ſeek out, for the Illuſtration thereof, and ſome perhaps forced, but this of the *Water*, ſignifying or having any Relation to the *Blood of Chriſt*, never comes amongſt them; which were impoſſible, if they had not ſuppoſed ſome other Thing figured by the Water, which barred them from falling on that Conceit.

The like Silence is obſerved in our Liturgy, where the *Holy-Ghoſt* is more than once parallel'd with the *Water in Baptiſm*, and Waſhing and Regeneration attributed thereunto; but no ſuch Notion of the *Blood of Chriſt*, which hath no Foundation in Scripture, and we muſt not of our own Heads aſſign Significations to ſacramental Types without ſome Warrant thence. For whereas ſome conceive that thoſe two Expreſſions, of [r] *ſprinkling of the Blood of* Chriſt, and of our being [s] *waſhed from our Sins in* (or by) *his Blood*, do intimate ſome ſuch Matter, they are ſurely miſtaken; for thoſe Expreſſions have Reference not to the Water of *Baptiſm* in the New-Teſtament, but to the Rite and Manner of ſacrificing in the Old; where the Altar was wont to be *ſprinkled* with the Blood of the Sacrifices, which were offered, and that which was unclean purified with the ſame Blood: Whence is that elegant Diſcourſe of St. *Paul*, [t] comparing the Sacrifices of the Law, with that of *Chriſt* upon the Croſs, as much the better. And that whereas in the Law, *Almoſt all Things were purified with Blood*; *ſo much more the Blood of* Chriſt, *who offered himſelf without Spot to God, cleanſeth our Conſciences from dead Works.* But that this Waſhing, that is, cleanſing by the Blood of *Chriſt*, ſhould have Reference to Baptiſm, where is that to be found? They will not alledge the *Water* and *Blood* which came out of our Saviour's Side, when they pierced him; for that is taken to ſignify the two Sacraments ordained by *Chriſt*, that of *Blood* the Euchariſt, that of *Water* Baptiſm, and not both to be referred to Baptiſm: I add, becauſe perhaps ſome Men's Fancies are corrupted therewith, that there was no ſuch Thing as ſprinkling, uſed in Baptiſm in the Apoſtles Times, nor many Ages after them; and that therefore it is no Way probable, that *the ſprinkling of the Blood of* Chriſt in St. *Peter*, ſhould have any Reference to the Laver of Baptiſm.

Let this then be our Concluſion; that the *Blood of Chriſt* concurs in the Myſtery of Baptiſm, by way of Efficacy and Merit, but not as a Thing there figured; which the Scripture tells us not to be the Blood of *Chriſt*, but the *Spirit*.

III. And So we come to another *Quære.* From what Property or Uſe of *Water*, waſhing therewith is a Sacrament of our new Birth? For ſo it is here called, the *Waſhing of Regeneration*; and our Saviour ſays to *Nicodemus*, *Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* For in every Sacrament there is ſome Analogy between what is outwardly done, and what is thereby ſignified: Therefore in this. But what ſhould it be? It is a Thing of ſome Moment, and yet in the Tractates of this Myſtery, but little or ſeldom enquired after; and therefore deſerves the more Conſideration. I anſwer: This Analogy between the *Waſhing* with Water, and *Regeneration*, lies in that Cuſtom of waſhing Infants from the Pollutions of the Womb, when they are firſt born; for this is the firſt Office done unto them when they come into the World, if they purpoſe to nouriſh and bring them up. As therefore in our natural Birth, the Body is waſh'd with Water from the Pollutions wherewith it comes out of the Matrix; ſo in our ſecond Birth from above, the Soul is purified by the *Spirit*, from the Guilt and Pollution of Sin, to begin a new Life to God-ward.

The Analogy you ſee is apt and proper, if that be alſo true of the Cuſtom, whereof there is no Cauſe to make Queſtion. For the Uſe at preſent, any Man knows how to inform himſelf: For that of elder Times, I can produce two pregnant and notable Teſtimonies; one of the *Jews* and People of God; another of the Gentiles. The firſt you ſhall find in *Ezekiel*'s Prophecy, where God deſcribes the poor and forlorn Condition of *Jeruſalem*, when he firſt took her to himſelf, under the Parable of an expoſed Infant: [u] *As for thy Nativity,* ſaith he, *in the Day thou waſt born, thy Navel was not cut, neither waſt thou waſhed in Water, to ſupple*

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[n] Iſa. xliv. 3.
[o] John iv. 14.
[p] John vii. 37.
[q] That is as the Scripture is wont to expreſs it, for otherwiſe there is no ſuch Place of Scripture to be found in all the Bible.
[r] 1 Pet. i. 2.
[s] Apoc. i. 5.
[t] Heb. ix.
[u] Ezek. xvi. 4, 5.

thee; thou waſt not ſalted at all, nor ſwaddled at all: None Eye pitied thee, to do any of theſe Things unto thee, to have Compaſſion on thee; but thou waſt caſt out in the open Field, to the loathing of thy Perſon in the Day that thou waſt born. Here you may learn what was wont to be done unto Infants at their Nativity, by that which was not done to *Iſrael*, till God himſelf took pity on her, cutting off the Navel-String, waſhing, ſalting, and ſwaddling. Upon this Place St. *Jerome* takes notice that our Saviour, where ſpeaking of *Baptiſm*, he ſays, *Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*, alludes to the Cuſtom here mentioned of waſhing Infants at their Nativity.

The other Teſtimony (and that moſt pertinent to the Application we make) I find in a Story related by *Plutarch*, [w] in this Manner: "Among the *Greeks*, if one that were living were reported to be dead, and Funeral Obſequies performed for him, if afterward he returned alive, he was of all Men abominated, as a prophane and unlucky Perſon; no Man would come into his Company, and (which was the higheſt Degree of Calamity) they excluded him from their Temples, and the Sacrifices of their Gods. It chanced that one *Ariſtinus* being fallen into ſuch a Diſaſter, and not knowing which way to expiate himſelf therefrom, ſent to the Oracle at *Delphos*, to *Apollo*, beſeeching him to ſhew him the Means whereby he might be freed and diſcharged thereof. *Pythia* gave him this Anſwer:

[x] *What Women do, when one in Child-bed lies,*
That do again, ſo may'ſt thou ſacrifice.

Ariſtinus rightly apprehending what the Oracle meant, offered himſelf to Women, as one newly brought forth, to be waſhed again with Water; from which Example it grew a Cuſtom among the *Greeks*, when the like Misfortune befel any Man, after this Manner to expiate them. How well doth this befit the Myſtery of Baptiſm? where thoſe who were dead to God through Sin, are regenerate and born again by *Water* and *the Holy-Ghoſt*.

Theſe two Paſſages diſcover ſufficiently, the Analogy of the Waſhing with Water in Baptiſm to Regeneration or New-birth; namely, that *waſhing with Water* is a Sign of *ſpiritual Infancy*; for as much as Infants are wont to be waſhed, when they come firſt into the World.

Hence the *Jews*, before *John the Baptiſt* came amongſt them, were wont by this Rite to initiate ſuch as they made Proſelytes, as becoming Infants again, and entring into a new Life and Being, which before they had not. That which here I have affirmed, will be yet more evident, if we conſider thoſe other Rites antiently added and uſed in the Celebration of this Myſtery, which had the ſelf-ſame End we ſpeak of, namely, to ſignify *ſpiritual Infancy*. I will name them, and ſo conclude. 1. That of giving the New-baptized Milk and Honey, becauſe the like was uſed to Infants new born; according to that of *Immanuel's* Infancy; [y] *A Virgin ſhall conceive and bear a Son; Butter and Honey ſhall he eat, that he may know to refuſe Evil and chuſe Good:* Secondly, that of *Salt*, as is implied in that of [z] *Ezekiel*, *Thou waſt not waſhed with Water, nor ſalted with Salt:* Thirdly, that of putting on the *white Garment*, to reſemble ſwaddling: All theſe were antiently (eſpecially the firſt) uſed in the Sacrament of our *ſpiritual Birth*, out of reference to that which was done to Infants at their *natural Birth*. Who then can doubt, but the principal Rite of *waſhing with Water*, the only one ordained by our bleſſed Saviour, was choſen for the ſame Reaſon, to be the Element of our Initiation? and that thoſe who brought in the other, did ſo conceive of this, and from thence derived thoſe Imitations?"

Thus far the learned Mr. *Mede:* To whoſe judicious Remarks we may add, That the Knowledge of an Alluſion to antient and known Rites in the Words of our Lord to *Nicodemus*, leads us to the moſt natural Expoſition of what follows, when upon the Rabbi's aſking *How theſe Things could be?* our Lord replies, with a kind of Admiration, *Art thou a Maſter in* Iſrael, *and knoweſt not theſe Things!* As if he had ſaid, in the Words of our Paraphraſe, "What I have told you concerning the new Birth in Baptiſm, is not only agreeable to, but a Part of, your own Doctrine about Proſelytes; and what I have added concerning the Renovation of the Spirit, anſwers to your own Notion, That Wiſdom comes from above; and this being ſo, 'tis very ſtrange that you, who are a learned *Jew*, a Phariſee, and a Teacher in *Iſrael*, ſhould not underſtand any Thing at all of theſe Matters." The Senſe here is plain and eaſy, from a Knowledge of what was practiſed and believed by the *Jews* on the Occaſions alluded to, of which we have ſpoken ſufficiently in other Places.

IV. We before took Notice, that *ſpiritual Regeneration*, or *Repentance to Life*, (which is the ſame Thing,) [a] is a Change of Mind, or a Converſion from Sin to God; that is, not a ſingle Act of Change, but a laſting durable State of new Life. For the Scripture Phraſe, to be *regenerate* or *born again*, or *from above*, is all one with being *a Child of God*, that is, one who, as he hath his Seed of new Life from the Spirit of God, ſo returns him the Obedience of a Son-like gracious Heart, lives like a Son in his Family, and never goes from him with the *Prodigal into the far Country*. This Repentance doth not properly conſiſt of any Parts; yet there are many Preparatives in the Paſſage to this State, every one of which doth alſo in ſome Meaſure accompany it wherever it is. We ſhall inſtance in four, and conſider them ſeparately. They are, 1. Senſe of Sin. 2. Sorrow or Contrition for Sin. 3. Confeſſion of Sin. 4. Diſclaiming, forſaking, reſolving againſt Sin.

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[w] In his Queſtiones Romanæ, not far from the Beginning.

[x] Ὅσσαπερ ἐν λεχέεσσι γυνὴ τίκτουσα τελεῖται,
Ταῦτα πάλιν τελέσαντα θύειν μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.

[y] Iſa. vii. 14, 15.

[z] Ubi ſupra.

[a] The following Paragraphs are extracted from Hammond's Practical Catechiſm, and other of his Tracts.

1. Senſe of Sin conſiſts, in diſcerning the Odiouſneſs, and the Danger of it. 1. The Odiouſneſs, as how it diſpleaſeth God, and makes us odious in his Sight; how it defiles and defames us, turns the *Members of* Chriſt *to be Members of an Harlot*; how it makes us odious to all good Men, and incapable of Heaven, wherein *nothing ſhall enter that defileth*, 2. The [b] Danger, in bringing upon us the Curſes of this Life, temporal Death, and eternal Plagues and Torments in another World. A Conviction of the Truth of theſe, a ſerious Conſideration and pondering of this important Truth as it concerns our endleſs Weal and Woe, and a being affected with it ſo as to humble our Souls and lead us to Sorrow and Contrition, is properly called a Senſe of Sin.

2. *Sorrow and* Contrition *for Sin*, is a being grieved with the Conſcience of Sin, not only that we have thereby incurred ſuch Danger, but alſo that we have ſo unkindly grieved and provoked ſo good a God, ſo compaſſionate a Father, ſo gracious a Redeemer, ſo bleſſed a Sanctifier. For to grieve in reſpect of the Danger and Damnation, which Sin betrays me to, is not Contrition, but Attrition, which any Man living would have, when he ſaw ſuch Danger near: He would be prick'd at Heart, and be ill pleaſed to ſee Hell gaping upon him: And one may obſerve, that where ſuch preſent Danger is the only Cauſe of Sorrow, when the Danger is over, there ſeldom or never follows a Reformation. And therefore that Opinion and Doctrine of the Papiſts, who teach that this Attrition, or Sorrow that we ſhall be puniſhed, without producing Amendment of Life in the Sinner, by the Abſolution of the Prieſt, is turned into Contrition, is a moſt ridiculous Deceit of Souls: For there being no Promiſe of Scripture that ſuch Attrition alone, or flying from the [c] *Wrath to come*, ſhall be ſufficient to obtain Pardon without *bringing forth Fruit worthy of Repentance*; the Prieſt that abſolves any on no better Grounds than thoſe, goes beyond his Commiſſion.

As for that Sorrow and Compunction, that the Approach of Death and Terrors of the Goſpel bring Men to; if it be a bare Sorrow and Compunction, only reſpecting thoſe preſent Terrors, and advancing no higher, it hath no Promiſe of Mercy belonging to it. But if that which begins thus, by God's Mercy allowing of Time, and by his Grace uſing theſe Terrors for the ſoftning of the Heart, improve further into Sorrow for diſpleaſing of God, and from hence into a real ſincere Reſolution to amend and forſake Sin, then theſe Superſtructions have a Promiſe of Mercy belonging to them, though that Foundation had not. The only Thing then in this Matter to be conſidered, is, whether it be thus improved or no: And that no Man can certainly judge of, but by the Fruits of it afterwards in Time of Temptation. For firſt, the Man himſelf may through Self-love take that for godly Sorrow and Reſolution of Amendment, which is only Sorrow for his own Danger, and Willingneſs to avoid that: And again, when foreign Temptations are out of the Way, and by Diſeaſe his inner Flames quenched in him, he may reſolve againſt thoſe Sins which before he had lived in; or by way of natural Revenge, he may vow never to return to thoſe Sins, which he hath had ſuch Experience of, and ſo think himſelf a complete Penitent. And ſecondly, the ſenſitive Expreſſions being oft as great for the one as the other, nay greater for Danger than for Sin, and from Weakneſs of Body than Change of Mind, the Confeſſor may eaſily miſtake likewiſe. But when God pleaſeth to reſtore Health and Strength, when thoſe preſent Apprehenſions are over, and Temptations of the World and Fleſh return again, and perhaps ſome new ones that were not before in his Road, then if the Sorrow continue as great, and the Reſolution as earneſt, and perſevere to hold out in deſpight of Temptations to the contrary, and take not up any new Sins in exchange for the old; this is a comfortable Evidence, that that Sorrow was Contrition, and that Reſolution a ſincere Reſolution. But if this Time and Means of Trial being allowed, the Matter prove otherwiſe, if the Penitent return to his former Luxury, or inſtead of thoſe nauſeated Sins, make ſome other Choice of a new Path to Hell; entertain Covetouſneſs inſtead of Prodigality; ſpiritual Pride inſtead of carnal Security; Envy, Malice, Sedition, Faction, in Commutation for Luſt, and the like; this is a Demonſtration that that Sorrow was not Contrition, that Reſolution no ſincere Reſolution, and conſequently that if that Man had then died, there would not have been found any thing in him which God hath promiſed to accept of. But if the Caſe be ſet in a third or middle Way, that the Patient die before any ſuch Trial hath been made, either to evidence the Sincerity or Unſincerity, then that which remains for us, is, not to judge, but to leave him to God's Inſpection, who can ſee without thoſe Ways of Trial, and diſcern what it was in itſelf, Attrition or Contrition, ſincere or not ſincere, whether it would have continued or no, and conſequently will accept the Will for the Deed, if it be a firm and ratified Will, and not elſe. And ſo in brief, God may have Mercy on him whoſe Repentance began never ſo late, if he ſee it was ſincere Repentance. But in this Caſe there is ſmall Matter of Comfort to us, becauſe there is no ſuch Way of Aſſurance that we are ordinarily capable of, nor Reaſon to hope that God will afford us any extraordinary; and for any to put off his preſent Repentance, on Contemplation of a Poſſibility that his latter Repentance may ſerve the Turn, is the moſt wretched Preſumption in the World, and that which hath no Promiſe of Mercy annexed to it.

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[b] Rev. xxi. 27.

[c] Math. iv.

3. Confeſſion of Sin, the third Part of Repentance, is an humble ſorrowful Acknowledgment of Sin in Prayer to God; by confeſſing that we are Sinners, who have worthily deſerved his Wrath; by enumerating the particular Sorts of Sin, of which we know ourſelves guilty; by aggravating theſe Sins upon ourſelves, by the Circumſtances and heightning Accidents of them; by compriſing all our unknown unconfeſs'd Sins, under ſome ſuch penitentiary Form, as that of *David*'s, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Cleanſe thou me from my ſecret Faults.* The Neceſſity of this Confeſſion appears from the Practice of *David* and other holy Men in Scripture, and from theſe expreſs Texts: [c] *If we confeſs our Sins,* God *is faithful and juſt to forgive our Sins*; [d] *and he that confeſſeth and forſaketh ſhall have Mercy.*

4. The fourth Preparative to Repentance is a firm Reſolution, and Vow of new Life; an abjuring of all our former evil Ways, that is, both of the Sins themſelves, and the Occaſions which were wont to bring us to thoſe Sins; a reſigning ourſelves up to do the Will of *Chriſt*, the pitching on ſome particular Duties of Piety and Charity, which were moſt criminally omitted before, and are moſt agreeable to our Calling to perform. The actual continued Performance of theſe Reſolutions, both when Occaſions are offered, and when Temptations preſs to the contrary, is a Sign of a true penitent State: But he that performeth not theſe Reſolutions, is not to be accounted a penitent or regenerate Man.

V. 'Tis true that Sins of Infirmities and Ignorance, and ſuch as by our Frailty, and Satan's Vigilance, ſometimes are gained from us, are by general Repentance, that is, humbling ourſelves before God for them, begging God's Pardon in *Chriſt*, and labouring againſt them more diligently for the future, reconcileable with a regenerate State: Nay, even ſometimes a wilful Act of deliberate Sin, which we might have reſiſted, if it be preſently retracted with Contrition and Confeſſion, and reinforcing our Reſolution and Vigilance againſt it, and ſo not favoured or indulged unto, may alſo be reconcileable with a regenerate State, ſo far, as not wholly to *quench the Spirit* of God, and cauſe ſpiritual Deſertion, though it *grieves that Spirit*, waſtes the Conſcience, wounds the Soul, provokes God's Diſpleaſure, and commonly brings ſome temporal Judgment upon us. But whatſoever are not compatible with an honeſt Heart, and a ſincere Endeavour, particularly theſe two, Hypocriſy and Cuſtom of any Sin, are irreconcileable with a regenerate State. [e] *Whoſoever is born of God,* ſaith St. *John*, *doth not commit Sin; for his Seed remaineth in him, and he cannot ſin* (*in ſuch Manner*) *becauſe he is born of God:* Or if he do, he is no longer a Child of God, or regenerate Perſon: *Walk in the Spirit,* ſays St. *Paul* [f], *and you ſhall not fulfil the Luſts of the Fleſh*; that is, theſe two are unreconcileable. When we ſay an honeſt Man cannot do this, our Meaning is not to affirm any natural Impoſſibility, that he is not able, but that he cannot think fit to do it; the Principles of Honeſty within him, as here the *Seed of God* or new Principle in him, will reſiſt it; or if he do it, he is no longer to be accounted an honeſt Man.

This Place in St. *John*'s Epiſtle hath ſome Difficulty; to make it as intelligible as we can, let us bring down the Senſe of the whole Chapter, from the Beginning to this Verſe, in a brief Paraphraſe: [g] *God's Love to us is very great, in that he hath accepted us Chriſtians to be his Children*; which, by the way, is the Reaſon that the *World*, which *rejected Chriſt, rejecteth us alſo.* [h] *And being Children, though we know not exactly the future Benefit which ſhall accrue to us by this means, yet this we know, that when this ſhall be revealed to us, we ſhall be like him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is; and that Viſion will aſſimilate us unto him.* [i] *And the very hope of it now hath the ſame Power of making us pure, as he is pure.* For firſt, Hope includes Deſire and Love of the Thing hoped for, which being Heaven, a Place of Purity, the Hope of Heaven muſt include a Deſire of Purity, and therefore the Heaven that the ſenſual Man deſires, if he deſires it for the preſent, is a Mock-heaven: And if it be the true Heaven, the State of Purity, then he deſires it not for the preſent, but hereafter, when ſenſual Pleaſures have forſaken him. And ſecondly, the Condition of God's Promiſes being our Purification or Sanctification, and the particular Condition of this *ſeeing God* being Holineſs, it is Madneſs for us to hope any Thing upon thoſe Grounds; and therefore he that hath this Hope of ſeeing him, or being like him hereafter, labours to become like him now in Purity: And [k] *He that wants it, (that is, every one that committeth Sin) is guilty of the Breach of this Evangelical Law of his; and that Sin itſelf is that Breach, upon which conſequently follows the Forfeiture of thoſe Promiſes contained in it.* [l] *And to that End that we, for whom he died, ſhould not thus ſin, it was without doubt that he came amongſt us; and Sin, or any ſuch impenitent Committer of Sin, is not in him:* [m] *For every one that remaineth in him, as a Member of his, ſinneth not wilful deliberate Sin: If any Man do ſo, pretend or profeſs what he will, he hath neither ſeen or known* Chriſt. [n] *I pray you ſuffer not yourſelves to be deceived*; Chriſt *you know is righteous, and the way to be like him is to be righteous alſo, and that cannot be but by doing Righteouſneſs, living a conſtant Chriſtian Life.* [o] *He that doth not ſo, but goes on in a Courſe of Sin, is of the Devil, and by his Actions expreſſes the Stock he comes of. For it is the Devil that began his Age with Sin, and ſo continued it; and ſo Sin is his Trade, his Work; and this was a ſpecial Part of the End of* Chriſt's *coming, to deſtroy his Trade, to diſſolve that Fabrick he had wrought*, that is, *to turn Sin out of the World.* [p] *And therefore ſure no Child of God's, none of that ſuperior Stock, will go on in that accurſed Trade, becauſe he hath God's Seed in him*, that Original of Cognation between God and him, *God's Grace, that Principle of his new Birth, which gives him a continual Diſlike to Sin, ſuch as,* though they do not force or conſtrain him not to yield to Satan's Temptations, yet, *are ſufficient to enable him to get out of thoſe Snares*; and if he be a Child *of God, of* Chriſt's *making, like him that begat him in Purity, he cannot, he will not thus go on in Sin.* [r] *So that hereby you may clearly diſtinguiſh a Child of God, from a Child of the Devil: He that doth not live a righteous and charitable Life, do Juſtice, and love Mercy, is no Child of God's, hath no Relation of Conſanguinity to him.* We need proceed no further: From what hath been ſaid, the Senſe of the Verſe above quoted, will appear to be this and no more. *Thoſe that are like* Chriſt, *and ſo God's Children, it is ſuppoſed that they have ſuch a Seed or Principle of Grace in them, that inclines them to diſlike, and enables them to reſiſt, all deliberate Sins; and if they do not make that Uſe of that Grace, ſure they are not like* Chriſt, *none of his Fellow-Sons of God.* A regenerate Man, remaining ſuch, will not, nay morally cannot do ſo; for ſo doing is contrary to a regenerate Eſtate.

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[c] 1 John i. 9.
[d] Prov. xxviii. 13.
[e] 1 John iii. 9.
[f] Gal. v. 16.
[g] 1 John iii. 1.
[h] Ver. 2.
[i] Ver. 3.
[k] Ver. 4.
[l] Ver. 5.
[m] Ver. 6.
[n] Ver. 7.
[o] Ver. 8.
[q] Ver. 9.

VI. But will not *the Fleſh*, as long as we continue in theſe Houſes of Clay, be we never ſo regenerate, *luſt againſt the Spirit, the Members war againſt the Mind,* and ſo keep us from *doing the Thing that we would,* and *captivate us to the Law of Sin?* and will not this Captivity, and Thraldom to Sin, *ſo it be joyned with a contrary Striving and Diſlike,* be reconcileable with a regenerate Eſtate?

This Queſtion cannot be anſwered with a ſingle Affirmative or Negative, becauſe there are ſeveral Parts in it; and therefore we ſhall conſider it by Degrees, 1. That there is a double Strife in a Man, the one called *a War betwixt the Law in the Members and the Law in the Mind,* the other the *Luſting betwixt the Spirit and the Fleſh.* The former betwixt *the Law* in the Members and in the Mind, is the Perſuaſion of Sin or carnal Objects on one Side, and the Law of God inviting us on the other Side, and commanding us the contrary; and in this Caſe, the Law, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *being weak,* and not able of it ſelf to help any Man to do what it commands him, it muſt needs follow, that they that have no other Strength, but the bare Light of the Law in the Mind, no Grace of *Chriſt* to ſuſtain them in their Combats, will by their carnal Appetite be led to do thoſe Things, which the Law tells them they ſhould not; which if they do and continue in them, this Condition there is no Colour of Reaſon to miſtake for a regenerate State. 1. Becauſe it is the State of him only that knows the Law conſidered without the Grace of *Chriſt,* which latter is neceſſary to a regenerate Man. 2. Becauſe this Law in the Mind, when it is not obeyed, but deſpiſed, ſerves only to teſtify againſt us, that we *knew our Maſter's Will, and did it not*; that is, that what we did, was againſt the Dictates of our own Conſcience; which ſure will never help to excuſe a Sin, (but rather to aggravate it) or conſequently to make that Act reconcileable with a regenerate State, which otherwiſe would not be ſo. And therefore, when the Mind or Soul being inſtructed in its Duty, diſlikes the Sins which a Man commits, and yet continues to commit them, you may reſolve, that this Striving, or this Diſlike of his Mind, is no Excuſe or Apology for his Sin, much leſs any Argument of his Regeneracy or good Eſtate; but on the other Side his *ſerving of, or Captivity to, the Law of Sin in his Members, is all one with the reigning of Sin in his Body to fulfil the Luſts thereof*; and that a ſure Token of an unregenerate Perſon: For of every regenerate Man it is ſaid, [s] *That he overcometh the World*; which is quite contrary to *being ſold under Sin,* (a Phraſe referring to the *Romans* Cuſtom of ſelling Slaves under a Spear) and to that which is ſaid of *Ahab,* [t] *that he was ſold* [u] *to do Evil,* being a *Slave of Sin,* or *ſerving with the Fleſh the Law of Sin.* And therefore we may conclude, that he, whoſoever he be, *that with the Mind ſerves the Law of God,* that is, approves of God's Command, or conſents to it that it is good, and yet *with the Fleſh, the Members, ſerves the Law of Sin,* not only commits ſome Act of Sin, but lives indulgently in it, and is thereby enſlaved to it, is never to be counted of as a regenerate Man, but only as one that by the Law is taught the Knowledge of his Duty, but by that bare Knowledge is not enabled to perform it.

2. As to the Luſting of the Spirit and Fleſh one againſt the other, the ſecond Sort of Strife mentioned in the Queſtion, we are to underſtand by the *Spirit* the *Seed of Grace* planted in the Heart by God, as a Principle of new Life, or the Mind and upper Soul elevated above the Condition it is in by Nature, or by the bare Light of the Law, by that ſupernatural Principle; and by the *Fleſh* is meant again the carnal Appetite, ſtill remaining in the moſt Regenerate in this Life. And the *luſting of one of theſe againſt the other,* is the abſolute Contrariety that is betwixt theſe two, that whatſoever one likes, the other diſlikes, whatſoever one commends to the Will, the other quarrelleth at. And whereas we read in our Tranſlation, as a Conſequence of this Contrariety, *that you cannot do the Things that you would,* we may obſerve, that the Words in *Greek* are not *you cannot do,* but *you do not:* The Senſe of which is, either 1. That this Contrareity always interpoſeth ſome Objections to hinder you from *doing the Things that you would*; that is, ſometimes the Spirit hinders you from doing the Thing that your Fleſh would have done. Or ſecondly, that whatſoever you do, you do, againſt one or other of theſe Principles, and with ſome Mixture of the contrary: Or elſe, that this Contrarity gives you trouble; that whatſoever you do on either Side, you do it not quietly, but with a great Deal of Reſiſtance and Oppoſition from the contrary Faculty.

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[r] 1 John i. 10.

[s] 1 John v. 4.

[t] 1 Kings xxi. 25.

[u] The Greek Reading.

[w] Gal. v.

And now we come to the ſecond principal Part of the Queſtion; Whether this Reſiſtance may be in a regenerate Man? We anſwer, Undoubtedly it may, and in ſome Degrees it will be, as long as we carry Fleſh about us, for the Fleſh will always diſlike what the Spirit likes. But then, we muſt be ſure that the Fleſh do not carry it againſt the Spirit, that is, do not get the Conſent of the Will to it; for if it do, *Luſt conceives and brings forth Sin*, even thoſe *Works of the Fleſh*, mention'd by the Apoſtle [x]. For though this Strife be reconcileable with a regenerate State, that is, though a Man may be regenerate for all this, yet it is not an Argument of a regenerate Eſtate, ſo that every one that hath it, ſhall by that be concluded regenerate: For if the Fleſh carry it from the Spirit, *to fulfil the Luſts thereof*, it ſeems *that* Man *walks not in the Spirit* [y], and conſequently is not in a regenerate State.

Every Man indeed, is not unregenerate, that doth any thing that the Fleſh would have; for we before obſerved, that Frailties and Imperfections, and alſo Sins of ſudden Surreption, and thoſe that by daily Incurſion, and continual Importunity, at ſome time or other gained in upon us (ſo they were as ſuddenly repented of) were reconcileable with a regenerate State; and therefore if it proceed no further, it is only a Mixture of the Fleſh in our beſt Actions, but not Carnality, *or walking after the Fleſh*. And for theſe Slips the Remedy is, daily Prayer for Pardon, and daily Caution, and Care, and Endeavour to prevent them. But as for Indulgence in, or Habits of Carnality, it is not the *Luſting of the Spirit againſt the Fleſh* that will excuſe them from being *Works of the Fleſh*, or him that is guilty of them from being carnal. For it being too poſſible and ordinary for the *Luſtings of the Spirit*, that is, ſpiritual Motions, to be reſiſted, it will be of little Advantage to any to have had theſe Motions, unleſs he have obey'd them, that is, unleſs he *walk in the Spirit*, and be *led by it:* For to ſuch only it is that there *is no Commendation* [z].

VII. But it has been demanded, Whether a Vow, or a Wiſh, that one were penitent, will not be accepted by God for Repentance? And here it is to be conſidered, that a Wiſh is a far lower Degree than a Vow, and therefore this Demand muſt be divided into two Parts. To the firſt the Anſwer is, That a Vow or Reſolution to amend, if it be ſincere, and ſuch as is apt to bring forth Fruits, is ſure to be accepted by God; and that it is not ſincere we ſhall not be able to diſcern, but by ſeeing it prove otherwiſe in Time of Temptation: Only God, that ſees the Heart, can judge of it before ſuch Trial; and if he finds it ſincere, he will accept of it. But for the Wiſh that I were penitent, there is no Promiſe in Holy Writ that it ſhall be accepted, nor Appearance of Reaſon, why he, that wiſhes he were penitent, but is not, ſhould be accounted the better for that Wiſh: 1. Becauſe when the Reward of Penitents, and the Puniſhment of Impenitents, is once aſſented to as true, it is impoſſible but the Mind of Man ſhould wiſh for the one, and have a Diſlike to the other, and ſo there is no Virtue in that Neceſſity. 2. Becauſe that Wiſhing is only a bare, airy, ſpeculative Act of the Mind, and not a practical Act of the Will, which alone is puniſhable or rewardable. 3. Becauſe the Actions being contrary to ſuch Wiſhings, are more accuſeable of deliberate Sin, and Sin againſt Conſcience, than if thoſe Motives which produced thoſe Wiſhes, had never been repreſented to the Faculty.

Prayers for the Grace of Repentance are but a kind of articulate Wiſhes, addreſſed to God, and cannot be accepted, ſo far as to ſave them that go no farther. Accepted they ſhall be, if rightly qualified with Humility, Ardency, and Perſeverance, ſo far as concerns the End immediate to them; that is, God hath promiſed to hear them, in granting the Grace prayed for, Strength to convert from Sin to God; which is the clear Goſpel Promiſe, *How much more ſhall your heavenly Father give the holy Spirit to them that aſk it?* And when this Grace, or Strength given, is thus made uſe of to actual Reformation, then the Promiſe of that other Acceptance belongs to him alſo; and ſo Prayer is a good Means, and Wiſhing a good Thing too, as previous or preparative to that; and both without doubt proceeding from the good Spirit of God. But yet if the whole Work be no more but this, if he be advanced no further toward Repentance, but only to wiſh and to pray that he were penitent, this Perſon remains ſtill impenitent, and ſo long the Impenitent's Portion belongs to him, and none other; for ſtill *he that is born of God overcometh the World*. He that is advanced no further towards a Victory, then to wiſh or pray for it, is for that preſent far enough from being a Conqueror; and if for the future he add not the Sincerity of Endeavour to the Importunity of Prayer, the *Joſhua*'s Hand held up to fight, as well as the *Moſes*'s to pray, the Sword of *Gideon*, as well as the Sword of the Lord, there is little Hope that ſuch Victories will be gained.

VIII. Before we diſmiſs this Subject, it may not be improper to take notice of two remarkable Paſſages in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, which ſpeak of the Apoſtacy of a regenerate Perſon, and are very differently underſtood by Commentators. The firſt is in the 4th, 5th, and 6th Verſes of the ſixth Chapter, in the following Words: *For it is impoſſible for thoſe who were once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly Gift, and were made Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted of the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World to come; if they ſhall fall away, to renew them again unto Repentance: Seeing they crucify to themſelves the Son of God afreſh, and put him to an open Shame.* Of this Text, and the three preceding Verſes, we have the following Paraphraſe given by [a] Dr. *Hammond*.— Becauſe it is an

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[x] 1 John i. 19. [y] Ver. 16. [z] Rom. viii. 1.

[a] At the End of his Diſcourſe on Sins of Weakneſs and Wilfulneſs. We have only extracted his Senſe, leaving out abundance of Criticiſms and Parentheſes.

Evidence of Children and Babes to be always fed with Milk, ſtill taught nothing but the *Elements of the Beginning of the Oracles of God*, and to know nothing of that *higher Doctrine of Righteouſneſs*, that is, our *Juſtification and Sanctification*, which depends extremely on the Doctrine of *Chriſt's Melchizedekian Prieſthood*; let us proceed to this higher and more perfect Doctrine, or ſuch as is proportionable to an upper Form of Chriſtians, leaving or paſſing over theſe *Doctrines that* Chriſt *began with*, thoſe fundamental Doctrines that the raweſt Chriſtians are taught. Only for thoſe that are ſuch Non-proficients in Chriſtianity, as after a long Profeſſion of that Doctrine to need ſtill to be taught the Principles again, let them know this important Truth, "That it is impoſſible, that thoſe who have been once regenerated, that have once been baptized or enlightned; that have had a Taſte of the Celeſtial Gift, whether of *Chriſt*, or of the Grace of *Chriſt*; that have been Partakers of thoſe Gifts and Graces, which the Holy Ghoſt worketh in the Heart by the preaching of the Word; that have had a Guſt of the good Word or Goſpel of *Chriſt*, and of *the Powers, whether of the Kingdom of Grace*, or of the Kingdom *of Heaven*; and fall from that State of Regeneration, and thoſe Privileges of God's Spirit that attend it; that they ſhould renew, or recover themſelves to Repentance, without ſuperordinary Meaſure of Grace; being by ſuch Sins of theirs *guilty of a Kind of recrucifying of* Chriſt, *and putting him to a ſhameful Death*: For *Chriſt*, who was once crucified and ſlain, is as it were revived in the regenerate Chriſtian's Heart; lives, and rules, and reigns in him by Faith; and when that Man falls to his old unregenerate Courſe again, he *crucifies* Chriſt *anew, and puts him to a contumelious Death*."

The clear Underſtanding of theſe [b] three Verſes depends, ſays our Author, upon theſe ſix Goſpel Truths put together. 1. That without God's Spirit, or ſpecial Grace, no Man can convert, repent, renew himſelf, much leſs recover after a Defection. 2. That by this Grace and Strength of God, Man may convert and repent, and being a regenerate Convert, *do all things through* Chriſt *that ſtrengthens him*; and when he falls, if God do not withdraw that Grace, according to the Words of our Article, *he may by the Grace of God riſe again*. 3. That if in Caſe of Fall God do ſo withdraw his Grace, then the Man cannot ſo renew himſelf, or recover to Repentance, nor can the ordinary Power of the Miniſtry work upon him. 4. That God hath in the Goſpel threatned, upon our not making uſe of his Grace, to withdraw it, or take it away from us; as appears by the Parable of the Talents, where it is ſaid, *To him that hath, ſhall be given, and from him that hath not, ſhall be taken away even that which he hath*: That is, To him that makes uſe of the Grace given him, to the End for which it was given, the reſiſting of Sins, [c] *denying of Luſts*, and *living ſoberly, and juſtly, and godly in this preſent World* to him ſhall more Grace be given. But from him that makes not this Uſe of it, *ſhall be taken even that which he hath*. 5. That God doth not upon every Sin committed by a regenerate Man, no not upon every Sin committed againſt Knowledge, preſently withdraw his Grace; for this Sin may be preſently retracted by Repentance, not indulged or ſtaid in; and then to ſuch *humble* Sinners *God gives Grace*, and doth not *take it away* from them. 6. That upon the regenerate Man's walking after the Fleſh, relapſing into the Sins of his former unregenerate Life, *like a Dog to the Vomit*, or into a new Set of other Sins (ſuch as ſpiritual Pride, Faction, and the like Filthineſs of the Spirit) then doth God withdraw his Spirit from that Man, and therefore ſuch Sins as theſe are called *grieving and quenching* of the Spirit of God; which though it ſtrives with Sinners, yet *ſhall it not always ſtrive* [d]. *When Unrighteouſneſs cometh in*, that is, any old or new vicious Habit, then *the holy Spirit of Diſcipline will not abide* [e]; and therefore it is ſaid [f], That they that *after they have known, turn from the holy Commandment, or the Way of Righteouſneſs, and are again entangled in the Pollutions of the World, which they had once eſcaped, fall into a worſe Eſtate then they were in before their Regeneration*; which muſt needs be by the *total withdrawing of Grace* from them. To which purpoſe is that of St. *James* out of *Solomon*, that *God reſiſteth the Proud*; where reſiſting is oppoſed to giving of Grace, and ſo denotes taking it away; and the Proud oppoſed to the Humble, are the proud, impenitent, obdurate Sinners, or they that go on in any impenitent Courſe againſt Knowledge or Conſcience. All which being premiſed, it is clear that they who are thus fallen from a regenerate State to their old unregenerate Courſe of Sin, and ſo by God's juſt Puniſhment deprived of his Grace, without which they were able to do nothing, are not now poſſibly able to recover or renew themſelves to Repentance: As they that are only ſlipp'd or fallen, but not laid down in the Mire of Sins, might by the Grace which they yet have, and by the preaching of the Word, be able to do.

That this is the Meaning of the Place, may yet further appear by the [g] Similitude following, brought on purpoſe to explain it. "For the Ground that hath the Benefit of the Rain to moiſten its natural Dryneſs, and ſo make it able to bear Fruit, and that hath ſucked in that Rain, and been actually moiſtned by it, if it *brings forth Fruit to the Huſbandman, it ſhall receive Bleſſing from God*. But that ſame moiſtened and manured Ground, *which bringeth forth nothing but Thorns and Briars*, is rejected, deprived of that Reward which the other had, and *is nigh to curſing, and the End of it is to be burnt*." Which Compariſon, in all the Parts of it, is very applicable to what is before ſaid concerning the regenerate Perſon. Only we may add, concerning this latter, that how impoſſible ſoever it be for ſuch an one to recover himſelf, or for the ordinary Means to work upon him, yet is it ſtill poſſible, that God may by ſome extraordinary Means of ſpiritual Husbandry recover and reduce that Man. All that is here affirmed is only this, that there is no Promiſe that he will, and the Thing is only in the Hands, the free Hands of God, not ſo much as conſtrained by a Promiſe, and ſo no other Ground either of depending upon it for my ſelf that God will do it for me, or prejudging others that for them he will not do it.

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[b] The 4th, 5th, and 6th.

[c] Tit. ii. 12.

[d] Gen. vi. 3.

[e] Wiſ. i. 5.

[f] 2 Pet. ii. 20.

[g] Ver. 7, 8.

The only Objection producible againſt this Interpretation, is this, "That the Impoſſibility of doing any good by our own natural Strength, without Grace, is ſo univerſal a Truth, that it cannot be here appropriated to this one Caſe of the Apoſtacy of the Regenerate. For the Regenerate remaining ſo, can do no good Thing without it; and thoſe that are not yet regenerate, are as unable to convert themſelves, as they are to recover or renew." To which though we might only anſwer, that the inſtancing in this particular, is moſt proper to the Apoſtle's preſent Purpoſe, who ſpeaks to Converts, who were either thus fallen, or in Danger thus to fall, yet will the Anſwer be more clear and ſatisfactory, if we add, that indeed that which is here ſaid, is proper only to this kind of Sinners, the relapſed Regenerate. For of the Regenerate not ſo fallen, it is moſt certain and agreeable to Scripture-Doctrine to affirm, that by the *Spirit of* Chriſt *he can do all Things*; that he hath ſufficient Grace, and by that ſufficient Strength, to do what God in the Goſpel requires of him; and therefore it is affirmed of him, that he is thus able; and conſequently he is every where exhorted to do accordingly, to work out his Salvation, to ſtand, to quit himſelf like a Man, to purify himſelf, and the like, which ſuppoſe him to have Grace by which to do it. And for the Unregenerate, though indeed he having no Grace, can as yet do nothing, yet ſome Promiſes there are in the new Covenant of giving Grace to him, from whence it may be concluded, that it is by ſome Default of our own, whoſoever have not ſufficient Grace given us; eſpecially the Promiſe being ſo punctual, that *God will give the Holy-Spirit to them that ask him.* Whereas in Caſe of the fore-mentioned Relapſe, there is no ſuch Promiſe of Grace, to give us ſuch a Claim to it, nor conſequently the ſame Degree of Poſſibility to renew, that the other hath to convert; God's Promiſe of giving Grace to them which do not reſiſt it, adding much to that Poſſibility; and his no Promiſe to the other being ſufficient Proof of the Impoſſibility of the other.

IX. The other Place parallel to this thus interpreted, is in the Tenth Chapter of ſame Epiſtle: [a] *For if we ſin wilfully, after that we have received the Knowledge of the Truth, there remaineth no more Sacrifice for Sins, but a certain fearful Looking for of Judgement, and fiery Indignation, which ſhall devour the Adverſaries. He that deſpiſed* Moſes*'s Law, died without Mercy, under two or three Witneſſes. Of how much ſorer Puniſhment ſuppoſe ye, ſhall he be thought worthy, who hath troden under Foot the Son of God, and hath counted the Blood of the Covenant wherewith he was ſanctified, an unholy Thing, and hath done Deſpite unto the Spirit of Grace? For we know him that hath ſaid, Vengeance belongeth to me; I will recompenſe, ſaith the Lord: And again, The Lord ſhall judge his People. It is a fearful Thing to fall into the Hands of the living God!* Our Author's Expoſition of this Place is as follows. "*For thoſe that after the accepting of the Knowledge of the Truth*, after the embracing of the Goſpel, or Chriſtianity, being regenerate and *born anew of Water* and the *Holy-Ghoſt*, do fall willingly into their old or other new Courſes of Sin, by this Means fall into a Condition, for which the Goſpel hath not provided any ordinary Remedy. For them that had ſinned ignorantly under the Law, there was Place for Sacrifice: The *Prieſt* was to offer a *Sin-Offering* for them, and they were not to be further puniſhed or proceeded againſt. But he that did wilfully or deſpitefully break the Law, was upon ſufficient Proof of it by Witneſſes, put to Death in capital, or otherwiſe puniſhed in other Crimes, without Mercy or Pity to him. And ſo in like manner proportionably to thoſe Types, he that hath ſinned through Ignorance, or ignorantly lived and gone on in Sin, (and ſuch the Sins of the unregenerate Life are counted to be) there is Mercy to be had for him; *Chriſt* hath died, and offered himſelf a Sacrifice for Sin, and ſo delivered Men from the Danger of ſuch Sins, upon Condition that they repent of them, and amend. Nay, by this Sacrifice of his he hath purchaſed Grace for ſuch, ſufficient to bring them out of that Darkneſs to Light, from that State of Unregeneration to Repentance; ſo that for that Man, conſidered in that State, though he be a Sinner, yet *Chriſt* is an Advocate and a Propitiation, and here there remaineth a Sacrifice, a Means of Pardon, and a Means of converting, *Chriſt* giving himſelf, both that he might *redeem* and *purify*, [b] *juſtify* and *ſanctify*. Further, when this Man being regenerate falls into any ſingle Act of Sin, (if it be through Ignorance or Weakneſs) ſtill this Sacrifice remains, and Pardon is had by it to the regenerate Diſciple upon Acknowledgement and Petition: Nay if it be not capable of the Excuſe of Ignorance or Weakneſs, yet if it be not continued in, but retracted preſently by Repentance, this Sacrifice ſtill remains in force for him. As in the Law when the Leproſy doth *not ſpread* [c], or is healed in the Leper, [d] then though the *Prieſt ſhut him up again ſeven Days*, anſwerable to Excommunication, or *delevering up to Satan*, yet ſtill the Prieſt ſhall offer Sacrifice for his cleanſing. And ſo here, though the Sin be Leproſy, an unclean Spot in the Soul, yet being not ſpreading, but preſently retracted by Repentance, it may bring ſome Inconveniences upon him, ſuch as have been mentioned elſewhere in the Caſe of *delivering up to Satan*, but yet it may paſs for ſuch a Spot as ſhall now not hinder from being a Son; and this *Sacrifice of the Blood of* Chriſt, *cleanſeth from ſuch Sins* as theſe, continues Pardon and Grace, and obtains of God that he withdraw neither from the Offender. But if any Man after the embracing of *Chriſt*, receiving the Truth and Grace, that is, being thus Regenerate, ſhall return to his old Pollutions again, to a Courſe and Trade of Sin, having not now the Excuſes or Alleviations of which before he was capable, ſhewing himſelf to contemn both the Mercy and Grace of God, to deſpiſe that Pardon, and to reſiſt that Grace, there is no Direction for any Offering for ſuch; this very Sacrifice of *Chriſt* belongs not to him, ſo far as by Covenant to obtain Continuance of Pardon for him, or Continuance of Grace: God may juſtly withdraw both, and Chriſt's *Blood* ſay nothing to the contrary; nay God hath told us that in this Caſe he will withdraw both. And the ſame may be collected from the Aggravations here ſet upon the Sin, that it is a *treading upon the Son of God, and prophaning the Blood of the Covenant*, that is, making the Blood of *Chriſt* uneffectual to his Pardon, and contumeliouſly uſing the Spirit of Grace, and ſo *grieving* and *quenching that Spirit*. And ſo all that remains behind in Juſtice, or by Tenour of the *ſecond Covenant* expectable from God, is that he ſhould proceed to judge ſuch a Sinner, and his Zeal or Wrath burn like Fire, to conſume all ſuch *Gainſayers* or Adverſaries, that walk thus contrary to all his Methods of Mercy and Grace. And from hence all that can toward the Comfort of ſuch be concluded, is, that it is not here ſaid, that God cannot or never will give Grace again to them, or uſe Means for the recalling them, becauſe of God this is not here affirmed. From which negative Argument, though the Poſſibility of ſuch Recovery may be concluded, yet there are little Grounds to conclude it probable or reaſonable for any Man to depend or hope in it: For if the Weight of theſe Words be obſerved, *How much worſe Puniſhment ſhall he be thought worthy of*, than the Offender under *Moſes*'s Law, who was *put to Death without Mercy*; we ſhall rather have Reaſon to fear God will puniſh ſuch with Exciſion or Cutting-off, without giving any new Stock of Grace to recal them again. For if the Words *be thought worthy* ſhould be interpreted and taken without Exception or Diſpenſation, *He ſhall be puniſhed in a worſe Manner*, there will be little Place of Comfort for ſuch to depend on. And yet, becauſe after all this it is poſſible that though *a being thought worthy* in the good Senſe ſignify *actual giving*, yet it may not in the Ill, *actual puniſhing*, it will therefore be no Temptation to any in this ſad Eſtate to be hopeleſs, or give over labouring to get out again, but rather a *Summons* or *Proclamation* of *Terror*, ſtraight to awaken him out of that Eſtate to Humiliation and Prayers to God, leſt it be too late. And in this the Example of *David* will be Encouragement to him, who after a Year's Sleep or Lethargy in thoſe Sins of *Adultery* and *Murder*, was yet by God's Grace, and the Miſſion of a Prophet extraordinary, recalled and reduced again; though it coſt him afterwards many Floods of Tears and penitential Expreſſions, to waſh out thoſe Spots which he had thus contracted; and though even ſtill he lies under the Reproach of that Sin, when he doth not of any other, becauſe that only was indulged in ſo long.[e] And the ſame may be ſaid of *Solomon* alſo, who after ſuch *heavy Falls*, which beyond all the Children of God are ſadly recorded of him in Scripture, was by God brought back to Repentance; God's Mercy to him being beyond all Promiſe, we may add beyond all other Example. And therefore the Cloſe muſt be, that if we have followed them in their Sins, we muſt be ſure to imitate them in their Repentance alſo, not only in the Sincerity of it, but in all the Degrees and Demonſtrations of it, if we hope for the Mercy which they met with.

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[a] Verſes 26—31.

[b] Tit. ii. 14.

[c] Levit. xiii. 23.

[d] Cap. xiv. 3.

DISSERTATION III.

Of Faith, and Acceptance with God.

I. *Acceptations of the Word Faith: The theological Grace ſo called.* II. *What was the Faith of* Abraham, *which was imputed to him for Righteouſneſs.* III. *St.* Paul *and St.* James *reconciled.* IV. *What is the Faith that makes us Children of* Abraham. V. *The Object of true Faith.* VI. *The Kinds of it.* VII. *In what Senſe we are ſaid to be juſtified by Faith.* VIII. *Faith without Works inſufficient to Juſtification.* IX. *A ſaving Faith cannot be ſevered from good Works: For what Reaſons.* X. *What are the neceſſary Qualifications of good Works.*

I. THO' the Occaſion of the foregoing Diſſertation, was taken from our Lord's Diſcourſe to *Nicodemus* concerning *Regeneration by Water and the Spirit*, we did not therein confine our ſelves to what might be collected immediately from the ſaid Diſcourſe; but in treating of the *New-Birth*, or *Repentance unto Life* (which is what we underſtand by *being born of the Spirit*) we endeavoured to take in, the complete and full Notion of it, as it may be gathered from the general Tenour of the New-Teſtament. We ſhall here follow the ſame Rule in diſcourſing of Faith, as the Means of Acceptance with God; according to the Words of our Bleſſed Lord and of the Baptiſt; *He that believeth on the Son, is not condemned*, or *hath everlaſting Life.* And that this is the right Method to be purſued on theſe Occaſions, will appear to any one who reflects, "That there are many Graces, Virtues, and Duties, neceſſary to every Chriſtian, which are but barely hinted at in our Lord's Diſcourſes, and which are more fully treated of in the Diſcourſes and Writings of the Apoſtles; from which latter we ought, therefore, to take our Notions of them."

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[e] 1 Kings xv. 5.

For if all the Books of the New-Teſtament are of equal Authority, as every Chriſtian believes they are; and if it be therefore neceſſary for us, as Chriſtians, to get a complete Knowledge of our Religion, as contained in all the ſaid Books, it follows, that we cannot be too exact and particular in Enquiries of this Kind.

But to proceed. [a] There is not any one Word in Nature which hath more Significations in the Word of God, eſpecially in the New-Teſtament, than that of *Faith*. It ſometimes ſignifies the Acknowledgement of the true God, in Oppoſition to Heatheniſm; ſometimes the Chriſtian Religion, in Oppoſition to *Judaiſm*; ſometimes the believing the Power of *Chriſt* to heal Diſeaſes; ſometimes the believing that he is the promiſed *Meſſias*; ſometimes Fidelity or Faithfulneſs; ſometimes a Reſolution of Conſcience concerning the Lawfulneſs of any Thing; ſometimes a Reliance, Affiance, or Dependance on *Chriſt*, either for temporal or ſpiritual Matters; ſometimes believing the Truth of all divine Revelations; ſometimes Obedience to God's Commands, in the Evangelical not legal Senſe; ſometimes the Doctrine of the Goſpel, in Oppoſition to the Law of *Moſes*; ſometimes it is an Aggregate of all other Graces; ſometimes the Condition of the ſecond Covenant, in Oppoſition to the firſt; and other Senſes of it alſo there are, diſtinguiſhable by the Context, and the Matter treated of where the Word is uſed.

[b] That Faith which is the theological Grace, diſtinct from Hope and Charity, is the aſſenting to, or believing, the whole Word of God; particularly, the Goſpel, and in that the Commands, and Threats, and Promiſes of that Word; eſpecially the Promiſes. This you will acknowledge if you conſider, [c] that *Viſion* in the next Life is the perfecting of that *Faith* in this Life, or that *Faith* here is turned into *Viſion* there, as *Hope into enjoying*: For this argues *Faith* here to be the Aſſent to thoſe Things which *come to us by hearing*, and are ſo believed by Adherence, or dark enigmatical Knowledge, but hereafter are ſeen or known demonſtratively, or *Face to Face*. Hence it is, that *Faith* is defined by the Apoſtle, The [d] *Ground* or Foundation *of Things hoped for*, the *Conviction of Things which we do not ſee*. 'Tis the Foundation on which all Hope is built, (for I muſt believe the Promiſe, before I can hope the Perfomance of it on right Grounds) and the being convinced of the Truth of thoſe Things for which there is no other Demonſtration, but only the Word and Promiſe of God; and yet upon that an Inclination to believe them as aſſuredly, as if I had the greateſt Evidence in the World.

II. The Faith of *Abraham* is much ſpoken of in the New-Teſtament, [e] as the Pattern by which our Faith ſhould be meaſured, and upon which both he was, and we may expect to be juſtified. We cannot do better, therefore, in this Enquiry into the Nature of true Faith, than to conſider this Faith of *Abraham*, as deſcribed by the Apoſtles, and make that the Foundation of our Reſolution in this Matter. Now there are many Acts of *Abraham*'s Faith mentioned in the New-Teſtament, which were ſeveral Exerciſes of that Grace in him; but eſpecially two there are, by which in two Trials he approved himſelf to God, ſo far as that God imputed them to him for Righteouſneſs, that is, accepted of thoſe Acts of his as graciouſly, as if he had performed perfect Obedience, had lived exactly without any Slip or Fall, all his Life; and in Conſequence of them, gave him the Honour of being called the *Friend of God*.

The firſt of thoſe Acts was, [f] his believing the Promiſe of God made unto him; [g] which Promiſe conſiſted of two Parts. Firſt, that God would *ſhield* and *defend*, or take him into his Protection, and withal *reward* him abundantly for all the Service that he ſhould ever perform unto him. This Promiſe is ſet down in theſe Words, [h] *Fear not* Abraham, *I am thy Shield, and exceeding great Reward*. The Sum of which is, that God will protect all thoſe that depend and truſt on him, and reward all his faithful Servants in a Manner and Meaſure inexpreſſibly abundant: And particularly, that he would then deal ſo with *Abraham*, a true faithful Servant of his; and conſequently that he ſhould not fear. It is not ſaid in the Text expreſly, that *Abraham* believed this Promiſe; but yet it is ſo far implied that there is no Doubt of it; for *Abraham*'s Queſtion, [i] *What wilt thou give me, ſeeing I go childleſs?* is in Effect yielding Conſent to the Truth of the Promiſe, and firmly depending upon it; and thereupon proceeding to a ſpecial Particular, wherein he deſired that Favour of God to be made good to him, the giving him a Child for his Reward: Whereas otherwiſe having none, and ſo his Servant being his only Heir apparent, all the Wealth in the World would not be valuable to him. And thereupon, as a Reward of that his former Faith on the former Promiſe, God proceeds to make him that ſecond more particular Promiſe, which we may call the ſecond Part of it.

This was, that [i] he ſhould have *an Heir of his own Body*, from whom ſhould come a Poſterity as numerous, or rather as innumerable, as the Stars of Heaven; and among them at length the *Meſſias*, in whom all the People of the World ſhould be bleſſed. This ſecond Part of the Promiſe, being a Particular contained before under the General of rewarding him exceedingly, but not till now explicitely revealed to *Abraham*, was a particular Trial whether his former Belief were ſincere, that is, whether he would truſt and depend on God or no; there being little Reaſon for him to expect a Child then, having remained ſo long without one. And then it follows, that in this his Trial he was found faithful, [l] *He believed*, or, as St. *Paul* heightens it, [m] *beſide or beyond Hope he believed, and God counted it to him for Righteouſneſs*; that is, God took this for ſuch an Expreſſion of his Faithfulneſs and Sincerity, that he accepted him as a righteous Perſon, upon this Performance, though no doubt he had many Infirmities and Sins, which he was or had been guilty of in his Life, irreconcileable with perfect Righteouſneſs.

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[a] Hammond's Practical Catechiſm.

[b] 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

[c] See 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

[d] Heb. xi. 1. according to the Greek.

[e] Rom. iv. Gal. iii. Heb. xi. James ii.

[f] Rom. iv. and Gal. iii.

[g] Gen. xv.

[h] Gen. xv. 1.

[i] Ver. 2.

The ſecond of thoſe Acts of *Abraham*'s Faith, mention'd both by [n] St. *James* and [o] St. *Paul*, was the offering up his Son *Iſaac* upon the Altar. For God having made Trial before of his Faith in one Particular, that of believing his Promiſe, makes now a new Trial of it in another, that of Obedience to his Commands. For when God gives Commands as well as Promiſes, the one is as perfect a Seaſon and Means for the Trial of Faith as the other; and to ſay I have Faith, and not thus to evidence it, not to bring forth that Fruit of it, when God, by expecting it, and requiring it, puts me to the Trial, is either to manifeſt that I have no Faith at all, or elſe not a thorough Faith; a Faith only for cheaper eaſier Services, but not able to hold out all Trials: Or elſe, that this is but a dull lifeleſs Habit of Faith, without any vital Acts flowing from it: Which yet are the Things that God commandeth, and without yielding of which, when Occaſion is offered, the Habit will not be accepted.

III. And this ſeems to be the cleareſt Way of reconciling St. *James* and St. *Paul*. *Abraham was juſtified by Faith*, ſaith [p] St. *Paul*, and *not by Works*; that is, by believing and depending on God for the Performance of his Promiſe, and reſigning himſelf up wholly to him to obey his Precepts; or more clearly, by that Faith which, howſoever it was tried, whether by Promiſes of ſtrange incredible Things, or Commands of very hard Duties, did conſtantly approve itſelf to be a true Faith, and ſo was accepted by God, without Performance of abſolute unſinning Obedience, much more without Performance of the ceremonial Law; which two Things, one or both, are generally by St. *Paul* meant by Works. But then ſaith [q] St. *James*, Abraham *was juſtified by Works*; that is, his Faith approved itſelf by faithful Actions, particularly by offering up his Son, an Act of the greateſt Fidelity and Obedience. And if in Time of Trial he had not done ſo, he had never paſs'd for the faithful *Abraham*, had never been juſtified, that is, approved or accepted by God; which is in effect all one with that which St. *Paul* hath ſaid; neither one nor the other excluding or ſeparating faithful Actions from Faith, or the Condition of Juſtification, but abſolutely requiring them as the only Things by which the Man is juſtified: Only St. *Paul* mentions the Works of the Law, and excludes them from having any thing to do toward Juſtification, leaving the whole Work to Faith: Whereas St. *James*, dealing not with the *Jews*, but with another kind of Adverſaries, hath no Occaſion to add that excluſive Part, but rather to prevent or cure another Diſeaſe, which he ſaw the Minds of Men, through Miſtake and Abuſe of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, poſſeſſed with; thinking that a dead Habit of Faith would ſerve the Turn, and miſtaking every ſlight Motion or formal Profeſſion, ſuch as *bidding the Poor go and be rich*, and *giving them nothing* [r], for that Habit of Faith. And in Oppoſition to that, he reſolves that the Faith which in Time of Trial, when Occaſion is offered, doth not bring forth Acts, is ſuch a dead Faith that God will never be content with, to the juſtifying or accepting of any, or the counting any Man *his Friend*, as he did *Abraham*; for ſuch are none, but *thoſe who do whatſoever he commands them*.

IV. Now to prevent any Miſtake, and bring home the whole Matter to our own Uſe, let us enquire what is that Faith which is required of us, which alone will ſuffice to denominate us the Children of faithful *Abraham*, and which will be ſure to be accounted to us for Righteouſneſs by God. And according to the plain Senſe of Scripture, the Faith which is now required of us, and which God will thus accept to our Juſtification, is a cordial ſincere giving up ourſelves unto God, particularly to *Chriſt*, firmly to rely on all his Promiſes, and faithfully to obey all his Commands delivered in the Goſpel: Which will never be accounted that ſincere cordial Faith, unleſs, whenſoever any Trial is made of us, we act and perform accordingly; believe what *Chriſt* hath promiſed in the Goſpel, againſt all ſpiritual or worldly Temptations; and practice what *Chriſt* commands, againſt all the Invitations of Pleaſure, or Profit, or Vain-glory, to the contrary. To which Purpoſe it is that *Chriſt* ſaith, that they *cannot believe, which receive the Praiſe of Men*: By that one carnal Motive, as an Example or Inſtance of the reſt, illuſtrating this Truth, that he whom the World, or Fleſh, or Devil, can carry away from the Profeſſion of, and Obedience to, *Chriſt*, is no Son of the faithful *Abraham*, no believing Diſciple of his.

For if it be ſaid, that *Abraham* was faithful before theſe Acts of his Faith, at leaſt before that ſecond of them, that of Obedience, being juſtified upon the believing the Promiſe before [ſ]; and conſequently that a Man may have true Faith, before he produces thoſe Effects of it; at leaſt, that by believing the Promiſes of *Chriſt*, he may be juſtified, without Reſpect unto this Obedience to his Commands; we may anſwer by confeſſing the Truth of it as far as concerned *Abraham*. For *Abraham* was by God, who ſaw his Heart, diſcerned to be faithful, before any of theſe Trials; nay had formerly given Evidence of it, by *going out of his Country* at God's Command; which was an Act of great Obedience [t]. And after that Time being tried only with a Promiſe, he gave full Credit to that, and ſtill gave Evidence of his Fidelity, as faſt as Occaſions were offered; which God, that ſaw no Defect in him, did accept of, even before he had made uſe of thoſe other Trials. And proportionably it will ſtill hold true of us, that if our Hearts are ſincerely given up to *Chriſt*, if there be in us a Reſolution of uniform Obedience unto *Chriſt*, which the Searcher of Hearts ſees to be ſincere, and ſuch as would hold out in time of Temptation, this will be certainly accepted by God to our Juſtification. Nay, if God try us only with a Promiſe, as that *Chriſt will give reſt to all that being weary come to him*, or for temporal Things, that *he will never fail us, nor forſake us*; if we confidently depend on the Truth of this, without any doubting or ſtaggering, this will be accepted by God to our Juſtification, without any further Acts of Faith or Obedience to his Commands, that is, in Caſe there were no ſuch Command as yet given to us, or no Occaſion of obeying it.

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[l] Gen. xv. 6.
[m] Rom. iv. 18.
[n] Chap. ii. 21.
[o] Heb. xi. 17.
[p] Rom. iv.
[q] Chap. ii.
[r] Ver. 16.
[ſ] Gen. xv.
[t] Gen. xii. 1. and Heb. xi. 8.

But now our Caſe being in one Reſpect diſtinguiſhed from that of *Abraham*'s, the whole Goſpel being already revealed and propoſed to us, as a Summary of what we are bound to believe, and what to do, (and no need of any ſuch particular Revelations of God's Will, either by way of Promiſe, or particular Precept, as was to *Abraham*,) the Object of our Faith is already ſet; that is, all the Affirmations, all the Promiſes, and all the Commands and Threats of the Goſpel. And all theſe are to be received uniformly, with a cordial Faith proportioned to each of them, Aſſent to all his Affirmations, Dependance on all his Promiſes, Reſolution of Obedience to all his Commands, and Fear and Awe of his Threats. Our Faith, if it be true, muſt be made up of all theſe Parts, and not of one or more of them; and then whenſoever any Trial ſhall be particularly made of us, in which kind ſoever it happens to be firſt, we muſt expreſs and evidence our Fidelity, or elſe this Faith will not be accepted by God to our Juſtification, or accounted for Righteouſneſs. And the ſame muſt be reſolved, when and how often ſoever Occaſions ſhall offer themſelves, either of aſſenting or adhering, or obeying or fearing God; for then it is with us as it was with *Abraham* when God tempted him, and there is no Juſtification to be had, but upon paſſing faithfully, honeſtly, and ſincerely through ſuch Trials. For though God may approve and juſtify our Faith and us, before or without any Trial, (he beholding all in the Heart which Men do in the Actions,) yet when thoſe Trials are made, and the Performance not met with, it is then apparent even to Men, that the Reſolutions were not before ſincere; and conſequently God, who ſaw that before thoſe Trials, cannot be thought to have juſtified that inſincere Reſolver, that heartleſs lifeleſs Faith. But when upon ſuch Trials, God meets with his deſired expected Returns, he then juſtifies the Fidelity or Faith of that Man, and conſequently that Man himſelf, who hath ſhewed himſelf ſo faithful; and ſo (by the Purport of the New Covenant, through the Sufferings and Satisfaction of *Chriſt*) he imputes not to that Man the Sins of his former, nor Frailties and Infirmities of his preſent Life.

V. To deſcend more diſtinctly into the ſeveral Parts or Branches of True Faith, we ſhould firſt conſider the Object of it, which is twofold; *God* himſelf, or the *Word of God*; *God* who is believed in, and the *Word of God* as the Rule of that Faith, or Matter to be believed. And that Word is to be entirely conſidered, ſignifying whatſoever we are, or may be, convinced to come from God; and in it theſe ſpecial Parts, which divide the whole Scripture between them: 1. The Affirmations of Scripture, whether by way of hiſtorical Narration, or by way of Doctrine. 2. The Promiſes of God, both in the Old and New Teſtament, but eſpecially the Promiſes of the Goſpel, both ſuch as belong to this Life, and thoſe that belong to another. 3. The Commands of God; whether the natural Law of all Mankind, written in our Hearts by the Finger of God, made up in the Frame of the human Soul, and more clearly revealed both in the Decalogue and other Parts of Sacred Writ; or whether the Commands of *Chriſt*, raiſing Nature to a higher Pitch in the Sermon on the Mount, and ſuperadding ſome poſitive Inſtitutions, as thoſe of the Sacraments and Cenſures of the Church, in other Parts of the New Teſtament. 4. The Threats of the Goſpel, thoſe Terrors of the Lord ſet on Purpoſe to drive and haſten us to Amendment of our ſinful Lives. All theſe put together, are the adequate Object of our Faith; which is then cordial, and ſuch as God will accept of, when it affords to every one of theſe that Reception which is proportioned to it; Aſſent to the Truth of the Affirmations, Reliance on the Promiſes, Submiſſion to the Commands, and humble Fear to the Threats.

VI. Now true Faith, as it reſpects its Object, may be either *general* or *particular*; the latter of which only is ſaving. It remains that we conſider them both, with regard to each of theſe Particulars into which we have divided the Scripture.

1. A General Faith, as it refers to the Affirmations of Scripture, is a Belief of God's Veracity, that whatſoever is affirmed by him is infallibly true. A particular Faith is the giving up my full Aſſent to every Particular, which I am convinced to be affirmed by God, as ſoon as ever I am ſo convinced, or have Means ſufficient offered me ſo to convince me; and yet more particularly the acknowledging of thoſe Truths which have ſpecial Marks ſet upon them in Scripture, to ſignify them to be of more weight that others; as, [u] *that God is*; that *Chriſt* is the *Meſſiah* of the World, the acknowledging of which is ſaid [w] *to be Life eternal*; the Doctrine of the Trinity, into which all are commanded to be baptized; and thoſe other Fundamentals of Faith, which all Men were inſtructed in antiently before they were permitted to be baptized, comprized briefly in the Apoſtles Creed, a Summary of Chriſtian Faith or Doctrine, neceſſary to be believed.

2. As it refers to the Commands of the Goſpel, the General is an Aſſent to the Truth and

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[u] Heb. xi. 6.

[w] John xvii. 3.

Goodneſs of thoſe Commands in general, as they concern all Men, that is, believing that *Chriſt* hath given ſuch a Law to all his Diſciples, and that that Law is moſt fit to be given by him. The Particular is the applying theſe Commands to myſelf, as the neceſſary and proper Rule of my Life, and the reſolving faithful Obedience to them.

3. As it refers to the Threats; The General is to believe that thoſe Threats will be, and that it is moſt juſt they ſhould be, executed upon all againſt whom they are denounced: The Threats under Oath abſolutely, [x] Non-admiſſion into God's Reſt to all diſobedient Provokers; the conditional Threats conditionally, that is, unleſs we repent, and uſe the Means to avert them. The Particular is to reſolve, that except I get out of that Number, I ſhall certainly find my Part in them.

4. As it refers to the Promiſes; The General is the believing the Truth, the infallible Truth of the Promiſes: Which Promiſes, the Object of that Faith, being generally conditional, not abſolute Promiſes, great Care muſt be taken that the Faith be proportioned to the Nature of them. As when the *Promiſe* of *Reſt* is made peculiarly to the *Weary and Heavy-laden thus coming to* Chriſt, the general Faith is to believe undoubtedly, that this Reſt ſhall be given to all that perform this Condition, to all humble and faithful Penitentiaries; and to believe that it belongs either abſolutely to all, or to any but thoſe who are ſo qualified, is to believe a Lie, no Piece of Faith, but a vain Conceit, which ſure will never advantage, but betray any One that depends upon it.

The *Particular Faith* terminated in this conditional *Promiſe*, is not the believing that the Promiſe belongs abſolutely to me, (for it doth not any longer then I am properly qualified) nor the believing I am ſo qualified; but it is made up of theſe three Things: 1. The confident Perſuaſion that if I fail not in my Part, *Chriſt* will never fail in his; if I do repent, no Power of Heaven, or Earth, or Hell, no Malice of Satan, no ſecret unrevealed Decree, ſhall ever be able to deprive me of my Part in the Promiſe. 2. A ſetting my ſelf to perform the Condition on which the Promiſe is made: As when Reſt being promiſed upon Condition of coming, I am come upon that Invitation, then this Coming of mine may be called particular Application. And 3. the comparing of the conditional Promiſe to my particular preſent Eſtate, by way of Self-Examination, and thence concluding upon Sight of the Condition in myſelf, that I am ſuch an one to whom the Promiſe belongs, and ſhall have my Part in it, if I continue and perſevere. The ſecond of theſe, if it be real and ſincere, gives me a Certainty of the Object, and ſeals the Promiſe to me in Heaven, which will remain firm, though I never know of it. The third, if it be on right Judgement of myſelf, may give me the other Certainty, that is, aſcertain me that I am in the Number of God's Children: But there being ſo much Uncertainty whether I judge aright of myſelf or no, and there being no particular Affirmation in God's Word concerning the Sincerity of my preſent, or Perſeverance of my future Condition, that Aſſurance reflexive, of which this is one Ingredient, cannot be a divine Faith, but at the moſt an human; yet ſuch as perhaps I may have no doubting mixed with, nor Reaſon that I ſhould ſo doubt. For at the Concluſion of Life, having finiſhed his Courſe and perſevered, St. *Paul* could ſay without doubting, [y] *Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteouſneſs.* Which if another Man be not able to ſay with that Aſſurance, it will not preſently be want of Faith in him, as long as this Want of Aſſurance proceeds not from any Diſtruſt of the Truth of God's Promiſes, but only from an humble Conceit of his own Repentance, that it is not ſuch [z] as God requires of him.

VII. But we are ſaid in Scripture to be *juſtified by Faith*, and it may therefore be properly aſked whilſt we are treating of Faith, What Faith that is, to which Juſtification is attributed?

In anſwer hereto let it be obſerved, Firſt, that Faith, in whatever Acceptation, is no proper efficient Cauſe of Juſtification; for ſuch is only God through the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, accepting our Perſons and our weak Performances, and not imputing our Sins: In which Act nothing in us can poſſibly have any, ſo much as inferior inſtrumental Efficiency. 'Tis true the Habit of Faith may in ſome Senſe be called the Cauſe of the Acts of Faith, and ſo of each Act of receiving, or embracing of *Chriſt*; in which Senſe it is called the *Eye* and the *Hand* of Faith; but then it is clear, that receiving of *Chriſt* is a Thing very diſtinct from Juſtification; the one being clearly the Act of Man, the other of God; and therefore to conclude that Faith is an Efficient, though but inſtrumental, of Juſtification, becauſe it is an Inſtrument of receiving *Chriſt*, is no ſolid Argument: And ſo in like Manner from its Activity in other Things, to infer its Efficiency in Juſtification. The moſt that can be ſaid is, that it is a Condition without which God, that juſtifies the penitent Believer, will never juſtify the impenitent Infidel; and therefore it is obſervable that it is no where ſaid in Scripture, that *Faith juſtifies*, but that we *are juſtified by Faith*, which Particle *by* is a peculiar Note of a Condition, not a Cauſe.

Now the Faith which is the Condition of our Juſtification, is the receiving *Chriſt* in all his Offices, as my King, my Prieſt, my Prophet; whereby I believe the Commands as well as the Promiſes of the Goſpel, or take the Promiſes as they are, that is as conditional Promiſes. And this a cordial practical Belief, a firm Reſolution of uniform Obedience and Diſcipleſhip, *Faith made perfect by Works*[a]; without which Addition of ſuch Works, ſuch Obedience evangelical, it would be imperfect, and inſufficient to our Juſtification. The ſame is called in a parallel Phraſe, *Faith conſummate by Love*[b], that is, by Acts of Chriſtian Charity; and therefore in two other parallel Places it is thus varied; in one we read inſtead of it the *New Creature*[c], in another, [d] *thekeeping the Commandments of God.*

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[x] Heb. iii. 11.

[y] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

[z] If that Place 2. Cor. xiii. 5. (*Know ye not that* Chriſt Jeſus *is in you, except you be Reprobates?*) be objected, to prove that all are Reprobates that know not that *Chriſt* is in them; the Anſwer will be ſatisfactory, that the Words rendred *in you* ſignify very frequently in the Scripture, and peculiarly in a Place parallel to this, (Exod. xvii. 7.) *among you*, or *in your Congregation.* And ſo the Senſe will be beſt diſſolved into a Queſtion and Anſwer, *Know ye not*, by the Miracles and Preaching, the *Demonſtratioa of the Spirit and of Power*, *that* Jeſus Chriſt *is among you?* This by Way of Interrogation, for ſo it is in the Greek, and the Meaning appears by the Context to be; *Know ye not, diſcern you not, your ſelves, that the Power of the Goſpel is coming among you, by my Apoſtleſhip?* And then by Way of Anſwer, *Except you be Reprobates.* That is, you are obdurate inſenſate Creatures undoubtedly, unleſs you know this after ſuch Demonſtration.

And whereas it is often ſaid that we are not [e] *juſtified by Works*, and that we are [f] *juſtified by Faith without the Deeds of the Law*; we are to note, that the Word *Works*, and *Deeds of the Law*, in thoſe Places ſignifies perfect legal Obedience, or Circumciſion, and the like *Judaical* Ceremonies; and *Faith* the evangelical Grace of giving up the whole Heart to *Chriſt*, without any ſuch perfect Obedience, or *Judaical* Obſervances. And ſo it is truly ſaid, *we are* juſtified *by* Faith *without them*; that is, without ſuch Works, ſuch perfect Obedience: Yet not excluding, but including that evangelical Obedience; for without that *Faith is dead*, ſaith St. *James*[g], and then ſure not able to juſtify any. And therefore you may obſerve in that Apoſtle's Diſcourſe, that he affirms *Abraham* to have been *juſtified by Works*[h], and makes that a parallel Phraſe to that of the Old Teſtament, [i] Abraham *believed God, and it was imputed to him for Righteouſneſs*; where, as Juſtification, and Imputed to him for Righteouſneſs, are Phraſes of the ſame Importance, ſo are Works and Believing alſo.

The Reaſon of this is not becauſe true Faith always brings forth good Works; for it is very poſſible for me to believe, and yet not live accordingly. Indeed this is not a *juſtifying Faith*, and ſo no true Faith in that Senſe; but yet it may be a true Faith, for ſo much as it is properly founded. I may truly, without all doubting, believe the Promiſe of Mercy and Salvation to the true Penitent, and none elſe; which Belief is very fit and proper to put me on reforming and amending; and yet it is poſſible for Temptations of carnal Objects to perſuade me to defer this Duty, nay never to think fit to ſet myſelf to the Performance of it: The preſent Pleaſures of Sin may out-weigh in my Choice thoſe future ſpiritual Joys; nay, I may ſee and like them, and yet for the preſent embrace the Contrary; the Will of Man being a middle free Faculty, not abſolutely obliged to do or chuſe what the Underſtanding judgeth moſt honeſt, that is, what Reaſon, and Faith, and the Spirit of God, commandeth to be done. The Truth is, if this Faith get once to be radicated in the Heart, to rule and reign there, if the Will chuſeth what Faith recommendeth, then it bringeth forth all Manner of good Works; and ſo then it is the Conſummation of Faith by Charity and good Works that God accepteth in *Chriſt* to Juſtification, and not the bare Aptneſs of Faith to bring forth Works, if thoſe Works by the Fault of a rebellious Principle will not be brought forth.

The peculiar Act of Faith, to which Juſtification is particularly imputable, is certainly the giving up of the whole Soul intirely unto *Chriſt*, accepting his Promiſes on his Conditions, and undertaking Diſcipleſhip upon his Terms: But yet it is poſſible that ſome one Act of Faith may be more excellent and acceptable in the Sight of God then others; as that humble Act of the *faithful Servant*, that when he hath done all, acknowledges himſelf *unprofitable*, *excludes all glorying*, (which the Apoſtle makes very neceſſary to Juſtification[k],) and expects all Good from God's free Mercy in *Chriſt*, without any Reflexion on any of his own Performances: Or again, that of full Truſt and Affiance on God, depending on his All-ſufficiency in the Midſt of all Difficulties, on the Fidelity of him that hath promiſed, when all worldly Probabilities are to the Contrary. But then this muſt be accompanied with other Facts of Faith, when Occaſion is offered for them, and with Uſe of the Means preſcribed by *Chriſt*; or elſe Reliance may prove Preſumption after all. And however it is, [l] *we muſt add to our Faith, Virtue,* &c. or elſe our Faith may ſtill be *dead, being alone*, that is, unable to ſtand us in any ſtead to the deſired End.

VIII. Our[m] Saviour foreſaw there would be among thoſe who believed on his Name, ſuch as ſhould think their Faith ſufficient, and that as for Works they might be excuſed; having him for their *Lord* and the *Captain of their Salvation*, who himſelf had both undergone the Puniſhment due for their Sins, and fulfilled that Obedience which they ſhould have done. So that now there remained nothing on their Part, for them to obtain Salvation, but to truſt and rely upon him, without any Endeavour at all to pleaſe God by Works, as being become unuſeful to Salvation. To obviate this Error it was, that our Saviour made that Declaration to his Diſciples, in his excellent Sermon on the Mount: *Not every every one that ſaith, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; but he that doth the Will of my Father, which is in Heaven,* &c. Now to call *Chriſt*, *Lord*, is to believe in him, to acknowledge him, to look for Salvation by him, or, as the Scripture expreſſeth it, *to come unto him.* [n] *Every one* (ſaith our Lord himſelf,) *that cometh unto me, and heareth my Words, and doth them, I will ſhew you to whom he is like.* Where *to come unto* Chriſt, is put inſtead of that which in the former Text was, *to ſay unto him, Lord.* The *doing of his Father's Will*, is the doing of thoſe Works of Obedience, which the Father hath commanded in his Law, and now committed to his Son, whom he hath made the Head and King of his Church, to ſee executed and performed by thoſe whom he bringeth to Salvation.

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[a] Jam. ii. 22.
[b] Gal. v. 6.
[c] Gal. vi. 15.
[d] 1 Cor. vii. 19.
[e] Gal. i. 16.
[f] Rom. iii. 28.
[g] Jam. ii. 17.
[h] Ver. 21.
[i] Ver. 23.
[k] Rom. iv.
[l] 2 Pet. i. 5, 6.
[m] Mede on Matth. vii. 21.
[n] Luke vi. 47.

From theſe Words of *Chriſt*, ariſeth this plain Doctrine. "That Faith in *Chriſt* without Marks of Obedience, and Amendment of Life, is not ſufficient for Salvation, and conſequently not that Faith whereby a Chriſtian is juſtified." For if it were, it would ſave us: If it be not ſufficient to ſave us, it cannot juſtify us. A juſtifying Faith ſtayeth not only in the Brain, but ſtirs up the Will to receive and enjoy the Good believed, according as it is promiſed. This Election of the Will, is that which maketh the Difference between a ſaving Faith, which joineth us unto *Chriſt*, and that which is true indeed but not ſaving. And this applying of the Will to *Chriſt*, this embracing of *Chriſt* and the Promiſes of the Goſpel through him, is that which the Scripture calleth, *Coming unto* Chriſt, or *receiving of him.* [o] *As many as received him, to them he gave Power to become the Sons of God, even to them that believe on his Name:* Where *receiving* and *believing* expound one another. So [p] *Come unto me* (ſaith our Saviour) *all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt.* [q] *Ye will not come unto me that ye might have Life.* [r] *All that the Father giveth me, ſhall come unto me.* [s] *No Man can come unto me, unleſs the Father draw him.* [t] *Every Man that hath heard, and learned of the Father, cometh unto me.* All which expreſs the Specification of a ſaving Faith, which conſiſts in the embracing, receiving, and applying of the Will to, the Thing believed.

What this receiving, embracing, or applying unto *Chriſt* is, may appear from the Premiſes. He that believeth that *Chriſt* is an Atonement to God for the Sins of all repentant Sinners, muſt repent and turn from all his Sins, that ſo *Chriſt* may be an Atonement for him; elſe he embraceth not what he believeth. He that believes that God in *Chriſt* will accept and reward our Obedience and Works of Piety, though ſhort of Perfection, and of no worth in themſelves, muſt apply himſelf accordingly to do Works of Religion and Charity, that God in *Chriſt* may accept and reward them. For our Belief is not that ſaving Belief, until we apply ourſelves to what we believe. To believe one may attain Salvation through *Chriſt*, without Works of Obedience to be accepted in him, is a falſe Faith, for which there is no Foundation, no Promiſe, in the Goſpel. To believe the contrary, that *Chriſt* is given of God to ſuch only as ſhall receive him, and perform acceptable Obedience to God through him, and yet not to apply ourſelves thereto, were indeed to believe what is true, but yet no ſaving Faith, becauſe we embraced not the Thing we believed, as we believed it.

IX. Now if this, and no other, be the Faith which is ſaving, and which unites us unto *Chriſt*, then it is plain that a ſaving Faith cannot be ſevered from good Works; becauſe no Man can embrace *Chriſt* as he is promiſed, but he muſt apply himſelf to do them. For out of the Word of God, three Reaſons may be gathered for the Neceſſity of them.

Firſt, it is the End of our Faith and Juſtification by *Chriſt*, nay the End why he ſhed his Blood for us, that we being reconciled to God in him, might bring forth Fruits of Righteouſneſs, which elſe we could never have done. This is no Speculation, but plain Scripture. St. *Peter* [u] telleth us, that Chriſt *his own ſelf bare our Sins in his own Body on the Tree, that we being dead to Sin, ſhould live unto Righteouſneſs.* St. *Paul* declares, that [w] *The Grace of God that bringeth Salvation, hath appeared unto all Men; teaching us that denying Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly, in this preſent World; looking for that bleſſed Hope, the glorious Appearing of the Great God, and our Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt; *who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar People, zealous of good Works:* Theſe Words contain the Sum of the New Teſtament Revelation. "That *Chriſt* is given us, to be a Propitiation for our Sins, and to juſtify us, that in him we might walk before God in Newneſs of Life, ſo as to obtain a Crown of Righteouſneſs in the World to come." And anſwerable is that Place, [x] where the Apoſtle having told us, that *we are ſaved by Grace, through Faith, and that not of Works, leſt any Man ſhould boaſt*; he adds preſently, (leſt his Meaning might be miſtaken) *that we are God's Workmanſhip, created in* Jeſus Chriſt *unto good Works, which God hath before ordained that we ſhould walk in them.* As if he had ſaid, "Thoſe Works of Obedience, ordained by God aforetime in his Law, for us to walk in, which we could not perform of ourſelves; now God hath as it were new created us in *Jeſus Chriſt*, we may perform them in him ſo as to be accepted, though they come ſhort of that Exactneſs which the Law requireth." And thus to be ſaved, is to be ſaved by Grace and Favour, and not by the Merit of Works; becauſe the Foundation whereby ourſelves and our Services are approved in the Eyes of God, is the mere Favour of God in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and not any thing in us. But that Men ſhould be ſaved by *Chriſt*, though they do nothing, there is no ſuch Grace of God revealed in Scripture.

That in *Chriſt* we may perform Works of Righteouſneſs, which God will accept and crown, is plain by the Tenour of Scripture. St. *Paul* [y] deſires that the Philippians *might be filled with the Fruits of Righteouſneſs, which are by* Jeſus Chriſt *unto the Glory and Praiſe of God.* And the ſame Apoſtle tells the *Romans* [z], *that being made free from Sin, and become Servants of God, they have their Fruit unto Holineſs, and the End everlaſting Life.*

And if we would ſeriouſly conſider it, we ſhould find, that the more we believe this Righteouſneſs of Faith in *Chriſt*, the more Reaſon we have to perform Works of Service and Obedience unto God. For if our Works would not be acceptable with God, unleſs they were complete in every Point, as the Law required; if there were no Reward to be looked for at the Hands of God, unleſs we could merit it by the Worthineſs of our Deeds; Who that conſiders his own Weakneſs and Inſufficiency, would not ſooner deſpair, than go about to pleaſe God by Works? He would think it better to do nothing at all, then to endeavour what he could never hope to attain, and ſo loſe his Labour. But we, who believe that thoſe who ſerve God in *Chriſt*, have their Failings and Wants covered with his Righteouſneſs, and ſo their Works accepted, as if they were in every Point as they ſhould be; why ſhould not we of all Men be diligent, being ſure, by *Chriſt*'s Means and Merit, we ſhall not loſe our Labour?

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[o] John i. 12.
[p] Matth. xi. 28.
[q] John v. 40.
[r] John vi. 37.
[s] Ver. 44.
[t] Ver. 45.
[u] 1 Pet. ii. 24.
[w] Tit. ii. 11—14.
[x] Epheſ. ii. 10.
[y] Phil. i. 11.
[z] Rom. vi. 22.

A ſecond Motive why we ſhould do good Works, is, Becauſe they are the Way and Means ordained by God to obtain the Reward of eternal Life, without which we ſhall never attain it. [a] *Without Holineſs no Man ſhall ſee God. Look to yourſelves* (ſaith [b] St. *John*) *that ye loſe not thoſe Things ye have wrought for, but that ye may receive a full Reward.* The Angel's Meſſage from Heaven to devout *Cornelius* was, [c] *Thy Prayers and thine Alms are had in Remembrance in the Sight of God:* Whereupon St. *Peter* inferred, that *in every Nation, he that feareth God and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted with him.*

Hence it is that we ſhall be judged, and receive Sentence at the laſt Day, according to our Works: [d] *Come ye Bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World: For I was hungry, and ye gave me Meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me Drink; I was a Stranger, and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was ſick, and ye viſited me; I was in Priſon, and ye came unto me. For in as much as ye have done theſe unto one of the leaſt of my Brethren, ye have done it unto me.* And on the other Hand; [e] *Depart from me ye Curſed into everlaſting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels: For I was hungry, and ye gave me no Meat,* &c. Where it is to be obſerved, that the Works named in the Sentence of Judgment, are Works of the ſecond Table, *Works of Mercy* and *Charity*; *Feeding the Hungry, clothing the Naked, viſiting the Sick.* True it is, theſe Works merit not the Reward which ſhall be given them: But what then? Are we ſo proud that we will do no good Works, unleſs we may merit? Is it not ſufficient that God will reward them for *Chriſt*'s Sake, though they have no Worth in themſelves?

The third and laſt Motive to Works of Righteouſneſs, is, Becauſe they are the only Sign and Note whereby we know our Faith is true and ſaving, and not counterfeit. For [f] *If we ſay we have Fellowſhip with* Chriſt, *and walk in Darkneſs, we lye, and do not the Truth.* [g] *Hereby we know that we know him, if we keep his Commandments.* [h] *Little Children, let no Man deceive you: He that doth Righteouſneſs, is righteous, even a* Chriſt *is righteous.* For if every one that believeth in *Chriſt* truly and ſavingly, believes that Salvation is to be attained by Obedience to God in him, and not otherwiſe; How can ſuch an One's Faith be fruitleſs? How can he be without Works, who lays hold on *Chriſt*, purely that his Works and Obedience may be accepted as righteous before God for his Sake, and ſo become rewardable? It is as poſſible for the Sun to be without his Light, or the Fire to want Heat, as for ſuch a Faith to be without Works. Our Saviour therefore himſelf makes this a never-failing Note, to build our Aſſurance of Salvation upon. [i] *Why call ye me, Lord,* (ſaith he) *and do not the Things which I ſay? Whoſoever cometh to me, and heareth my Sayings, and doth them, I will ſhew you to whom he is like: He is like a Man which built an Houſe, and digged deep, and laid the Foundation on a Rock. And when the Flood aroſe, the Stream beat vehemently upon that Houſe, and could not ſhake it, for it was founded upon a Rock. But he that heareth and doth not, is like a Man that without a Foundation built an Houſe upon the Earth; againſt which the Stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the Ruin of that Houſe was great.*

We ſee here, that it is not enough for a Chriſtian to live harmleſly, and abſtain from ill, but he muſt do that which is good. For our Saviour excludes not thoſe only, who do againſt the Will of his Father, but thoſe who do not his Father's Will. A Servant who expects Wages, muſt not only do his Maſter no Harm, but ſome Work that is good and profitable. Otherwiſe the beſt Chriſtian would be he that ſhould live altogether idly: For none doth leſs Harm, than he that doth nothing at all. But [k] *he that encreaſeth not his Maſter's Talent,* though he hath not miſſpent it, is adjudged *an unprofitable Servant, and caſt into utter Darkneſs, where is weeping, and gnaſhing of Teeth.* So alſo, [l] *the Tree that beareth no good Fruit, is hewn down,* though it bore none that was evil: *The Ax is laid to the Root of the Tree; therefore every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruit, is hewn down and caſt into the Fire.* [m] *The Fig-Tree is curſed for having no Fruit,* not for having evil Fruit. And the Sentence of Condemnation is to paſs at the great Day, for not having done good Works, and not for doing ill ones: *Go ye curſed; for when I was hungry, ye fed me not,* &c.

X. Thus having ſhewn how neceſſary it is for a Chriſtian to join good Works with his Faith in *Chriſt*; we now proceed to ſhew what are the neceſſary Qualifications of thoſe Works of which we here ſpeak, and which will be accepted by God in and through *Chriſt*.

Firſt, We muſt do them out of *Faith in* Chriſt, relying upon him only for the Acceptance, and rewarding of them: For in him alone God is well pleaſed with us and with what we do; and therefore *without Faith* and Reliance upon him,

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[a] Heb xii. 14. [b] Eph. ii. 8. [c] Acts x. [d] Matth. xxv. 34, 35, 36, 40. [e] Ver. 41, 42, &c. [f] 1 John i. 6. [g] Chap. ii. 3. [h] Chap. iii. 7. [i] Luke vi. 46, 47, 48, 49. [k] Matth. xxv. 30. [l] Chap. iii. 10. [m] Chap. xxi. 19.

it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. We muſt not think there is any Worth in our Works, for which any ſuch Reward as God hath promiſed, is due: For alas! our beſt Works are full of Imperfections, and far ſhort of what the Law requires. Our Reward therefore is not of Merit, but of the merciful Promiſe of God in *Chriſt*: Which the Apoſtle means, when he ſays, *We are ſaved by Grace, and not by Works:* That is, it is the Grace and Favour of God in *Chriſt*, which makes ourſelves acceptable, and our Works rewardable, and not any Deſert in them or us.

2. Having laid this Foundation, the next Thing required is *Sincerity of Heart* in doing them. We muſt do them out of the Fear of God, and Conſcience of his Commandments; not out of Reſpect of Profit, or of the Fear or Praiſe of Men; for ſuch as do ſo are Hypocrites. *Not every one*, ſaith our Saviour, *that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord; but he that doth the Will of my Father.* Now it is the Will of our heavenly Father that we ſerve him in Truth and Uprightneſs of Heart. *I know*, ſaith *David*, [n] *that thou my God trieſt the Heart, and haſt Pleaſure in Uprightneſs.* And God ſaid to *Abraham*, [o] *I am the Almighty God, walk before me, and be thou upright*, or be thou ſincere. This Manner of ſerving God *Joſhua* commended to the *Iſraelites:* [p] *Fear the Lord*, ſaith he, *and ſerve him in Sincerity and Truth:* And the Prophet *Samuel*, [q] *Only fear the Lord, and ſerve him in Truth with all your Heart.* This Sincerity, Uprightneſs, and Truth in God's Service, is, when we do religious and pious Duties, and abſtain from the contrary, out of Conſcience to Godward, out of an Heart poſſeſſed with the Love and Fear of God. It is otherwiſe called in Scripture, *Perfectneſs*, or *Perfectneſs of Heart:* For it is a lame and unperfect Service, where the Heart, the better half, is wanting. And therefore it is called *Perfectneſs*, when Conſcience, as the Soul, enlivens the outward Work as a Body. And indeed this is all the Perfection we can attain unto in this Life, to ſerve God in Truth of Heart, though otherwiſe we come ſhort of what we ſhould. And therefore God eſteems our Actions and Works, not according to the Greatneſs or Exactneſs of the Performance, but according to the Sincerity and Truth of our Hearts in doing them: As appears by the Places already quoted, and by that where it is ſaid of *Aſa* [r], that though he failed in his Reformation, and the *high Places were not taken down, nevertheleſs his Heart was perfect with the Lord his God, all his Days.*

A Note to know ſuch a Sincerity and Truth of Heart by, is, if in our Privacy, when there is no Witneſs but God and ourſelves, we are careful then to abſtain from Sin, as well as in the Sight of Men. If when no body but God ſhall ſee and know it, we are willing to do a good Work, as well as if all the World ſhould know it. He that findeth himſelf thus affected, his Heart is true, at leaſt in ſome Meaſure; but ſo much the leſs, by how much he findeth himſelf the leſs affected in this Manner. When we are in the Preſence and View of Men, we may ſoon be deceived in ourſelves, and think we do that out of Conſcience and Fear of God, which indeed is only leſt we ſhould impair our Credit, or the like: But when there is none but God and us, then to be afraid of Sin, and careful of good Duties, is a Sign we fear God in Truth and Sincerity, and not in Hypocriſy. And the ſpecial and principal Means to attain this Sincerity and Truth of Heart, is, to poſſeſs ourſelves with the Apprehenſion of God's Preſence, and to walk before him as in his Eye. Whereſoever thou art, there is an Eye that ſeeth thee, and an Ear that hears thee, and a Hand that regiſtreth thy moſt ſecret Thoughts. For *the Ways of Man* (ſaith *Solomon* [s]) *are before the Eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his Doings.*

3. Another Property of ſuch Obedience as God requires, is *Univerſality.* We muſt not ſerve God by Halves, by doing ſome Duties and omitting others, but we muſt with *David* [t], *have reſpect to all God's Commandments*; to thoſe of the ſecond Table, as well as to thoſe of the Firſt, and to thoſe of the Firſt, as well as to thoſe of the Second. There are ſome, who make Conſcience of the Duties of the firſt Table, but have little or no Care of the Duties of the Second. And this is a moſt dangerous Evil, by reaſon it is more hard to be diſcovered: Thoſe which are guilty thereof, being ſuch as ſeem religious; but their Religion is in vain. Such were thoſe in the Church of *Iſrael*, againſt whom the Prophet *Iſaiah* declaimeth: [u] *To what Purpoſe are your Sacrifices and Burnt-Offerings, ſaith the Lord? Your Oblations and Incenſe are an Abomination. Your New-Moons, Sabbaths, calling of Aſſemblies, even the ſolemn Meeting, I cannot away with; it is Iniquity.* Would you know what was the Matter? See the Words following: *Learn to do well, ſeek Judgment, relieve the Oppreſſed, judge the Fatherleſs, plead for the Widow.* Lo here a Want of the Duties of the ſecond Table. Such is that alſo of *Hoſea* [w], *I deſired Mercy, and not Sacrifice:* Which is twice alledged by our Saviour in the Goſpel, againſt the *Phariſees.*

To go on: The Duties of the firſt Table are by a ſpecial Name, called the Duties of Religion; thoſe of the ſecond Table come under the Name of Honeſty and Probity: Now a Man can never be truly religious in God's Eſteem, who is not honeſt in his Converſation toward his Neighbour: Religion and Honeſty muſt be joined together, or elſe neither of them will be in Truth what it ſeems to be. We know that all our Duty to God and our Neighbour is comprehended under the Name of *Love*, as in that Sum of the Law: *Love God above all Things, and thy Neighbour as thy Self.* This is the Sum of the whole Law contained in both Tables. But St. *John* tells us, [x] *He that ſaith, I love God, and hateth his Brother, is a Liar*; which is as much as if he ſhould ſay, He that ſeems religious towards God, and is without Honeſty towards his Neighbour, is a Liar, there is no true Religion in him.

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[n] 1 Chron. xxix. 17.
[o] Gen. xvii. 1.
[p] Joſh. xxiv. 14.
[q] 1 Sam. xii. 24.
[r] 1 Kings xv. 14.
[s] Prov. v. 21.
[t] Pſal. cix. 6.
[u] Chap. i. 10—17.
[w] Chap. vi. 6.
[x] 1 John iv. 20.

There are two dangerous Effects that accompany this Evil, which ſhould make us beware thereof: Firſt, thoſe who are addicted to Religion, without any Conſcience of Honeſty, are eaſily drawn to many intolerable Acts, under Colour and in Behalf thereof. We ſee it in the Papiſts, whoſe prepoſterous Zeal to their Religion, makes them think Treaſons, Murders, Rebellions, or any other wicked Acts, are lawful and excuſable, ſo they be done for the Good of the Catholic Cauſe. And if we ſearch narrowly amongſt ourſelves, we ſhall light upon ſome Examples of indirect and unlawful Courſes, undertaken formerly on the Behalf of Religion, and all through want of this conſcionable Care of maintaining Honeſty towards our Neighbour, together with our Zeal for Religion toward God. The ſecond Evil is a moſt dangerous Scandal, which follows Profeſſion of Religion, without honeſt Converſation towards Men. It is a grievous *Stumbling-Block, and Stone of Offence*, making Men out of Love with Religion, when they ſee ſuch evil Effects from it, and thoſe who ſeem to profeſs it. Thoſe who are not yet entered on a Profeſſion, will be hindered from it, reſolving they will never be of that Religion, which they ſee no better Fruits of. Thoſe who are entered, are aſhamed and diſcouraged, forſaking the Duties of Religion, that they might ſhun the Suſpicion of Hypocriſy and Diſhoneſty. *But Woe be unto them by whom Scandal cometh.* Let us all therefore take heed to adorn and approve our Profeſſion, by bringing forth Fruits, not only of Piety and Devotions toward God, but of Works of Righteouſneſs and Charity to our Neighbour. In a Word, to ſum up the whole, let us be careful not to depend upon a *dead Faith*, a *Faith without Works*, which, as has been largely ſhewn, will not be accepted of to our Juſtification: And on the other Hand, let us ſee that our Works are properly qualified, that they are performed in Faith, in Sincerity, and with reſpect unto all God's Commandments, both of the firſt and ſecond Table. Let our Faith have all the Properties neceſſary to prove us the Children of the faithful *Abraham*; and let our Works not be done in vain Glory, but in ſuch a Manner as may evidence, that they are the Fruits and Effects of our Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, through whom alone we muſt expect Salvation: For, (to conclude with ſome other Words that occaſioned this Diſcourſe,) *He that believeth on the Son, hath everlaſting Life: But he that believeth not the Son, ſhall not ſee Life; but the Wrath of God abideth on him.*

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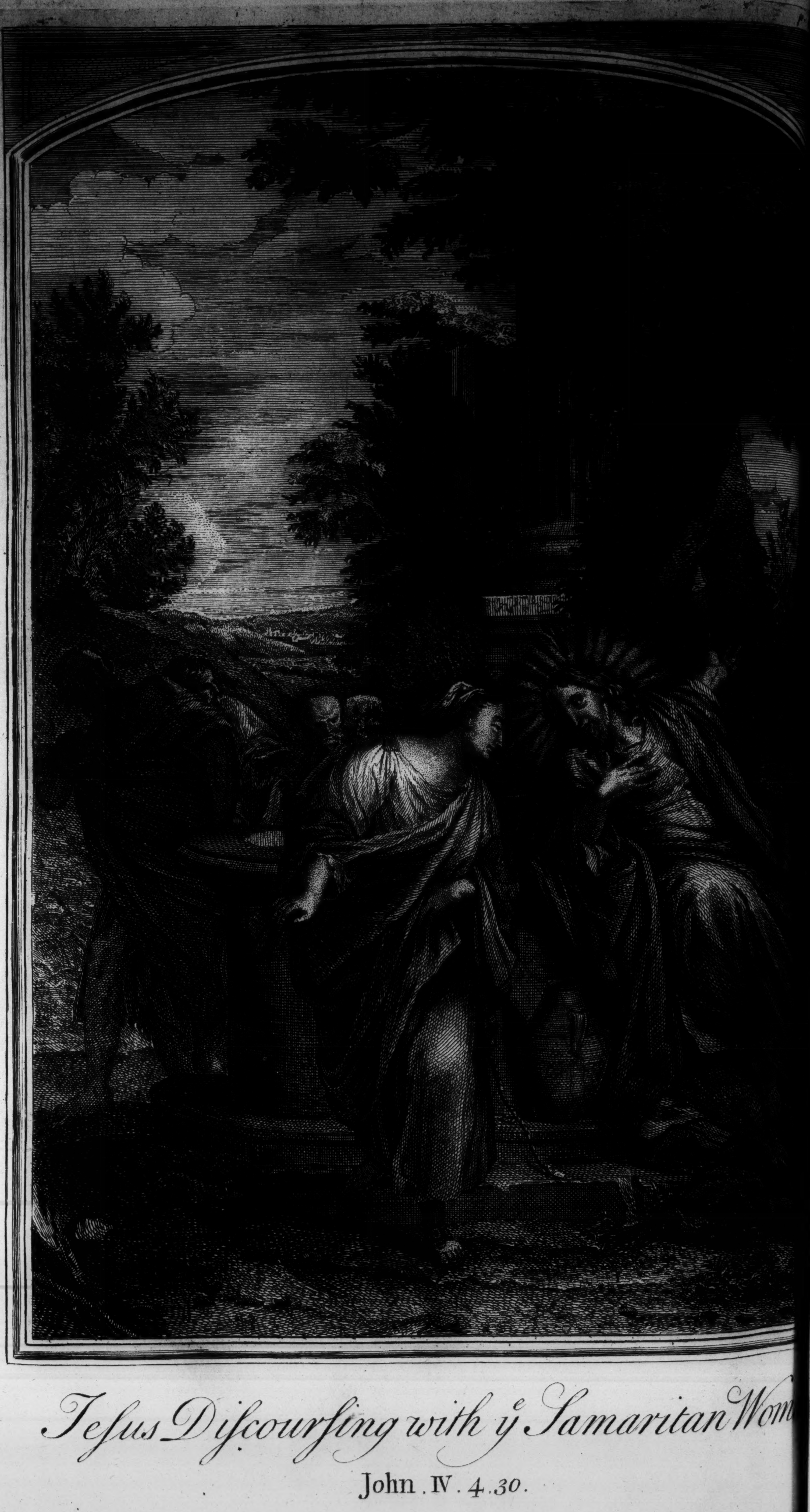

Jeſus Diſcourſing with yᵉ Samaritan Wom

John . IV . 4 . 30 .

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and DEATH OF OUR Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR *JESUS CHRIST.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

I. *Jeſus*, having heard of the Conſultations of the *Phariſees*, and of *John*'s Impriſonment, departs from *Judea* towards *Galilee*. II. Upon the Road, he meets with a *Samaritan* Woman, at a Place called *Sychar*, and enters into Converſation with her. III. He diſcourſes of the Holy Spirit, under the Similitude of Living Water. IV. Tells her the Secrets of her Life. V. Declares what is the true Worſhip of God. VI. Owns himſelf for the Meſſiah: His Diſciples come to him: The Woman fetches her Neighbours. VII. *Jeſus*'s Diſcourſe to his Diſciples in the Woman's Abſence. VIII. The Inhabitants of the City believe on him.

I. JESUS[a] *having ſpent ſome Time in* Judea, *in baptizing of Penitents, who repaired to him from all Parts in vaſt Multitudes, the Report of it came to the* Phariſees; *who underſtanding that many more came to hear him, and be baptized by him, than had done before to* John, *they conſulted how to cruſh this new Sect, which they ſaw took its Riſe in the very Heart of* Judea, *and which they judged repugnant to their Authority.* Jeſus *being informed of their Conſultations, (though he himſelf did not baptize, but by the Miniſtry of his Diſciples,) and hearing likewiſe at the ſame Time*[b] *that* John *was delivered up into the Power of* Herodias *by* Herod, *he departed from* Judea, *and returned into* Galilee, *having no Apprehenſions of* Herod, *ſince he could not paſs for one of* John's *Diſciples. The* Sanhedrim, *in which were many of his Enemies the* Phariſees, *he knew had but little Intereſt with that Prince, who had no perſonal Pique againſt him, as he had againſt* John; *whereas in* Judea *the Power of the* Sanhedrim *was very prevalent, and he had reaſon to fear the utmoſt from their Malice.*

II. [c] *Being on Foot, and therefore obliged to paſs through* Samaria, *about Noon he came to a Town called* Sychar, *ſituate near to the Fields which* Jacob *heretofore gave to his Son* Joſeph[d], *at his laſt Benediction. Hard by the Town there was a Well, made formerly by* Jacob, *and which bore the Name of that Patriarch; and upon this Well* Jeſus *ſate down, and reſted himſelf, being wearied with travelling in the Heat of the Day. It happened at the ſame Time that a Woman of that Country came thither to draw Water, of whom* Jeſus *requeſted ſome Water to drink; for his Diſciples were gone into the City to buy Bread, and therefore could not aſſiſt him on this Occaſion. The Woman perceiving him to be a* Jew, *and wondering at his Petition, ask'd him how he had been able to prevail with himſelf to deſire Water of her, who was a* Samaritan. *(For there being an antient and inveterate Enmity between the* Jews *and the* Samaritans, *they did not expect any good Offices the one from the other; and it was forbidden to the* Jews *eſpecially,*

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[a] John iv. 1, 2, 3. [b] Luke iv. 12. [c] John iv 4—9. [d] Gen. xlviii. 22.

to receive [e] *any Favour from the* Samaritans, *under the Penalty of an* Anathema.*)*

III. [f] Jeſus *anſwered the Woman by telling her,* If ſhe knew the Opportunity that was then offered her by God, and who it was that demanded Water of her, inſtead of expreſſing her Wonder at his Requeſt, ſhe would have aſked him for [g] living Water, which he was ready to give upon her humble Petition. *This* Jeſus *ſpoke of the Holy Spirit: But the Woman not underſtanding him, and thinking he meant only material Spring Water, ſhe immediately reply'd, “Sir, the Well is deep, and you have no Veſſel to draw with: How then, ſuppoſing I ſhould aſk you, could you give me this living Water? Art thou greater and of more Power than* Jacob, *from* [h] *whom we are deſcended, who dug this Well, and gave it to the Poſterity of* Joſeph; *who drank of it himſelf, with his Family and Cattle, there being no other living Water in all the Country?” To this* Jeſus *anſwered; “He that drinks of this Well, ſhall in a little Time thirſt again, and be forced to have recourſe to it afreſh; but whoſoever ſhall receive of me the living Water I mentioned, ſhall have a never-failing Spring within him, that of its own accord ſhall yield him daily Refreſhment here, and never ceaſe to flow till it ends in everlaſting Bliſs and Happineſs.”*

IV. [i] *The Woman ſtill underſtanding him as groſly as before, began now to deſire that* Jeſus *would give her ſome of this living Water, that ſhe might not thirſt any more, nor have any farther need of the Water of the Well. Whereupon* Jeſus, *turning the Diſcourſe another Way to make her more eaſily apprehend who he was, bid her go back into the City, and bring her Huſband along with her to him. She told him frankly, ſhe had no Huſband. Then ſaid* Jeſus, *“Tis true as you ſay, you have no Huſband; but you have had five, from whom you have been divorced for your Adulteries; and he who now lives with you is not your Huſband, you not having been married to him according to Law.” The Woman ingenuouſly owned the Thing; and admiring that* Jeſus, *who ſhe ſaw was a perfect Stranger to her, ſhould yet be acquainted with this Secret, ſhe took occaſion, from the Opinion ſhe hence conceived of his extraordinary Knowledge, to put a Queſtion to him, which was much diſputed between thoſe of her Nation and the* Jews. *“Sir, ſaid ſhe, I perceive by this Anſwer that thou art a Prophet, to whom God reveals Things unknown to others: Tell me therefore, (for I am certain thou knoweſt) upon what Grounds the* Jews *pretend that God ſhould be ſacrificed to only at* Jeruſalem, *the primitive Patriarchs having offered their Oblations to him upon this* Mount Gerizim.”

V. [k] Jeſus *gave her this Anſwer: “Woman, believe me, the Time draws near, in which Men ſhall ſacrifice to God, neither on this Mountain, nor at* Jeruſalem; *for a Deſolation ſhall overwhelm them both. But as to what concerns the Queſtion between the* Jews *and the* Samaritans, *the Truth of the Matter is this: You of* Samaria *worſhip a God, whom you do not truly and ſavingly know, according to the full Revelation of him in his Word; but we* Jews *know the Divinity whom we worſhip, and ſerve him according to thoſe Laws to which he hath promiſed Salvation; for that ſalutary Doctrine which inſtructs in the right Worſhip of God, flows firſt from us, and a Part of that Knowledge only hath been derived to you. And as I before ſaid concerning the Place of Worſhip, ſo I now ſay concerning the Nature of it, the Time draws near, nay is already begun, in which the true Worſhippers of the Father muſt not worſhip him with carnal Sacrifices, but with ſpiritual Sacrifices, acceptable to him through his Son; not in the Types and Shadows of the Law, as the* Jews *now do; nor in that erroneous Manner which you practiſe; but in the Truth of the Goſpel, which is the Perfection of all former Diſpenſations. And ſuch ſpiritual Worſhippers are thoſe alone that ſhall be accepted: For the Father, who is a pure and perfect Spirit, can be properly worſhipped only by giving up the Heart and Spirit unto him, and ſerving him according to the Precepts of the Goſpel; and therefore ſuch pure Worſhippers as theſe, the Father ſeeketh to worſhip him.”*

VI. [m] *The Woman, having nothing pertinent to object to what* Jeſus *ſaid, (though a Doctrine vaſtly remote from what was commonly received among the* Jews *and* Samaritans) *and probably not yet perfectly underſtanding what he aimed at, waved a more particular Diſcuſſion of theſe Matters, and told him, “That ſhe knew very well that when the Meſſiah came, all the Differences between the* Jews *and* Samaritans *would be compoſed, and that whatſoever was obſcure in Religion, would by him be made clear.” Hereupon* Jeſus *took the Opportunity of telling her privately,* That he was that Meſſiah: *A Truth which he was not wont to declare plainly among the* Jews.*—Mean while his Diſciples came back from the City, and wondered to find him diſcourſing with a* Samaritan *Woman, though they were ignorant of the Subject of their Converſation, and durſt not aſk him what it was that he had demanded of her.— But ſhe returned into the Town, and perſuaded the Inhabitants to go along with her to* Jacob's Well, *and ſee one who had told her ſuch Secrets as it was impoſſible for him to have been informed of by any Man:* Is not this, *ſaid ſhe,* the Meſſiah, ſo much expected by both the *Samaritans* and the *Jews?*

VII. [n] *The Inhabitants, perſuaded by theſe Words of the Woman, accordingly came out. In the mean Time the Diſciples preſented* Jeſus *with the Bread which they had bought, and intreated him to eat: But he told them,* He had other Bread that pleaſed him better, which they knew not of. *Upon this they queſtioned one another, whether any of them had brought him Bread privately; not knowing that he applied that Word to ſomething elſe than what is vulgarly ſo called.* Jeſus *perceiving their Error, told them, that* the Bread his Mind was refreſhed and nouriſhed with, conſiſted in a quick and punctual Execution of his heavenly Father's Commands. "*You are wont, ſaid he, when you ſow your Barley, to raiſe your Hopes with this proverbial Expreſſion,* 'Tis but four Months between ſowing and reaping: *But my ſpiritual Harveſt approacheth much ſooner, and if you underſtood what I now diſcourſe to you about, you would ſay that the Corn I mean is already ripe for Harveſt; for the Minds of many are prepared for the Reception of my Doctrine, and great ſhall his Reward be who reaps the Corn that I ſpeak of, that is, who brings over many to a Belief in me. And whereas all you can expect from the material Fruits of the Earth, is the Suſtenance of a frail and mortal Body; on the contrary, the ſpiritual Harveſt that I mention ſhall be attended with an everlaſting Life, which will afford Matter of infinite Joy both to the Sower and the Reaper. You have a common Saying among you,* One hath ſowed, and another reaped; *which is applicable to the preſent Caſe: For I will ſend you abroad to gather in that Corn which you have not ſowed; that is, you ſhall be the Inſtruments of converting many to a Faith in me, whoſe Minds by the reading of the Prophets have been already framed for virtuous Actions, and imbued with true Piety.*"

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[e] The Jews might buy of the Samaritans, and therefore our Lord's Diſciples did not ſcruple to go into the City to buy Bread; but they were not to accept of ſo much as a Drop of Water, or a Morſel of Bread, by way of Benevolence; and to do this was a Crime equal to that of eating Swine's Fleſh.

[f] John iv. 10—14

[g] A Hebrew Expreſſion for Spring-Water, in oppoſition to that which is ſtanding, which they called *Dead*; for Inſtance, the *Dead-Sea.*

[h] The Samaritans pretended they were the Children of Jacob.

[i] John iv. 15—20.

[k] John iv. 21—24.

[l] See this more fully explained in the following Diſſertation.

[m] John iv. 25—29.

[n] John iv. 30—38.

VIII. [o] *By the Time that this Diſcourſe of* Jeſus *was finiſhed, the Inhabitants of the City were gathered about him; many of them making no Queſtion but that he was a Prophet, if not the Meſſiah himſelf, even before they had ſeen him, and merely from the Declaration of the Woman concerning his telling her the Secrets of her Life. They therefore deſired him to continue with them for ſome Time; and he accordingly complied with their Requeſt, and was familiarly converſant among them for two Days, contrary to the Cuſtom of the* Jews, *who have no manner of Intercourſe with the* Samaritans. *The Condeſcenſion of* Jeſus *in this Particular, and the Excellency of his Doctrine and Behaviour whilſt he remained in their City, brought over abundance of the Inhabitants to believe on him, beſides thoſe who were before converted by the Woman: And even theſe latter declared to the Woman, that they did not now believe on account of what they had heard from her, ſo much as from the Conviction which they had received from his own Mouth, that* Jeſus *was that Meſſiah, who ſhould be the Saviour of all the true Worſhippers of God. — After the two Days were over,* Jeſus *purſued his Journey into* Galilee.

DISSERTATION,

On the preceding Chapter, explaining ſome Particulars, and defending others.

I. *An Account of* Sychar, *or* Sychem, *and the Mounts* Gerizim *and* Ebal: *With the Difference between the* Jews *and* Samaritans *about the Place of Worſhip.* II. *Extract from Mr.* Maundrell *on the ſame Subject.* III. *Remarks on that Part of the Conference which relates to the Place of Worſhip.* IV. *Our Lord did not forbid external Worſhip.* V. *What he meant by* worſhipping in Spirit and Truth. VI. *Another Senſe of thoſe Words.* VII. *The firſt Senſe preferred. How we muſt* worſhip God in Spirit and Truth. VIII. IX. *The Hiſtory of our Lord's prophetical Converſation with the Woman, according to the Letter, defended.* X. *The Fathers underſtood it literally.* St. Cyril *miſrepreſented.* XI. Origen *trifles on this Subject.* XII. *Mr.* Woolſton's *Citations from* Auſtin, Bede, Jerome, Origen, *and* Cerameus, *concerning this Story, and his own Expoſition of it, none of them any thing to the Purpoſe.*

I. THE Deſcription given of *Sychar* by the Evangeliſt, leaves no room to doubt of its being the *Sichem,* or *Shechem,* of the Old Teſtament. *Joſhua* [a] appointed this City to the Tribe of *Ephraim*; and it lay in the Mountains belonging to that Tribe. After the Ruin of *Samaria* by *Salmaneſer,* or according to others from the Time of *Alexander, Sichem* was the Capital of the Province in which it ſtood. It was ten Miles from *Shiloh,* forty from *Jeruſalem,* and fifty-two from *Jericho.* Other Particulars concerning it, will come in as we proceed.

The Original of the *Samaritan* Sect, and the chief Points in which they differed from the *Jews,* were treated of in [b] the Diſſertation concerning the Corruptions of the *Jewiſh* Church at the Time of our Saviour. The laſt of thoſe Points that we took notice of, was that about the Place of their Worſhip; which Matter, we ſaid, was ſtated exactly right by the Woman of *Samaria* in St. *John*'s Goſpel. Indeed, the Underſtanding of a great Part of the Conference between our Lord and the Woman, depends upon a true Knowledge of this Point of the Difference between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*; and therefore we ſhall a little enlarge upon it in this Place, having before ſpoken of it only in general Terms.

"The [c] Law given by *Moſes,* ſays *Prideaux,* was, that they ſhould perform all their Sacrifices and Oblations [d] *in the Place that God ſhould chuſe out of all their Tribes to put his Name there*; and that Place was *Jeruſalem.* For [e] there the Temple by the Direction of God himſelf was built, and [f] there God conſecrated it by the Habitation of his divine Preſence therein; there all the Tribes of *Iſrael*, that adhered to the true Worſhip of God, offered up their Sacrifices; there the Temple was again rebuilt after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and the ſame Service was there carried on in a Unity and Uniformity of Worſhip by all of that Nation, till *Manaſſeh* made [g] the Schiſm that hath been mentioned, and fleeing to *Samaria* did there ſet up Altar againſt Altar, and Temple againſt Temple. For after he had built that Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, and therein erected an Altar in oppoſition to that at *Jeruſalem*, the *Samaritans*, and Apoſtate *Jews* who revolted to them, would no longer allow *Jeruſalem* to be the Place which God had choſen; but contended, that Mount *Gerizim* was that Place, and argued for it in the ſame Manner, as the Woman of *Samaria* did unto our Saviour, that is, that their Fathers worſhipped in that Mountain. For they plead that there [h] *Abraham*, and there [i] *Jacob*, built Altars unto God, and by their Offering up of Sacrifices on them, conſecrated that Place above all others to his Worſhip; and that therefore it was appointed by God himſelf to be the Hill [k] of Bleſſing on the coming of the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt:* Accordingly ſay they, *Joſhua*, on his entering the Land of *Canaan*, cauſed the Bleſſings of God to be declared thereon, and alſo on his having paſſed the River *Jordan*, built an Altar on it of twelve Stones, taken out of that River in his Paſſage, [l] according as God had commanded by *Moſes*. And this they hold to be the very Altar upon which they ſtill ſacrifice on that Mountain, even to this Day.

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[o] John iv. 39—43.

[a] Joſh. xvii. 7. xx. 7.

[b] See Pages 126 and 127 of this Work.

[c] See Prid. Connect. Pt. I. b. vi.

[d] Deuteron. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c.

[e] 1 Chron. xxii.

[f] 1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2, 3.

But to make out this laſt Part of the Argument, and thereby reconcile the greater Veneration to Mount *Gerizim* and their Place of Worſhip thereon, they have been guilty of a very great Prevarication in corrupting the Text. For whereas the Command of God in *Deutoronomy* is, [m] that they ſhould ſet up the Altar upon Mount *Ebal*, they have there made a ſacrilegious Change in the Text, and inſtead of Mount *Ebal* have put Mount *Gerizim*, the better to ſerve their Cauſe by it. This Corruption the *Jews* loudly charge them with; and the *Samaritans* do as loudly retort it upon them, and ſay that the *Jews* have corrupted the Text in that Place, by putting Mount *Ebal* in their Copies, where it ſhould be Mount *Gerizim:* And they bring this Argument for it, that Mount *Gerizim* having been the Mountain that was appointed, whereon to declare the Bleſſings of God, and Mount *Ebal*, whereon to denounce his Curſes, the Mountain of Bleſſing was very proper, and the Mountain of Curſing very improper, for an Altar of God to be built upon. But notwithſtanding this Allegation in their Behalf, all other Copies and Tranſlations of the *Pentateuch* make againſt them, and prove the Corruption to be on their Side. And it very much aggravates their Guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the Scriptures in this Place, but have alſo interpolated them with this Corruption in another, that is in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*, where, after the tenth Commandment, they have ſubjoined by way of an additional Precept thereto, Words taken out of the eleventh and twenty ſeventh Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting of the Altar on Mount *Gerizim* inſtead of Mount *Ebal*, and the offering of Sacrifices to God in that Place. The Words added by the *Samaritans*, after the tenth Commandment, are as followeth.—*And it ſhall be when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the Land of the* Canaanites, *whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs it, that thou ſhalt ſet up great Stones, and plaiſter them with Plaiſter, and thou ſhalt write upon theſe Stones all the Words of this Law. And it ſhall be, when ye are gone over* Jordan, *that ye ſhall ſet up theſe Stones which I command you this Day, in Mount* Gerizim, *and thou ſhalt build there an Altar unto the Lord thy God, an Altar of Stones. Thou ſhalt not lift up any Iron Tool upon them. Thou ſhalt build the Altar of the Lord thy God of whole Stones. And thou ſhalt there offer burnt Offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou ſhalt offer Peace-Offerings, and ſhalt eat there and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This Mountain is on the other Side* Jordan, *by the Way where the Sun goeth down, in the Land of the* Canaanites, *who dwell in the Champain over againſt* Gilgal, *beſides the Plains of* Moreh, *which are over-againſt* Shechem. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt Alteration in one Place, and a corrupt Addition in another, merely out of Deſign to ſerve an ill Cauſe, this gives the leſs Authority to their Copy in all other Places, where either by Alterations or Additions it differs from that of the *Jews*.

Theſe two Mountains called *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, are in the Tribe of *Ephraim* near *Samaria*; and in the Valley between them lieth *Shechem*, now called *Naplous*, *Naploſa*, or *Neapolis*; which hath a long while been the head Seat of the *Samaritan* Sect. This Place the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, by way of Reproach, called *Sichar*, and therefore we have it ſo named in the Text of St. *John's* Goſpel now under Conſideration. It ſignifieth *The drunken City*; and the Prophet *Iſaiah* having called the *Ephraimites* (whoſe Dwelling was in thoſe Parts) [n] *Siccorim*, that is *Drunkards*, they have this Text on their Side for the juſtifying of that Name. Near this Place was the Field [o] which *Jacob* bought of the Children of *Hamor*, and gave unto *Joſeph* his Son a little before his Death. Therein *Joſeph*'s Bones were [p] buried, when brought up out of the Land of *Egypt*. And within the ſame Plot of Ground was the Well called *Jacob's Well*, [q] at which our Saviour ſat down, when he diſcourſed as above, with the Woman of *Samaria*.

But after all the Conteſt that is made between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews* about theſe two Mountains, [o] *Jerom* is poſitive, that neither of them were the *Gerizim* and *Ebal* of the Holy Scriptures, but that the two Mountains ſo called in them, and on which the Bleſſings and the Curſings were proclaimed by the Children of *Iſrael*, on their firſt paſſing over *Jordan* into the Land of *Canaan*, were two ſmall Mountains or Hills lying near *Jericho*, at a great Diſtance from *Shechem*. *Epiphanius* was of the ſame Opinion with *Jerom* in this Matter: And they having been both upon the Place, may well be thought the beſt able to paſs a true Judgment about it. Their Arguments for it are, 1ſt, that the Scriptures place theſe two Mountains over-againſt that Part of the River *Jordan*, where the Children of *Iſrael* paſſed into the Land of *Canaan*, and near *Gilgal*; but *Shechem* is at a great Diſtance from both. And 2dly, that the Mountains near *Shechem*, called Mount *Gerizim* and Mount *Ebal*, are at too great a Diſtance from each other for the People from either of them to hear either the Bleſſings or the Curſings, which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwiſe as to the Hills near *Jericho*, which they conceive to be the Hills by the Names of *Gerizim* and *Ebal* meant in Scripture. But that Hill from which *Jotham* the Son of *Gideon* made his Speech to the *Shechemites*, being [p] called *Gerizim*, and that certainly lying juſt over them (for otherwiſe they could not have heard him from thence) this clearly makes againſt this Opinion, and evidently proves the Mount *Gerizim* of the Holy Scriptures, to be that very Mount *Gerizim*, on which the Temple of the *Samaritans* was built.

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[g] See Page 126 of this Work.

[h] Gen. xii. 6, 7. xiii. 4.

[i] Gen. xxxiii. 20.

[k] Deut. xxvii. 12.

[l] Deut. xxvii. 2—7.

[m] Chap. xxvii. 4.

[n] Iſaiah xxviii. 1.

[o] Gen. xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. Joſh. xxiv. 32.

[p] Joſh. xxiv. 32.

[q] John iv. 6.

The *Jews* accuſe the *Samaritans* of two Pieces of Idolatry, which [q] they ſay were committed by them in this Place. The firſt, that they there worſhipped the Image of a Dove; and the other, that they paid divine Adoration to certain *Teraphim* or Idol Gods there hid under the Mountain. For the firſt Charge, they took the Handle from the Idolatry of the *Aſſyrians*. For that People having worſhipped one of their Deities (*Semiramis* [r] ſaith *Diodorus Siculus*) under the Image of a Dove, they reproached the *Samaritans* as Worſhippers of the like Image, becauſe deſcended from them; and perchance they were ſo while they worſhipped their other Gods with the God of *Iſrael*, but never afterwards. And as to the ſecond Charge, *Jacob* having found out, that *Rachel* had ſtolen her Father's *Teraphim* or Idol Gods, took them from her, [ſ] and buried them under the Oak in *Shechem*, which they ſuppoſe to have been at the Foot of the Mountain *Gerizim*; and from hence, becauſe the *Samaritans* worſhipped God in that Mountain, the *Jews* ſuggeſt, that they worſhipped there for the Sake of theſe Idols, and paid divine Adoration unto them. But both theſe Charges were malicious Calumnies, falſely imputed to them. For after the Time that *Manaſſeh* brought the Law of *Moſes* among them, and inſtructed them in it, the *Samaritans* became as zealous Worſhippers of the true God, and as great Abhorrers of all Manner of Idolatry, as the moſt rigorous *Jews* themſelves, and ſo continue even to this Day."

II. The Reverend Mr. *Maundrell* viſited *Shechem*, among many other Places, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*. What he ſays of the Place, and of his Converſation with the High-Prieſt of the *Samaritans*, is worth inſerting, as it will farther illuſtrate our Subject —— "[t] *Naploſa*, ſays he, is the antient *Shechem*, or *Sychar*, as it is termed in the New Teſtament. It ſtands in a narrow Valley, between Mount *Gerizim* on the South, and *Ebal* on the North, being built at the Foot of the former; for ſo the Situation, both of the City and Mountains is laid down by *Joſephus*. [u] *Gerizim* (ſays he) hangeth over *Shechem*. *Moſes* commanded to erect an Altar toward the Eaſt, not far from *Shechem*, between Mount *Gerizim* on the Right-Hand, (that is to one looking Eaſtward on the South) and *Ebal* on the Left (that is on the North;) which ſo plainly aſſigns the Poſition of theſe two Mountains, that it may be wonder'd, how Geographers ſhould come to differ ſo much about it; or for what Reaſon *Adrichomius* ſhould place them both on the ſame Side of the Valley of *Shechem*. From Mount *Gerizim* it was that God commanded the Bleſſings to be pronounced upon the Children of *Iſrael*, and from Mount *Ebal* the Curſes. [w] Upon the former, the *Samaritans*, whoſe chief Reſidence is here at *Shechem*, have a ſmall Temple or Place of Worſhip; to which they are ſtill wont to repair, at certain Seaſons, for Performance of the Rites of their Religion. What theſe Rites are, I could not certainly learn; but that their Religion conſiſts in the Adoration of a Calf, as the *Jews* give out, ſeems to have more of Spite than of Truth in it.

Upon one of theſe Mountains alſo it was, that God commanded the Children of *Iſrael* to ſet up great Stones, plaiſter'd over and inſcribed with the Body of their Law; and to erect an Altar and to offer Sacrifices, Feaſting and rejoicing before the Lord. [x] But now whether *Gerizim* or *Ebal* was the Place appointed for this Solemnity, there is ſome Cauſe to doubt. The Hebrew Pentateuch, and ours from it, aſſigns Mount *Ebal* for this Uſe; but the *Samaritan* aſſerts it to *Gerizim*. Our Company halting a little while at *Naploſa*, I had an Opportunity to go and viſit the chief Prieſt of the *Samaritans*, in order to diſcourſe with him, about this, and ſome other Difficulties occurring in the Pentateuch: Which were recommended to me to be enquired about by the Learned Monſieur *Job Ludolphus*, Author of *Æthiopick* Hiſtory, when I viſited him at *Frankford*, in my Paſſage thro' *Germany*.

As for the Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Copy before cited; the Prieſt pretended the *Jews* had maliciouſly alter'd their Text, out of Odium to the *Samaritans*; putting for *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, upon no other Account, but only becauſe the *Samaritans* worſhipped in the former Mountain, which they would have, for that Reaſon, not to be the true Place, appointed by God for his Worſhip and Sacrifice. To confirm this he pleaded that *Ebal* was the Mountain of Curſing [xx], and in its own Nature an unpleaſant Place: But on the contray, *Gerizim* was the Mountain of Bleſſing by God's own Appointment, and alſo in itſelf fertile and delightful: From whence he inferr'd a Probability that this latter muſt have been the true Mountain, appointed for thoſe religious Feſtivals, and not (as the *Jews* have corruptly written it) *Ebal*. We obſerved it to be in ſome Meaſure true, that which he pleaded concerning the Nature of both Mountains; for though neither of the Mountains has much to boaſt of as to their Pleaſantneſs, yet as one paſſes between them, *Gerizim* ſeems to diſcover a ſomewhat more verdant fruitful Aſpect than *Ebal*. The Reaſon of which may be, becauſe fronting toward the North, it is ſhelter'd from the Heat of the Sun by its own Shade: Whereas *Ebal* looking Southward, and receiving the Sun that comes directly upon it, muſt by Conſequence be render'd more ſcorched and unfruitful. The *Samaritan* Prieſt could not ſay that any of thoſe great Stones, which God directed *Joſhua* to ſet up, were now to be ſeen in Mount *Gerizim*; which, were they now extant, would determine the Queſtion clearly on his Side. This Prieſt ſhew'd me a Copy of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, but would not be perſuaded to part with it upon any Conſideration. He had likewiſe the firſt Volume of the *Engliſh Polyglot*, which he ſeem'd to eſteem equally with his own Manuſcript.

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[o] Vide Scaligeri Animadverſiones in Euſebii Chronicon ſub Numero 1681.

[p] Judges ix. 7.

[q] Talmud. in Tractatu Cholin. Vide etiam Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polygotta Lond. Sect. 7. & Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianas Sect. 16. & 17.

[r] Lib. 2. p. 66. & p. 76.

[ſ] Gen. xxxv. 2, 3, 4.

[t] Journey from Aleppo &c. p. 58. &c.

[u] Antiq. Jud. Lib. 5. Cap. ix. & Lib. 4. Cap. ult.

[w] Deut. xi. 29.

[x] Deut. xxvii. 4.

Naploſa is at preſent in a very mean Condition, in Compariſon of what it is repreſented to have been antiently. It conſiſts chiefly of two Streets lying parallel, under Mount *Gerizim*; but it is full of People, and the Seat of a Baſſa. The Valley between *Gerizim* and *Ebal* is not above a Furlong broad. We ſaw on our right Hand, juſt without the City, a ſmall Moſque, ſaid to have been built over the Sepulchre, purchaſed by *Jacob* of *Emmor*, the Father of *Shechem* [y]. It goes by the Name of *Joſeph*'s *Sepulchre*, his Bones having been here interr'd, after their Tranſportation out of *Egypt* [z].

At about one third of an Hour from *Naploſa*, we came to *Jacob's Well*, famous, not only upon Account of it's Author, but much more for that memorable Conference, which our bleſſed Saviour here had with the Woman of *Samaria* [a]. If it ſhould be queſtion'd whether this be the very Well that it is pretended for or no, ſeeing it may be ſuſpected to ſtand too remote from *Sychar*, for Women to come ſo far to draw Water? It is anſwer'd, that probably the City extended farther this way in former Times than it does now, as may be conjectur'd from ſome Pieces of a very thick Wall, ſtill to be ſeen not far from hence. Over the Well there ſtood formerly a large Church; erected by that great and devout Patroneſs of the *Holy-Land*, the Empreſs *Helena*. But of this the Voracity of Time, aſſiſted by the Hands of the *Turks*, has left nothing but a few Foundations remaining. The Well is cover'd at preſent with an old Stone Vault; into which you are let down through a very ſtrait Hole; and then removing a broad flat Stone, you diſcover the Mouth of the Well itſelf. It is dug in a firm Rock, and contains about three Yards in Diameter, and thirty five in Depth; five of which we found full of Water. This confutes a Story, (commonly told to Travellers, who do not take the Pains to examine the Well) that it is dry all the Year round, except on the Anniverſary of that Day on which our bleſſed Saviour ſate upon it; but then bubbles up with abundance of Water.

At this Well the narrow Valley of *Shechem* ends; opening itſelf into a wide Field, which is probably Part of that Parcel of Ground, given by *Jacob* to his Son *Joſeph* [b]. It is water'd with a freſh Stream, riſing between it and *Shechem*, which makes it ſo exceeding verdant and fruitful, that it may well be looked upon as a ſtanding Token of the tender Affection of that good Patriarch to the beſt of Sons [c]." — This Account by Mr. *Maundrell*, is the ſame in many Particulars with that before given; and they both of them agree extremely well with the Landſcape given us by the Evangeliſt, in his Hiſtory of our Lord's coming to this Place. We would only take notice, that our modern Traveller is a little too free in making it a Matter of doubt, whether *Ebal* or *Gerizim* were the Mount on which God commanded an Altar to be erected, ſince the *Hebrew* Text determines it plainly to be the former, and ſince the *Samaritans* have made evident [d] Interpolations in other Places of their Pentateuch. There is no doubt indeed, but that the *Samaritans* of this Day believe themſelves to be in the Right as much as the *Jews*; but the antient Hiſtory of that People ſufficiently proves, that when they firſt took upon them a Profeſſion of the *Jewiſh* Religion, they did it only to ſerve a Turn, and were far from being influenced by that Sincerity and Zeal which have ſince appeared in their Poſterity.

III. There is an Inſtance of this Inſincerity of the antient *Samaritans*, in that Part of the Converſation at *Sychar*, where the Woman ſays to *Jeſus*, *Our Fathers worſhipped in this Mountain.* Our Note upon this Place is, "That the *Samaritans* pretended they were the Deſcendants of the Patriarchs." But this is to be underſtood of the antient *Samaritans*, before the Times of the *Maccabees*, and when the State of the *Jews*, with reſpect to their Neighbours, was precarious: For in thoſe Days, whenever the *Jews* met with Encouragement and Protection, the *Samaritans* ſtrongly inſiſted upon their being deſcended from *Jacob*, and that they were allied to the *Jews*; but when theſe latter were in Adverſity and under Perſecution, they diſclaimed the Alliance, declaring that they were Strangers in the Land which they poſſeſs'd. A remarkable Inſtance of this we gave [e], in ſpeaking of the Revolutions of the Temple at *Jeruſalem* under the *Syrian* Kings. Afterwards, when the *Jewiſh* State was reſtored and ſettled by *Judas* [f] *Maccabeus* and his Succeſſors, the *Samaritans* no longer play'd thus at faſt and looſe, but conſtantly called themſelves the Deſcendants of *Iſrael*. So that we may ſuppoſe the Commonalty among them were confirmed in the Opinion that they really were ſo long before the Time of our Saviour; and therefore it was no Mark of Inſincerity in them that they claimed this Title, but in their Forefathers who had impoſed this Error upon them. It was a political Pretence only at firſt; but in the Days of our Lord it was a Thing abſolutely believed; and the *Samaritans* certainly thought they were hardly dealt with by the *Jews*, when they were deny'd by them the Honour of a Deſcent from *Ephraim* and *Manaſſeh*, the Sons of *Joſeph*, from whom, ſays [g] *Joſephus*, they deduced their Genealogy. We cannot think, at leaſt, that the Woman of *Sychar* prevaricated with our Lord, whom ſhe had juſt before acknowledged for a Prophet: On the contrary, it ſeems that ſhe uſed an Expreſſion which was familiar and in common Uſe with thoſe of her Nation, when ſhe called the Patriarchs, *Our Fathers*. Beſides, the Queſtion that follows appears to be put only with a Deſire of learning the Truth, and being ſatisfied in a Matter which ſhe thought of the utmoſt Importance.

[xx] Deut. xi. 29.
[y] Gen. xxxiii. 19.
[z] Joſh. xxiv. 32.
[a] John iv.
[b] John iv. 5.
[c] Gen. xlviii. 22.
[d] Dr. Prideaux mentions ſeveral of theſe in his Connection, Pt. I. b. vi. near the End.

The firſt Part of our Lord's Anſwer is thought to refer either to the Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* Nation and Worſhip by the *Romans*, or to the Supplanting of their typical Religion by the Introduction of Chriſtianity. We have hinted at the Firſt of theſe in our Paraphraſe, in doing which we have followed Mr. *Le Clerc*. The Words of our Lord, as delivered by St. *John*, are, [h] *Woman believe me, the Hour cometh, when ye ſhall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at* Jeruſalem, *worſhip the Father*. As if he had ſaid, "This Controverſy, of which you have deſired a Deciſion, ſhall ſhortly be ended by removing the Occaſion of it; that is, either by deſtroying the Places of which the *Jews* and you are now ſo fond, or by aboliſhing this way of worſhipping God by Sacrifices, and giving Liberty to worſhip him ſpiritually in every Place."— Here it may be objected to the firſt Interpretation, which applies the Words literally to the two Temples, at *Jeruſalem* and on Mount *Gerizim*;" that the *Samaritans* ſtill continue their Worſhip in the latter, at leaſt on the ſame Mountain where the latter ſtood; and therefore it cannot literally be ſaid that the Worſhip at both thoſe Places is deſtroy'd." But this Objection is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh the other Interpretation; becauſe on the other Hand, neither can it be ſaid that the typical Way of Worſhip [illegible] wholly aboliſhed, ſince it is continued by the *Samaritans* on the ſaid Mount, and ſince even the *Jews* retain as much of it as the preſent Circumſtances of their Diſperſion will permit. So that the Difficulty is equal on both Sides. To remove it, we may either ſuppoſe that our Saviour meant in general, that the Worſhip at neither of theſe Places ſhould make any Figure; or elſe, that the Words, *True Worſhippers*, mentioned two Verſes lower, are to be here underſtood. For ſo long as the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation laſted, the true Worſhippers were thoſe who worſhipped God according to the Rules of it: But when the Goſpel came to be preached, the Scene was changed, and the Precepts of that became the Standard of divine Worſhip. This Expoſition gives a Turn to the Words of our Lord which is very eaſy and natural. "Woman, the Time cometh, when the true Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father neither in this Mountain, nor at *Jeruſalem*; though the ſame carnal Ordinances may be continued in Part, and for [i] ſome Time, at both theſe Places: For I have a Commiſſion from the Father to teach a new and ſpiritual Religion to the World; and after I have fully delivered and explained that Commiſſion, the true Worſhippers will be thoſe only who adhere to the Terms of it, and worſhip God in Spirit."

In the [k] next Verſe, *Jeſus* tells the Woman, that they, the *Samaritans*, *worſhipped they knew not what*: Which Words ſome think were ſpoken with regard to certain falſe Objects of Worſhip which they preſerved; ſuch as the Dove for Inſtance; with which idolatrous Practice they are charged by the Rabbies. But we have before taken notice, that the Charge on which this Expoſition is founded, is itſelf a mere Calumny. *Joſephus*, who inveighs againſt the *Samaritans* very ſeverely upon other Accounts, never imputes to them this Crime: Beſides, it was inconſiſtent to worſhip that which they were obliged by the Law of *Moſes* to offer in Sacrifice, as they were the Dove. And farther, as the Woman's Queſtion was only about the Place of Worſhip, there is good Reaſon to think that our Saviour's Anſwer was the ſame. Now it is obſerved, [l] when the Strangers, from whom the *Samaritans* of After-times were deſcended, firſt came to *Samaria*, they knew not the Manner of worſhipping the God of *Iſrael*. In this Caſe, when they became Proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* Religion, it was their Duty to have gone up to *Jeruſalem*, there to have been made perfect in the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions; a Part of which was, that they ſhould worſhip God in the Place appointed by him. But as they were deficient in this Point, they were juſtly chargeable with not worſhipping the God of *Iſrael* truly, that is, not according to his Preſcriptions in the Law, but according to their own Inventions. Which Charge continued never the leſs good, tho' they were afterwards inſtructed by Apoſtate *Jews* in all the other Ceremonies of the *Moſaical* Religion. For after the Temple at *Jeruſalem* was built, and God vouchſafed to place his Name there, and to bleſs it with his peculiar Preſence; ſo great a Part of the true Worſhip of God conſiſted in its being performed, either at, or with a Reſpect to, the ſaid Temple, that no Worſhip could properly be ſaid to be true and perfect without this Quality. And on this Account our Lord might juſtly charge them with not knowing that God, whoſe Will in one main Particular they did not obſerve, and to whom they could not therefore render any acceptable Service. *But we*, ſays he, *know what we worſhip; for Salvation is of the* Jews. As if he had ſaid, "If you would obtain Salvation by your worſhipping of God, you muſt join yourſelves to the *Jews*; and perform your Worſhip in every Point according to the Revelations made to that People; to whom, as the Promiſe of a Saviour was given, ſo from them is Salvation to come to the World, according to God's Word to *Abraham* their Father, *In Thee ſhall all the Families of the Earth be bleſſed*.

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[e] See Page 236 of this Work.

[f] The Word *Maccabee*, or *Maccabeus*, is compoſed of the Initial Letters of the Motto which *Judas* bore in his Standard. *Viz. Mi Camo-ka Baelim Jehovah*; that is, *Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah!* Exod. xv. 11.

[g] Ant. lib. xi. cap. 8.

[h] Chap. iv. ver. 21.

[i] There were forty Years between this Diſcourſe of Jeſus and the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.

[k] John iv. 22.

[l] 2 Kings xvii. 26.

IV. *But the Hour cometh*, continues our Lord, *when the true Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and Truth.* [m] This Text hath been much abuſed, being frequently alledged to prove, that God now in the Goſpel, either requires not, or regards not external Worſhip, but that *of the Spirit* only: And this is ſaid to be a characteriſtical Difference between the Worſhip of the Old-Teſtament and the New. And if at any Time Perſons talk of external Decency in Rites and bodily Expreſſions, as fit to be uſed in the Service of God, this is the uſual Buckler uſed by ſome to repel whatſoever may be ſaid in that kind. It is true indeed, that the Worſhip of the Goſpel is much more ſpiritual than that of the Law: But that the Worſhip of the Goſpel ſhould be only ſpiritual, and that no external Worſhip is required under that Diſpenſation, is repugnant, not only to the Practice and Experience of Chriſtians in all Ages, but alſo to the expreſs Ordinances of the Goſpel itſelf. For what are the Sacraments of the New Teſtament? Are they not Rites, wherein and wherewith God is ſerved and worſhipped? The Conſideration of the holy Euchariſt alone, will confute this Gloſs. For is not the Commemoration of the Sacrifice of *Chriſt*'s Death upon the Croſs, in the Symbols of Bread and Wine, an external Worſhip? And yet with this Rite hath the Church, in all Ages, uſed to make her ſolemn Addreſs of Prayer and Supplication unto the Divine Majeſty; as the *Jews* in the Old Teſtament did by Sacrifice. When we ſay, in all Ages, we include that of the Apoſtles: For ſo much St. *Luke* teſtifies of the firſt Chriſtian Society, [n] *They continued in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers.*

As for bodily Expreſſions by Geſtures and Poſtures, (as ſtanding, kneeling, bowing, and the like) our bleſſed Saviour himſelf lifted up his ſacred Eyes to Heaven, when he prayed for *Lazarus*, and fell on his Face when he prayed in his Agony. St. *Paul* (as himſelf ſaith) *bowed his Knees to the Father of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt. He and St. *Peter*, and the reſt of the Believers, are mentioned as doing the like more then once, in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. What was Impoſition of Hands, but an external Geſture, in Act of Invocation, for conferring a Bleſſing? and that perhaps ſometimes without any vocal Expreſſion joined therewith. Beſides, 'tis hard to conceive any Reaſon, why in this Point of Evangelical Worſhip, Geſture ſhould be more ſcrupled at than Voice. Is not confeſſing, praiſing, praying, and glorifying God by Voice, an external and bodily Worſhip, as well as that of Geſture? Why then ſhould the one derogate from the Worſhip of the Father *in Spirit and Truth*, and not the other? To conclude, there was never any Society of Men in the World, that worſhipped the Father in ſuch a Manner as this Interpretation would imply: And therefore this cannot be our Saviour's Meaning; but ſome other. Let us ſee if we can find out what it is.

V. To worſhip God *in Spirit and Truth*, is to worſhip him not with Types and Shadows of Things to come, as in the Old Teſtament; but according to the Truth of theſe Things, as exhibited in *Chriſt*; according to that Text; *The Law was given by* Moſes, *but Grace and Truth came by* Jeſus Chriſt. Whence the Myſtery of the Goſpel, is elſewhere by our Saviour termed *Truth*, [o] and the Doctrine thereof by St. *Paul*, [p] *The Word of Truth.* "The Time therefore is now at Hand, ſaid our Saviour, when the true Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father, no longer with bloody Sacrifices, and the Rites and Ordinances depending thereon; but in, and according to, the Truth of that which theſe Ordinances figured." For all theſe were Types of *Chriſt*, in whom being now exhibited, the true Worſhippers ſhall henceforth worſhip the Father, through him, in a ſpiritual Manner."

This Senſe hath good Warrant from the State of the Queſtion between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, to which our Saviour here makes anſwer; which was not about Worſhip in general, but about one kind of Worſhip only, which was confeſſed by both Sides to be tied to one certain Place, that is, Worſhip by Sacrifice, and the Appendages thereof; in a Word, the typical [q] Worſhip proper to the firſt Covenant. This [r] *Joſephus* expreſly teſtifies, ſpeaking of the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, who dwelt together at *Alexandria*: *They lived*, ſaid he, *in perpetual Diſcord one with the other; whilſt each laboured to main-*

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[m] See Mede on the Place.

[n] Acts ii. Ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

[o] John xvii. 17.

[p] See Epheſ. i. 13. and Rom. xv. 8.

[q] Of this ſee a Deſcription Heb. ix.

[r] Lib. 12. Antiq. Cap. i.

tain their Cuſtoms; thoſe of Jeruſalem affirming their Temple to be the ſacred Place, whither Sacrifices were to be ſent; and the Samaritans, *on the other Side, contending that they ought to be ſent to Mount* Gerizim. For otherwiſe, who knows not that both *Jews* and *Samaritans* had other Places of Worſhip, beſides either of theſe? Namely, their *Synagogues,* wherein they worſhipped God, not with internal only, but external Worſhip; though not with Sacrifice, which might be offered but in one Place only. And in this Reſpect alſo Sacrifices may ſeem to have been a Type of *Chriſt,* as well as in others, for as much as he was to be the one, and only Mediator of the Church, in the Temple of whoſe ſacred Body we have Acceſs unto the Father, and in whom he accepts our Devotions and Services: According to thoſe Words, *Deſtroy this Temple, and I will raiſe it up again in three Days: Where he ſpake,* ſays the Text, *of the Temple of his Body.* This Senſe divers of the Ancients hit upon: [f] *Not by Symbols and Types,* ſaid *Euſebius, but, as our Saviour ſaith, in Spirit and Truth.* Not that in the New-Teſtament Men ſhould worſhip God, without all external and viſible Services; (for the New Teſtament was to have external and viſible Services, as well as the Old:) But with ſuch as ſhould imply the Truth of the Promiſes already exhibited, not by Types and Shadows of them yet to come. We know that the Holy-Ghoſt is wont to call the typical Face of the Law, the *Letter,* and the Truth thereby ſignified, the *Spirit:* As for *Spirit* and *Truth* both together, they are found only in this Place: And ſo no Light can be borrowed to it by comparing it with the like Expreſſion any where elſe. But nothing hinders their being taken in the Senſe here introduced.

VI. Some Authors, after allowing this Expoſition to be fair and plauſible, [t] will yet have it "that the Reaſon which our Saviour gives in the Words following, ſhould argue another Meaning. *God,* ſaith he, *is a Spirit, therefore they that worſhip him, muſt worſhip him in Spirit and Truth:* But God was a Spirit from the Beginning; if therefore for this Reaſon he muſt be worſhipped in *Spirit and Truth,* he was ſo to be worſhipped in the Old Teſtament, as well as in the New." —— We imagine that any other Interpretation of this Place is ſufficiently excluded, by what we have ſaid already; but as this Argument has ſome Appearance of Reaſon in it, let us ſee in what Manner it is ſupported.

The *Samaritans* at their firſt coming into the Land of the Ten Tribes, worſhipped not the God of *Iſrael,* but the Gods of the Nations from whence they came. Wherefore he ſent Lions amongſt them, which ſlew them; which they apprehending to be becauſe they knew not the Worſhip of the God of the Country, they deſir'd that ſome of the captiv'd Prieſts might be ſent to them, to teach them the Manner and Rites of his Worſhip: Which being accordingly done, they thenceforth worſhipped the Lord, yet feared their own Gods too, and ſo mingled Things not to be mingled.

In this Medley they continued till towards the End of the *Perſian* Monarchy; when *Manaſſeh* married the Daughter of *Sanballat,* then Governor of *Samaria:* For which being expelled from *Jeruſalem* by *Nehemiah,* he fled to *Sanballat* his Father in Law; and, after his Example, many other of the *Jews* having married ſtrange Wives likewiſe, betook themſelves thither alſo. *Sanballat* willingly entertains them, and makes his Son-in-Law *Manaſſeh* their High-Prieſt: And when *Alexander the Great* ſubdued the *Perſian* Monarchy, he obtained Leave of him, to build a Temple upon Mount *Gerizim;* where his Son-in-Law exerciſed the Office of High-Prieſt, as before related. By this Means the *Samaritans* were brought at length, to caſt off all their falſe Gods, and to worſhip the God of *Iſrael* only. "Yet ſo, ſay the Authors of the following Expoſition, that howſoever they ſeemed to themſelves to be altogether free from Idolatry, they nevertheleſs retained a Smack thereof, in as much as they worſhipped the true God, under the viſible Repreſentation of a *Dove,* and circumciſed their Children in the Name thereof." In this Diſtinction lies the whole Argument: As to the *Samaritans* actually worſhipping a Dove, we have already refuted that Opinion; and we ſhall alſo ſee by and by, that it is not probable that they worſhipped God under the bodily Repreſentation, either of a Dove, or of any other Creature. But to proceed:

This, ſay they, was the Condition of the *Samaritan* Religion in our Saviour's Time: And if we weigh the Matter well, we ſhall find his Words here, to the Woman, very pliable to be conſtrued with Reference thereto. "You aſk, ſaith he, of the true Place of Worſhip, whether Mount *Gerizim,* or *Jeruſalem;* which is not ſo greatly material, for as much as the Time is at Hand, when Men ſhall worſhip the Father at neither: But there is a greater Difference between you and us than that of Place, though you take no Notice of it; namely, about the Object of Worſhip it ſelf; *For ye worſhip what ye knew not, but we* Jews *worſhip what we know.* Ye worſhip indeed the Father, the God of *Iſrael,* as we do; but you worſhip him under a bodily Repreſentation; wherein you ſhew that you know him not. *But the Hour cometh, and now is, when the true Worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and Truth: In Spirit,* that is, conceiving of him no otherwiſe than in Spirit; and *in Truth,* that is, not under any corporeal or viſible Shape: *For God is a Spirit, and they that worſhip him muſt worſhip him in Spirit and Truth;* that is, not fancying him as a Body, but as indeed he is, *a Spirit.*"

VII. This Interpretation is ingenious enough, were it well founded: But it is not ſo. For to that which we have before ſaid, to prove that the *Samaritans* did not make a Dove the Object of their Worſhip, we may add, that there is no good Ground to believe that there ever was ſuch a Thing as the Image of a Dove erected on

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[f] Euſebius Demon. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. vi. Οὐδὲ διὰ συμβόλων ϗ τύπων, ἀλλ' ᾗ φησιν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐν πνεύματι ϗ ἀληθείᾳ.
[t] See Mede, ubi ſupra.

Mount *Gerizim.* The *Samaritans* were as ſenſible as the *Jews*, that God was a Spirit, inviſible and incomprehenſible, and conſequently not to be repreſented under a bodily Shape. All the Ground that there is for the contrary Opinion, is no more than this[tt], that the *Jewiſh* Doctors aſſert it without any Proof; only one of them ſays, that *he is fully perſuaded of it.* But is this enough to perſuade any body elſe, eſpecially any one who knows what idle Stuff theſe Men have given us for Facts? In this State of the Caſe, the former Expoſition of the Paſſage under conſideration is certainly to be preferred, if it were only for theſe three Reaſons: 1. Becauſe it is more literal and obvious than the other, and makes our Saviour's Anſwer come directly to the Woman's Queſtion, as we have above ſhewn. 2. It carries the Meaning of our Saviour's Words much farther, and gives them a Turn more agreeable to the ſpiritual Nature of the Goſpel: There is not a Senſe ſtrong enough in theſe Expreſſions, *to conceive of him as of a Spirit, and not as under a bodily Shape:* And, 3. This was the Interpretation put upon the Place by the antient Fathers. We have already quoted *Euſebius*; to him we will aſſociate *Origen,* who ſays, that the Words *in Spirit and Truth,* ſignify, *not with any carnal Sacrifices, but with ſpiritual Worſhip, or with thoſe ſpiritual Sacrifices which are acceptable to God through* Jeſus Chriſt. [u] *Not in Types,* as St. *Peter* expreſſes it, *but according to the Truth contained in them*; [w] *for the Law was given by* Moſes, *but Grace and Truth came by* Jeſus Chriſt. And this Senſe had the antient *Jews* themſelves of the pure Worſhip of God, as we may learn from *Philo,* who ſays[x], *He brings to God the true Worſhip, who brings Truth, the ſimple and only Sacrifice; not he who uſes Waſhings and Purgations of Body, but defiles his Soul, or who builds and adorns Temples, and offers Hecatombs upon the Altar: For he errs from the Way of Piety, as thinking outward Worſhip is to be preferr'd to Holineſs.* Nay, the very Heathens were acquainted with this Notion; for they teach [y] that *God is to be worſhipped with a pure Mind, and that this is the beſt Offering we can bring, and the beſt Habitation we can build him.*

We ſee then, that in order to worſhip God *in Spirit and Truth*[z], we muſt lay as the Foundation, not only Purity of the Body from all Uncleanneſs, but of the Soul alſo, from all ſpiritual Defilements, all Pride and Haughtineſs, all Malice, Envy, Bitterneſs of Spirit, all impure Thoughts, and evil Concupiſcence; for theſe are all ſtiled [a] *Works of the Fleſh:* And *they that are in the Fleſh*[b], ſaith the Apoſtle, *cannot pleaſe God*; [c] nor can they *mind the Things of the Lord,* who are not *pure in Body and in Spirit.* — And to this we muſt add juſt and awful Thoughts of the divine Majeſty, repreſenting him to ourſelves as he is, a God of infinite Purity and Juſtice, as well as Power and Wiſdom; one who is always preſent with us, and beholds all our ſecret Thoughts and Actions in order to a future Recompenſe. By theſe Apprehenſions fixed in our Hearts, we ſhall be naturally induced to [d] *glorify him in our Bodies, and in our Spirits, which are his.* — Having laid this Foundation, we muſt endeavour to walk humbly before God, ſubmitting ourſelves wholly to his Providence, being contented with all Conditions in which he thinks fit to place us, and ſubjecting our Wills to his good Pleaſure in all Things. This is in Scripture ſtiled [e] *Poverty of Spirit,* and [f] *the Wiſdom of the Spirit.* — In a Word, we muſt endeavour to reſemble our heavenly Father as much as may be, in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, in Truth, in Goodneſs, and in Mercy: For even the Heathens ſay, [g] *We then worſhip God beſt, when we are moſt like him.* — And all this muſt be done from ſpiritual Principles, a ſincere Love and filial Reverence of him; and to ſpiritual Ends, that we may promote his Glory, and do what is well pleaſing to him; and after a ſpiritual Manner, with the whole Heart, Soul, and Mind, and with the utmoſt Fervency. ——The Reaſon of the whole is given by our Lord in theſe Words, *God is a Spirit.* So held the Wiſeſt of the Heathens. The *Platoniſts* ſay, *God is a Mind:* The *Pythagoreans* [h] taught, that *before all Things, we muſt hold the Gods to be incorporeal: Ariſtotle* thought it neceſſary to [i] aſſert, that the *firſt Mover* was *without Parts:* And even the *Stoicks,* ſays *Plutarch,* determined that God was *an intelligent Spirit without Form.*

VIII. Having thus, as we hope, explain'd and apply'd the difficult Parts of this prophetical Converſation for the uſe of pious and ſincere Chriſtians; 'tis neceſſary in the laſt Place, that we ſhould defend the Letter of this Hiſtory againſt the Objection of thoſe who have taken upon them to oppoſe it, that ſo thoſe who are willing to render a Reaſon of the Faith that is in them, may have wherewith to anſwer the Cavils of Infidels on this Occaſion, as well as on all others. Indeed, the main Arguments that are brought againſt the Miracles of our Saviour in general, were conſidered at large, and fully refuted, in our Diſſertation on the turning of Water into Wine at *Cana* in *Galilee.* But as the different Circumſtances that muſt neceſſarily happen in different Facts, and the Relations of them, cannot but afford freſh Matter for the Inventions of thoſe to work upon who give themſelves that Liberty, and conſequently for their Malice to diſplay itſelf; 'tis therefore proper that the Reader ſhould know what particular Anſwers have been, and may be, made to thoſe particular Cavils, in all the Places where they are found. However, ſince, as we before hinted, the main Arguments brought by the Adverſaries are the ſame throughout the whole Goſpel Hiſtory, we ſhall have no need to revive them; and therefore what we have to ſay on theſe Occaſions will always be brought into much leſs Compaſs than our Defence of the above-mention'd firſt Miracle could be, in which we had thoſe general Objections to conſider. Our chief Taſk for the future, will be to diſcover the Fallacy of the Animadverter's Reaſoning, and the Unfairneſs of his Quotations of the Fathers.

[tt] See Baſnage's Hiſt of the Jews, B. II C. iv. Sect. 14.

[u] 1 Pet. ii. 5.

[w] John i. 17.

[x] Quod deter. pot.

[y] Vid. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Hieroc. in carm. Pythag. & Senec. apud Lact. de vero cultu lib. vi.

[z] Whitby on the Place.

[a] Gal. v. 19—21.

[b] Rom. viii. 8.

[c] 1 Cor. vii. 34. 2 Cor. vii. 1.

[d] 1 Cor. vi. 20.

[e] Matth. v. 4.

[f] Rom viii. 6.

[g] Hier. in Carm. Pythag.

[h] Jamb. protrept. p. 151.

[i] Phyſ. lib. viii. cap. 10. De placit. Philo lib. 1. cap. 6.

To begin with the Firſt of theſe[k], as it regards this prophetical Converſation: The [l] Biſhop of *Litchfield* obſerves, that the Difficulties here propoſed may be reduced into a narrow Compaſs; namely, "That the Whole that was performed by *Jeſus* was no more than *Fortune-telling*, and that there are Suſpicions of an Impoſture in this Story; and conſequently, that there is no Miracle in the Caſe. But though, ſays the Right Reverend Author, it is very eaſy to put a burleſque Name on any thing *prophetical*, yet ſo indecent a Treatment cannot alter its real Nature. The degrading Term of *Fortune-telling* may be equally applied to Predictions of what is to come, and to Diſcoveries of Secrets already tranſacted. Now *Jeſus* performed both without any Imputation of a *Fortune-teller:* He foretold future Things that were afterwards accompliſhed; for ſuch were the aboliſhing of the different Sorts of divine Worſhip at *Jeruſalem* and *Samaria*, and the Subſtitution of the ſpiritual Worſhip of God, without carnal Sacrifices, in the Room of them. And he likewiſe detected ſome domeſtic Secrets in the Life of the *Samaritan* Woman, in ſuch a Manner as affected her Conſcience, and extorted a Confeſſion from her that he was a Prophet. And therefore it is highly probable that her paſt and preſent Adulteries had not been fully communicated to the World, ſince ſhe was ſo aſtoniſhed with the Diſcovery of her infamous Courſe of Life that was made to her by *Jeſus*.

And ſince Mr. *Woolſton* ſo often perſonates a *Jew*, he ſhould have conſidered whether the Imputation of Fortune-telling is not eaſily retorted upon ſome of the moſt eminent *Jewiſh* Prophets. Did not *Daniel*, for Inſtance, not only foretel future Things, but likewiſe make Diſcoveries of paſt ſecret Things, and particularly that of the Dream of *Nebuchadnezzar?* And did not *Moſes* himſelf (beſides his many Prophecies of future Events) reveal paſt Tranſactions, relating to the Creation itſelf, the firſt Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Diſperſion of Mankind, together with the Reaſons and Ends of theſe and many other Matters that happen'd before his own Time? Are therefore theſe great Prophets to be ſtiled Fortune-tellers by any *Jew* that has not *ſat down in the Chair of Scorners?* Or is it hereby inſinuated that Prophecy itſelf, which in its greateſt Latitude comprehends the Diſcovery both of paſt and future Things, and in both reſpects is derived from the ſame divine Original, ought to be expoſed to Contempt under ſuch a Character of Ridicule, as that of Fortune-telling? This indeed confirms the Suppoſition of a deſigned Concurrence of this Author's Scheme with that of ſome late Writers, who have not only appeared againſt ſeveral Scriptural Prophecies concerning the Meſſiah, but have derogated from the Authority of all real Prophecy whatſoever.

And again, there is no manner of Colour for any Suſpicion of Impoſture in the preſent Caſe. For it appears from this whole Narrative, that the Conference of *Jeſus* with the *Samaritan* Woman at *Jacob*'s *Well* was merely accidental, in a Journey of our Lord out of *Judea* into *Galilee*. It appears too from the Connection of this Diſcourſe, that *Jeſus* was perſonally unknown before, not only to the *Samaritan* Woman, but to all her Neighbours at *Sychar*. For both in the Woman's and the People of *Sychar*'s Converſation with him, there are plain Footſteps of their entire Ignorance of him antecedently to this Interview. There is Reaſon therefore to believe that this was the firſt Time that *Jeſus* travelled ſo near to *Sychar*. And if ſo, it is by no means to be imagined, that any [m] deluſive Intelligence of the private Circumſtances of the *Samaritan* Woman ſhould have been communicated to *Jeſus*. And indeed it ought to be here recollected, how ill ſuited ſuch a Pretence of Colluſion is to the noble and inſtructive Subjects of the Converſation of *Jeſus* with this Woman. For they are no leſs than theſe: The ſpiritual Nature of God, the ſpiritual Worſhip that is acceptable to him, the Imperfection and ſpeedy Aboliſhment both of the *Jewiſh* and *Samaritan* Worſhip, the Gift of the Spirit as communicable by *Jeſus*, and the Conſequence of imparting it, everlaſting Life. All theſe great Points are taught the Woman in an occaſional Diſcourſe; beſides her Inſtruction in order to Reformation, from the Diſcovery of thoſe Secrets of her Life, the Concealment of which no doubt ſhe wiſhed above all things, but upon the Revealing of which by *Jeſus* ſhe declared him to be a Perſon inſpired by God with the Knowledge of them. And this was carried on, in conſequence of *Jeſus*'s excellent and authoritative Doctrine, to a general Belief at *Sychar* of his being the Meſſiah; though we do not read that he wrought any other Miracles among the *Samaritans*, beſides this prophetical Diſcovery. They did not, we find, believe him only on account of what the Woman had told them of him, though that Diſcourſe of her's attracted them to him; but they themſelves judged, from their own Knowledge, that he anſwer'd to ſeveral of the known Characters of the Meſſiah, and therefore they believed him to be that Perſon whom he had before confeſſed himſelf to be. And ſurely the occaſional Manner of Inſtruction uſed here, and elſewhere, by *Jeſus*, cannot be diſpleaſing to our modern Infidels, ſince it is the very Method that was uſed by *Socrates*, who cultivated that Golden Religion of Nature, which is ſo much applauded by them. But *Socrates* is known to have wiſh'd for ſuch a Revealer of the Will of God, and of the Worſhip that is acceptable to him, as the *Samaritans* were now inſtructed by, and who owned himſelf to be that eminently diſtinguiſhed Prophet, the Meſſiah.

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[k] See Diſc. 2. on the Miracles, &c. p. 42.

[l] Vid. &c. Vol. I. p. 370, &c.

[m] See 2d Diſc. p. 54.

IX. Our Author indeed inſinuates,[n] " That before wiſer People than the *Samaritans*, *Jeſus* was backward to own what he ſaid to this Woman, namely, that he was the Meſſiah[o]."—We have not, I think, any other Declaration of his being the Meſſiah in ſuch direct Terms as this; and for that Reaſon we have ſaid in our Paraphraſe, that this was a Truth which he did not commonly own among the *Jews*. But the very Place here referred to confutes ſo malicious and falſe an Intimation, as that he was either afraid or aſhamed to own who he was; which muſt have been the Caſe, if the Wiſdom of the People before whom he ſpoke had hindered him. That Paſſage runs thus; *Then came the* Jews *round about him, and ſaid unto him, How long doſt thou make us to doubt? If thou be the* Chriſt, *tell us plainly.* Jeſus *anſwer'd them, I told you, and ye believed not.* Can any thing be more expreſs than this Aſſertion, that he had given them ſufficient Evidence of his being ſo? Does he not before the ſame *Jews*, in this very Chapter, and before a Perſon of very good Senſe in the immediately preceding one[p], give himſelf the Title of *the Son of God*, as equivalent to that of the Meſſiah? And is not this the ſame good Confeſſion that *Jeſus* is ſaid by the[q] Evangeliſts and St. *Paul* to have witneſſed before *Pontius Pilate* himſelf, and the whole Sanhedrim? And if on ſeveral Occaſions he modeſtly declined the Title of Meſſiah, he conſtantly appealed to the concurring Teſtimony of the Works he performed in his Father's Name, which demonſtrated his juſt Right to it. This is an Argument that deſerves peculiar Conſideration in the preſent Diſpute; ſince *Jeſus* moſt certainly appealed, in Proof of his Meſſiahſhip, to the Works he then actually performed, and not to future ones of a merely ſpiritual Nature. But indeed this is an Inſinuation, that is very agreeable to the impious Aſſurance of ſtyling *Jeſus* an Impoſtor, on Occaſion of this very Miracle. " If ſuch a broken and abſurd Tale, ſays our Author[r], had been told of any other Impoſtor in Religion, it would have been plentifully expoſed." And leſt this Paſſage ſhould not be fully underſtood, he fixes its Meaning by ſtyling *Jeſus* "[ſ] a pretended Fortune-teller in the Reign of *Tiberius*, one that exerciſed as bad Arts as our modern Gypſies, and whoſe Ability in the Magic Art he does not queſtion." Surely ſuch inſolent Blaſphemy was never before publiſhed in a Chriſtian Nation, and eſpecially as attended with the prophane Sneer of aſcribing *Honour and Glory for ever and ever to the holy* Jeſus, in the Concluſion of this very Diſcourſe! But whether this be Argument, or mere Impiety and Malice, the ſoberer Infidels themſelves might be left to decide.

Mr. *Woolſton* indeed acknowledges, " That it is rightly inferred from this *Samaritan* Conference that the *Samaritans* had an Expectation of a Meſſiah." But whether he is in earneſt or not, it is very reaſonably ſo inferred from the Acknowledgment of the *Samaritans* now before us, as founded on their Belief of the divine Authority of the five Books of *Moſes*, who wrote of the Meſſiah on ſeveral Occaſions, and particularly as the Prophet that ſhould be rais'd up by God among the *Jews*, *like unto himſelf*, and *who was* more eſpecially *to be hearken'd to*. When therefore the *Samaritans* found in *Jeſus* ſome of the diſtinguiſhing Characters of the Meſſiah, (ſuch, for Inſtance, was a retroſpective Knowledge of the moſt ſecret paſt Events,) they had Reaſon to believe that the future public Events foretold by him would be fulfilled; and conſequently, they juſtly believed him to be a Prophet. And when they were confirmed in that Faith by the Excellency and Holineſs of his Doctrine, it was very natural for them to take a Step farther, and believe him to be the then expected Prophet, that is, the Meſſiah. And as to the different Opinions of the antient *Jews* concerning the Meſſiah, (as ſome of them expected a temporal Prince and Conqueror in him, and others a Prophet like unto *Moſes*,) it makes no Alteration in the preſent Caſe with regard to the *Samaritans*; ſince they agreed with the *Jews* in their general Expectation of a Meſſiah, and were apprized that this Meſſiah was to be an eminent Prophet, or that *when he was come he would tell them all things*, as the *Samaritan* Woman plainly confeſſed.

X. [t] But our Author acknowledges that ſome of the Fathers believed this Story in the literal Senſe, and deſerts their Authority, otherwiſe deciſive with him, to ſuch a Degree, " as to wiſh that the Fathers had made the Whole no more than a Parable, ſince he himſelf can't like any Part of this Story literally." However, tho' he has by this Conceſſion betray'd his own Cauſe, as pretended to be ſupported by the Fathers, he recurs to the Art of Ridicule, and would gladly ſhelter his own Suſpicions of Trick and Artifice in this *Samaritan* Conference under the Patronage of St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*.

This learned Father is cited by our Author in his *Latin* Tranſlation, as indeed moſt of the *Greek* Fathers are; and the Citation of him runs thus: [u] " *Jeſus*, by enquiring about the *Samaritan* Woman's Husband, took an Opportunity of revealing Secrets;" which [w] our Author ſtyles, " a Drawing in the Woman by a Wile to hear her Fortune; ſaying to her, *Woman, go call thy Husband.* And this, 'tis pretended, looks very ill in *Jeſus*, and is enough to make him ſuſpected." But that this is a falſe Repreſentation of the Senſe of St. *Cyril*, will now be evinced. Previouſly to, and on Occaſion of, that Expreſſion of our Lord, *Go, call thy Husband, and come hither*, *Cyril* writes to this Effect, [x] " That the Nature of Men is more docil, and much better prepared for inſtructive Diſcourſe. For this Reaſon, I think, *Jeſus* bid the Woman call her Husband, intimating in the Way of Reproof that ſhe was very ignorant, and had not Capacity enough to apprehend aright the Wiſdom of his Doctrine." This Father therefore very juſtly obſerves, [y] that "it is moſt evident to every one that our Saviour was not ignorant of her wanting a lawful Husband, but took an Opportunity of revealing to her Things that had been concealed, by making this Enquiry about her Husband. For this was the only Way of doing good to her, when in Conſequence of this ſhe could not conſider *Jeſus* as a mere Man, but as a Perſon ſuperiour to a Man, namely, as one to whom all the Secrets of her Heart were moſt wonderfully known." What Wile therefore there was in this, is inviſible to any unprejudiced Perſon, ſince this occaſional Way of introducing Diſcourſe, in order to carry on the beſt of Ends, was ever reputed a very decent and honeſt Art, and practis'd with Applauſe by the moſt grave and ſerious Perſons.

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[n] See 2d Diſcourſe p. 55.
[o] He refers to John x. 24. on this Occaſion.
[p] John x 36. John ix. 35, 37.
[q] Matth. xxvi. 63, 64, 65. Mark xiv. 61, 62. Luke xxii. 67, 69. 1 Tim. vi. 13.
[r] Second Diſcourſe p. 48.
[ſ] Ibid p. 54.
[t] Ibid.
[u] Vid. Cyril. Alex. in loc Johan.
[w] Diſcourſe 2, p. 54.
[x] Cyril. ibid.

But tho' *Cyril* has interpreted this entire Story in the literal Senſe, yet [z] 'tis farther pretended that this Father has diſcovered a Type in it. But how is he here typical? Is he ſo in a Manner inconſiſtent with the literal Senſe of the Story? And if he is not ſo, the Diſcovery of a Type in him does no Manner of Service to our Author's Pretenſions. But the Paſſage itſelf, here referred to, is no more than a myſtical Application of one of the literal Circumſtances of this Story. For on Occaſion of *Jeſus*'s being tired with his Journey, and ſitting down upon *Jacob*'s Well, *Cyril* ſpeaks to this Effect: [a] "That our Saviour's going out of *Judæa*, and his Stay among Strangers at *Jacob*'s Well, was alſo a typical and enigmatical Intimation to us, that tho' the Goſpel was to depart from *Jeruſalem*, and to be preached to the Gentiles, yet his Love to the Patriarchs would not be caſt off together with *Iſrael*; but that *Chriſt* will receive them again into Favour, and reſide among them as ſanctified Perſons, for whom he has reſerved his antient and everlaſting Love." But does this myſtical Expoſition of a Circumſtance of the Story, derogate at all from the Truth of the Fact itſelf? No, it is ſo far from excluding the literal Senſe, that it neceſſarily ſuppoſes and confirms it.

XI. But it is pretended that [b] "tho' the Fathers acknowledge the Letter of this Story, yet they ſuſpect ſome particular Paſſages of it." This indeed is not very conſiſtent; ſince if the whole Story be literally true, ſurely all the particular Paſſages muſt be ſo likewiſe. But how abſurd ſoever this Objection appears, it was neceſſary to prepare the Way for the myſtical Expoſitions of the Fathers, which without a Plea of this Nature had not been very pertinently introduced.— *Origen* alone is quoted for ſuch a Suſpicion, tho' the Authority of the Fathers in general is pretended. And he himſelf on this Occaſion uſes only an uncertain *Perhaps*, and indeed offers nothing but ſuch little Cavils as are unworthy of his Name and Character.

Now [c] *Origen* is cited, as ſpeaking to this Effect: "Perhaps it was not true, that *the* Jews *have no Dealings with the* Samaritans; and it was not true, *Thou haſt nothing to draw with, and the Well is deep*; and perhaps neither was it true, that *Jacob, and his Children, drank of that Well.*" But how oddly ſoever all this may ſound, the immediate Occaſion of it was this: "*Origen* here thought fit to make the *Five Husbands* of the *Woman* to be the *Five Senſes*. Theſe Senſes are ſaid by him to have been the former Husbands of the Soul that is ſuppoſed to embrace Chriſtianity, and therefore being turned to what is *intelligible* ſhe renounces her former five *Senſual Husbands*. Now if ſuch a Perſon, adds *Origen*, happen to meet with *a Spiritual Diſcourſe* that it not ſound under the Pretence of Allegory, ſhe is ſaid after *Five Husbands* to proceed to a *Sixth*. But when the Word of God comes and diſcourſes with us, we deny that we have *that Husband*; when likewiſe our Lord commends us, and ſpeak thus, *Thou haſt well ſaid, I have no Husband*. But that Expreſſion of *Jeſus*, *In that thou haſt ſaid truly*, has the Appearance of a Reproof; as if the Woman, that ſpoke Truth in that Reſpect, had not ſpoke Truth in what ſhe had ſaid before." After which he goes on thus, according to our Author's Quotation. "And perhaps it was not true, that the *Jews* have no Dealings with the *Samaritans*; *Jeſus* himſelf, as I have ſhewn before, having Dealings with the *Samaritans*, in order to their Benefit: And again, that was not true, *Thou haſt nothing to draw with, and the Well is deep:*" literally intimating, that *Jeſus* might have been ſupplied in a miraculous Manner with ſomething to *draw Water with:* And again, "perhaps the other Paſſage is not true, *that* Jacob, *and his Children, and his Cattle, drank of that Well.* For, ſays this Father very gravely, if *Jacob, his Children*, and *his Cattle*, did not drink like the *Samaritan* Woman, or if ſhe thought ſhe drank *the very ſame Water*, as *Jacob, his Children, and his Cattle* did, it is evident that the Woman aſſerted Things that were falſe." This Account of *Origen*'s Doubts, as alledged about ſome Paſſages in this Story, and likewiſe of the fine Reaſons advanced by that Father in Favour of them, will not only ſet this Matter in a true Light by ſhewing how trifling the alledged Cavils are, and that *Origen* himſelf allow'd of the Truth of the literal Senſe of the Story, but may likewiſe demonſtrate the Weakneſs and Uncertainty of myſtical Interpretation in general, tho' under the Management of a Perſon of ſo much Wit as *Origen* was Maſter of. And that it is a moſt precarious Way of Interpretation appears too from hence, that the five Husbands may be here made to ſignify either the five Senſes, or the five Books of *Moſes*, or the five Ages of the World, or any other five Things whatſoever that may be ſuggeſted by a warm Imagination. In a Word, it is evident, that though *Origen* has criticiz'd too nicely on the preceding Paſſages, and though he doubted of the Truth of ſome Part of the *Samaritan* Woman's Diſcourſe, yet he did not doubt that ſhe uſed ſuch Diſcourſe whether true or falſe; and conſequently, it is not true, "that *Origen* ſuſpected ſome Parts of this Story to be falſe;" ſince though it were ſuppoſed that the *Samaritan* Woman ſpoke ſome things falſely, the Hiſtory of that Conference would continue true, namely, that ſhe did ſo ſpeak.

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[y] Vide Cyril. ibid.

[z] Diſc. 2. p. 57.

[a] Cyril. ibid.

[b] Diſc. 2. p. 56.

[c] Ibid.

XII. As for Mr. *Woolſton*'s [z] Citation of *Auſtin*, about the myſtical Senſe of the Words and Actions of our Lord, it is entirely foreign to the preſent Purpoſe, or rather againſt our Author's Scheme; for this very Paſſage of *Auſtin* relates to the Neceſſity of Caution in aſſigning myſtical, and not literal, Expoſitions of the Goſpel. [a] Conſequently, when *Auſtin*, in another Place, ſays, with an immediate Regard to the Woman's five Husbands, "that theſe Things are not to be underſtood in the groſs and carnal Senſe, leſt we ſhould ſeem like to this *Samaritan* Woman;" he means, that theſe Things are not to be underſtood merely and only in the groſs Senſe of the Words; but that though they are literally true, they may likewiſe be moraliz'd, as our Lord himſelf in this Conference ſpiritualiz'd the Expreſſion of living Water; which myſtical Application of it did not, however, alter the Nature of the literal Water of *Jacob*'s *Well*, or make it ceaſe to be real Water. And for the very ſame Reaſon, whatever typical Meanings, either of the Gentile Church, or of the Sixth Age of the World, or the like Reſults of a fruitful Fancy, *Auſtin* thought fit to put upon any Part of this Story, they do by no Means derogate from the acknowledged Truth of the Letter of it.

Bede [b], whoſe Quotation is placed next to thoſe of *Auſtin*, is juſtly connected with that Father, as one that has tranſcribed his very Words. And therefore what has been ſaid about *Auſtin*'s myſtical Senſe of this Story, as conſiſtent with that of the Letter, is equally applicable to the Senſe of *Bede*, as being one and the ſame with that of *Auſtin*.

The Quotation made out of St. *Jerome*, " [c] That the Law according to the Letter is bitter Water," is ſo very frivilous, that it can only be deſign'd to ſwell the Page; ſince to make it any way ſerviceable to our Author's Cauſe, the Law of *Moſes*, ſpoken of by *Jerome*, muſt be converted into the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, which is here animadverted on.

Again, with regard to the Deficiency and Imperfection of mere human Reaſon; which is all that is here cited from *Origen*, as a myſtical Senſe of drinking of real Water, and thirſting again; ſufficient Proof has been already made that *Origen* acknowledged the literal Senſe of this Story, and therefore all his myſtical Senſes muſt be underſtood conſiſtently with ſuch an Acknowledgment. And indeed no Perſon can doubt of the Imperfection of mere human Reaſon, but a Deiſt, or a pretended Admirer of the Religion of Nature. And therefore ſo uſeleſs a Citation ſhall be forthwith diſmiſs'd.

There remains but one Quotation more that is unexamin'd; and it is *Cerameus*'s myſtical Application of *Jacob*'s *Well* to the holy Scriptures. He is here cited, as ſaying, [d] "that the Scripture is a Well, that its myſterious Senſe lies deep as in a Well, and that it flows with Knowledge as with Water." Now what literal Interpreter of the Scripture is to be found, who will not acknowledge the Truth of theſe Aſſertions, as underſtood of the Difficulties of Scripture, even in the critical Way? But how improper and uſeleſs is ſo general a Citation of *Cerameus*, if he acknowledg'd the literal Senſe of this *Samaritan* Story? And that he did ſo, is obvious to a Perſon of the meaneſt Capacity that will conſult him. For he has given us a literal Commentary on the whole Conference, though he interſperſed and ſuperadded ſome myſtical Senſes. This will ſufficiently appear, without entering into more Particulars, from an Expreſſion or two in his Homily on this Subject. Says he [e], "But let us here conclude our Expoſition of the Hiſtory; and let us now treat of the ſpiritual Meaning that is couched under it." Accordingly, the Words cited by Mr. *Woolſton* are granted to have been uſed by *Cerameus* in a myſtical Way; but it is evident they are ſo, in a Manner conſiſtent with his Acknowledgment of the literal Senſe of the Story. He ſays, the Woman underſtood too groſly the Expreſſion of living Water; and then he adds [f], "But nevertheleſs theſe Words have a certain ſecret or myſtical Senſe." And no doubt they were intended by our Lord to have a myſtical Senſe, namely, to ſignify the Gifts of the holy Spirit. But does therefore this Father ſay that the Letter of the Story is not true? Such a myſtical Senſe is ſo far from derogating from the Reality of this *Samaritan* Conference, that it concurs with, and confirms, the Fact itſelf. And by Parity of Reaſon, the other myſtical Senſes, aſſign'd by *Cerameus*, are very reconcileable with the literal Senſe, that has been now ſhewn to have been explain'd and acknowledg'd by him.

Laſtly, among the myſtical Senſes of this Story that are aſſigned by Mr. *Woolſton*, he would obtrude his own Expoſition as neceſſary to that Part of it, which relates that [g] *the Diſciples marvelled that* Jeſus *talked with the Woman*. Accordingly he asks with ſome Emotion, "What could be the Meaning of this?" The Anſwer is plain, that the Diſciples, who were *Jews*, and therefore muſt be ſuppoſed to labour under the inveterate Prejudices of their Countrymen againſt the *Samaritans*, could not but be mightily ſurprized at *Jeſus*'s converſing with this *Samaritan*, and that with ſo much Frankneſs, Humanity, and Goodneſs. And therefore this Author's Burleſque of the Admiration of the Diſciples might well have been ſpared. But rather than he will allow of any Part of this Story in the literal Senſe, he is reſolved to confound all Diſtinction of Time, paſt, preſent, and to come. He therefore myſtically interprets this Account of [h] *Jeſus*'s ſpiritual Converſation with his Church, at which the true Diſciples *will hereafter marvel.*" But ſee how widely the Evangeliſt and this Writer differ on this Occaſion! St. *John* ſays, that the then Diſciples of *Jeſus* did at that Time *actually marvel* at that very Converſation of *Jeſus* with a *Samaritan* Woman, which is here ſpecified by him. But our Allegoriſt ſays, that *Jeſus* had no ſuch Converſation with the *Samaritan* Woman, and conſequently his Diſciples did not marvel at it; but that *Jeſus* will have ſome ſpiritual Converſation with his Church ſome Time or other, and that the ſaid future Converſation is the true Meaning of the ſaid paſt Converſation. Who does not ſee, that all the prophane Ridicule of this actual *Samaritan* Converſation recoils on our Author's myſtical Scheme? which is not to be ſupported without ſo ſhocking an Abſurdity, or rather without ſuch a Complication of *Solœciſms* and Abſurdities.

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[z] See 2d Diſcourſe, p. 56.

[a] Ibid p. 59, 60.

[b] Ibid. p. 60.

[c] Ibid. p. 58.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Vide Theoph. Ceram. Homil. 38. ſc. de Samaritanâ p. 273. Par.

[f] Ibid p. 268.

[g] Second Diſcourſe, p. 61. John iv. 27.

[h] Ibid.

CHAP. II.

I. *Jeſus* goes into *Galilee*, and preaches the Goſpel there ſucceſsfully. II. He preaches in the Synagogue at *Nazareth*. III. The *Nazarenes* admire him, till he reproaches them for their Infidelity. IV. They are enraged, and endeavour to throw him headlong from a ſteep Hill. V. VI. He goes again to *Cana* of *Galilee*, and heals the Son of a Nobleman of *Capernaum*. VII. He reſides at *Capernaum*, and urges the Doctrine of Repentance among the *Galileans*.

I. NOW [a] *after* John *had been ſent to the Priſon of* Machærus, Jeſus *being by the powerful Incitation of the Holy-Ghoſt ſtirred up to the public Diſcharge of his prophetic Office, returned out of* Judea *into* Galilee, *having by the way converſed with the Woman of* Sychar, *as related in the preceding Chapter. His Fame in the mean time was ſpread about all the Countries thro' which he paſſed, and the neighbouring Territories. And in every Town he went thro', he inſtructed the* Jews *in their Synagogues, and preached to them the Neceſſity of Repentance and Reformation of Life. The Subſtance of his Declaration to them, was in theſe, or the like Words:* The Days of the Meſſiah's Appearance, ſo long expected and propheſied of, are now come; and God's remarkable Judgments upon this whole Nation, are near at Hand; which there is no other Way of avoiding, but by believing the Goſpel which I now preach, and thereby becoming Partakers of the Benefits of my Kingdom. *This he delivered in the Synagogues of* Galilee, *where he was greatly admired by all that heard him.*

II. [b] *Having viſited ſeveral Cities of that Country, he came at laſt to* [c] Nazareth, *the Place where he had been educated; and according to his uſual Cuſtom, he went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath-Day, and ſtood up to read ſome Leſſon out of the Prophets, agreeably to the Practice of the* Jews. *The Miniſter of the Synagogue upon this Motion delivered him the Book, or Roll, of the Prophet* Iſaiah; *which turning over,* [d] *or unfolding, he happened upon the Place where it is thus written:* [e] The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, becauſe the Lord hath anointed me to preach good Tydings to the Meek; he hath ſent me to bind up the Broken-hearted, to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and the opening of the Priſon to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable Year of the Lord. *And when he had read theſe Words, he cloſed the Book, and reſtored it to the Miniſter, and ſate down: Mean while the Eyes of all thoſe that were in the Synagogue, were fixed on him. And as he ſate, he began to preach to them concerning the Meſſiah, telling them,* That this Day that Prophecy of *Iſaiah* was fulfilled.

III. [f] *All that heard him were amazed at the ſingular Gracefulneſs of his Speech, and expreſſed their Wonder at the Power and Wiſdom with which he delivered himſelf.* Is not this, *ſaid they,* the Son of *Joſeph* the Carpenter? *For their being acquainted with the Meanneſs of his Education, made them the more inquiſitive whence he had acquired ſo much Learning as he ſeemed to diſcover. However they gave no Credit to the Miracles they had heard of, becauſe they never ſaw him perform any in their Preſence. Which* Jeſus *perceiving, he addreſs'd himſelf to them in this Manner:* "*I know you are ready to object to me this Proverb, which is uſually caſt on Pretenders in Phyſic by way of Irony,* Phyſician, heal thy ſelf; *that is to ſay, If I would be eſteemed a Prophet among thoſe who know me, I ought to ſhew ſome Miracles in my own Country alſo, eſpecially in the Place where I have been educated, as I have done in other Parts, particularly at* Capernaum. *But you are to take notice, that no Prophet hath ever been received by his own Countrymen with that Honour which was due to him, and that there are very few who deſerve ſo great a Favour as to have Miracles wrought amongſt them. There were doubtleſs many poor Widows among the* Jews *in the Days of* Elias, [g] *when there had been no Rain for three Years and an half together, and a terrible Famine raged*

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[a] Luke iv. 14, 15. Mark i. 14, 15.

[b] Luke iv. 16—21.

[c] Nazareth is deſcribed in Page 24 of this Work.

[d] The Word here tranſlated *open*, refers to the Manner of writing among the Jews, which was not in Papers, or Parchments, ſewed together after the modern Manner, but in one continued Page or long Roll, which was folded up to keep it ftom the Duſt, or any other Harm. In Alluſion to this, *The Heavens are ſaid to depart away as a Scroll, when it is rolled together.* Rev. vi. 14.

[e] Iſai. lxi. 12. The Words in the Prophecy are a little different from thoſe given by the Evangeliſt; but both Texts are to the ſame Purpoſe, as may be ſeen by comparing them.

[f] Luke iv. 21—28. John iv. 44.

[g] 1 Kings xvii.

over all the Land of Paleſtine: *Nevertheleſs the Prophet was ſent to one poor Widow only, and ſhe an Inhabitant of* Sarepta *in the Territory of the* Sidonians. *So alſo in the Time of* Eliſæus *the Prophet*[h], *there were many* Jews *infected with a Leproſy; yet only* Naaman *a* Syrian *was healed by him of that Diſeaſe. In like Manner the Inhabitants of* Capernaum, *and the remote and dark Parts of* Paleſtine, *are to have the Benefit of being Eye-Witneſſes of my Miracles, whilſt you are denied that Privilege.*

IV. [i] *The* Nazarenes *were greatly enraged by this Speech of* Jeſus; *it plainly appearing from thence, that he looked upon them as a People of very little true Religion, who would have no regard to any of God's Prophets, and conſequently were unworthy of having any Miracles performed among them. Hereupon they unanimouſly roſe up, and hurried him away to the Brow*[k] *of the Hill upon which the City of* Nazareth *was built, intending to caſt him down headlong from it. But* Jeſus *upon this Occaſion exerted his divine Power, and becoming on a ſudden inviſible to them, he paſſed thorough the Midſt of the Multitude, no Man knowing in what Manner he had eſcaped out of their Hands.*—[l] *After this he went into the other Parts of* Galilee, *where he was more kindly entertained; there being many in that Country who were preſent at* Jeruſalem *during the Time of the preceding Paſſover, where they had ſeen the Miracles which* Jeſus *wrought, particularly that of Purging the Temple.*

V. [m] *In this Progreſs coming to* Cana, [n] *the Place where he had ſome Time before turned Water into Wine, a certain* [o] *Officer of* Herod *the Tetrarch, who had heard of his Return out of* Judea *into* Galilee, *came unto him, and deſired that he would go with him to* Capernaum, *and heal his Son, who lay there dangerouſly ill. The ſame Requeſt was likewiſe put to him by the reſt of the* Jews, *who would ſcarcely believe on him upon any other Teſtimony than that of Miracles. This made* Jeſus *upbraid them, ſaying,* Unleſs I work repeated Signs and Wonders directly before your Eyes, you will not believe; whereas you ought to give credit to thoſe who have been Witneſſes of my former Miracles, and alſo to my Doctrine, and the Teſtimony of *John the Baptiſt* concerning me. *But the Officer continued to preſs him ſtill more vehemently to go along with him, urging the Neceſſity of making haſte, becauſe his Son was juſt at the Point of Death: And* Jeſus *was at laſt prevailed upon by his Importunity to bid him return to* Capernaum, *with full Aſſurance that his Son was recovered.*

VI. [p] *The Man hereupon went homewards full of Joy, believing that what* Jeſus *had ſaid unto him was true; as he ſoon after found: For by the Way, when he was not far from the City, his Servants met him, and brought him the agreeable News of his Son's Recovery. The Father then aſked them at what Time he began to mend, and they told him that about the ſeventh Hour the Fever left him; which was the very Hour in which* Jeſus *told him his Son was recovered. Convinced by this extraordinary Proof, the Officer, with all his Family, believed that* Jeſus *was the Meſſiah, whom God had promiſed to ſend into the World. This, St.* John *tells us, was the ſecond Miracle that* Jeſus *wrought after his Return out of* Judea *into* Galilee. *For the firſt was his miraculous Eſcape out of the Hands of his Townſmen the* Nazarenes, *as above related. The Change of Water into Wine, though it was performed at the ſame Town of* Cana, *is not here to be underſtood, becauſe it was done before he went up to the Paſſover at* Jeruſalem.

VII. [q] *After this* Jeſus *wholly forſook his Habitation at* Nazareth, *becauſe of the Unworthineſs of its Citizens, and took up his Reſidence at* Capernaum[r], *where dwelt the Officer whoſe Son he had cured. This Place was ſituated on the Confines of the Tribes of* Zebulon *and* Nephthalim, *near the Lake of* Genneſareth: *And on account of our Lord's dwelling here, what was ſaid by the Prophet* Iſaiah *concerning it on another Occaſion, received a more full and proper Application:* [s] The Land of *Zebulon*, and the Land of *Nephthalim*, by the Way of the Sea beyond *Jordan*, in *Galilee* of the Nations. The People that walked in Darkneſs have ſeen a great Light: They that dwell in the Land of the Shadow of Death, upon them hath the Light ſhined. *For the divine Light of* Chriſt's *Doctrine expelled the Ignorance of many of the* Galileans; [t] *it being cuſtomary for him to go into the Synagogue every Sabbath-Day, and inſtruct the People, who were filled with Admiration of his Doctrine: For he did not preach to them after the Manner of the Doctors of the Law, who ſupported what they taught with the traditionary Authority of their Anceſtors only; but he ſpoke as one endued with divine Power, and who delivered every thing he ſaid from the immediate Dictates of God.*—[u] *And from this Time (*John *being ſtill detained in Priſon)* Jeſus *began to urge the Neceſſity of Repentance among the* Jews *with greater Vehemency, and plainly to declare unto them that the heavenly Kingdom of the Meſſiah was near at Hand.*

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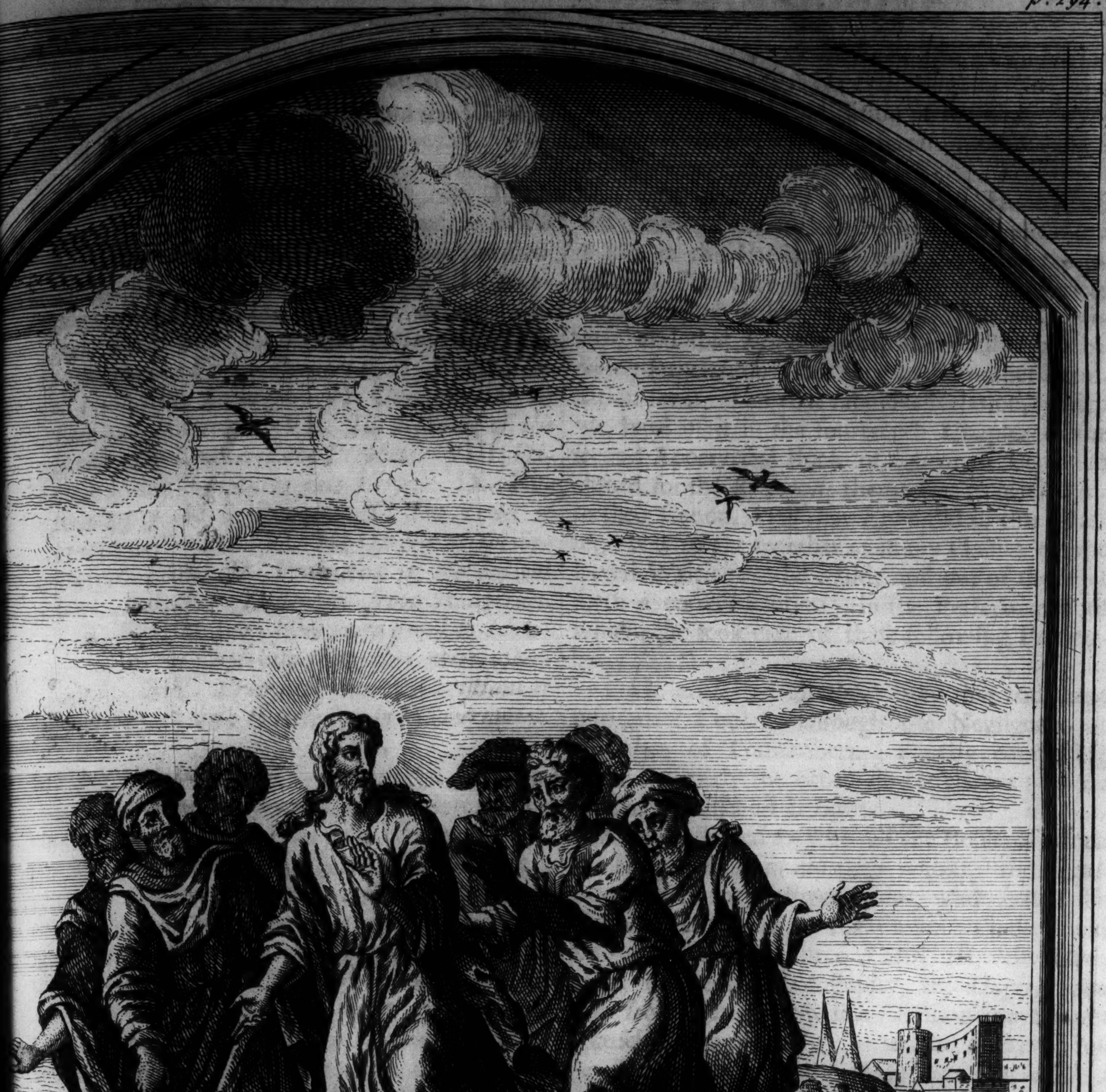
[h] 2 Kings v.
[i] Luke iv. 28, 29, 30.
[k] See a Deſcription of this Hill in Page 24.
[l] John iv. 45.
[m] Ver. 46—50.
[n] See Page 220 of this Work.

[o] This is the Senſe of the original Word, which our Tranſlators have rendered *Nobleman*. It ſeems that this Officer was a Jew, otherwiſe he could not come under the Laſh of our Lord's Reproach, *Except ye ſee Signs and Wonders ye will not believe*: For it was not at all ſtrange that a Heathen ſhould refuſe to be convinced without a Miracle.

[p] John iv. 50—54.
[q] Matth. iv. 13—16.

[r] See Page 220. What we repeat of the Deſcription of Capernaum, is only in conformity to our Method of paraphraſing all the Text of the Evangeliſts.

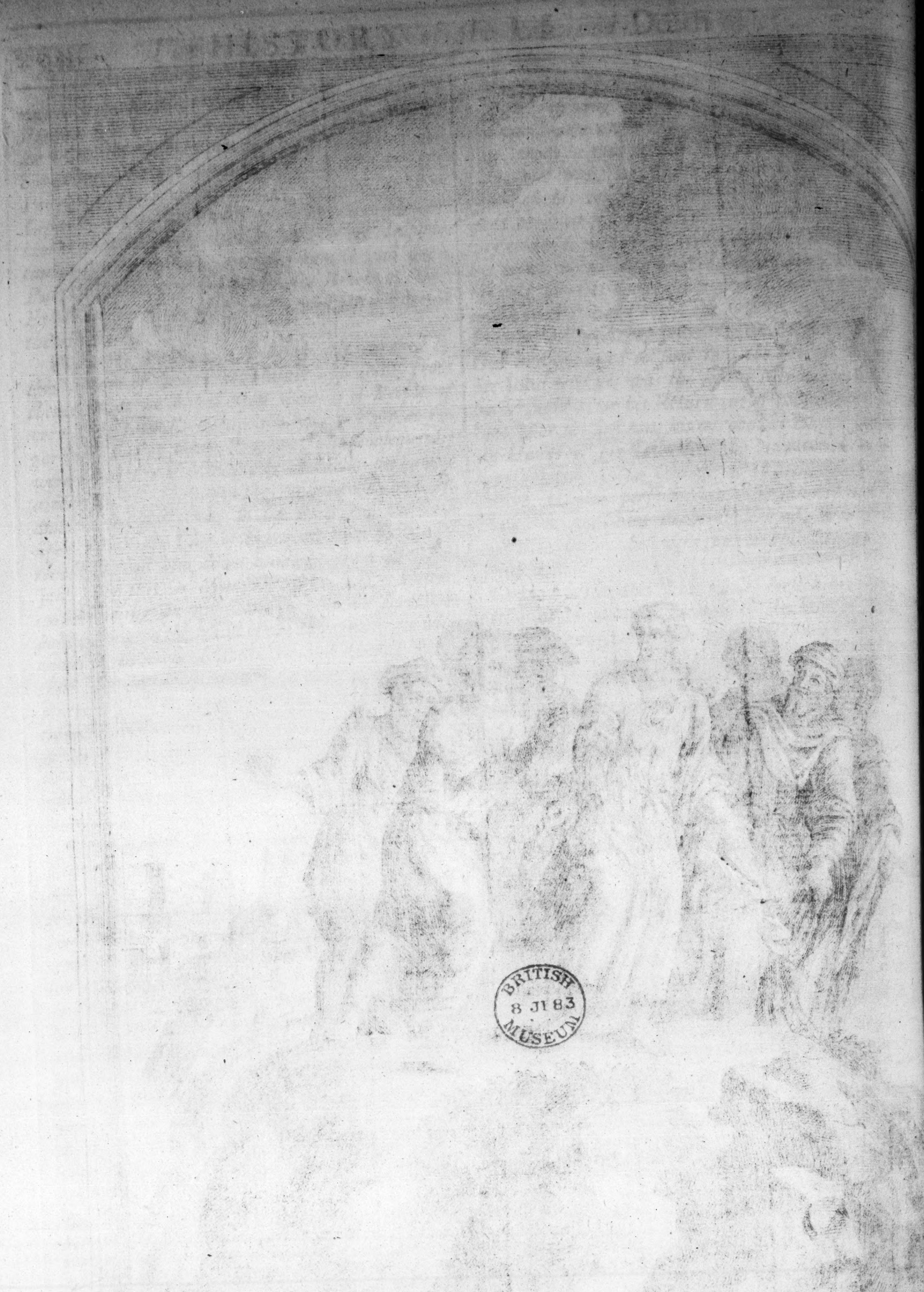
[s] Iſai. ix. 1, 2.
[t] Mark i. 21, 22. Luke iv. 31, 32.
[u] Matth. iv. 17.



Jeſus Escapes from the Furious Nazarites.

Luke IV. 28. 30.

The HISTORY of the Life and Death



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DISSERTATION,

On the Synagogues of the *Jews*, and the Worſhip performed in them.

I. Ezra *publiſhes an Edition of the Holy Scriptures*, &c. II. *The Law is read, and the People perceive how deficient they have been in their Duty.* III. *Synagogues erected for the Convenience of reading the Law.* IV. *Where a Synagogue was to be.* V. *Service performed in the Synagogues. Firſt, Prayers: A Tranſlation of the* Jewiſh *Liturgy.* VI. *Our Saviour no Enemy to ſet Forms.* VII. *The Reading of the* Shema, *the Law, and the Prophets.* VIII. *Diviſion of the Scriptures into Verſes.* IX. *Expounding of the Scriptures.* X. *The Times of Synagogue Service.* XI. *The Officers of the Synagogue.* XII. *The* Proſeuchæ *of the antient* Jews, *and their Difference from Synagogues.* XIII. *Why the* Jews *were more prone to Idolatry before the Captivity than they were afterwards.* XIV. *Preaching among Chriſtians of great Service both to Religion and Government.*

I. SYNAGOGUES, and the Worſhip performed in them, are ſo often mentioned in the Goſpels and the Acts of the Apoſtles, that it is very neceſſary the Reader ſhould have a particular Account of both: And as there is not any Paſſage in the whole Evangelical Hiſtory, to which ſuch an Account will give more Light, than to the preceding Relation of our Saviour's Preaching to the *Nazarenes*; we therefore chuſe this Place, as the moſt proper, wherein to introduce what we have collected on this Head. The Reflections critical and moral, which are interſperſed with the main Subject, and the Applications of ſeveral Parts of that to the Chriſtian Religion, will make this Diſſertation both pleaſant and inſtructive, as we preſume all our Extracts from the ſame Authors[a] have hitherto been.

[b] The Word *Synagogue* ſignifies either *an Aſſembly*, or *the Place where an Aſſembly meets.* The latter is the common Senſe of it in the New Teſtament; where we generally underſtand by it a Place where the *Jews* met to pray, to read the Holy Books, or to hear them read, as alſo the Expoſitions of them. When theſe Places were firſt erected, has been a Matter of Diſpute with ſome; but we believe that Queſtion will be fully reſolved in the following Paragraphs, and that when theſe have been conſidered, there will remain no Doubt but that the Origin of Synagogues was ſomewhat later than the Time of *Ezra*, whoſe Care to have the Law of God frequently read to all the People, gave the firſt Occaſion for building of them in the ſucceeding Age. We muſt here take a ſhort View of what was done by this ſecond Lawgiver of the *Jews*, after the Return from *Babylon*; and this will furniſh us with an unanſwerable Argument, for the Support of what is here advanced.

The[c] great Work of *Ezra* after his coming to *Jeruſalem*, [d] was his collecting together and ſetting forth a correct Edition of the Holy Scriptures; which he laboured much in, and went a great Way in the perfecting of it. This both Chriſtians and *Jews* give him the Honour of; and many of the ancient Fathers attribute more to him in this Particular, than the *Jews* themſelves. For they hold that all the Scriptures were loſt and deſtroyed in the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and that *Ezra* reſtored them all again by divine Revelation. But they had no other Foundation for it, than that fabulous Relation, which we have of it in the fourteenth Chapter of the ſecond Apocryphal Book of *Eſdras*, a Book too abſurd for the *Romaniſts* themſelves to receive into their Canon. All that *Ezra* did in this Matter, was to get together as many Copies of the ſacred Writings as he could, and out of them ſet forth a correct Edition; in the Performance of which, he took care of theſe following Particulars.

1. He corrected all the Errors that had crept into theſe Copies, through the Negligence or Miſtakes of Tranſcribers. For by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and ſet all at rights.

2. He collected together all the Books of which the Holy Scriptures did then conſiſt, and diſpoſed them in their proper Order, and ſettled the Canon of Scripture for his Time. Theſe Books he[e] divided into three Parts, 1ſt, the Law, 2dly, the Prophets, and 3dly, the *Hagiographa* or *Holy Writings*; which Diviſion our Saviour himſelf takes notice of, where he ſaith; [f] *Theſe are the Words, which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things might be fulfilled, which are written in the Law, and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms, concerning me.* For there by the Pſalms he means the whole third Part, called the *Hagiographa*. For that Part beginning with the Pſalms, the whole was for that Reaſon then commonly called by that Name, as uſually with the *Jews* the particular Books are named from the Words, with which they begin. And *Joſephus* makes mention of this ſame Diviſion. For he ſaith in his firſt Book againſt *Apion*, "We have only two and twenty Books, which are to be believed as of divine Authority, of which five are the Books of *Moſes*. From the Death of *Moſes* to the Reign of *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes* King of *Perſia*, the Prophets, who were the Succeſſors of *Moſes*, have written in thirteen Books. The remaining four Books contain Hymns to God, and Documents of Life for the Uſe of Men". In which Diviſion, according to him, the Law contains, 1 *Geneſis*, 2 *Exodus*, 3 *Leviticus*, 4 *Numbers*, 5 *Deuteronomy*: The Writings of the Prophets conſiſt of 1 *Joſhua*, 2 *Judges* with *Ruth*, 3 *Samuel*, 4 *Kings*, 5 *Iſaiah*, 6 *Jeremiah* with his *Lamentations*, 7 *Ezekiel*, 8 *Daniel*, 9 the twelve Minor Prophets, 10 *Job*, 11 *Ezra*, 12 *Nehemiah*, 13 *Eſther*: And the

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[a] Dr. Prideaux chiefly.

[b] Calmet.

[c] See Prid. Conn. Books v and vi.

[d] Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, Cap. 11.

[e] Buxtorfii Tiberias Cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim, Cap. i. Sect. 6. Elias Levita in Maſoreth Hammaſoreth. Leuſdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Athiæ.

[f] Luke xxiv. 14.

Hagiographa include, 1 the *Pſalms*, 2 the *Proverbs*, 3 *Eccleſiaſtes*, 4 the *Song of Solomon:* Which all together make two and twenty Books. [f] This Diviſion was made for the Sake of reducing the Books to the Number of their Alphabet, in which are two and twenty Letters. But at preſent [g] they reckon theſe Books to be twenty four, and diſpoſe of them in another Order: Which we ſhall not repeat, becauſe no Variation herein is of any Moment. For in what Order ſoever the Books are placed, they are ſtill the Word of God, and no Change as to this can make any Change in their divine Authority.

3. The third Thing which *Ezra* did about the Holy Scriptures, in his Edition of them, was, he added in ſeveral Places throughout the Books of this Edition, what appeared neceſſary for the illuſtrating, connecting, or completing of them; wherein he was aſſiſted by the ſame Spirit, by which they were at firſt wrote. Of this Sort we may reckon the laſt Chapter of *Deuteronomy*; which giving an Account of the Death and Burial of *Moſes*, and of the Succeſſion of *Joſhua* after him, it could not be written by *Moſes* himſelf, who undoubtedly was the Penman of all the reſt of that Book. And ſuch alſo may we reckon the ſeveral Interpolations, which occur in many Places of the Holy Scriptures. For that there are ſuch Interpolations is undeniable, there being many Paſſages through the whole ſacred Writ, which create Difficulties, that can never be ſolved without the allowing of them. [h] And of theſe Interpolations undoubtedly *Ezra* was the Author, in all the Books which paſſed his Examination, and *Simon the Juſt* in all the reſt, which were added afterwards. For they all ſeem to refer to thoſe later Times. But theſe Additions do not detract any thing from the divine Authority of the Whole, becauſe, as we before obſerved, they were inſerted by the Direction of the ſame Holy Spirit, which dictated all the reſt.

4. He changed the old Names of ſeveral Places, that were grown obſolete, putting inſtead of them the new Names, by which they were at that Time called; that the People might the better underſtand what was written. [i] Thus *Abraham* is ſaid to have purſued the Kings, who carried *Lot* away Captive, as far as *Dan*; whereas the Name of that Place was *Laiſh*, till the *Danites* long after the Death of *Moſes* poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and [k] called it *Dan after the Name of their Father*. And ſo in ſeveral Places in *Geneſis*, and alſo in *Numbers*, we find mention made of *Hebron*; whereas the Name of that City was *Kiriath Arba*, till *Caleb* having obtained the Poſſeſſion of it after the Diviſion of the Land, called it *Hebron* after the Name of *Hebron* one of his Sons. Theſe Names therefore could not be in the Text, till placed there long after the Time of *Moſes*, by way of Exchange for the old ones; which is not to be doubted was done at the Time of this Review. Many other like Examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the Study of thoſe, who governed the Church of God in thoſe Times, was to render the Scriptures plain and intelligible to the People.

5. He wrote out the whole in the *Chaldee* Character. For that having now grown wholly into Uſe among the People after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, he changed the old *Hebrew* Character for it, which hath ſince that Time been retained only by the *Samaritans*, among whom it is preſerved even to this Day. This was the old *Phœnician* Character, from which the *Greeks* borrowed theirs. In this *Moſes* and the Prophets recorded the ſacred Oracles of God; and in this the Finger of God himſelf wrote the Ten Commandments in the two Tables of Stone. There are ſome indeed who ſtrenuouſly contend for the Antiquity of the preſent *Hebrew* Letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the ſacred Character. But the Opinion of moſt learned Men, and upon good Grounds, is on the other Side of the Queſtion.

II. The above are the principal Things, which, it is generally agreed, *Ezra* did in his Edition of the Scriptures. And having now completed this Work, he did on the Feaſt of Trumpets, in the Year before *Chriſt* 440, before the Vulgar Æra 444, publickly read the Law to the People

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[f] Hieron. in Prol. Gal.

[g] Buxtorfii Tiberias Cap. xi. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim Cap. i. Sect 6. Leuſdeni Præfatio ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ.

[h] As for Inſtance Gen. xii. 6. It's remarked on Abraham's coming into the Land of Canaan, that *the Canaanites were then in the* Land, which is not likely to have been ſaid, till after the Time of Moſes, when the Canaanites being extirpated by Joſhua were then no more in the Land. And Ver. 14. we read, *As it is ſaid, to this Day, in the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen.* But Mount Moriah (which is the Mount there ſpoken of) was not called the Mount of the Lord till the Days of Solomon, when the Temple was built on it, many hundred Years after. And this being here ſpoken of it as a Proverbial Saying, that obtained among the Iſraelites in After-Ages, the whole Style of the Text doth manifeſtly point at a Time after Moſes, when they were in Poſſeſſion of the Land in which this Mountain ſtood. And therefore both theſe Particulars prove the Words cited to have been an Interpolation. Gen. xxxvi. 3. it is written; *And theſe are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Land of Iſrael.* Which could not have been ſaid, till after there had been a King in Iſrael, and therefore they cannot be Moſes's Words, but muſt have been interpolated afterwards. Exod. xvi 35. the Words of the Text are; *And the Children of Iſrael did eat Manna forty Years, till they came to a Land inhabited. They did eat Manna, till they came unto the Borders of Canaan.* But Moſes was dead before the Manna ceaſed, and therefore theſe cannot be his Words, but muſt have been inſerted afterwards. Deut ii. 12. it is ſaid, *The Horims alſo dwelt in Seir before Time, but the Children of Eſaw ſucceeded them, when they had deſtroyed them before them, and dwelt in their ſtead, as Iſrael did unto the Land of his Poſſeſſion, which the Lord gave unto them.* Which could not have been written by Moſes, Iſrael having not till after his Death entered into the Land of his Poſſeſſion, which the Lord gave unto them. Deut. iii. 11. it is ſaid, *Only Og King of Baſhan remained of the Remnant of Giants; behold his Bedſtead was a Bedſtead of Iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the Children of Ammon?* The whole Style and Strain of which Text, eſpecially that of the laſt Clauſe of it, plainly ſpeaks it to have been written a long while after that King was ſlain. And therefore it could not be written by Moſes, who died within five Months after. In the ſame Chapter, Ver. 14. it is ſaid, *Jair the Son of Manaſſeh took all the Country of Argob unto the Coaſts of Geſhuri and Maachathi, and called them after his own Name Baſhan-Havoth-Jair unto this Day.* Where the Phraſe, *unto this Day*, ſpeaks a much greater Diſtance of Time after the Fact related, than thoſe few Months, in which Moſes ſurvived after that Conqueſt; and therefore what is there written muſt have been inſerted by ſome other Hand than that of Moſes, long after his Death. And in the Book of Proverbs (which was certainly King Solomon's) in the beginning of the twenty fifth Chapter it is written, *Theſe are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the Men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out.* Which muſt certainly have been added many Ages after Solomon. For Hezekiah was of the twelfth Generation in Deſcent from him. Many more Inſtances of ſuch interpolated Paſſages might be given. For throughout the whole Scriptures they have been frequently caſt in by way of Parentheſis, where they have appeared neceſſary for the explaining, connecting, or illuſtrating the Text, or the ſupplying what was wanting in it.

[i] Gen. xiv. 4.

[k] Joſh. xix. 47.

ple at *Jeruſalem*. For the celebrating of this Feaſt [i] the People were aſſembled from all Parts of the Land at *Jeruſalem*; where on a Scaffold a large Pulpit being erected, in the largeſt Street of the City, *Ezra* aſcended into it, with thirteen others of the principal Elders of the People; and having placed ſix of them on his Right Hand and ſeven on his Left, he ſtood up in the Midſt of them; and having bleſſed the Lord the great God, he began to read the Law out of the *Hebrew* Text. And as he read it in this Language, thirteen others of the *Levites*, whom he had inſtructed and appointed for this Purpoſe, rendered it Period by Period into *Chaldee*, which was then the vulgar Language of the People, and therein gave them the Meaning of every particular Part. Thus the Holy Scribe, with theſe his Aſſiſtants, continued from Morning till Noon to read and explain unto the People the Law of God, in ſuch Manner as might beſt make them to underſtand it. And the next Morning the People aſſembled again in the ſame Place, and *Ezra* and his Aſſiſtants went on farther to read and explain to them the Law of God: And when they came to the Law of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and had from thence explained to the People the Obligation, which was upon them to obſerve this Feſtival, and ſhewn them, that the Fifteenth Day of that Month was the Day appointed for the Beginning of it, this excited an eager Deſire in all the People of fulfilling the Law of God in this Particular. And therefore Proclamation was forthwith made through all *Judah* to give notice of the Feſtival, and to warn all to be preſent at *Jeruſalem* on the ſaid fifteenth Day of that Month, for the obſerving of it. And accordingly they came thither at the Time preſcribed, and prepared Booths made of the Branches of Trees, and kept the Feſtival in them through the whole ſeven Days of its Continuance, in ſuch ſolemn Manner, as had not been obſerved before from the Days of *Joſhua* to that Time.

Ezra taking the Advantage of having the People in ſo great a Number thus aſſembled together, and ſo well diſpoſed towards the Law of God, went on with his Aſſiſtants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the ſame Manner as had been done in the two former Days; and this they did Day by Day, from the firſt Day to the laſt Day of the Feſtival, till they had gone through the whole Law. By which the People perceiving in how many things they had tranſgreſſed the Commands of God, expreſſed great Trouble of Heart hereat, being much grieved for their Sins, and exceedingly terrified with the Fear of God's Wrath for the Puniſhment of them. And *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* finding them in ſo good a Temper, applied themſelves to make the beſt Improvement that could be made of it, for the Honour of God and the Intereſt of Religion, and therefore [k] forthwith proclaimed a Faſt to be held the next Day ſave one after the Feſtival was ended, to which having called all the People, while the Senſe of theſe Things was freſh and warm on their Minds, they excited them to make a public and ſolemn Confeſſion before God of all their Sins, and alſo to enter into a ſolemn Vow and Covenant with God to avoid them for the future, and ſtrictly hold themſelves faſt to the Obſervance of God's Laws.

III. And it being their Ignorance of the Law of God, that had led them into Tranſgreſſions againſt it, and this Ignorance having been occaſioned by their not having it read unto them, for the preventing hereof for the future, they from this Time got the Learnedeſt of the *Levites*, and other Scribes, that were beſt skill'd in the Law of God, to read unto them in every City; which at firſt they did no doubt in the ſame Manner as *Ezra* had done, that is, by gathering the People together to them in ſome wide Street, or other open Place of their City, which was of fitteſt Capacity to receive them. But the Inconvenience of this being ſoon felt, eſpecially in the Winter and ſtormy Seaſons of the Year, for the Remedy hereof they erected them Houſes or Tabernacles, wherein to meet for this Purpoſe; and this was the Original of Synagogues among them.

That they had no Synagogues before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity is plain, not only from the Silence which is of them in all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, but alſo from ſeveral Paſſages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in thoſe Days. For as it is a common Saying among the *Jews*, [l] that where there is no Book of the Law, there can be no Synagogue; ſo the Reaſon of the Thing proves it. For the main Service of the Synagogue being the reading of the Law unto the People, where there was no Book of the Law to be read, there certainly could be no Synagogue. But how rare the Book of the Law was through all *Judah* before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, many Texts of Scripture tell us. When *Jehoſaphat* ſent Teachers through all *Judah*, to inſtruct the People in the Law of God, they [m] carried a Book of the Law with them, which they needed not to have done, if there had been any Copies of the Law in thoſe Cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any Synagogues in them; it being the ſame Abſurdity to ſuppoſe a *Jewiſh* Synagogue without a Copy of the Law, as it would with us to ſuppoſe a Pariſh Church without a Bible. And when [n] *Hilkiah* found the Law in the Temple, neither he nor King *Joſiah* needed have been ſo ſurprized at it, had Books of the Law been common in thoſe Times. Their Behaviour on that Occaſion ſufficiently proves, they had never ſeen it before; which could not be, had there then been any other Copies of it to be found among the People. And if there were no Copies of the Law at that time among them, there could then be moſt certainly no Synagogues for them to reſort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no Synagogues

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[i] Nehemiah viii.

[m] 2 Chron. xvii. 9.

[k] Nehemiah ix.

[n] 2 Kings xxii.

[l] Midraſh Eſther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2.

nagogues among the *Jews*, till after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. And it is moſt probable, that *Ezra*'s reading to them the Law, and the Neceſſity, which thereon they perceived there was of having it oftner read among them for their Inſtruction in it, gave them the Occaſion of erecting them after the Captivity, in the Manner as is here related. Moſt [o] learned Men are of this Opinion, and [p] even ſome of the *Jews* themſelves ſay as much.

IV. Concerning theſe Synagogues it may be proper here to inform the Reader; *Firſt*, In what Places they were to be erected; *Secondly*, What was the Service to be performed in them; *Thirdly*, What were the Times of their aſſembling for this Service; and, *Fourthly*, Who were their Miniſters to perform it.

As to the Firſt, their Rule was, that a Synagogue was to be erected in every Place, [q] where there were ten *Batelnim*, that is, ten Perſons of full Age, and free Condition, always at Leiſure to attend the Service of it. For leſs than ten ſuch, according to them, did not make a Congregation; and without ſuch a Congregation preſent, no Part of the Synagogue Service could be performed; and therefore wherever they could always be ſecure of ſuch a Congregation, to be preſent at the Service in all the ſtated Times, in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a Synagogue. For where ten ſuch Perſons might always be had at leiſure to attend the Synagogue in all their religious Aſſemblies, this they reckoned a great City; and here they would have a Synagogue to be built, and not otherwiſe. At firſt theſe Synagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplied to a great Number, in the ſame Manner as Pariſh Churches with us, which they much reſembled. So that in our Saviour's Time there was no Town in *Judea*, but what had one or more of them. The *Jews* tell us, that about that Time [r] *Tiberias* alone, which was a City of *Galilee*, had twelve of them, and *Jeruſalem* [ſ] four hundred and eighty; but herein they are ſuppoſed to have ſpoken hyperbolically, and to have expreſſed an uncertain large Number by a certain. If this were to be underſtood ſtrictly and literally, what is ſaid [t] by ſome of theſe ten *Batelnim*, that they were the ſtationary Men of the Synagogue, hired to be always preſent to make a Congregation, muſt be underſtood of many of them. For were their Number ſo multiplied, they could not otherwiſe in every one of them be always ſure of a Congregation, eſpecially on the working Days of the Week, two of which were always ſolemn Synagogue Days, as well as the Sabbaths.

V. The Service to be performed in theſe Synagogue Aſſemblies, were Prayers, reading the Scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

Firſt, For their Prayers they have Liturgies, in which are all the preſcribed Forms of their Synagogue Worſhip. Theſe at firſt were very few, but ſince they are encreaſed unto a very large Bulk; which makes their Synagogue Service very long and tedious; and the Rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplex'd and intricate, and encumber'd with many Rites and ceremonious Obſervances; in all which, they equal, if not exceed, both the Superſtition, and alſo the Length of the Popiſh Service. The moſt ſolemn Part of their Prayers are thoſe, which they call [u] *The eighteen Prayers.* Theſe they ſay were compoſed and inſtituted by *Ezra*, and the Great Synagogue: And to them Rabbi *Gamaliel*, a little before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, added the Nineteenth againſt the Chriſtians, who are therein meant under the Names of Apoſtates and Hereticks. It is certain theſe Prayers are very antient. For mention is made of them [w] in the *Miſhna* as old ſettled Forms; and no doubt is to be made but that they were uſed in our Saviour's Time; at leaſt moſt of them, [x] if not all the eighteen; and conſequently that he joined in them with the reſt of the *Jews*, whenever he went into their Synagogues, as [y] he always did every Sabbath-Day. We ſhall here add a Tranſlation of them in the ſame Order as they are in the *Jewiſh* Liturgies, adding the nineteenth Prayer to them; which according to the ſaid Order is the Twelfth in Number, as here recited.

1. *Bleſſed be thou O Lord our God, the God of our Fathers, the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac, *the God of* Jacob, *the Great God, powerful and tremendous, the High God, bountifully diſpenſing Benefits, the Creator and Poſſeſſor of the Univerſe, who remembreſt the good Deeds of our Fathers, and in thy Love ſendeſt a Redeemer to thoſe, who are deſcended from them, for thy Name ſake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour and our Shield. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who art the Shield of* Abraham.

2. *Thou O Lord art powerful for ever. Thou raiſeſt the Dead to Life, and art mighty to ſave; thou ſendeſt down the Dew, ſtilleſt the Winds, and makeſt the Rain to come down upon the Earth; and ſuſtaineſt with thy Beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant Mercy makeſt the Dead again to live. Thou helpeſt up thoſe that fall; thou cureſt the Sick; thou looſeſt them that are bound, and makeſt good thy Word of Truth to thoſe that ſleep in the Duſt. Who is to be compared to thee O thou Lord of Might? And who is like unto thee O our King, who killeſt and makeſt alive;*

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[o] Spencer de Legibus Heb. Lib. I. cap. iv. Sect. 10. Vitringa de Synagoga vetere Lib. I. Pt. ii. cap. 9, 10, 11, 12. Relandus in Antiquit. Sacr. Pt. i. cap. 10.

[p] Maimonides in Tephillah.

[q] Megillah cap. i. Sect. 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. See alſo Lightfoot in his Harmony, Sect. 17. and in his Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew iv. 23.

[r] Berachoth 8.

[ſ] See Lightfoot's Chorographical Century, cap. 36.

[t] Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum p. 292.

[u] Of theſe ſee Maimonides in Tephillah.

[w] In Berachoth cap. iv. Sect. 3.

[x] It muſt be acknowledged, that ſome of theſe Prayers ſeem to have been compoſed after the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and to have Reference to it, eſpecially the 10th, the 11th, the 14th, and the 17th. Though it is poſſible ſome of theſe might refer to the Calamities of the antienter Times.

[y] Luke iv. 16.

and makeſt Salvation to ſpring up as the Herb out of the Field. Thou art faithful to make the Dead to riſe again to Life. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who raiſeſt the Dead again to Life.

3. *Thou art holy, and thy Name is holy, and thy Saints do praiſe thee every Day.* Selah. *For a great King and Holy art thou O God. Bleſſed art thou O Lord God moſt Holy.*

4. *Thou of thy Mercy giveſt Knowledge unto Men, and teacheſt them Underſtanding; give graciouſly unto us Knowledge, Wiſdom, and Underſtanding. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who graciouſly giveſt Knowledge unto Men.*

5. *Bring us back O our Father to the Obſervance of thy Law, and make us to adhere to thy Precepts; and do thou O our King draw us near to thy Worſhip, and convert us unto thee by perfect Repentance in thy Preſence. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who vouchſafeſt to receive us by Repentance.*

6. *Be thou merciful unto us O our Father, for we have ſinned; pardon us O our King, for we have tranſgreſſed againſt thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Bleſſed art thou O Lord moſt gracious, who multiplieſt thy Mercies in the Forgiveneſs of Sins.*

7. *Look we beſeech thee upon our Afflictions. Be thou on our Side in all our Contentions, and plead thou our Cauſe in all our Litigations; and make haſte to redeem us with a perfect Redemption for thy Name's ſake. For thou art our God, our King, and a ſtrong Redeemer. Bleſſed art thou O Lord the Redeemer of* Iſrael.

8. *Heal us O Lord our God, and we ſhall be healed. Save us, and we ſhall be ſaved. For thou art our Praiſe. Bring unto us ſound Health, and a perfect Remedy for all our Infirmities, and for all our Griefs, and for all our Wounds. For thou art a God who healeſt, and art merciful. Bleſſed art thou O Lord our God, who cureſt the Diſeaſes of thy People* Iſrael.

9. *Bleſs us O Lord our God in every Work of our Hands, and bleſs unto us the Seaſons of the Year, and give us the Dew and the Rain to be a Bleſſing unto us upon the Face of all our Land, and ſatiate the World with thy Bleſſings, and ſend down Moiſture upon every Part of the Earth, that is habitable. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who giveſt thy Bleſſing to the Years.*

10. *Convocate us together by the Sound of the great Trumpet, to the Enjoyment of our Liberty, and lift up thy Enſign to call together all of the Captivity, from the four Quarters of the Earth into our own Land. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who gathereſt together the Exiles of the People of* Iſrael.

11. *Reſtore unto us our Judges as at the Firſt, and our Counſellors as at the Beginning, and remove far from us Affliction and Trouble, and do thou only reign over us in Benignity, and in Mercy, and in Righteouſneſs, and in Juſtice. Bleſſed art thou O Lord our King, who loveſt Righteouſneſs and Juſtice.*

12. [z] *Let there be no Hope to them, who apoſtatiſe from the true Religion; and let Hereticks, how many ſoever they be, all periſh as in a Moment. And let* [a] *the Kingdom of Pride be ſpeedily rooted out, and broken in our Days. Bleſſed art thou O Lord our God, who deſtroyeſt the Wicked, and bringeſt down the Proud.*

13. *Upon the Pious and the Juſt, and upon* [b] *the Proſelytes of Juſtice, and upon the Remnant of thy People of the Houſe of* Iſrael, *let thy Mercies be moved O Lord our God, and give a good Reward unto all, who faithfully put their Truſt in thy Name, and grant us our Portion with them, and for ever let us not be aſhamed: For we put our Truſt in thee. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who art the Support and Confidence of the Juſt.*

14. *Dwell thou in the midſt of* Jeruſalem *thy City, as thou haſt promiſed; build it with a Building to laſt for ever, and do this ſpeedily even in our Days. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who buildeſt* Jeruſalem.

15. *Make the Offspring of* David *thy Servant ſpeedily to grow up, and flouriſh, and let our Horn be exalted in thy Salvation. For we hope for thy Salvation every Day. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who makeſt the Horn of our Salvation to flouriſh.*

16. *Hear our Voice, O Lord our God, moſt merciful Father, pardon and have Mercy upon us, and accept of our Prryers, with Mercy and Favour, and ſend us not away empty from thy Preſence O our King. For thou heareſt with Mercy the Prayer of thy People* Iſrael. *Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who heareſt Prayer.*

17. *Be thou well pleaſed O Lord our God with thy People* Iſrael, *and have Regard unto their Prayers: Reſtore thy Worſhip to the inner Part of thy Houſe, and make Haſte with Favour and Love to accept of the Burnt Sacrifices of* Iſrael, *and their Prayers; and let the Worſhip of* Iſrael *thy People be continually well pleaſing unto thee. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who reſtoreſt thy divine Preſence to* Zion.

18. *We will give Thanks unto thee with Praiſe. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our Fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our Life, the Shield of our Salvation. To all Generations will we give Thanks unto thee, and declare thy Praiſe, becauſe of our Life, which is always in thy Hands, and becauſe of our Souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and becauſe of thy Signs, which are every Day with us, and becauſe of thy Wonders, and marvellous Loving-kindneſſes, which are Morning and Evening and Night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy Mercies are not conſumed; thou art merciful, for thy Loving-kindneſſes fail not. For ever we hope in thee And for all theſe Mercies be thy Name, O King, bleſſed and exalted and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give Thanks unto thee.* Selah. *And let them in Truth and Sincerity*

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[z] This is the Prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel againſt the Chriſtians, or as others ſay by Rabbi Samuel the Little who was one of his Scholars.

[a] The Roman Empire.

[b] The Proſelytes of Juſtice were ſuch as received the whole Jewiſh Law, and conformed in all Things to their Religion, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

praiſe thy Name O God of our Salvation, and our Help. Selah. *Bleſſed art thou O Lord; whoſe Name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give Thanks unto.*

19. *Give Peace, Beneficence, and Benediction, Grace, Benignity, and Mercy unto us, and to* Iſrael *thy People. Bleſs us O our Father, even all of us together as one Man, with the Light of thy Countenance. For in the Light of thy Countenance haſt thou given unto us O Lord our God the Law of Life, and Love, and Benignity, and Righteouſneſs, and Bleſſing, and Mercy, and Life, and Peace. And let it ſeem good in thine Eyes, to bleſs thy People* Iſrael *with thy Peace at all Times, and in every Moment. Bleſſed art thou O Lord, who bleſſeſt thy People* Iſrael *with Peace.* Amen.

VI. Theſe Forms if compared with thoſe in our Liturgy, are very mean and jejune: From whence we may learn, 1ſt. That our Saviour diſliked not Set Forms of Prayer in public Worſhip: And 2dly. That he was contented to join with the Public in the meaneſt Forms, rather than ſeparate from it.

For ſince our Saviour ſpared not freely to tell the *Jews* of all the Corruptions, which they had in his Time run into, and on all Occaſions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the Will of God to uſe Set Forms of Prayer in his public Service, or had it been diſpleaſing to him to be addreſſed to in ſuch mean Forms, when much better might have been made; we may be ſure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither. But he having never found Fault with them for uſing Set Forms, but on the contrary taught his own Diſciples a Set Form to pray by; nor at any Time expreſſed a Diſlike of the Forms then in Uſe, becauſe of the Meanneſs and Emptineſs of them, but always joined with them in their Synagogues in the Forms above recited; this may prove that neither the uſing Set Forms of Prayers in our public Worſhip, nor the uſing of ſuch, which may be thought not ſufficiently edifying, can be Objections ſufficient to juſtify any in their Refuſal to join in them: For they have the Example of *Chriſt* thus directly againſt them.

The Truth is, whether there be a Form or no Form, or whether the Form be elegantly or meanly compoſed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our Prayers unto God. It is true and ſincere Devotion of the Heart only, that can make them acceptable unto him. For it is this only that gives Life and Vigour, and true Acceptance, to all our religious Addreſſes unto him. Without this, how elegantly and movingly ſoever the Prayer may be compoſed, and with how much ſeeming Fervour and Zeal ſoever it may be poured out, all is as dead Matter, and of no Validity in the Preſence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his Worſhip, any Form of Prayer, provided it be of ſound Words, may be ſufficient to make us and our Worſhip acceptable unto him, and obtain Mercy, Peace, and Pardon from him. For it is not the Fineneſs of Speech, or the Elegancy of Expreſſion, but the Sincerity of the Mind, and the true Devotion of the Heart only, that God regards in all our Prayers, which we offer up unto him.

But to return from this Digreſſion: Theſe [c] nineteen Prayers were enjoined to be ſaid by all that were of Age, of what Sex or Condition ſoever, either in public, or in private, three Times every Day; that is, in the Morning, in the Afternoon, and at Night. And they were of that Eſteem, and are ſo ſtill among them, that they allow the Name of Prayer to be proper to the Saying of theſe nineteen Prayers only, looking on it by way of Eminence to be much more ſo, than the ſaying of all the reſt. And therefore they are on every Synagogue Day offered up in the ſolemneſt Manner in all their public Aſſemblies. But theſe Prayers are in their Offices, no other than as the Lord's Prayer in ours, that is, they are the fundamental and principal Part. For beſides them they have many other Prayers, ſome going before, others interſperſed between them, and others following after, which all together make their Synagogue Service very long. Our Saviour [d] found Fault with their Prayers for being too long in his Time. Many Additions in their Liturgies have made to them much more ſo ſince.

VII. The ſecond Part of their Synagogue Service is the reading of the Scriptures, which is of three Sorts; 1ſt, The *Kiriath Shema*; 2dly, The reading of the Law; and, 3dly, The reading of the Prophets: Of all theſe we ſhall here treat in order.

1. The *Kiriath Shema* [e] conſiſts in the reading of three Portions of Scripture. The firſt of theſe Portions is from the Beginning of the fourth Verſe of the ſixth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the End of the ninth Verſe; the Second from the Beginning of the thirteenth Verſe of the eleventh Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the End of the twenty firſt Verſe; and the Third from the Beginning of the thirty ſeventh Verſe of the fifteenth Chapter of *Numbers*, to the End of the Chapter. And becauſe the firſt of theſe Portions in the *Hebrew* Bible begins with the Word *Shema*, that is, *Hear*, they call all theſe three together the *Shema*, and the reading of them *Kiriath Shema*, that is, *The reading of the* Shema. This reading of the *Shema* is accompanied with ſeveral Prayers and Benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the ſaying of the nineteen Prayers, the ſolemneſt Part of their religious Service, and is in the ſame Manner as that to be performed according to their Ritual every Day, either publicly in their Synagogue Aſſemblies, or elſe privately when there are no ſuch Aſſemblies, or when they cannot be preſent at them: Only with this Difference, that whereas the nineteen Prayers are to be ſaid thrice every Day, and by every Perſon of Age without any Exception; the reading or repeating of the *Shema* is only to be twice a Day, that is Morning and Evening, and the Males only which are of free Condition are obliged to

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[c] Maimon in Teph

[d] Matth. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.

[e] Maimonides in Kiriath Shema — Vitringa de Synagoga vetere Lib. 3. Pr. 2. Cap. xv.

all Women and Servants being excuſed from the Duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this *Shema* every Morning and Evening, becauſe of theſe Words of the Law, [f] *And thou ſhalt talk of them — when thou lieſt down and when thou riſeſt up.* The reading or repeating of this *Shema* in the Manner here related, they think, is of great Moment for the preſerving of Religion among them, as moſt certainly it muſt be, becauſe thereby they do twice every Day make Confeſſion of the Unity of God, and of the Duties which they owe unto him.

2. The five Books of the Law are [g] divided into fifty four Sections. [h] Every Sabbath-Day, one of theſe Sections was read in their Synagogues; and this, we are aſſured, in the Acts of the Apoſtles, was done amongſt them [i] *of old Time*; which may well be interpreted from the Time of *Ezra*. They ended the laſt Section with the laſt Words of *Deuteronomy* on the Sabbath of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, and then began anew with the firſt Section from the Beginning of *Geneſis* the next Sabbath after, and ſo went round in this Circle every Year. The Number of theſe Sections was fifty four, becauſe in their intercalated Years (a Month being then added) there were fifty four Sabbaths. On other Years they reduced them to the Number of the Sabbaths which were in theſe Years, by joining two ſhort ones into one: For they held themſelves obliged to have the whole Law thus read over in their Synagogues every Year.

3. Till the Time of the Perſecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, they read only the Law. [k] But then being forbid to read it any more, in the Room of the fifty four Sections of the Law they ſubſtituted fifty four Sections out of the Prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that when the reading of the Law was again reſtored by the *Maccabees*, the Section which was read every Sabbath out of the Law, ſerved for their firſt Leſſon, and the Section out of the Prophets for their ſecond Leſſon; and ſo it was practiſed in the Time of the Apoſtles. And therefore when *Paul* entered into the Synagogue at *Antiochia* in *Piſidia*, it is ſaid, that [l] *he ſtood up to preach, after the reading of the Law and the Prophets*; that is, after the reading of the firſt Leſſon out of the Law, and the ſecond Leſſon out of the Prophets. And in that very Sermon which he then preached, he tells them, [m] *that the Prophets were read at* Jeruſalem *every Sabbath-Day*, that is, in thoſe Leſſons which were taken out of the Prophets.

VIII. Theſe Sections were divided into Verſes. They are marked out in the *Hebrew* Bibles by two great Points at the End of them, called from hence by a *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies *The End of the Verſe.* If *Ezra* himſelf was not the Author of this Diviſion, it was not long after him, that it was introduced; for certainly it is very antient. It is moſt likely it was invented for the Sake of the *Tarmugiſts* or *Chaldee* Interpreters. For after the *Hebrew* Language had ceaſed to be the Mother-Tongue of the *Jews*, [n] and the *Chaldee* grew up into uſe among them inſtead of it, their Uſage was, [o] that in the public reading of the Law it was read firſt in the orginal *Hebrew*, and after that rendered by an Interpreter into the *Chaldee*. This was done Period by Period: And therefore, that theſe Periods might be the better diſtinguiſhed, and the Reader more certainly know how much to read, and the Interpreter how much to interpret, at every Interval, there was a Neceſſity that ſome Marks ſhould be invented for their Direction herein. The [p] Rule given in their antient Books is, That in the Law the Reader was to read one Verſe, and then the Interpreter was to render the ſame into the *Chaldee*: But that in the Prophets the Reader was to read three Verſes together, and then the Interpreter was to render the ſaid three Verſes into *Chaldee* in the ſame Manner. Which manifeſtly proves, that the Diviſion of the Scriptures into Verſes muſt be as antient, as the way of interpreting them into the *Chaldee* Language in their Synagogues; which was from the very Time that Synagogues were erected, and the Scriptures publickly read in them, after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. This was at firſt done only in the Law: But afterwards the ſame was alſo done in the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, eſpecially after the Prophets began to be publicly read among them as well as the Law; and from hence the Diviſion of the Holy Scriptures into Verſes, it's moſt likely, was firſt made, but without any numerical Figures annexed to them.

But the Diviſion of the Holy Scriptures into Chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later Date. The Pſalms indeed were always divided as at preſent. For [q] St. *Paul* in his Sermon at *Antiochia* in *Piſidia* quotes the ſecond *Pſalm*. But as to the reſt of the Holy Scriptures, the Diviſion of them into ſuch Chapters as at preſent, is what the [r] Antients knew nothing of. [ſ] Some attribute it to *Stephen Langton*, who was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the Reigns of King *John* and King *Henry* the Third his Son. But the true Author of this Invention was *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who flouriſhed about the Year 1240. This Man being from a *Dominican* Monk advanced to the Dignity of a Cardinal, and the firſt of that Order that was ſo, is commonly called *Hugo the Cardinal*. The Diviſion of the Chapters into Verſes, with Numerical Figures, as now eſtabliſhed among us, is of yet much later Date, there being many printed Bibles without it.

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[f] Deut. vi. 7. xi. 19.

[g] Buxtorfii Tiberias cap. 11. & Tract. de Paraſhis, & Synagoga Judaica cap. 16. & cap. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim cap. 1. Sect. 6. Præfatio Leuſdeni ad Biblia Hebræa Athiæ. Elias in Tisbite.

[h] Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica. cap 16. [i] Acts xv. 21.

[k] Elias in Tisbite. Buxtorfius & Schickardus ibid. Hottingeri Theſaurus Lib I. cap. ii. Sect. 5. N. 3.

[l] Acts xiii. 15. [m] Ibid. Ver. 27.

[n] David Kimchi in præfatione ad Michlol. Ephodæi Gram. cap. 7. Elias Levita in Præfatione ad Methurgeman.

[o] Waltoni Prolegom. 3. Sect. 24. Lightfoot Vol. I. p. 215, 220, 357, & 1012. Vol. II. p. 545, & 803. Buxtorfii Diſſertatio de Linguæ Hebrææ conſervatione p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. P. 2. Exerc. 9. cap. 5. Sect. 9. Hottingeri Theſaurus Lib. I. cap. iii. Sect. 3. Q. 1. Maimonides in Tephillin cap. 12. Schickardi Bechinath Happeruſhim cap. ii. Sect. 1.

[p] Miſhna in Tract. Megilla cap. iv. Tract. Sopherim cap. 11. [q] Acts xiii. 33.

[r] The Greek Bibles among Chriſtian antiently had their τίτλοι and κεφάλαια, but the Intent of them was rather to point out the Sums or Contents of the Text, than to divide the Books; and they were vaſtly different from the preſent Chapters. For many of them contained only a very few Verſes, and ſome of them no more than one.

[ſ] Baleus Cent. 3. p. 275.

IX. The third Part of the Synagogue Service is the expounding of the Scriptures, and preaching to the People from them. The Firſt was performed at the Time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the Law and the Prophets was over. It is plain *Chriſt* taught the *Jews* in their Synagogues both theſe Ways. When [u] he came to *Nazareth* his own City, he was called out, as a Member of that Synagogue, to read the Section or Leſſon out of the Prophets, which was to be read that Day. And when he had ſtood up and read it, he ſate down and expounded it; as was the Uſage of the *Jews* in both theſe Caſes. For out of Reverence to the Law and the Prophets they ſtood up, when they read any Portion out of either; and in regard to themſelves as Teachers, they ſate when they expounded. But in all other Synagogues, of which he was not a Member, when he entered into them (as he always did [w] every Sabbath Day wherever he was) he taught the People in Sermons after the reading of the Law and the Prophets were over. And ſo [x] St. *Paul* taught the *Jews* in their Synagogue at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*. For there it is expreſly ſaid in the ſacred Text, that his preaching was after the reading of the Law and the Prophets was ended.

X. The Times of their Synagogue Service [y] were three Days a Week, beſides their Holidays, whether Faſts or Feſtivals; and thrice on every one of thoſe Days; that is, in the Morning, and in the Afternoon, and at Night. Their ordinary Synagogue Days in every Week, were *Monday*, *Thurſday*, and *Saturday*. *Saturday* was their Sabbath, the Day ſet apart among them for religious Exerciſes by divine Appointment; and the other two by the Appointment of the Elders, that ſo three Days might not paſs without the public reading of the Law among them. The Reaſon, which they give for this, is taken from their myſtical Interpretation of the Law. For whereas we find it ſaid [z] that the *Iſraelites* were in great Diſtreſs on their travelling three Days in the Wilderneſs without Water, by Water they tell us is there myſtically meant the Law, and therefore for this Reaſon they ought not to be three Days together without the hearing of it; conſequently, for the avoiding hereof they have ordained, that it be publicly read in their Synagogues thrice every Week. And their Manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole Law, or five Books of *Moſes*, being divided into as many Sections or Leſſons, as there are Weeks in their Year, as hath been been before ſhewn, on *Monday* they began with that, which was proper for that Week, and read it half way thorough, and on *Thurſday* proceeded to read the Remainder; and on *Saturday*, which was their ſolemn Sabbath, they read all over again, from the Beginning to the End of the ſaid Leſſon or Section; and this both Morning and Evening. On the Week-Days they read it only in the Morning, but on the Sabbath they read it in the Evening as well as in the Morning, for the Sake of Labourers and Artificers, who could not leave their Work to attend the Synagogues on the Week-Days, that ſo all might hear twice every Week the whole Section or Leſſon of that Week read unto them. And when the reading of the Prophets was added to that of the Law, they obſerved the ſame Order in it.

As the Synagogue Service was to be on three Days every Week, for the Sake of their hearing the Law; ſo it was to be thrice on thoſe Days, for the Sake of their Prayers. For it was a conſtant Rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three Times every Day, that is, at the Times of the Morning and the Evening Sacrifice, and at the Beginning of the Night, becauſe till then the Evening Sacrifice was ſtill left burning upon the Altar. It's certain that it was anciently among God's People the ſteady Practice of good and religious Perſons, to offer up their Prayers to God thrice every Day. This we find *David*, and this we find *Daniel* did. For the former, ſays [a] *Evening, Morning, and at Noon will I pray.* And the latter tells us, that notwithſtanding the King's Decree to the contrary, [b] *He kneeled upon his Knees three Times a Day, and prayed, and gave Thanks unto his God, as he did aforetime.* By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that Time thus pray, but that it was always his conſtant Cuſtom ſo to do.

The *Jews* having had no Synagogues till after the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, till then they had not any Set Forms of their Prayers, neither had they any ſolemn Aſſemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the Temple only. That was always the Houſe of Prayer, and there the Times of Prayer were fixed to the Times of the Morning and Evening Sacrifice. As ſoon as they began the Sacrifice, [c] the Stationary Men were preſent in the Court of *Iſrael*, to offer up their Prayers for the whole Congregation of *Iſrael*; and other devout Perſons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the Court, called the Court of the Women, praying for themſelves. But neither of theſe had any [d] public Forms to pray by, nor any public Miniſters to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themſelves, and all according to their own private Conceptions. And therefore our Saviour [e] in the Parable of the Publican and the Phariſee, making them to go up both together into the Temple to pray, introduceth them there, as each making his own Prayer for himſelf. For there all thus prayed, and ſo continued to do all the while the public Sacrifices were offering up, both Morning and Evening. [f] And the offering of Incenſe on the Golden Altar in the Holy Place, at every Morning and Evening Service in the Temple, was inſtituted on Purpoſe to offer up unto God the Prayers of the People, who were then without, praying unto him. Hence it was, that [g] St. *Luke* tells us, that while *Zecharias* went into the Temple to burn Incenſe, *The whole Multitude of the People were praying without at the Time of Incenſe.* And for the ſame Reaſon it is that [h] *David* prayed; *Let my Prayers be ſet forth before thee, as Incenſe, and the lifting up of my Hands, as the Evening Sacrifice.* And according to this Uſage is to be explained what we find in the *Revelations,* [i] *That an Angel came and ſtood at the Altar, having a Golden Cenſer, and there was given unto him much Incenſe, that he ſhould offer it up with the Prayers of all Saints upon the Golden Altar, which was before the Throne, and the Smoke of the Incenſe, which came with the Prayers of the Saints, aſcended up before God out of the Angel's Hands.* For the Angel here mentioned is the Angel of the Covenant, *Chriſt* our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and as our Mediator conſtantly offers up our Prayers unto him. And the Manner of his doing this, is here ſet forth by the Manner of the typical Repreſentation of it in the Temple. For as there at every Morning and Evening Sacrifice, the Prieſt in Virtue of that Sacrifice entring into the Holy Place, and preſenting himſelf at the Golden Altar, which ſtood directly before the Mercy-Seat, did burn Incenſe thereon, while the People were at their Prayers without, thereby as Interceſſor to God for them, to offer up their Prayers to him for his gracious Acceptance; ſo *Chriſt* our true Prieſt, by Virtue of that one Sacrifice of himſelf once offered for all, being entered into the Holy Place, the Heaven above, is there continually preſent before the Throne of Mercy, to be a conſtant Interceſſor for us unto our God, while we are here in the outer Court of his Church offering up our Prayers. And it being well underſtood among the *Jews,* that the offering up of the daily Sacrifices, and the burning of Incenſe upon the Altar of Incenſe at the Time of thoſe Sacrifices, was for the rendring of God propitious unto them, and making their Prayers acceptable in his Preſence, they were very careful to make the Times of theſe Offerings, and the Times of their Prayers, both at the Temple, and every where elſe, to be exactly the ſame. And therefore as ſoon as Synagogues were erected among them, the Hours of public Devotions in them on their Synagogue Days, were as to Morning and Evening Prayers the ſame Hours in which the Morning and Evening Sacrifices were offered up at the Temple. And the ſame Hours were alſo obſerved in their private Prayers, where-ever performed. Moſt good and devout Perſons that were at *Jeruſalem,* choſe on thoſe Times to go up into the Temple, and there offer up their Prayers unto God. And thus [k] *Peter* and *John* are ſaid to go up into the Temple at the Hour of Prayer, being the ninth Hour of the Day; which was at three in the Afternoon, the Time of the offering up of the Evening Sacrifice: For the *Jews* reckoned the Hour of the Day from Six in the Morning. Thoſe who were in other Places, or being at *Jeruſalem* had not leiſure to go up to the Temple, did then their Devotions elſewhere. If it were a Synagogue Day, and they had leiſure to go to the Synagogue, they choſe that for the Place to do it in; but if it were another Day, or they had not leiſure to go to ſuch an Holy Place, then they prayed where-ever they were at the Hour of Prayer, though it were in the Street or Market-Place And for this it was, that our Saviour [l] found Fault with them, when he told them that *they loved to pray ſtanding in the Synagogues, and in the Corners of the Streets,* thereby affecting more to be ſeen of Men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper Rooms in their Houſes, which were as Chapels particularly ſet apart, and conſecrated for this Purpoſe. In [m] ſuch an one *Cornelius* was praying at the ninth Hour of the Day, that is at the Time of the Evening Sacrifice, when the Angel appeared unto him. And ſuch an one [n] *Peter* went up into to pray about the ſixth Hour of the Day, when he had the Viſion of the great Sheet; that is, at half an Hour paſt twelve or thereabouts. For then the Evening Sacrifice began on great and ſolemn Days, and ſuch an one it ſeems hereby that was. And in ſuch an [o] upper Room were the Holy Apoſtles aſſembled together in Prayer, when the Holy-Ghoſt deſcended upon them.

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[u] Luke iv. 16, 17, &c.
[w] Ibid. Ver. 16.
[x] Acts xiii. 15.
[y] Maimon. in Teph.
[z] Exod. xv. 2.
[a] Pſalm lv. 17.
[b] Dan. vi. 10, 13.
[c] See Lightfoot's Temple Service.
[d] If there were any ſtated Forms for this Worſhip, they were only as Helps for thoſe who prayed at the Temple, which every one offered up for himſelf without a public Miniſter.
[e] Luke xviii. 10, 11, 12, 13.

XI. As to the Miniſtration of the Synagogue Service, it was not confined to the ſacerdotal Order. They were conſecrated only to the Service of the Temple, which was quite of another Nature, as conſiſting only in the offering up of Sacrifices and Oblations. At the Time indeed of the Morning and Evening Sacrifices, the *Levites* and other Singers ſung Pſalms of Praiſe unto God before the Altar; and in the Concluſion the Prieſts bleſſed the People; which may ſeem to bear ſome Reſemblance to what was done in the Synagogue. But in [p] all other Particulars the public Synagogue Service was wholly different from the public Service of the Temple: And any one that by Learning was qualified for it, of what Tribe ſoever he were, was admitted to the Adminiſtration. But, that Order might be preſerved, there were in every Synagogue ſome fixed Miniſters to take care of the religious Duties to be performed in it. And theſe were by Impoſition of Hands ſolemnly admitted thereto. The firſt were the Elders of the Synagogue, who governed all the Affairs of it, and directed all the Duties of Religion therein to be performed. Theſe are in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament [oo] called *Rulers of the Synagogue*. How many of theſe were in every Synagogue is no where ſaid: But this is certain, they were more than one; for they are mentioned in Scripture [pp] in the plural Number in reſpect of the ſame Synagogue. And at *Corinth* [q] *Criſpus* and *Soſthenes* are both ſaid to be Chief Rulers of the Synagogue, tho' it is not likely, that there was more than one Synagogue in that City.

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[f] See Lightfoot's Temple Service, Chap. 9.
[g] Chap. i. 9, 10.
[h] Pſalm cxli. 2.
[i] Chap. viii. 4, 5.
[k] Acts iii. 1.
[l] Matth. vi. 5.
[m] Acts x. 3 and 30.
[n] Chap. x. 9.
[o] Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, Lib. 2. Tract 1.
[p] Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam Judaicam & Vitringam de Synagoga vetere.

Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the Miniſter of the Synagogue, that officiated in offering up the publick Prayers to God for the whole Congregation; who becauſe he was the Mouth of the Congregation, delegated from them as their Repreſentative, Meſſenger, or Angel, to ſpeak to God in Prayer for them, was therefore in the *Hebrew* Language called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the Angel of the Church*. And hence it is that the Biſhops of the Seven Churches of *Aſia* are in the *Revelations*, by a Name borrowed from the Synagogue, called the Angels of thoſe Churches. For as this Officer in the *Jewiſh* Synagogue was the prime Miniſter to offer up the Prayers of the People to God; ſo alſo was the Biſhop the prime Miniſter to offer up the Prayers of the People to God in the Church of *Chriſt*. The Biſhop indeed did not always officiate in this Miniſtry, becauſe in every Church there were Presbyters under him, who often diſcharged this Duty in his ſtead. Neither did the *Sheliach Zibbor* always diſcharge his Duty in the Sanagogue in his own proper Perſon; but often others were extraordinarily called out for the diſcharging of it, provided they were by Age, Gravity, Skill, and Piety of Converſation, qualified for it. And whoſoever was thus appointed to this Miniſtry, was *the Angel of the Congregation*, for that Time. For the proper Signification of the Word uſed in the Hebrew Language for an Angel is a *Meſſenger*. And therefore as a Meſſenger from God to the People is an Angel of God, ſo a Meſſenger from the People to God is an Angel of the People. In the latter Senſe only was the Name of Angel given to the Miniſter of the Synagogue; but it belongs to the Miniſter of the Chriſtian Church in both Senſes. For he is not only a Meſſenger of the People to God, in the offering up of the Prayers of the Congregation to him, but he is alſo a Meſſenger of God to them, in bringing from him the Meſſages of Life, Peace, and everlaſting Salvation unto them.

Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the Deacons or inferior Miniſters of the Synagogue, in *Hebrew* called *Chazanim*, that is, Overſeers; who were alſo fixed Miniſters, and under the Rulers of the Synagogue had the Charge and Overſight of all Things in it. Theſe kept the ſacred Books of the Law and the Prophets, and other Holy Scriptures, as alſo the Books of their public Liturgies, and all other Utenſils belonging to the Synagogue, and brought them forth, whenever they were to be uſed in the public Service. And particularly they ſtood by and overlooked them that read the Leſſons out of the Law and the Prophets, and corrected them when they read amiſs, and took the Book of them again when they had done. And thus it is ſaid of our Saviour, [r] when he was called out to read out of the Prophets in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, of which he was a Member, that after he had done, he gave the Book again to the Miniſter, that is the Deacon of the Synagogue. For there was antiently no fixed Synagogue Miniſter for the reading of the Leſſons: But the Rulers of the Synagogue, when the Time of the reading of thoſe Leſſons came, called out any Member of the Congregation for this Service, that was able to perform it. And it was uſually done in this Order. A Prieſt was called out firſt, and next a *Levite*, if any of theſe Orders were preſent in the Congregation; and after that any other *Iſraelite*, till they made up in all the Number of ſeven. And hence it was anciently, that every Section of the Law was divided into ſeven leſſer Sections, for the Sake of theſe ſeven Readers.

The next fix'd Officer of the Synagogue, after the *Chazanim*, was the *Interpreter*. His Buſineſs was to interpret into *Chaldee* the Leſſons, as they were read in *Hebrew* to the Congregation; for which, Learning and Skill in both Languages being requiſite, when they found a Man fit for the Office, they retained him by a Salary, and admitted him as a ſtanding Miniſter of the Synagogue. When the Bleſſing was to be given, if there were a Prieſt preſent at the Congregation, he always did the Office; but if there were no Prieſt then preſent, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, who read the Prayers, gave the Bleſſing alſo in a Form made proper for him. Thus far we have laid before the Reader, for his better Underſtanding of the Scriptures, a ſhort Scheme of the Synagogue Worſhip of the *Jews*, as it was among them in antient Times. That which they at preſent retain, is in many Particulars different from it. [s] We ſhall cloſe this Diſſertation with two Enquiries, which may alſo be of conſiderable Uſe. Firſt upon what Ground it is pretended by ſome, that Synagogues were before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity: And 2dly, Why the *Jews* before that Captivity were ſo prone to Idolatry, as we read they were.

XII. Thoſe who think Synagogues to have been before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, alledge for it what is ſaid in the ſeventy fourth Pſalm, Verſe the eighth; *They have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land*. But the original Words ſignify, *all the Aſſemblies of God*; by which muſt indeed be underſtood the Places, where the People aſſembled to worſhip God. But this doth not infer, that thoſe Places were Synagogues; and there are none of the antient Verſions, excepting that of *Aquila*, that ſo render this Paſſage. Thoſe *Iſraelites* that lived at a Diſtance from the Tabernacle, and afterwards from the Temple, not being able at all Times to reſort thither, they built Courts like thoſe in which they prayed at the Tabernacle and at the Temple, therein to offer up their Prayers to God, which in after times we find called by the Name of *Proſeuchæ*. Some of the *Latin* Poets [t] make mention of them by this Name; and into one of them our Saviour is ſaid to have gone to pray, and [u] to have continued therein a whole Night; and in another of them [w] St. *Paul* taught the People of *Philippi*.

[oo] Mark v. 35, 36, 37. Luke viii. 41. and Chap. xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15.

[pp] Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15. [q] Chap. xviii 8, 17. [r] Luke iv. 20.

[s] He that would be more fully informed of this Matter, may read Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica, Vitringa de Synagoga vetere, and above all Maimonides, eſpecially in his Tracts Tephillah, Chagigah, and Kiriath Shema.

The *Proſeuchæ* differed from Synagogues in ſeveral Particulars. For, *Firſt*, in Synagogues the Prayers were offered up in public Forms in common for the whole Congregation; but in the *Proſeuchæ* they prayed as in the Temple, every one apart for himſelf; and ſo [x] our Saviour prayed in the *Proſeucha*, which he went into. *Secondly*, The Synagogues were covered Houſes; but the *Proſeuchæ* were open Courts, built, [y] ſaith *Epiphanius*, in the Manner of *Forums*, which were open Encloſures, where antiently at *Rome*, and in other Cities under Democratical Governments, the People uſed to aſſemble for the tranſacting of the Buſineſs and Affairs of the Public. And ſuch a *Proſeucha*, [y] *Epiphanius* tells us, the *Samaritans* had in his Time near *Shechem*. *Thirdly*, Synagogues were all built within the Cities to which they belonged, but the *Proſeuchæ* without, and moſtly in high Places; and that in which our Saviour prayed was [z] on a Mountain; which makes it probable, that theſe *Proſeuchæ* were the ſame, which in the Old Teſtament are called *High-Places*. For theſe High-Places are not always condemned in Scripture, but then only when they were made uſe of for idolatrous Worſhip, or in a ſchiſmatical Way, by erecting Altars in them, in oppoſition to that which was in the Place that God had choſen; otherwiſe they [a] were made uſe of by the Prophets and good Men, as ſeveral Inſtances in Scripture do fully prove. We may be confirmed in this Opinion, in that the *Proſeuchæ* had Groves in or about them, in the ſame Manner as the High-Places had. No doubt [b] the Sanctuary of the Lord, in which *Joſhua* did ſet up his Pillar under the Oak, or Oaken Grove, in *Shechem*, was ſuch a *Proſeucha*; and it's plain from the Text that [b] it had a Grove of Oaks in it. And the *Proſeuchæ* which *Philo* makes mention of in *Alexandria* [c] had ſuch Groves in or about them; and that at *Rome* [d] in *Egeria*'s Grove, was of the ſame Sort. And perchance where [e] the *Pſalmiſt* makes mention of green Olive-Trees in the Houſe of God, ſuch a *Proſeucha* is there meant. And ſuch an one alſo antiently was [f] in *Miſpa*, as the Author of the firſt Book of *Maccabees* tells us.

It muſt be acknowledged, indeed, that although ſome of the true *Proſeuchæ* were ſtill in being in our Saviour's Time, yet by that time Synagogues being made uſe of for the ſame Purpoſe as the *Proſeuchæ* were formerly, Synagogues were then alſo called by the ſame Name with the *Proſeuchæ*, and ſo *Joſephus* and [g] *Philo* ſeem to uſe the Word. And beſides theſe *Proſeuchæ*, there were other Places to which the *Iſraelites* before the Captivity frequently aſſembled upon the Account of Religion. For they often reſorted to the Cities of the *Levites*, to be taught the Ritual and other Ceremonies of the *Moſaical Law*, and to the Schools of the Prophets for all other Inſtructions relating to the Things of God. And to theſe laſt it's plain from [h] Scripture, that they uſually reſorted on the Sabbaths, and New-Moons; and what End could there be of this Reſort, but for Inſtruction in their Duties to God? And therefore theſe Places alſo, as well as the *Proſeuchæ*, were Places of aſſembling on the Account of Religion; and conſequently of all theſe may the *Pſalmiſt* be undeſtood in the Place above-mentioned. But none of this proves, that the *Jews* had any ſuch things as Synagogues before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity.

XIII. And if it be examin'd into, how it came to paſs, that the *Jews* were ſo prone to Idolatry before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and ſo ſtrongly and cautiouſly, even to Superſtition, fixed againſt it after that Captivity, the true Reaſon hereof will appear to be, that they had the Law and the Prophets every Week conſtantly read to them after that Captivity, which they had not before. For before that Captivity they having no Synagogues for public Worſhip or public Inſtruction, nor any Places to reſort to for either, unleſs the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, or the Cities of the *Levites*, or to the Prophets, when God was pleaſed to ſend ſuch among them; for want hereof great Ignorance grew among the People; God was little known among them, and his Laws in a Manner wholly forgotten. And therefore as Occaſions offered, they were eaſily drawn into all the ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Uſages of the neighbouring Nations, that lived round about them, till at length for the Puniſhment hereof God gave them up to a diſmal Deſtruction in the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. But after that Captivity, and the Return of the *Jews* from it, Synagogues being erected among them in every City, to which they conſtantly reſorted for public Worſhip, and where every Week they had the Law from the firſt, and after that from the Time of

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[t] Juvenal. Sat. 3.

[u] Luke vi. 12. For what our Engliſh there renders, *And he continued all Night in Prayer to God*, is in the Original ϗ ἦν διανυκτερεύων τῇ Προσευχῇ τȣ Θεȣ, i. e. *And he continued all Night in a Proſeucha of God*.

[w] Acts xvi. For in that Chapter, Ver. 13, and 16. what we render in our Engliſh Verſion by the Word *Prayer*, is in the Original a *Proſeucha*, or Place of Prayer.

[x] Luke vi. 12.   [y] In Tract. de Meſſalianis Hæreticis.   [z] Luke vi. 12.

[a] 1 Sam. ix. 19. x. 5. &c.   [b] Joſhua xxiv. 26.

[c] For he complains that the Alexandrians in a Tumult, which they there made againſt the Jews, did cut down the Trees of their Proſeuchæ. In Legatione ad Caium Cæſarem.

[d] Juvenal. Sat. 3.   [e] Pſalm lii. 8.   [f] 1 Maccab. iii. 46.   [g] In Legatione ad Caium.

[h] 2 Kings iv. 23.

Antiochus's Perſecution the Prophets alſo read unto them, and were by Sermons and Exhortations, there delivered at leaſt every Sabbath, inſtructed in their Duty, and excited to the Obedience of it; this kept them in a thorough Knowledge of God and his Laws. And the Threats which they found in he Prophets againſt the Breakers of them, after theſe came to be read among them, deterred them from tranſgreſſing againſt them. So that the Law of *Moſes* was never more ſtrictly obſerved by them, than from the Time of *Ezra* (when Synagogues firſt came into Uſe among them) to the Time of our Saviour; and they would have been unblameable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt Traditions of their own deviſing, whereby at Length (as [l] our Saviour charged them) they made the Law itſelf of none Effect.

XIV. And as by this Method the *Jewiſh* Religion was preſerved in the Times mentioned, ſo alſo was it by the ſame, that the Chriſtian was ſo ſucceſsfuly propagated in the firſt Ages of the Church, and hath ever ſince been preſerved among us. For as the *Jews* had their Synagogues, in which the Law and the Prophets were read unto them every Sabbath; ſo the Chriſtians had their Churches, in which from the Beginning all the Doctrines and Duties of their Religion were every Lord's Day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's Bleſſing upon this Method chiefly was it, that this Holy Religion ſtill bore up againſt all Oppreſſions, and notwithſtanding the ten Perſecutions, and all other Artifices and Methods of Cruelty and Oppreſſion, which Hell and Heatheniſm could deviſe to ſuppreſs it, grew up and encreaſed under them: Which *Julian the Apoſtate* was ſo ſenſible of, that when he put all his Wits to work to find out new Methods for the reſtoring of the Heathen Impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this Purpoſe, than [m] to employ his Philoſophers to preach it up every Week to the People, in the ſame Manner as the Miniſters of the Goſpel did the Chriſtian Religion. And had it not pleaſed God to cut him off before he could put his Deſign in Execution, it is to be feared his Succeſs herein would in a very great Meaſure have anſwered what he propoſed by it. But to Chriſtians above all others, this muſt be of the greateſt Benefit. For the Doctrines of our holy Religion having in them the ſublimeſt Principles of divine Knowledge, and the Precepts of it containing all the Duties of Morality in the higheſt Manner improved, nothing can be of greater Advantage to us for the leading of us to the trueſt Happineſs we are capable of, as well in this Life as in that which is to come, than to have theſe weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our Conſciences for the forming of our Lives according to them.

Beſides, the Political State or Civil Government of every Chriſtian Country is no leſs benefited hereby, than the Church itſelf. For as it beſt conduceth to keep up the Spirit of Religion among us, and to make every Man know his Duty to God, his Neighbour, and himſelf; ſo it may be reckoned of all Methods the moſt conducive to preſerve Peace and good Order in the State. For hereby Subjects are taught to be obedient to their Prince and his Laws, Children to be dutiful to their Parents, Servants to be faithful to their Maſters, and all to be juſt, and charitable, and pay all other Duties, which in every Relation they owe to each other. In the faithful Diſcharge of theſe Duties doth the Peace, good Order, and Happineſs of every Community conſiſt: And to be weekly inſtructed in theſe Duties, and to be weekly excited to the Obedience of them, is certainly the propereſt and the moſt effectual Method to induce Men hereto. And it may juſtly be reckoned that the good Order, which is now maintained in this Kingdom, is more owing to this Method, than to any other now in Practice among us for this End; and that one good Miniſter by his weekly preaching and daily good Example, ſets it more forward than any two of the beſt Juſtices of the Peace can, by their exacteſt Diligence in the Execution of the Laws which they are entruſted with. For theſe by the utmoſt of their Coercions can go no farther, than to reſtrain the outward Acts of Wickedneſs; but the other reforms the Heart within, and removes all thoſe evil Inclinations of it, from whence they flow. And it is not to doubted, but that if this Method were once dropped among us, the Generality of the People, whatever elſe may be done to obviate it, would in ſeven Years Time relapſe into as bad a State of Barbarity, as was ever in practice among the worſt of our *Saxon* or *Daniſh* Anceſtors. And therefore ſuppoſing there were no ſuch Thing in Truth and Reality as that Holy Chriſtian Religion, which the Miniſters of the Goſpel teach, (as too many among us are now permitted with Impunity to ſay,) yet the Service which they do the Civil Government, in keeping all Men to thoſe Duties, in the Obſervance of which its Peace, good Order, and Happineſs conſiſt, may very well deſerve the Maintenance which they receive from it.

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[l] Matth. xv.6. Mark vii. 13.

[k] Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianum Apoſtatem.

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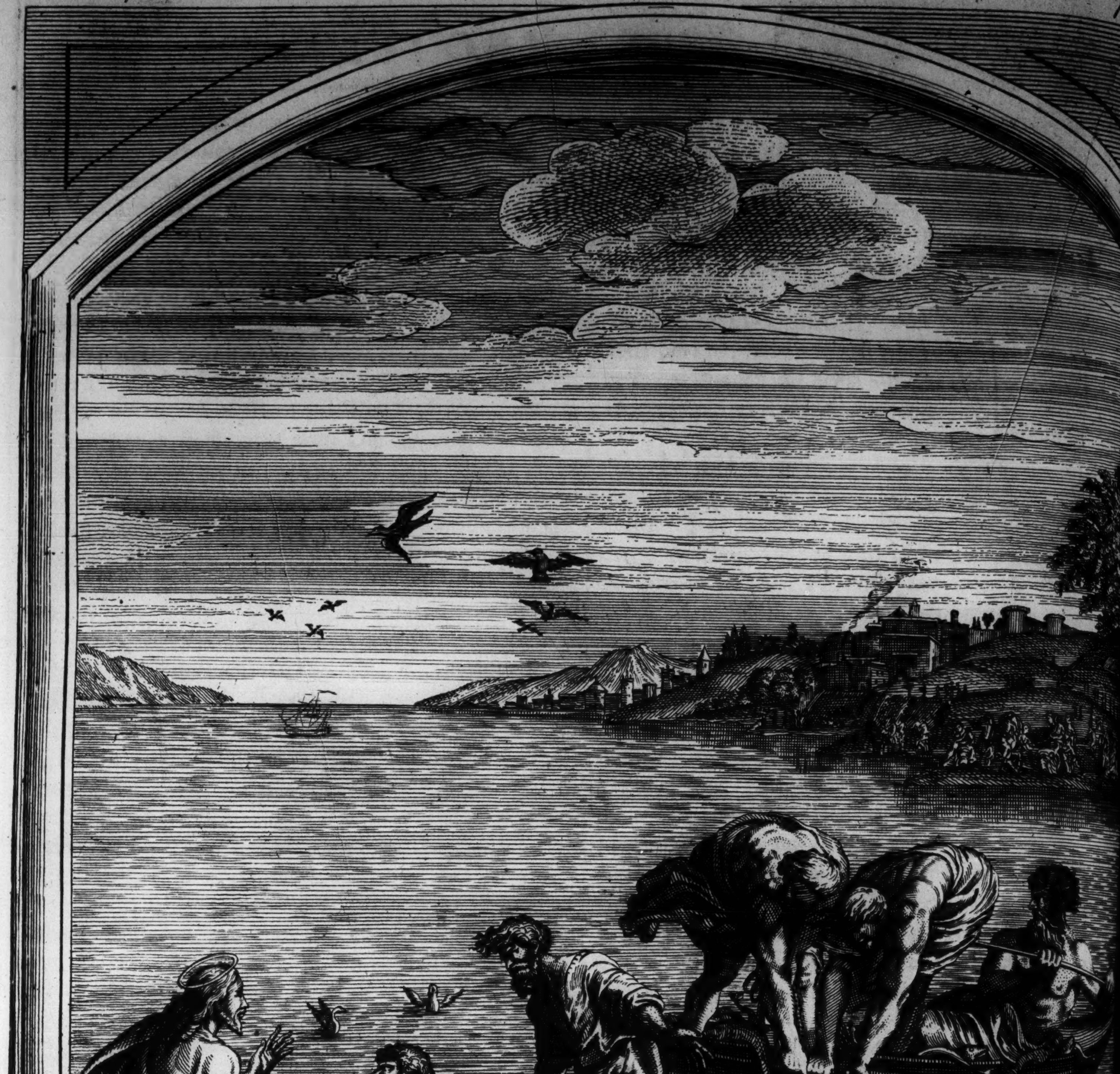

The Miraculous Draught of Fishes.

Luke V. 4.

CHAP. III.

I. *Jeſus* cures one poſſeſſed of a Demon. II. He heals *Peter*'s Mother-in-Law of a Fever. III. Multitudes of diſeaſed and poſſeſſed Perſons brought to him, and cured by him. IV. He retires into a ſolitary Place, and after that continues to preach the Goſpel. V. The miraculous Draught of Fiſhes in the Lake of *Genneſareth.* VI. *Peter* is ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment. *Jeſus* comforts him, and calls *James* and *John.* VII. He continues his Progreſs through *Galilee.* VIII. He cleanſes a Leper, who publiſhes the Cure over all the Country. IX. He returns to *Capernaum*, where Abundance of People reſort to him. X. He cures a Paralytic, who was let down thro' the Roof of the Houſe. XI. He defends what he had ſaid to the Paralytic againſt the Phariſees and Lawyers.

I. JESUS [a] *being at a certain Time in the Synagogue at* Capernaum, *they brought to him one poſſeſſed by an evil Spirit; who making Uſe of the Man's Organs, cried aloud,* Depart from us, what have we to do with thee, O *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*? Art thou come to deſtroy us? We know well enough that thou art the Holy One of God, the promiſed Deliverer. *But* Jeſus *not ſtanding in need of any ſuch Suffrage, and not being willing to have that Truth as yet divulged among the* Jews, *commanded the evil Spirit to be ſilent, and inſtantly leave the Man. The Demon obey'd, but with a terrible Outcry, and after having tormented him with ſtrange Convulſions, tho' without doing him any farther Harm. — All the People were immediately ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at the Miracle, and enquired of one another, what this new Doctrine of* Jeſus *was, ſo eminently confirmed by God himſelf:* For, *ſaid they,* his Authority and Power over the evil Sprits is ſo great, that he only commands them to depart, and they obey him. —— *In this Manner they talked of his miraculous Performance, till the Fame of it was ſpread over all the Countries that border'd on* Galilee.

II. [b] *There lived at that Time in* Capernaum *four Fiſhermen who were Partners,* Peter, Andrew, James, *and* John, *all together in one Houſe, where* Peter's *Mother-in-Law was then ſick of a Fever.* Peter *and* Andrew *being now both known to* Jeſus, *they brought him directly to their Houſe from the Synagogue, and after having detained him ſome Time, told him of the ſick Perſon, and deſired him to cure her.* Jeſus *complied with their Requeſt; having found the Woman, as they had informed him, ſick and in Bed. Coming therefore to the Bed Side, he commanded the Fever to leave her; which it immediately did: And then aſſiſting her with his Hand, bid her raiſe herſelf up. The Woman perceiving herſelf cured, roſe accordingly; and having in that Inſtant recovered all her former Strength, ſhe adminiſter'd to* Jeſus, *and the reſt, whatever they had Occaſion for during the Time that they were in the Houſe.*

III. [c] *After the Sun was ſet, there was a prodigious Concourſe of People from all Parts of the City, who brought thoſe that were ſick of any manner of Diſeaſe, and ſuch as were poſſeſſed with Devils, and laid them at the Door of the Houſe where* Jeſus *was; who cured them all ſeverally, by laying his Hands upon them, without the Uſe of any other Means. The Demons all this Time (of which there were great Numbers) making uſe of the Organs of thoſe that were poſſeſſed by them, loudly proclaimed him to be the Meſſiah, the Son of God. But he having ſeverely checked them, commanded them to be ſilent. — By theſe Cures that Prophecy of* Iſaiah, *which ſays,* [d] He hath borne our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows, *may be ſaid in a Manner to be fulfilled, in as much as out of Compaſſion to the Sick, he freed them from their Diſtempers.*

IV. [e] *Early the next Morning, before Break of Day,* Jeſus *went out of* Capernaum, *and retired into a ſolitary Place, that he might pray to the Father without Diſturbance from the Importunity of the Croud, which flocked to him from all Parts of the City. But* Peter *and his Companions, together with a promiſcuous Multitude, followed after him; and having found him, they complained to him of his having withdrawn himſelf from them when they earneſtly deſired his Preſence, and put them to the Trouble of ſeeking after him: Nor would they afterwards ſuffer him to depart from them, till* Jeſus *told them, that he was commanded to go to all the neighbouring Towns and Villages, and declare to them that the heavenly Kingdom of the Meſſiah would ſhortly be eſtabliſhed. Accordingly he preached the Goſpel in every Synagogue and Town of* Galilee, *and caſt the evil Spirits out of the Poſſeſſed; which it was evident he performed by a divine Power, and not by the Aſſiſtance of Magic Arts, of which thoſe evil Spirits themſelves are the only Authors.*

V. [f] *Being at a certain Time by the* [g] *Lake of* Genneſareth, *and the People preſſing upon him to hear his Diſcourſes, he ſaw two Fiſher-Boats, in one of which was* Peter *and* Andrew, *in the other* James *and* John *with their Father* Zebedee. *Theſe, as we ſaid before, were Partners, and were now cleanſing their Nets by the Sea Side, not intending to make any more Uſe of them at this Time.* Jeſus *deſired* Peter *to take him into his Boat, and puſh it a little from the Shore, to prevent his being followed; that he might from thence with more Conveniency inſtruct the People, who throng'd to hear him. Being entered, he ſat down, and preached*

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[a] Mark i. 23—28. Luke iv. 33—37.

[b] Matth. viii. 14, 15. Mark i. 29, 30, 31. Luke iv. 38, 39.

[c] Matth. viii. 16, 17. Mark i. 32, 33, 34. Luke iv. 40, 41.

[d] Iſaiah liii. 4.

[e] Mark i. 35—39. Luke iv. 42, 43, 44.

[f] Matth. iv. 18. Mark i. 16. Luke v. 1—8.

[g] Otherwiſe called the Sea of Galilee, or the Lake of Tiberias.

to them after his uſual Manner. After he had made an End of his Sermon, he commanded Peter *to launch out into the deep Water, and let down his Net for a Draught.* Peter *told him, that they had laboured all Night in vain, having caught nothing; but that at his Command they would make another Trial. They accordingly did ſo; and no ſooner was the Net thrown into the Water, but they incloſed a prodigious Number of Fiſhes, inſomuch that the Net was broken with the Weight in ſeveral Places; which forced them to cry out to their Partners in the other Boat to come to their Aſſiſtance. When theſe had rowed up to them, and they had all of them together drawn up the Net, they took out of it ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Fiſh, as almoſt ſunk both their Veſſels.*

VI. [h] Peter, *ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment at the Miracle, proſtrated himſelf at the Feet of* Jeſus, *beſeeching him to depart from him, who was unworthy to entertain ſo great a Gueſt, being a ſinful Man, and afraid of offending him by ſome imprudent Action.* [i] *His Companions were alſo terrified in the ſame Degree; for they all wonder'd at the Succeſs that attended their Obedience to* Jeſus, *after a whole Night ſpent in fruitleſs Labour. But* Jeſus *ſaid to* Andrew *and* Peter, Be of good Comfort: Henceforwards, being my Diſciples, you ſhall become Fiſhers of Men. *Upon this they came Aſhore, and leaving their Boats and their Nets, inſtantly followed* Jeſus *to the other Boat, in which were* John *and* James; [k] *who had not obſerved the Miracle, tho' they aſſiſted in drawing up the Net, not knowing that it was thrown into the Water at the Command of* Jeſus. *For this Reaſon, having ſecured their Part of the Fiſh, they were buſied in mending the Net that had contained them, which, as was noted before, was broken in ſeveral Places. When* Jeſus *came to them, he commanded them alſo to follow him; which they immediately did, without any Heſitation, leaving their Boat with their Father* Zebedee *in it, and the reſt of the Crew whom they had hired to aſſiſt them in their Employment.*

VII. [l] *Accompanied with theſe Diſciples,* Jeſus *continued his Progreſs through* Galilee, *inſtructing the People in the Synagogues of all the Towns they paſſed through, in the Duties of Religion, and healing all the diſtemper'd Perſons that were brought to him by a Word's ſpeaking. His Fame by this Means ſpread not only over all* Galilee, *but through the whole Country of* Celæſyria; *and the Sick were brought to him from all Parts, without excepting ſuch as were incurable by the Skill of Phyſicians, ſuch as Dæmoniacs, Lunatics, and thoſe that had the Palſy; all which were cured by him, as readily as thoſe that were troubled with only the ſlighteſt Infirmity. Which Miracles got him a prodigious Number of Diſciples, out of* Galilee, Decapolis, Jeruſalem, *and the ſeveral Parts of* Judea, *and from the Country beyond* Jordan.

VIII. [m] *It happened whilſt he was publiſhing his Goſpel at a certain City of* Galilee, *according to his Cuſtom,* [n] *that there came to him a Leper, who falling proſtrate at his Feet, and worſhipping him;* Maſter, *ſaid he,* If thou wilt thou canſt make me clean, which I therefore moſt earneſtly intreat thee to do. Jeſus *pitying his Condition, ſtretched forth his Hand, and touched him, ſaying,* I will, be thou cleanſed. *Which Words were no ſooner pronounced than the Leproſy departed from him, and his Skin recovered its former Colour. The Man ſtill continuing there,* Jeſus *rebuked him for it, and commanded him to depart immediately; charging him withal not to diſcloſe the Manner how he had been cured, and farther adviſing him, to repair as ſoon as might be to* Jeruſalem, [o] *and offer himſelf to the Examination of the Prieſt, who was to determine in the Caſe of Lepers, whether they were rightly healed or not; putting him in mind, moreover, of the Gifts required by the* Moſaic *Law, that having performed all the legal Rites, his Cure might be deemed authentic, and he adjudged to be clean by a public Declaration. By which Means* Jeſus *avoided the Envy of the Prieſts, who were Judges in this Affair, and who otherwiſe might have calumniated him as an Invader of the ſacerdotal Office; and perhaps thro' Spite would have pronounced the Man not cleanſed, tho' they were never ſo well ſatisfied of the contrary. But the Man that had been cured, not able to conceal his Joy, and looking upon it as a Piece of Ingratitude ſo long to conceal ſo great a Benefit, divulged the Matter whereſoever he came, and with it the Fame of his Benefactor; which increaſed to that Degree, that greater Multitudes came to him daily, to hear him, and be cured by him: So that he could enter no City publicly, without a Croud about him; which obliged him to retire into deſart Places, that he might have ſome Leiſure, and be unmoleſted in his Devotions.*

IX. [p] *Having made a pretty long Stay in* Peræa, *he took Ship, and returned over the Lake of* Genneſareth *to* Capernaum, *the Place of his uſual Reſidence. But ſcarce was he come to the Houſe in which he lived, before the Rumor of his being arrived was ſpread all over the City. This, according to Cuſtom, brought together a great Concourſe of People from all Quarters to hear him; and among the reſt were a conſiderable Number of* Phariſees, *and Doctors of the Law, who ſat down in the Porch of the Houſe. Theſe Men were come from the ſeveral Parts of* Galilee *and* Judæa, *and even from* Jeruſalem *itſelf; either out of mere Curioſity, or with an Intent to enſnare him in his Words; and probably many of them had waited at* Capernaum *ſome Time for his Return from his Progreſs.* Jeſus, *in their Preſence, cured all that fled to him for Relief, by the divine Power which always reſided in him, and which appeared on every proper Occaſion. Meanwhile the Multitude became ſo*

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[h] Luke v. 8—11. Matth. iv. 19—22. Mark i. 17—20.

[i] Thoſe whom he and Andrew had hired to aſſiſt them; ſuch as the hired Servants of James and John.

[k] If they had obſerved the Miracle, they would rather have been attentive to Jeſus, than have gone immediately to mending of their Nets.

[l] Matth. iv. 23, 24, 25.

[m] Matth. viii. 2, 3, 4. Mark i. 40—45. Luke v. 12—16.

[n] About this Time, according to Le Clerc, began the ſecond Year of our Lord's Miniſtry.

[o] See the following Diſſertation.

[p] Matth. ix. 1. Mark ii. 12. Luke v. 17.

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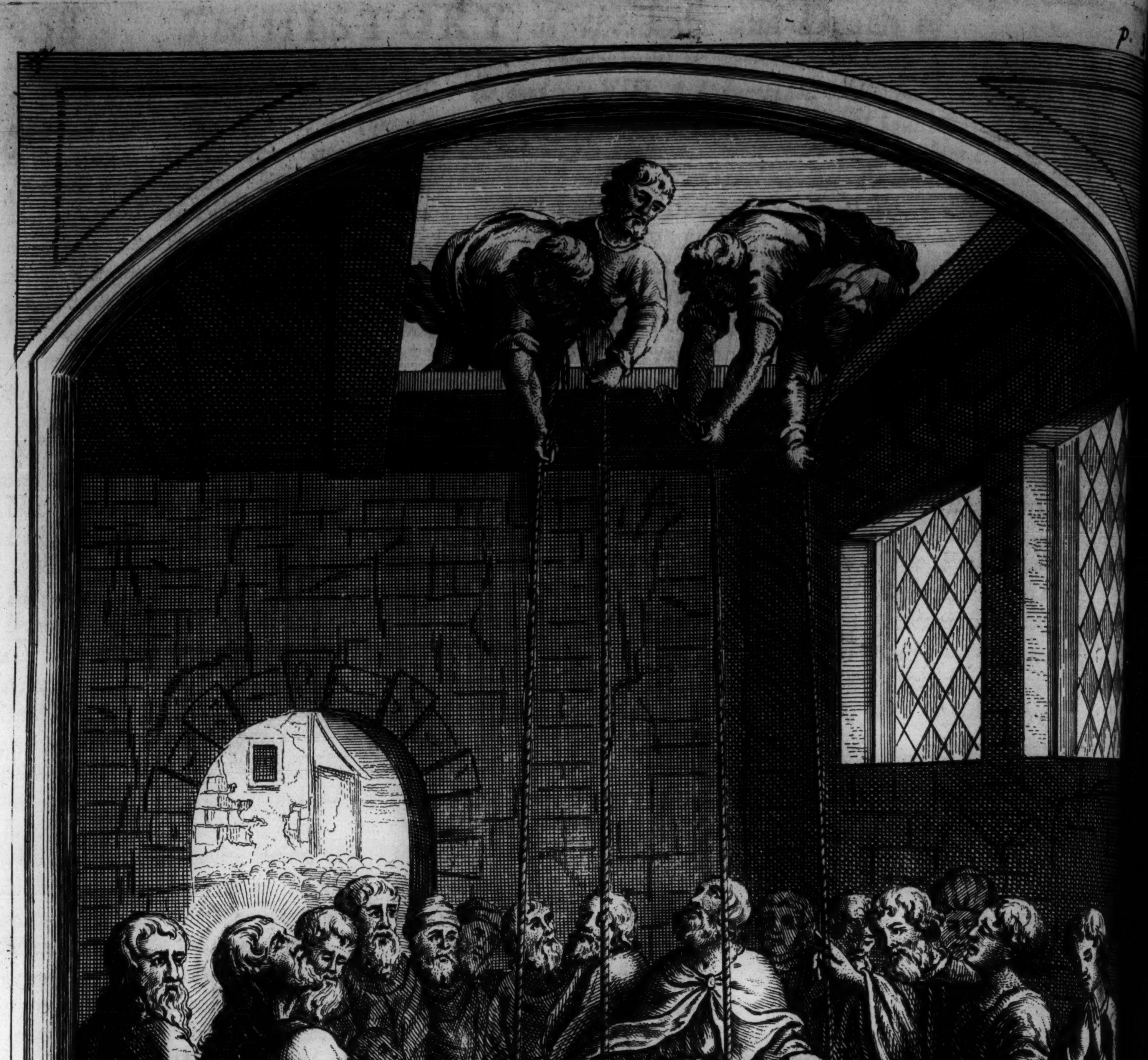

The Paralytic let down thro, ye Roof of a H

Mark II. v.

great, that not only the Porch was unable to contain them, but the very Street was crouded for ſome Diſtance round the Door.

X. [q] *As* Jeſus *was preaching to the People, there came certain Men bearing upon their Shoulders one ſtretch'd on a Couch, who was ſick of the Palſy, and endeavoured to preſs through, that they might lay him at the Feet of* Jeſus, *and intreat him to have Compaſſion on his miſerable Condition. But not being able to accompliſh what they attempted (the greater Part of the People being unwilling to quit their Places) they got into the Gallery of the Houſe,* [r] *and from thence to the Top of the Porch, and drew up the Paralytic, and his Bed, after them. Then uncovering the Roof, they let him down with Ropes into the Middle of the Porch before* Jeſus; *who by this Act of theirs perceiving the ſingular Perſuaſion which theſe Men had of the divine Power by which he wrought his Miracles, and the confident Expectation they were in of his performing a Cure on him, addreſſing himſelf to the Paralytic, he ſaid,* Son be of good Comfort, [s] thy Sins are forgiven thee. *Which Words were taken notice of by the* Phariſees *and Lawyers, and looked upon by them as injurious to the Deity.* Why, *ſaid they within themſelves,* doth this Man ſpeak Blaſphemies? Who can forgive Sins, but God only? *Theſe were their Reflections, as not knowing that* Jeſus *here ſpoke as a divine Perſon.*

XI. [t] *But he perceiving their Thoughts by the divine Spirit which was in him,* Wherefore, *ſaid he,* do you make this wrong Judgment of what I ſaid, in your Minds? There is no greater Authority requiſite to pronounce theſe Words, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee*, than theſe, *Take up thy Bed and walk:* For even this latter Command, if it has the proper Effect, diſcovers a divine Power in the Perſon who gives it. That theſe Words pronounced by me, will produce this Effect, you ſhall immediately be convinced; which ought to convince you alſo, that how contemptible ſoever I may appear to you, I have Power on Earth to forgive Sins. *Then turning towards the Paralytic,* Jeſus *ſaid to him,* Ariſe, take up thy Bed, and carry it away with thee upon thy Shoulders to thy Habitation. *All this he immediately performed before the Multitude, giving Thanks publicly to God for ſo great a Mercy, and not concealing by whom he had been cured. And all the People preſent, in like Manner, were ſeized with Admiration at what they ſaw, praiſing God, who had endued Man with ſo great Power, as to be able to heal with a Word, all Manner of Diſtempers, confeſſing that they had never ſeen the like before, and being alſo ſtruck with a certain religious Fear at the Sight of ſo unexpected a Miracle.*

DISSERTATION I.

On ſeveral Particulars of the preceding Chapter.

I. *Subject of this, and the two following Diſſertations.* II. *Deſcription of the Lake, and Country of* Genneſareth. III. IV. *The Reaſons why* Chriſt *forbid the Demoniacs to tell who he was, thoſe whom he cured to publiſh his Fame, and even his Diſciples to declare ſome Things which they ſaw,* &c. V. *Some Paſſages explained in the Hiſtory of the Leper's Cure.* VI. *Laws and Ceremonies relating to Lepers.* VII. *The Scripture Notions of Leproſies.* VIII. *Opinions of modern Phyſicians.* IX. *The* Iſraelites *ſaid to be driven out of* Egypt *as Lepers:* Job *a Leper,* &c. X. *The Evangeliſts reconciled in the Hiſtory of the Calling of* Peter, Andrew, James, *and* John.

I. IN the foregoing Chapter we have a great many Inſtances of the miraculous Power of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in driving Devils out of the Poſſeſſed, and healing the moſt inveterate bodily Diſeaſes with a Word. The Fiſhes of the Sea diſcover their Obedience to him, when after having mocked the aſſiduous Toil of four ſkilful Fiſhermen, and their Aſſiſtants, during a whole Night, they ſuffered themſelves to be taken at his Command in a much greater Quantity than was ever before ſeen together. On theſe Occaſions abundance of uſeful Reflections might be made, both on the Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion of the Redeemer who wrought thoſe Miracles, and the Excellency of Faith and Obedience in the Perſons on whom or for whoſe Uſe they were wrought: But we chuſe rather, according to our moſt uſual Cuſtom, to keep to thoſe Topics which tend either to explain, illuſtrate, or defend, the Facts themſelves; Reflections of the former kind being pretty eaſily made by every pious Reader as he paſſes along, whereas theſe latter are to be drawn only from the Works of learned and ſkilful Commentators, who have ſpent their Lives in ſtudying the Scriptures.

The *Demoniacs* of the New Teſtament, who are firſt mentioned in the preceding Chapter, have occaſioned much Speculation. It has been enquired, what they were, and why they are ſo ſeldom ſpoken of in other Hiſtories: Which Queſtions have been anſwered a great many Ways, according to the different Opinions of Men. Some have reduced the *Demons* to bodily Diſeaſes only, and even to a particular Diſeaſe; whilſt others inſiſt upon our underſtanding the Word *Demon*, or Devil, in the common Senſe of it, as an evil or damned Spirit. We ſhall devote our next Diſſertation to theſe Enquiries, and endeavour to bring together all that has been ſaid therein worthy of Notice.

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[q] Matth. ix. 2, 3, 4. Mark ii. 3—7. Luke v. 18—21.

[r] See the different Opinions of the Manner in which this Action was performed in the Diſſertation on this Miracle. We have here followed Le Clerc's Paraphraſe.

[s] Or, the Puniſhment of thy Sins [*i. e.* thy Diſtemper] is remitted.

[t] Matth. ix. 4.—8. Mark ii. 8,—12. Luke v. 22—26.

In a third Diſcourſe we ſhall defend the Miracle of healing both the Soul and Body of the Paralytic, who was let down thro' the Roof of the Houſe, or Porch, in which *Jeſus* ſtood, whilſt he preached to the People of *Capernaum*, and others that were aſſembled to hear him. — This and the foregoing Subject are both of them ſufficiently copious to be treated of ſeparately: Other Particulars, which will not lead us to ſuch a great Length, and yet are neceſſarily to be conſidered, we ſhall bring into the following Paragraphs.— Here we ſhall firſt deſcribe the Sea and Country of *Genneſareth*; 2dly, conſider the Reaſons why our Saviour ſeemed on many Occaſions, unwilling to have it known who he was: 3dly, We ſhall explain ſome Obſcurities in the Story of the Leper that was cleanſed: After which will properly follow ſome curious Particulars concerning Lepers, and Leproſies: And then 4thly, we ſhall ſay a Word or two on the ſeeming Differences among the Evangeliſts *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, in the Accounts which they give of the Calling of *Peter*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, at the Lake of *Genneſareth*.

II. [a] The Sea of *Galilee*, the Sea of *Tiberias*, or the Lake of *Genneſareth* (for all theſe Names belong to the ſame Water) is frequently mentioned in the Goſpels. As it was called the Sea of *Galilee* from the Province of *Galilee* in general, ſo it was called the Sea of *Tiberias*, from a Town of that Name ſtanding on its Weſtern Shore; and it was called the Lake of *Genneſareth* from that particular Tract of *Galilee* which lay next to, and ſo bounded it all along, the Weſtern Side. " [b] The Breadth of this Lake or Sea, *Joſephus* tells us, is forty Furlongs, and the Length an hundred; the Water of it is ſweet and potable, without any thing of Moriſhneſs either in the Taſte or Colour. It lies upon a Gravel, and ſo more conveniently to be drawn, and ſofter than either a River or Fountain Water. And with all this it is ſo cold, that the People of the Place cannot warm it, by ſetting it in the Sun in the hotteſt Seaſon in the Year. It has in it great Variety of Fiſh, which for Taſte and Shape are not to be found any where elſe; and the River *Jordan* runs thro' the midſt of it." As to the Name whereby this Sea went in the Times of the Old Teſtament, it was then without Doubt called [c] the Sea of *Chinnereth*, or *Cinnereth*, of which more in the following Paragraph.

From the Deſcription of the Lake of *Genneſareth* proceed we to deſcribe [d] the Land of *Genneſareth*, which, as *Joſephus* expreſly informs us, gave Name to the adjoining Lake, [e] and is thus deſcribed by the ſaid Author. " This Lake takes its Name from the Country that ſurrounds it, which is fruitful and agreeable to Admiration. As for Fertility of the Soil, no Plant comes amiſs to it; beſides that it is improved by the Skill and Induſtry of the Inhabitants to the higheſt Degree; and by a ſtrange Felicity of the Climate every Thing proſpers there; as Nuts, Palms, Figs, and Olive-Trees, that flouriſh here in Perfection, though they require a quite different Temperature of Air in the Nature of them; which looks as if Providence took Delight in this Place to reconcile Contradictions; and as if the very Seaſons themſelves were in a Competition which ſhould be moſt obliging. And the Production of ſtrange Varieties of excellent Fruit is not all neither, but the conſerving of them ſo long quick and ſound is another Curioſity. Figs and Grapes hold in Seaſon there ten Months in the Year, and other Fruits the whole Year about. And the Place is not more famous for a delicious Air, than it is for a Chryſtalline flowing Fountain, called by the Natives *Capernaum*, which ſome take for a little Gut of the *Nile*, becauſe of a certain Fiſh in it, that is no where elſe to be found but in *Alexandria*. The Length of the Country along the Lake is thirty [f] *Stadia*, and the Breadth twenty [g] *Stadia*."

Such a delicious Country was the Land of *Genneſareth* in the Time of *Joſephus*, who lived in the ſame Age with our Saviour. And hence it is that ſome conjecture the Word *Genneſareth*, or as it is ſometimes writ *Genneſar*, to be made up of the two Words *Gen* and *Sar*, the former of which denotes in the *Hebrew* Tongue a *Garden*, the latter *a Prince*, and ſo both together denote *the Garden of a Prince*, or *a Princely Garden*. Which Name, though it be not improper to ſo delightful and fruitful a Country, as the Land of *Genneſareth* was; yet however 'tis more likely that the Name *Genneſareth* in the New Teſtament was by Degrees framed from that of *Chinnereth* or *Cinnereth* in the Old Teſtament. For 'tis manifeſt [h] that *Cinnereth* was then a Fenced or Principal City in the Tribe of *Naphtali*; and 'tis further manifeſt [i] that it gave Name to an adjoining Tract of Ground; and 'tis ſtill further manifeſt [k] that the City of *Cinnereth* lay on the Coaſt of the Lake *Genneſareth*, and alſo gave Name to the ſame Lake; this being evidently the ſame, as appears from the Places already mentioned, that was in the Times of *Moſes* and *Joſhua* called the Sea of *Cinnereth*. All theſe Particulars laid together, it will appear more than probable that *Genneſareth* in the New Teſtament, is no other than a Word moulded from *Cinnereth* in the Old Teſtament. There is indeed this Difference to be obſerved between the Times of the Old and New Teſtament, namely, that whereas there was a conſiderable City named *Chinnereth* or *Cinnereth* in the former Times, there is no Mention made of any City that went under the Name of *Genneſareth* in the Times of the New Teſtament. But this may be very well accounted for, it being moſt highly probable, that the City *Cinnereth* was deſtroy'd by [l] *Ben-hadad* King of *Syria*, and that altho' upon its Ruins afterwards aroſe the City of *Capernaum*, ſo called from the excellent Fountain above mention'd out of *Joſephus*, yet the Lake and adjacent Tract of Ground ſtill retained the ancient Name of *Cinnereth*, moulded by Degrees or Difference of Dialect into *Genneſareth*.

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[a] See Well's Geog. of N. T. Pt. i. p. 50, &c.

[b] Joſeph. Wars of the Jews Lib. 3. Cap. xviii. L'Eſtrange's Edition.

[c] Numb. xxxiv. 11. Joſh. xiii. 27.

[d] Matt. xiv. 34. Mark vi. 53

[e] In his Third Book of the Wars of the Jews, Cap. xviii. L'Eſtrange's Edition.

[f] Or Furlongs, *i. e.* near four Miles.

[g] Or Furlongs, *i. e.* about two Miles and an half.

[h] Joſh. xix. 35.

[i] 1 Kings xv. 20.

[k] Numb. xxxiv. 11. Deut. iii. 17. Joſh. xii. 3.

[l] At the Time mentioned 1 Kings xv. 20.

We ſhall cloſe the Deſcription of the Land and Lake of *Genneſareth*, ſays our Author, with obſerving, that as the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian *Joſephus* attributes the extraordinary Fertility of the Land of *Genneſareth* to the peculiar Providence of God, as if he took more Delight in this Spot of Ground than others; ſo it was a common Saying of the *Jews* in Reference to the Lake of *Genneſareth*, that *God loved that Sea more than all the other Seas*. And indeed it does ſo far hold good, that this Sea above all others was frequently honoured with the divine Preſence of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, after that he came and dwelt at *Capernaum*, within the Land, and upon the Lake of *Genneſareth*, and that not only before but [m] alſo after his Reſurection.

III. Perhaps we have not hitherto ſufficiently explained ourſelves on the Article of our Lord's ſometimes concealing who he was, tho' the Thing itſelf has been mentioned more than once, particularly in the Defence of his Converſation with the *Samaritan* Woman. In the preceding Chapter he commands the Devils to be ſilent, when they declared that he was the Meſſiah, and charges the Leper whom he cleanſed, that *he ſhould tell no Man, but go his Way, and ſhew himſelf to the Prieſt*. Now " the Reaſon, [n] ſays Dr. *Hammond*, why *Chriſt* ſo often commanded the concealing of his Miracles, and of his being the Meſſiah, will beſt be conjectured, by conſidering the ſeveral Places where this is mentioned." We ſhall therefore purſue the Method propoſed by this learned Gentleman, and give an Abſtract of what he has collected and remarked on this Head, to which we ſhall add a Reflection or two of our own.

In ſome [o] of the firſt Places where this Prohibition is found, there is no diſcernible Reaſon for it in the Contexts; but then we find, that upon the Perſons not obeying his Command, his Fame ſpread, and they brought to him Demoniacs, whom he cured; which gave the Phariſees Occaſion to ſay, [p] *He caſteth out Devils thro' the Prince of Devils*. Now 'tis not impoſſible that *Chriſt*, foreſeeing the Perverſeneſs and Blaſphemy of the Phariſees, and that they would proceed to the crucifying of him, inſtead of being convinced by his Miracles, did in Mercy to them, and to leave them the Excuſe of Ignorance, [q] forbid the divulging his mighty Works, leſt they ſhould come to the Ears of thoſe who would make ſo ill a Uſe of them.

Again: We do not find that *Chriſt* ever ſo withdrew, or concealed himſelf, as to omit doing good; for great Multitudes continually followed him, and he healed the Diſeaſed among them. But all this while the Phariſees [r] were plotting againſt him, and conſulting how they might kill him. Now whom did he endeavour to avoid? Not the Multitude who were with him; but the Phariſees, who were conſulting againſt him; and that for theſe plain Reaſons, 1ſt, Becauſe he would not die till the convenient Seaſon of his dying, which he ſometimes calls *his Hour*, was come; and 2dly, Becauſe he would, in the Diſcharge of his Office, anſwer the Character given him by *Iſaiah*, [ſ] who is quoted by the [t] Evangeliſt on this Occaſion; the Sum of which Character is, that he ſhou'd behave very quietly and patiently, dealing mercifully and meekly with Sinners, and that he ſhould never give over till he had planted the Goſpel on Earth, and made it extend to the Gentiles.— It follows therefore, that *Chriſt* would not have his Miracles known, becauſe when they were ſo, the Phariſees ſtill came and diſturbed him, and would probably have proceeded to cut him off, before he had done what he was ſent for, that is preached the Goſpel to all the *Jews*, and made it known to the Gentiles alſo.

And thus we may come to underſtand thoſe Words, when upon the Devil's proclaiming him to do the Son of God, [u] *he charged them that they ſhould not make him known*; that is, he charged the Perſons who had been poſſeſſed that they ſhould not make him known to the Phariſees. For the Word *them* need not refer to the Demons themſelves, nay it cannot refer to them, unleſs we are willing to underſtand that the Demons fell down before him, and not the Perſons poſſeſſed by them.— So that the Senſe of all theſe Paſſages ſeems to be no more than this; That he charged all whom he cured not to make him known, or betray him, to thoſe who ſought his Life; which he did not for Fear of Death, but for the Reaſons above recited.— But this regards only the Multitude; for we find him giving the like Charge to his Diſciples, from whom he could not have the abovementioned Apprehenſions, and therefore muſt have another Reaſon for charging them in this Manner. That we may perceive what that Reaſon was, let us conſider the Context in the Places where this Prohibition to his Diſciples is found.

IV. Our Lord [w] had been aſking his Diſciples what the Opinion of the World was concerning him, and at laſt, what was their own Opinion; whereupon *Peter* anſwers, that he was *the* Chriſt *of God*: On which it immediately follows, *That he ſtraitly charged them, and commanded them to tell no Man that Thing*. Why he gave ſo ſevere an Interdict at this Time will appear from this, that among the Anſwers which they had related as from the People, none of them agreed with this of *Peter*, which was the very Truth: Our Lord's Reaſon therefore for their not telling that he was the *Chriſt of God*, was certainly that it might not to be taken for a Thing compacted between them, that his Diſciples publiſhed and proclaimed ſuch an Opinion. And thoſe that were not wrought upon and convinced by his Miracles, would be more likely to be alienated by this. Beſides, *Chriſt* knew that he was to be rejected and ſuffer Death, (which follows in all the three Goſpels referred to) and conſequently not to be believed on by the *Jews*: And ſo the proclaiming of his Divinity, till they had that great Addition of his Reſurrection, to add to their own Teſtimony, was not altogether ſo ſeaſonable. This was the Occaſion [y] that when *paſſing through* Galilee, towards the End of his Miniſtry, where before he had preached and done ſo many Miracles, he now *was not pleaſed that any Man ſhould know it: For*, as it follows, *he ſaid to his Diſciples, The Son of Man is delivered into the Hands of Men.* And this very Thing *Chriſt* in Effect tells the *Phariſees* themſelves: [z] For when they deſire a Sign of him, to aſſure them that he was the Meſſiah, he replies, That they ſhall *have no other Sign, but that of the Prophet* Jonah; which referring clearly to his *riſing from the Grave on the third Day*, ſignifies that he would uſe no more Means now to convince them, till by his Reſurrection from the Dead, his divine Power, and the Completion of the Types and Prophecies in him, ſhould be moſt convincingly made known among them. —— This then was the Reaſon of his prohibiting his Diſciples to tell that he was the Meſſiah; becauſe having been ſo long rejected by the Rulers, and the Prophecies of him ſetting forth that they ſhould ſtill reject him, and at laſt crucify him, it was in all reſpects fit, that the moſt convincing Evidences of his being the Meſſiah, (of which the Apoſtles had ſtore) ſhould be reſerved till after his Reſurrection; that ſo his riſing from the Dead being added to his former Miracles, and to his infinite Meekneſs and Charity demonſtrated in his Death, might be able to convince the moſt pertinacious obdurate Heart, which would not now be perſuaded by his Miracles and Preaching, much leſs by the Teſtimony of his Diſciples. And accordingly we find ſome of them were [a] converted by theſe Means; and thoſe that were not, were left utterly inexcuſable. Thus in the Parable [b], the King takes Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, that is *Chriſt* goes to Heaven, before he proceeds to take Vengeance of his Enemies, who would not have him to reign over them.

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[m] John xxi. 1.
[n] Note on Matth. viii. 4.
[o] As in this Inſtance of the Leper, and in that of the two blind Men, Matth. ix. 30.
[p] Matth. ix. 34.
[q] Mark iii. 15.
[r] Ver. 14.
[ſ] Iſai. xlii. 1.
[t] Matth. xii. 17, &c.
[u] Mark iii. 11, 12.
[w] Matth. xvi. 13—20. Mark viii. 27—30, Luke ix. 18—21.

Agreeable to all this it is, [c] that at the Transfiguration, when the three favoured Apoſtles had received that clear Teſtimony, *by a Voice from Heaven, ſaying, This is my beloved Son*, he commands them to *tell the Viſion to no Man, until the Son of Man be riſen from the Dead*; not abſolutely, to keep it always a Secret, but to wait till his Reſurrection ſhould ſtrengthen their Teſtimony of this extraordinary Revelation. And the three Diſciples being taken up alone into the Mount with him, and commanded to tell it *to no Man*, the Phraſe *no Man* may moſt properly be interpreted in its greateſt Latitude, as excluſive even of the other Diſciples: For the Uſe of this Viſion being only to work Faith in the Obdurate, and the Seaſon of making that uſe of it being not yet come, there was no need to reveal it to all the Twelve, who firmly believed already, and conſequently would have reaped no Benefit by this Diſcovery.

As to the Diſtinction which our Lord ſeems always to have obſerved, betwixt declaring that he was the Meſſiah, and owning the ſame thing in other Words, we ſhall ſay no more of it than this; That by ſuch a cautious Manner of ſpeaking he prevented the Effect of his Enemies Malice, and gave them no room to enſnare him in his Words, which was what the *Phariſees* chiefly ſought. Our Lord in this diſcovered his divine Wiſdom, as in his Miracles he made known his Power. But we preſume what is here ſaid, will be thought ſufficient to clear up all Difficulties of this Nature.

V. Our Lord bid the Leper, whom he had cleanſed, *go and ſhew himſelf to the Prieſt.* This was in obedience to the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions: For a Leper continued without the Camp or City, whilſt his Diſtemper was upon him; and on the Day of his Cleanſing he was led to the Outſide of the Camp, or in latter Ages to the Gate of *Jeruſalem*, whither the Prieſt went out to meet him; and having performed certain Rites, which we ſhall deſcribe below, he afterwards received him into the City or Camp, and by degrees into the Sanctuary. This was the Manner of a Man's ſhewing himſelf to the Prieſt, who exerciſed in all Kind of Knowledge, particularly in that of being able to judge of Diſeaſes of the Body. Something of the ſame Kind prevailed among the antient *Egyptians*; and in ſeveral Parts of the World, at this Time, the Prieſts are the only Phyſicians. And this *ſhewing of himſelf* was neceſſary to every one that had been leprous, tho' never ſo perfectly cured; wherefore *Chriſt*, who *came to fulfil the Law*, lays this Injunction in the preſent Caſe.

[d] Dr. *Hammond* gives two or three Interpretations of the Phraſe, *For a Teſtimony to them*, which *Jeſus* added to his Command. The firſt is, that by the Word *them* he meant the Multitude preſent, who were Witneſſes of his Miracle. So that the whole Action of *Chriſt* in curing the Leper, was for a Teſtimony to the People that he was the Son of God. For the *Jews* [e] confeſs that the Leproſy is *the Finger of God*, a Diſeaſe peculiarly of his ſending and removing, and that it is not lawful for the Phyſician, or any but the Prieſt appointed by God in his Courſe, ſo much as to attempt the Cure of it. And therefore in the Anſwer to *John Baptiſt*'s Queſtion [f], *Whether* Chriſt *was the Meſſiah, or no*, one Part of it is, that *the Lepers are cleanſed*; which ſeems to be underſtood for as peculiar an Act of God, as that *the Dead are raiſed up*, which is mentioned immediately after. So the King of *Iſrael* being

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[y] Mark. ix. 30. [z] Matth xii. 39. [a] Acts vi. 7. [b] Luke xix. [c] Matth. xvii. Mark ix.
[d] See his Note *d* on Matth. viii. [e] Rab. Menachim in Lev. 13. [f] Math. xi. 5.

ſent to by the King of *Syria*, to recover *Naaman* of his Leproſy, [g] *He rent his Clothes, and ſaid, Am I a God to kill and make alive, that this Man ſends to me, to recover one of his Leproſy!* Where 'tis plain he puts *curing a Leproſy* upon a Level with *making alive.*

Secondly, The Word *Teſtimony* may refer to *the ſhewing himſelf to the Prieſt, and offering a Giſt*; which by the Law were deſigned as a *Teſtimony*, both to the Prieſt and the Perſon cured, that the Cure of a Leproſy was the peculiar Work of God. The Prieſt, as God's Miniſter, was to pronounce the Perſon clean; and the Offering was an immediate Acknowledgment paid to the ſupreme Pyſician.

But, *Thirdly*, There is another Senſe of which theſe Words are thought capable, which is, that his *ſhewing himſelf to the Prieſt*, and being by him examined and pronounced clean, was to be a ſufficient *Teſtimony* to the Man that the Cure was perfectly wrought, and no Impoſture in it. Or again, it might be a Teſtimony to the Prieſt, either of *Chriſt*'s being the Meſſiah, who had wrought this Cure; or of his not oppoſing the Law, in that he ſent his Patient to ſubmit to thoſe Ordinances, which the Law in that Caſe provided.

The firſt of theſe Interpretations, our Author thinks, is the true Senſe of the Words, becauſe the Word [h] *them* being plural, muſt in all Probability refer to the Multitude, and not either to the Prieſt or the Man cured, which would have been better expreſs'd by a ſingular Relative. And as to the Prieſt, the applying it to him ſeems contrary to what our Lord had juſt before ſaid in his Prohibition to the Leper, that *he ſhould tell no Man*; which could not have been obey'd, if he had gone immediately and told the Prieſt that the Cure was performed by *Jeſus*; as he muſt have done, if he had made the Cure a Teſtimony to the Prieſt that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah. This would probably have brought upon *Jeſus* that Danger which he ſeemed willing to avoid by his frequent Commands for the concealing of his Miracles, and therefore is not likely to be here meant. Beſides, his making this Cure a Teſtimony to the Multitude preſent, was the moſt public and general Uſe he could make of it; for as to the Prieſts, the whole Tenor of the Goſpel ſhews that they were not much inclined to be wrought upon by ſuch Teſtimonies.

VI. The *Moſaical* Inſtitutions excluded Lepers from the Converſation of Mankind: It baniſhed them into the Country, and Places uninhabited. Theſe are the Words of the Law in that Caſe: [i] *The Leper in whom the Plague is, his Clothes ſhall be rent, and his Head bare, and he ſhall put a Covering upon his upper Lip, and ſhall cry, Unclean, unclean. All the Days wherein the Plague ſhall be in him, he ſhall be defiled, he is unclean; he ſhall dwell alone, without the Camp ſhall his Habitation be.* Many Perſons attacked with this Diſeaſe often got together in Deſart Places, and form'd a kind of Society. We ſee Examples of it in the four Lepers, [k] who were without the City of *Samaria*, when *Ben-hadad*, King of *Syria*, beſieged it; and in the ten Lepers, [l] who came to *Jeſus Chriſt*, and deſired to be healed by him. This Particular was obſerved ſo punctually, that even the Kings themſelves were driven from their Palace, ſhut out from Society, and deprived of the Government, whenever this Diſeaſe laid hold of them; as in the Inſtance of [m] *Uzziah*, or *Azariah*, King of *Judah*, who was afflicted with this Malady, for attempting to offer Incenſe in the Temple, which none might do but the Prieſts.

When a Leper thought himſelf cured, [n] and came to the Gate of the City, if the Prieſt upon Inſpection was ſatiſfied that *the Plague of Leproſy was healed, he commanded to take for him that was to be cleanſed, two Birds alive and clean, and Cedar Wood, and Scarlet, and Hyſſop.* The Cedar and Hyſſop were tied together with the Scarlet String, which was to be made of Wool; and to theſe one of the Birds was faſtened alive. Then the Prieſt commanded *the other Bird to be killed in an earthen Veſſel, over-running with Water. As for the living Bird, he took that, and the Cedar-Wood, and the Scarlet, and the Hyſſop, and dipped them together into the Blood of the Bird that was killed.* With this *he ſprinkled the Perſon who was to be cleanſed, ſeven Times*; and then pronouncing him *clean, let the living Bird looſe into the open Field.* The Perſon that had been leprous *then waſhed his Clothes, and ſhaved off all his Hair, and waſhed himſelf in Water.* Seven Days after this, though he was admitted into the Camp, or City, he was to ſtay without his Tent, or Houſe: But on the eighth Day, having repeated the Ceremonies of waſhing and ſhaving, and made an Offering to the Lord, according to his Condition, he was received again into free Society.

VII. *Moſes* mentions three Sorts of Leproſies; in Men, Houſes, and Clothes. The two latter we ſhall [o] not deſcribe, they being not to our preſent Purpoſe: Of the Leproſy in Man, we ſhall obſerve a few Things. [p] 'Tis a Diſeaſe which affects the Skin, and ſometimes increaſes in ſuch a Manner, as to produce Scurf, Scabs, and violent Itchings, and corrupts the whole Maſs of Blood. At other Times it is only a Deformity, and nothing more, [q] as *Hipponetus* informs us, and [r] as the Fathers call it, when they are ſpeaking of the Lepers in the Goſpel, who were cured by *Jeſus Chriſt*. The *Jews* looked upon a Leproſy as a Diſeaſe ſent immediately from God; and *Moſes* preſcribes no natural Remedy for the Cure of it, but only ordains that the Leper ſhould be ſeparated from the Company of Mankind, as above related. We ſhall ſay more of the *Jews* Opinion concerning bodily Diſeaſes, in the next Diſſertation, where we ſhall treat of *Demoniacs*.

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[g] 2 Kings v. 7.

[h] αὐτοῖς.

[i] Levit. xiii. 45, 46.

[k] 2 Kings vii. 3, 8.

[l] Luke xvii. 12.

[m] 2 Kings xv. 5. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—21.

[n] Levit. xiv. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

[o] The Reader may ſee a Deſcription of them in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters of Leviticus.

[p] See Lev. xiii.

[q] Lib. de affectionib.

[r] Arnob. Auguſt. & alii. See Calmet in the Word *Leproſy*

The different Marks which *Moſes* gives for the better diſtinguiſhing a Leproſy, are the ſeveral Signs of the Increaſe of that Diſeaſe. An outward Swelling, a Pimple, a white Spot, tho' not always certain Signs, created juſt Suſpicions of a Man's being attacked with it. When a bright Spot ſomewhat reddiſh or white appeared, and the Hair of that Place was of a pale red, and the Spot itſelf ſomewhat deeper than the Skin, this was a certain Mark of a Leproſy. In fine, this Diſeaſe is very eaſily communicated; on which Account the divine Lawgiver of the *Jews* has taken the greateſt Precaution imaginable, to prevent Perſons infected with it from having any thing to do with thoſe whe are in Health. This Care extended ſo far, as even to dead Bodies thus infected, directing that they ſhould not be buried with others.

VIII. Thoſe [r] who have treated of this Diſtemper in latter Ages, have made the ſame Remarks on it with *Moſes*; but have diſtinguiſhed a growing Leproſy from one already formed and become inveterate. The firſt of theſe may be healed; but the laſt has been judged incurable. Travellers who have ſeen Lepers in the Eaſt, ſay, that this Diſeaſe attacks principally the Feet; and *Maundrell* in particular, mentions ſome whom he ſaw in *Paleſtine*, with Feet ſwelled like thoſe of Elephants.

An inveterate Leproſy, ſay the Phyſicians, may be diſcerned by a hoarſe Voice, like that of a Dog that has been barking for ſome Time; and by the Perſons ſpeaking thro' the Noſe, rather than by the Mouth: By a ſlow, heavy, diſordered Pulſe; and by the Blood, which abounds with bright Corpuſcules, and is all a ſcurfy *Serum*. The Perſon's Urine is undigeſted, ſettled, Aſh-colour'd, and thick; the Sediment of it like Meal mixed with Bran. His Face is like a Coal half extinguiſhed, ſhining, unctuous, bloated, and thick-ſet with very hard Pimples. His Eyes are red and inflamed, and come forward out of his Head. His Ears are ſwelled and red, eaten up with Ulcers about the Roof of them, and encompaſſed with ſmall Kernels. His Noſe ſinks, becauſe the Cartilage rots; his Noſtrils are open, but have the Paſſages ſtopt by Ulcers at the Bottom. His Tongue is dry, black, ſwelled, ulcerated, ſhortened, divided by Ridges, and beſet with little white Pimples: The Skin of it is uneven, hard, and inſenſible, and contains only a putrified Liquor, inſtead of Blood.

The Nature and Cauſes of a Leproſy have been much argued on. The Generality are of Opinion, that the Cauſe of it is inward, in the Blood and Humours; and that it does not appear outwardly, till it has corrupted every Thing within. Others believe it owing to ſome outward Cauſe. Perhaps there may be Leproſies of both Sorts; in one of which Corruption of the Blood is the Cauſe, in the other the Effect, of this Diſeaſe. It is the Cauſe of it, when the Blood being inwardly corrupted, either by bad Diet, or any other Means, produces ſuch external Effects, as are obſervable in Leproſies. It is an Effect, when this Diſeaſe is caught by touching any Perſon infected with it, or any thing belonging to him, by which Ways it is eaſily communicated.

Lepers were formerly very frequent in *Europe*: They were called *Lazars*, and there were abundance of Hoſpitals built for them, called *Lazar-Houſes*, or *Lazarettoes*, and dedicated either to Saint [s] *Lazarus*, or St. [t] *Job*. Of theſe Hoſpitals, *Matthew Paris* ſays, there were nine thouſand in *Europe*. But for theſe laſt two hundred Years Leproſies are almoſt intirely ceaſed; or at leaſt they have changed their Name, and Methods have been found out for curing them. Some of the ableſt Phyſicians have believed, that a Leproſy differed from the Venereal Diſeaſe only in Name; and M. *Tournefort* in particular, who ſaw ſeveral Lepers in his Voyage to the *Levant*, makes no Doubt of the Truth of this Opinion. What he aſſerts is the more likely, becauſe curable Lepers, where they are ſtill called by that Name, are treated in the ſame Manner as People in the other Caſe are with us: And it is certain that both Diſtempers are ſometimes incurable, when they are grown inveterate, and to a very high Degree of Malignity. Beſides, the Name of Leproſy has gradually been loſt, in Proportion as that of the Venereal Diſtemper has become more common. We hear, indeed, of ſome Leproſies at this Day; and probably what is now ſo called might antiently be included under the general Name, which might take in more than one Diſeaſe, as Diſeaſes are now divided. However this be, it ſeems apparent upon the whole, that the Venereal Diſeaſe was but too well known to the Antients, tho' they gave it a different Name, and a different Original, from what we aſcribe to it at preſent.

IX. *Manetho* the *Egyptian*, [u] *Lyſimachus*, *Molon*, *Appion* the Grammarian, *Tacitus*, and *Juſtin*, all of them affirm ſeriouſly, that the *Jews* left *Egypt* on the Score of Leproſy. Each of theſe Hiſtorians relates the Matter in his own Way, and adds ſome Circumſtances to it of his own framing: But they all agree in ſaying that the *Iſraelites*, who departed out of *Egypt*, were attacked with this Diſtemper. We ſhall tranſcribe only *Tacitus*'s Account, which is as follows.

" [w] Several Authors agree, ſays he, that the Diſtemper of the Leproſy having ſpread itſelf very much in *Egypt*, King *Bocchoris* conſulted the Oracle of *Ammon*, to learn a Remedy for this Indiſpoſition. The Oracle told him, that he muſt purge the Kingdom of this Sort of People, and remove them out of the Country as hateful to the Gods. *Boccboris* thereupon gathered all thoſe together who had this Diſeaſe upon them, and ordered them to be conducted into a vaſt Wilderneſs, there to periſh with Want. Theſe unhappy Wretches, being reduced to this Condition, and not knowing what to do, were continually weeping and bemoaning themſelves: But *Moſes*, who was more reſolute and conſiderate than they, told them that it was to no Purpoſe to implore the Aſſiſtance either of Gods or Men; but if they would have Confidence in him, and follow him, as a Guide ſent from Heaven, they might under his Conduct come into a Place of Reſt. They followed him therefore at all Hazards. And as they were extremely incommoded with Thirſt, and expected nothing but Death, *Moſes* perceived a Company of wild Aſſes, which had juſt been feeding. He followed them, and having met them in a Place covered with green Graſs, he conjectured that underneath it there might be a Spring of Water. Here he ordered the People to dig, and found enough to ſatisfy the Thirſt of all the Multitude which followed him.

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[r] Calmet ib.

[s] Lazarus the Brother of Mary and Martha. The Ignorance of former Times ſeems here to have confounded this real Perſon with the Lazarus in the Parable, who is deſcribed by our Saviour as a Leper, or at leaſt, as one having a very lothſome Diſeaſe.

[t] The Roman Catholics have Old Teſtament Saints. We ſhall ſpeak of Job as a Leper a little lower.

[u] Appio apud Joſeph. Lib. i. cont. Appion. Lib. ii. initio. & Tacit. Lib. v. Juſtin. Hiſt. Lib. xxxvi.

[w] Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. iii. as tranſlated in Calmet's Dictionary, the at Word *Leper*.

After ſeven Days March, they came into *Judea*, and made themſelves Maſters of it. They obſerved Reſt on the Seventh Day, as the End of their Journey and Calamities. They honoured an Aſs, as that which had ſaved their Lives, by ſhewing them the Spring of Water. They preſerved a great Averſion to Hog's Fleſh, in Memory of the Leproſy with which they had been afflicted, and to which this Animal is ſaid to be very ſubject."

Calmet [x] juſtly obſerves, that there are almoſt as many Miſtakes as Words in this Recital of *Tacitus*. Nevertheleſs, ſays he, other Authors, who have diſcourſed of the Original of the *Jews*, ſpeak of it in a ſtill more wretched Manner. But we have no Buſineſs with any other Accounts of this Matter; the Leproſy wherewith they are ſaid to have been attacked being the only Thing that occaſioned our mentioning it at all. However we may properly aſk by the way, how the *Iſraelites* came to have ſo great an Averſion to all Lepers, as is diſcovered in their Law, if the whole Nation of them was afflicted with the Leproſy, as is here pretended? This Queſtion cannot eaſily be anſwered: For if it be ſaid, that theſe very Laws againſt Lepers are a Proof that there were many ſuch People among them; the Reply will be, that there could not be ſo many of them as of thoſe that were clean, becauſe we cannot ſuppoſe that a Majority would ſuffer ſuch ſevere Laws to paſs againſt themſelves, as thoſe againſt Lepers evidently are.

Among the many Opinions of *Job*'s Diſtemper, the moſt generally received is, that it was a Leproſy. *Pineda* [y] diſcovers two or three and thirty ſeveral Diſeaſes in this good Man's Body: [z] *Bartholin* reckons up about twelve; and Saint [a] *Chryſoſtom* makes no Scruple of ſaying, that *Job* endured all the Evils that Man is capable of ſuffering, and that he ſuffered them all in the utmoſt Degree. But when [b] we conſider accurately all that *Job* in his Book ſays of himſelf, it ſeems that the Circumſtances of his Diſeaſe are for the moſt Part Symptoms of a Leproſy; and indeed the Fathers themſelves are generally of this Opinion. Nor will it caſt any Reflection on the Honour and Sanctity of that pious Perſon, if we ſuppoſe his Leproſy to have been the lothſome Diſeaſe above-mentioned: For People may have even that without any Act of Intemperance; and [c] Travellers inform us, that in the hot Countries it is communicated with that Facility, that to converſe familiarly with an infected Perſon, is often ſufficient to catch it. — But we have before ſaid enough concerning Leproſies, to prove the miraculous Power that was exerted by our Saviour in the healing of thoſe that are mentioned in the Goſpels; and this is ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe.

X. The laſt Thing to be taken notice of in this Diſſertation, is the Difference of the Relations given by [d] *Matthew* and *Luke* of the Calling of *Peter*, *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*. 'Tis indeed a Matter of ſmall Importance, and we preſume the Manner in which we have connected the two Accounts will be ſatisfactory to moſt Readers, who compare our Paraphraſe with the Words of the Evangeliſts. We might have excuſed ourſelves from ſaying any Thing particularly on this Head, by referring [e] to our *Diſcourſe on the Rules neceſſarily to be obſerved in reading the Hiſtory of our Lord's public Miniſtry*, in Conformity to which the Paraphraſe was drawn up: But looking over Dr. [f] *Hammond*'s Harmony of this Story, and ſuppoſing it might pleaſe ſome Perſons, we thought proper to inſert it here, that the Reader may chuſe that which ſhall ſeem to him the moſt reaſonable.

After having made ſeveral critical Obſervations, the learned Author proceeds thus: "[g] Jeſus *walking by the Sea of* Galilee, ſays he, at his firſt coming thither, *ſaw two Brothers*, Simon *called* Peter, *and* Andrew *his Brother*, *caſting their Net into the Sea*, that is *waſhing* it. When he had ſtaid a while with them, he *went on* to another *Boat*, and there he found *two other Brethren*, James *the Son of* Zebedee, *and* John *his Brother*, *in a Boat with* Zebedee *their Father*; who having newly *waſhed*, were now *mending their Nets*.—Both theſe precedent to, and ſo reconcileable with, his ſeeing *two Ships ſtanding by the Lake*, whoſe [h] *Fiſhermen having gone out of them, had waſhed their Nets.* — After this follows that Paſſage which is not at all related by *Matthew* or *Mark*; that upon the People's *preſſing upon him to hear the Word of God, he went into one of the Ships*, or Boats, *which was* Simon's, *and taught the People*; and having, contrary to *Peter*'s Intention, perſuaded him *to launch out into the Deep*, and *let down the Net*, to try what he could catch, he there wrought that Miaacle which had like to have *drowned the Boat*, and occaſioned their calling *James* and *John* to their Aſſiſtance, and gave them all an aſtoniſhing Evidence of his Power. Hereupon, to remove their Fears, *Chriſt* ſays to *Simon*, *Fear not*, *henceforth thou ſhalt catch Men:* At which Time he called not him only, but all the other three, that had their Parts in the Miracle. This Calling *Matthew* ſets down firſt of *Peter* and *Andrew*, and then of *James* and *John*; adding in both Places *that they ſtraitway*, or immediately, *followed him:* But St. *Luke* clears up the Matter by ſaying, *that when they had brought their Boats to Land, they left all, and followed him*; that is, when the two Pair of Fiſhermen, with their two Boats, ſo laden that they were afraid they would ſink, were come to Shore, and had this farther Evidence of *Chriſt*'s Power in delivering them from this Danger, they all obeyed his Call, left their Trade, and Goods, and attended him as Diſciples ever after. And whereas in our Tranſlation, we read of the Sons of *Zebedee*, that *when he ſaw them mending their Nets, he ſtraitway called them*; it muſt be noted, that the [k] original Word there uſed, which we render *ſtraitway*, or *immediately*, ſometimes includes a conſiderable Interval of Time."

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[x] Calmet ibid.

[y] Pineda in Job. ii. 7, 8.

[z] Barth. De Morb. Biblic. c. 7.

[a] Chryſoſt. Caten in Job.

[b] Calmet in the Word Job.

[c] Chardin's Travels into Perſia, T. ii. Pt. 1. Chap. ult.

[d] Mark's Account is the ſame as Luke's.

[e] See 138 and following Pages.

[f] In his Note on Luke v. 2.

[g] Compare the Places referred to in the preceding Chapter.

[h] So the Doctor renders it.

Thus far the learned Doctor, whom in ſome Places we have rather abridged than tranſcribed. All we ſhall ſay here of his Paraphraſe is, that the only Particular in which it ſeems to have an Advantage over that which we have given, is, that it leaves no Neceſſity for ſuppoſing that *James* and *John* were preſent at the Miracle of Fiſhes, and yet did not know it at firſt to be a Miracle. But perhaps, after all, their ſeeming Unconcernedneſs might be ſome other Way accounted for, which we ſhall not here look after. Suffice it that *Le Clerc*, whom we chiefly copied in the Chapter, was an Admirer of Dr. *Hammond*, and conſequently we may ſuppoſe would not have differed from him in this Place, where no Point of Doctrine was concerned, if he had diſcovered a good Reaſon for ſo doing.

DISSERTATION II.

Of *Demons*, and Poſſeſſion by them.

I. Demons, *and Poſſeſſion by them, different Opinions concerning both.* II. *Arguments againſt real Poſſeſſion by* Demons. III. *That the* Demoniacs *in the Goſpel were only Madmen.* IV. *That they were Perſons afflicted with violent Diſeaſes.* V. *The Arguments under the firſt Head conſidered, and anſwered* VI. *The Arguments under the ſecond and third Head conſidered together. Diſeaſes and Poſſeſſion always diſtinguiſhed.* VII. *Poſſeſſion by Devils known to* Jews *and Heathens, both before and after our Lord's Advent.* VIII. *Proofs of the Continuance of a Power to caſt out Devils among the antient Chriſtians.* IX. *Methods uſed by the primitive Chriſtians to prevent any Doubt of what they did.* X. *Concluſion of the Whole.*

I. AUTHORS very much differ in their Opinions, concerning the Devils mentioned in the New Teſtament. We ſhall in this Diſcourſe introduce the Subſtance of what has been written on this Subject, and endeavour to eſtabliſh the literal and genuine Senſe of all that is ſaid of theſe evil Spirits in the ſacred Writings: In order to which, we muſt firſt conſider what they are thought to be, and in what Manner they are ſuppoſed, by divine Permiſſion, to exerciſe their Power on Mankind.

[a] The Word *Demon*, or Devil, comes from a *Greek* Word, which ſignifies *knowing*, or *learned*. It is often uſed in the plural Number, and in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues is applied indifferently to good or bad Angels, but in ours confined to the latter. Some of the *Jewiſh* Doctors pretend that they are corporeal, and diſtinguiſhed by different Sexes, capable of multiplying themſelves by Generation, and ſubject to Death. Others more juſtly affirm that they are merely ſpiritual: For which, however, they give this very odd Reaſon; That God had not Leiſure to give them Bodies, becauſe the Sabbath began at that very Inſtant when he was going to form ſuch for them. *Philo* believed [b] that Angels, *Demons*, and the Souls of Men, were of the ſame Nature and Quality; and that Angels, or ſpiritual Subſtances, by Inclination and ſome natural Attraction, came and joined themſelves to Bodies and animated them; and that the Souls of Men, after having been a long Time united with Bodies, returned to the Place of their firſt Abode in the Air. *Joſephus* [c] makes the evil *Demons* to be only Souls of wicked Men, and ſpeaks of other *Jews* that were nearly of the ſame Opinion: Which, by the way, proves that the Doctrine of Tranſmigration was known among that People. — Many of the antient [d] Fathers have allotted to every Man an evil Angel, who is continually laying Snares for him, and inclining him to evil, as his good Angel inclines him to that which is good: And the *Jews* at this Day have the ſame Sentiments. As to the antient [e] Heathens, 'tis well known that they worſhipped *Pluto*, or *Hades*, the God of Hell, with other infernal Deities, Manes, and Furies, as alſo the Diſeaſes of the Body, and the moſt unmanly Paſſions. From all which it appears, that the Doctrine of *Demons*, or Spirits, has been univerſally received, though with different Modifications; and that almoſt every Action of Mankind, and every Accident that befals them, has been aſcribed to the Influence of theſe Powers; who have been worſhipped, exorciſed, feared, or adored, according as Fancy or Opinion have directed.

This general Obſervation is all we can collect from Writings merely human: Proceed we then to what is more certain and clear, the Holy

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[k] ἐυθεως.

[a] Calmet in the Word *Demon*.

[b] Philo de Gigantibus.

[c] Joſeph. de Bell. lib. vii. cap. 25.

[d] Origen, Antiochenus, Nyſſenus, Hermas, &c.

[e] Cic. de Nat. Deorum. Val. Max. lib. x. cap. 5.

Scriptures. In theſe we have *Demons* repreſented as continually employed in deceiving, tempting, hurting, and tormenting us. Here we have a Subordination pointed out among them, as among the good Angels, and to the Prince of them ſeems to be aſcribed many of thoſe Things that are ſpoken of the Devil in the ſingular Number. He[f] was the deſtroying Angel that put to Death all the Firſt-born in *Egypt*, and the Mutineers in the Wilderneſs. It was he who tempted Eve in the Garden to eat the forbidden Fruit, *David* in his Palace to number the People, and *Jeſus Chriſt* in the Wilderneſs to commit Acts of Idolatry and Preſumption. St. *Peter*[g] repreſents him to be one that *goeth about*, *ſeeking whom he may devour*; and St. *Paul* ſpeaks[h] of him as of one *armed with fiery Darts,* wherewith he endeavours to pierce our very Souls. In a Word, the Bible is full of this Doctrine, and teaches us that there are Number of lying, unclean, weak, and wicked Spirits, under this grand Enemy to our Souls, and theſe ſubordinate *Demons* are, no doubt, to be underſtood in all the Places of the New Teſtament, which ſpeak of Poſſeſſion by *a Devil*, or by a *Number of Devils.*

Caſuiſts diſtinguiſh the Operations of *Demons* upon human Bodies or Minds into two Sorts, which they call *Obſeſſion* and *Poſſeſſion*[i]. The firſt, ſay they, is when without entering into the Body of a Perſon, they beſiege him from without, and continually torment him. In this Claſs of Operations we may place what the Book[k] of *Samuel* tells us about *Saul*, who from Time to Time was diſturbed by an evil Spirit, but was greatly comforted by the Sound of a muſical Inſtrument, on which *David* play'd before him. *Calmet* produces other Inſtances of this Kind, particularly that in the Book[l] of *Tobit*, which with the *Romaniſts* is canonical. He alſo gives[m] us the Marks whereby an Obſeſſion may be known, and diſtinguiſhed from a Poſſeſſion: But as theſe are merely in Conformity to the Doctrine of his Church, (which, as it makes a Sacrament of *Exorciſm*, muſt conſequently put a great Streſs in Diſtinctions of this Nature) we ſhall for that Reaſon omit them, as not at all to our Purpoſe.

In *Poſſeſſion* the evil Spirit actually enters into the Body of the Man, and leaves him not; whether he is always tormenting and diſturbing him, or whether he does it only by Fits and Intervals. Examples of Poſſeſſions are ſo frequent in the Books of the New Teſtament, and the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, that we need not refer to particular Inſtances. *Joſephus*[n], as he takes the *Demons* to be only the departed Souls of wicked Men, ſo he believes that theſe, dreading to repair to the Place of their Puniſhment, ſeize upon the Bodies of thoſe who are yet in this Life, whom they toſs and torment, and do what they can to deſtroy them. This Sentiment ſeems peculiar to *Joſephus*: For the Generality of the *Jews* did not doubt but that it was the Devils, according to the Scripture Notion of them, who had Poſſeſſion of the *Demoniacs*. But the Opinions of Men are of no more Authority in this Article of Poſſeſſions than they were in that of the Nature of *Demons*; and therefore we ſhall trace them no farther in this Place: What we have to do, is only to defend our own Definition of Poſſeſſion, by proving, from Scripture and undeniable Authorities, againſt the ſeveral Opinions that have been ſtarted in Opoſition hereto, that the Devils mentioned in the ſacred Books and the antient Writers of the Church, were really diſtinct and ſeparate Beings, of an evil and malignant Nature, and that they did truly enter into the Bodies, and act upon the Organs and Senſes, of thoſe who are ſaid to have been poſſeſs'd by them.—And here we ſhall firſt conſider the Arguments of certain pretended Free-thinkers, who, becauſe the Credulity of the Simple has been often impoſed upon by fictitious Poſſeſſions, have thence taken Occaſion to maintain, that all the Poſſeſſions which we read of were nothing elſe but Effects of a diſtempered Imagination, or, what is worſe, of a Spirit of Wickedneſs and Impoſture, in the Perſon to whom they are aſcribed. Some, ſay they, have thought themſelves to be poſſeſſed in good Earneſt, and others have feigned themſelves to be ſo, in order to carry on their own Deſigns; but in both Caſes there has always been an equal Share of Truth, that is none at all.—The moſt plauſible Arguments that they bring for this Opinion, are ſuch as theſe which follow.

II. The Devil, ſay they[o], cannot naturally act upon our Bodies: He is of a ſpiritual Nature, and by his Will only cannot move our Limbs; nor act upon our Organs, or Fluids, without an expreſs Allowance from God. If he had naturally this Power, the World would be full of People that were poſſeſſed; he would be always exerting his Hatred againſt Man, and would exerciſe his Power and Authority to the utmoſt that his Pride and Malice could ſuggeſt. How many Men ſhould we every Day ſee agitated, tormented, choaked, ſtrangled, thrown down Precipices, drowned, burned, if the Devil had this Power? If it be ſaid, that God moderates this Power, that he reſtrains the Devil, and does not allow him to exerciſe his Malice againſt any but Sinners and wicked Men; will it not be anſwered that *Job* was a perfect and upright Man, and that we have no Ground to believe that thoſe, who have been ſuffered to feel the Effects of his Malice, either in Temptation or Poſſeſſion, were wickeder than other People?

Again, why do we not ſee Men and Women poſſeſſed, but only at certain Times, and in certain Countries? Why are there whole Nations, where the Thing is not ſo much as known? How is it that theſe *Demons* are found only in ſuch Countries where the People are generally ſuperſtitious, and in ſuch Perſons as are of a weak Underſtanding, and of a melancholy Temper?

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[f] Calmet ubi ſupra.

[g] 1 Pet. v. 8.

[h] Eph. vi. 16.

[i] Calmet's Dict. in the Word *Obſeſſion*.

[k] 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

[l] Tob. iii. 7, 8, 9.

[m] Calmet ubi ſup.

[n] Joſeph. Ant. lib. 7. cap. 25.

[o] See Calmet in the Word *Poſſeſſion*.

If we examine thoſe Men and Women, who are ſaid either to be, or to have been poſſeſſed, we ſhall find none of them but what have ſome of the Qualities and Weakneſſes now mentioned. We have had no Poſſeſſions in *England*, at leaſt not in thoſe Parts where the People have the Advantage of a mixt Converſation, for many Years paſt: And even among the *Roman* Catholics, notwithſtanding their Sacrament of Exorciſm, and the Neceſſity the People are under to believe the Reality of theſe Poſſeſſions, how few have been troubled with them ſince the Revival of Learning? The Trade of the [p] Exorciſts has been very dead for about two hundred Years, and what little Buſineſs they have had, has been only among the moſt Ignorant.

To examine the Thing itſelf by the Laws of Reaſon: If we ſuppoſe the Devil to ſuſpend the Operations of the Soul of the Party poſſeſſed, and to uſurp the Office of the Soul to himſelf; or even that ſeveral Devils agitate the ſame *Demoniac*, who is no longer Maſter of his own Organs; the Difficulty in this Caſe will be ſtill much greater. What Conception can we have of that Soul, which no longer acts in the Body it animates, and which ſurrenders itſelf up, as we may call it, to the Devil, or to a Number of Devils? How can ſeveral evil Spirits combine to govern the ſame Man? If all this can be done without a Miracle, what Proof can there be of Miracles to incredulous People? May it not be ſaid, that all thoſe Things which we call Miracles, are no other than Operations of the Devil? And if a Miracle be required, in order that a Man ſhould be poſſeſſed of the Devil, certainly this will make God the Author of ſuch Poſſeſſions, or at leaſt a Co-operator with the Devil in them; which is both abſurd and blaſphemous.

We have ſo many Examples of natural Things, which however appear to be ſupernatural, that we have no Reaſon to doubt but that what are called Poſſeſſions of the Devil, may be of this Kind. Many People have fancied themſelves to be turned into Wolves, or Oxen; to be made of Glaſs or Butter; to become Kings, or Princes: But no one in theſe Caſes has recourſe to the Devil, or to a Miracle, to reſolve the Phenomenon. They tell us roundly, that it is a Diſorder of the Brain, a Diſeaſe of the Mind or the Imagination, cauſed by a Heat of the Bowels, or by a Predominance of black Bile. Inſtead of running to the Prieſt, they have recourſe to ſome able Phyſician, apply Medicines, or make uſe of the Bath. The only Cure they ſeek, is that of Imagination, which they know muſt have another Turn given it by altering the State of the Body. Might not the ſame Method be uſed with ſuch as are Poſſeſſed? Would they not obtain a Cure by natural Remedies, by purging them, cooling them, deceiving them dextrouſly, and making them imagine that the Devil has forſaken them and fled away? There have been remarkable Experiments of this Nature, in Caſes which perhaps were thought as bad as any that can be mentioned; and therefore the Favourers of Poſſeſſions would do well to conſider what is here offered." — Theſe are the principal Arguments of the moſt Open, and Undiſguiſed, that is, of thoſe who oppoſe the Doctrine of Poſſeſſions without any Salvo, or Reſerve: We ſhall introduce what farther has been ſaid on this Side of the Queſtion, before we proceed to an Anſwer.

III. Some, who are unwilling thus directly to contradict the ſacred Writers, have endeavoured to give another Senſe to thoſe Paſſages where *Demoniacs* are mentioned, and ſo to reſolve the whole Difficulty into our Ignorance of the Ideas which the *Jews* of that Time fixed to the Word *Demoniac*, Poſſeſſion, *&c.* We ſhall extract the Subſtance of what is written to this Purpoſe by a very learned Author, whom we often quote, but who is ſomewhat ſingular in his Opinions on many Occaſions. He reaſons thus:

" [q] It is a Matter of greater Moment than perhaps every Man thinks, that we ſhould conſider under what Notions Things are conceived, and from what Property or Character the Names we call them by, are derived. For hereby, not ſeldom, it comes to paſs, that the ſame Things, preſented to us under different Notions, and Names derived therefrom, are not taken to be the ſame they are. For Example; a Man would wonder that a Comet, being ſo remarkable and principal a Work of the divine Power, and which draws the Eyes of all Men with Admiration towards it, ſhould no where be found mentioned in the Old Teſtament: Neither there, where the Works of God are recounted to magnify him; nor by Way of Alluſion and figured Expreſſion, in the Prophets Predictions of Calamities and Changes, whereof they were taken to be Preſages, notwithſtanding that theſe holy Men borrowed Alluſions both from Heaven and Earth, to paint their Deſcriptions with. Should a Man therefore think, that there never appeared any of them in thoſe Times, or to thoſe Countries? It is incredible: Or that the *Jews* were ſo dull and heedleſs, as not to obſerve them? That is not likely neither. What ſhould we ſay then? Certainly, that they conceived of them under ſome other Notions than we do, and accordingly expreſſed them ſome other Way: As what if by a *Pillar of Fire*? Such a one perhaps as went before the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs: Or by a *Pillar of Fire and Smoke*? As in that of *Joel*, *I will ſhew Wonders in the Heavens, and in the Earth; Blood, and Fire, and Pillars of Smoke*: Or by the Name of an *Angel of the Lord*? according as it is ſaid of that Pillar of Fire which went before the *Iſraelites*, that *the Angel of the Lord*, when they were to paſs the *Red-Sea*, came and ſtood between them and the *Egyptians*, when that Pillar did ſo. And who knows, whether the Pſalmiſt may not have ſome Meaning this Way when he ſays, [qq] *He maketh his Angels Spirits, and his Miniſters a flaming Fire.*

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[p] An Order of the Roman Clergy ſo called, whoſe Buſineſs it is to drive away Devils, *&c.*

[q] Mr. Mede, Diſc. on John x. 20.

[qq] Pſalm civ. 4.

It comes in, in the Pſalm, among other Works of God, in a fit Place for ſuch a Senſe; both in Regard of what goes before, and what follows after.—Theſe, or ſome of theſe, are likely to be Deſcriptions of thoſe we call Comets; but becauſe they are diſguiſed under another Notion, we know them not.

Now a like Inſtance to this, I take to be that of the *Demoniacs*, ſo often mentioned in the Goſpel: For I have often wondered how theſe *Demoniacs* ſhould ſo abound in and about that Nation, which was the People of God; whereas in other Nations, and their Writings, we hear of no ſuch; and that too, about the Time of our Saviour's being on Earth only; becauſe in the Time before, we find no mention of them in Scripture. The Wonder is yet the greater, becauſe it ſeems not to have been accounted then by the People of the *Jews*, any ſtrange or extraordinary Thing, but as a Matter uſual, notwithſtanding it is not taken notice of by any foreign Story.

Meeting with all theſe Difficulties, which I ſee not how otherwiſe to reſolve, I am perſuaded, ſays our Author, till I ſhall hear better Reaſon to the contrary, that theſe *Demoniacs* were no other than ſuch as we call Madmen and Lunatics; at leaſt that we comprehend them under thoſe Names; and that therefore they both ſtill are, and in all Times and Places have been, much more frequent than we imagine. The Cauſe of which our Miſtake, is that Diſguiſe of another Name, or Notion, than we conceive them by; which makes us take them to be divers, which are the ſame."

Our Author here makes a Digreſſion on the ſeveral Sorts of Madneſs, which it is not neceſſary to tranſcribe in this Place: We need only take notice, that coming to what we generally underſtand by the Word, as including the two Kinds that are vulgarly called *Melancholy* and *Raving*, he proceeds thus: "Such as theſe the *Jews* believed, and ſo may we, to be troubled and acted with evil Spirits; as it is ſaid of *Saul*'s Melancholy, *That an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him:* And therefore, paſſing by all other Cauſes and Symptoms, they thought fit to give them their Name from this, calling them *Demoniacs*, or *Perſons acted by the Devil* [r]. An Occaſion of the more frequent Uſe of which Expreſſion, in our Saviour's Time, and the Ages immediately before him, than formerly had been, may ſeem to have been given by the Sect of the *Sadducees*, which, after the Time of *Hyrcanus*, had much prevailed, and affirmed *that there was no Reſurrection, neither Angel, nor Spirit:* To affront and cry down whoſe Error, it is like enough the *Phariſees*, and the reſt of the right-believing *Jews* who followed them, affected to draw their Expreſſions, whereſoever they could, from Angels and Spirits; as preſently they did, in the *Acts*, when St. *Paul* awakened their Faction in the Council, ſaying, [u] *I am a* Phariſee, *and the Son of a* Phariſee, *&c. We find no Evil*, ſay they, *in this Man; but if a Spirit or an Angel hath ſpoken unto him, let us not fight againſt God.*"

Having thus, as he thinks, ſufficiently ſtated and explicated his Aſſertion, the learned Author proceeds to prove it out of the Goſpel; and in the firſt Place from that Paſſage of St. *John* [s], *He hath a Devil, and is mad:* Where he ſuppoſes the latter Words to be an Explication of the former.

Secondly, He quotes the Text where it is ſaid, [t] *There came to our Saviour a certain Man kneeling down to him, and ſaying; Lord have Mercy on my Son, becauſe he is lunatic, and ſore vexed: For oft Times he falleth into the Fire, and oft into the Water.* That this Lunatick was a *Demoniac*, ſays he, is evident both from the eighteenth Verſe of this Chapter, where it is ſaid, Our Saviour *rebuked the Devil, and he departed out of him, and the Child was cured from that very Hour:* And alſo from the ninth Chapter of the Goſpel of St. *Luke*, where it is ſaid of the ſelf-ſame Perſon, *Lo, a Spirit taketh him, and he crieth out, and it teareth him, that he foameth again, and bruiſing him, hardly departeth from him.* "By comparing of theſe Places, you may gather what kind of Men they were, which the Scripture calls *Demoniacs*, or Perſons poſſeſſed with Devils."

The Gentiles, it ſeems, alſo had the like Apprehenſion of their Madmen; whence ſome of them were called *Larvati*, which is as much as to ſay, Perſons acted by the *Larvæ*, or *Demons*. If the Gentiles thought thus of their Madmen, ſhould we think it ſtrange the *Jews* ſhould? We might be told farther, that the *Turks* Conceit of their Madmen, is not unlike this; but that they ſuppoſe the Spirit that works in them, to be a good rather than an evil one.

Juſtin Martyr, in his Apology to *Antoninus*, in order to prove that the Soul has Exiſtence and Senſe after Death, brings for an Argument among others, this of *Demoniacs*; where by his Deſcription of them, we are told, we may eaſily gather what kind of People they were, which were ſo taken to be, namely, Madmen. And ſuch too were the *Energumeni*, (the ſame as *Demoniacs*) ſo often mentioned in the Church Liturgies, in the antient Canons, and in other eccleſiaſtical Writings, many Ages after our Saviour's being on Earth; and that not as any rare and unaccuſtomed Thing, but as ordinary and uſual. They were wont to ſend them out of the Church, when the Liturgy began; becauſe they might not be Partakers of the holy Myſteries. If thoſe were not ſuch, as we now-a-days conceive of no otherwiſe than as Madmen, ſurely the World muſt be ſuppoſed to be very well rid of Devils, over it hath been; which for our Author's Part he believes not. Nay, that theſe *Energumeni*, or *Demoniacs*, were ſuch as is here intimated, *Balſamon* and *Zonaras* both, in their *Scholia* upon the Canons of the Church, inform us: For to reconcile two Canons, concerning theſe *Ener-*

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[r] Δαιμονιζόμενοι

[u] Acts xxiii. 6, 9.

[s] John. x. 20.

[t] Matth. xvii. 15.

gumeni, which ſeem contradictory, they affirm that one of them is meant of him that is continually and always mad, and the other to be underſtood of him that is mad but by Fits, and hath his lucid Intervals: Which Diſtinction puts the Matter beyond all Doubt. “And thus, ſays the learned Author, I have acquainted you with what I have obſerved, to confirm me in this Opinion, and make no doubt, but there are more Paſſages of this Kind yet to be found than I have met with.”

Another [u] learned Divine, (tho' he ſeems to allow of ſuch a Thing as Poſſeſſion) ſpeaks ſo very equivocally of the *Demoniacs* in the New Teſtament, that he would almoſt tempt one to think he was nearly of the ſame Mind with the Author now quoted. He does not indeed confine his Poſſeſſion to Madneſs only, as the other does, but takes in other violent Diſeaſes under the ſame Notion: Such as Convulſions, Falling-Sickneſs, *&c.* He alſo attributes them in plain Terms to the Devil; but in ſuch a Manner, that one would think he means no more by uſing that Word, than to repreſent it as a miſtaken Opinion of the *Jews*, who ſuppoſed every Thing which they could not account for, to be the immediate Work of ſome ſuperior Power, either good or evil. But we ſhall give a better Idea of his Doctrine on this Head, by tranſcribing the Subſtance of two of his Notes, and the Paraphraſes that precede them, on different Paſſages of the Goſpel.

Upon the twentieth Verſe of the ſeventh Chapter of *John*, where the *Jews* tell our Saviour that he *has a Devil*, the Paraphraſe is only this; *Thou art certainly mad to talk thus.* And by way of Note the Doctor makes this Obſervation. [w] “All Sorts of Diſeaſes were in thoſe Days brought on Men ſometimes by the Devil, and ſo generally they that are brought to *Chriſt* for Cure, are ſaid to be poſſeſſed; but eſpecially thoſe who were more ſtrangely affected, without any viſible Cauſe of it, were generally thought to ſuffer this from the Devil's getting Power to poſſeſs them; and of this Sort eſpecially Madmen, [x] who being not diſcernedly ſick, or ill-affected, did yet behave themſelves as if they were in ſome ſtrong Diſtemper, and therefore were thought to be poſſeſſed by ſome evil Spirit. So *Juſtin Martyr* ſays, [y] *They that are poſſeſſed, are by all Men called mad.*” Certainly the Doctor did not deſign in this Place, that we ſhould think he believed all were actually poſſeſſed, who are ſaid ſo to be.

Our other Quotation ſhall be from his Paraphraſe and Note on one [z] of the Texts before recited in our Extract from Mr. *Mede.* Where the Evangeliſt repreſents the Father who came to *Chriſt* as ſaying, *Lord have Mercy upon my Son, for he is lunatic, for oft-times he falleth into the Fire, and oft into the Water*; the Paraphraſe is, *The Changes of the Moon have ſuch a Power on him, that at ſuch Times the Devil handleth him miſerably, caſting him into Fits of the Falling-Sickneſs, throwing him into the Fire, or Water, whichſoever is next.* Here the Devil's Power, or (which ſeems to be nearer the Author's Senſe) the Power of the Diſtemper, is ſaid to be influenced by the Changes of the Moon; which proves what Kind of Poſſeſſion we are taught to underſtand. As to the Nature of the Diſtemper, we are told in the Note, “that it appears by the Effect of it to have been an *Epilepſy*, or *Falling-Sickneſs.* And why this is expreſſed by a *Greek* Word [a] parallel to Lunacy, is becauſe this Diſeaſe being in the Head, as well as Madneſs, the Moon hath the ſame Iufluence on the one, as on the other.—And whereas it is ſaid that *the Spirit took him*, and *Chriſt rebuked the unclean Spirit, and it went out of him*; the clear Meaning of all this is, that as in thoſe Days it was ordinary for the Devil to have Power over Men's Bodies, and having ſo to exerciſe it by bringing Diſeaſes upon them, ſo it was here; the Devil that poſſeſſed him, caſt him into frequent Fits of the Epilepſy, of which there was no Way of curing him but by caſting out the Devil.” Can any one think here is a ſufficient Diſtinction between the Poſſeſſion and the Diſeaſe? We believe no body, who doubts the literal Truth of thoſe Paſſages which ſpeak of *Demoniacs*, will be perſuadad to a Change of Sentiments by ſuch reaſoning as this: For if Poſſeſſion can be known only by the bodily Diſeaſes that attend it, certainly there can be no Proof of it at all; becauſe no one will pretend to ſay that all bodily Diſeaſes are the Effects of Poſſeſſion at all Times, or even that thoſe which are ſaid in the New Teſtament to be the Effects of it, are always cauſed by that only.

We do not pretend to ſay, that Dr. *Hammond's* Sentiments is here exactly repreſented, but only that it is ſo near as we can comprehend it; and as we have quoted ſo many of his Words, the Reader will be able to judge of it as well as we. Whether we are exactly right or no, in this Particular, the Caſe is much the ſame; ſince what we have farther to do, is only to ſhew that none of the Opinions above, let them be whoſe they will, is according to Truth: And if we prove in general, that there ought to be a greater Diſtinction made between the Poſſeſſions mentioned in the New Teſtament, and the Diſeaſes which are ſo there recorded, than is here obſerved; 'tis the ſame Thing as if we proved this againſt the Opinion of any particular Perſon.—The other two Notions that have been repreſented, and which we are now to refute, are *firſt*, That the Poſſeſſions mentioned in the New Teſtament were only natural Diſeaſes, or mere Impoſitions; *ſecondly*, That the *Demoniacs* there mentioned, were only Madmen. Under this latter Head will alſo be conſidered what has been laſt ſaid concerning bodily Diſeaſes as the Effects of Poſſeſſion: And thro' the Whole we ſhall endeavour to maintain the Propoſition firſt laid down, both from Scripture, and the Teſtimony of the Fathers. For though the Fathers are often rejected in Points of Speculation, yet certainly their Authority is at leaſt as good as that of any other Hiſtorian in Matters of Fact, eſpecially when they appeal to all the World for the Truth of what they ſay; and for ſuch Facts only we ſhall here quote them.

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[u] Dr. Hammond.

[w] See Note *b* on John vii.

[x] The Author refers to thoſe mentioned Matth. viii. 28, who, he ſays, appear to be ſuch by their raving Temper.

[y] Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2.

[z] That of Matth. xvii. 14—18 comp. with Luke ix. 38—42.

[a] σεληνιάζομαι, from σεληνὴ, the Moon.

V. *Firſt*, In Anſwer to the Arguments brought to prove that there never was any ſuch Thing as real Poſſeſſion, but that the *Demoniacs* in the New Teſtament, were either weak and melancholy People, led away by their Imaginations, or deſigning Impoſters[b]; it is allowed, that amongſt the great Number of *Demoniacs* that have been in the World, there may have been ſome of both theſe Kinds; but this is no Proof that there never were any really poſſeſſed. If all that is ſaid of this Matter, were only an Illuſion, then *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and the whole Chriſtian Church, would be in an Error, and muſt wilfully involve us in one too, by ſpeaking, and acting, and praying, as if there were real Poſſeſſions. Our Saviour ſpeaks to, and commands, the Devils who actuated the Poſſeſſed; which Devils anſwer and obey, and give Proofs of their Preſence, by tormenting thoſe miſerable Creatures, whom they are obliged to quit. They put them into violent Convulſions, throw them upon the Ground, leave them for dead, take Poſſeſſion of Hogs, and hurry thoſe Animals into the Sea: Can all this be only Deluſion? *Jeſus Chriſt* alledges it as a Proof of his Miſſion, that the Devils were caſt out: He promiſes his Apoſtles the ſame Power that he exerciſed himſelf againſt thoſe wicked Spirits, and they were actually made Partakers of it, and communicated it to their Succeſſors, who preſerved it for ſome Ages downwards: Could all this be nothing but *Chimæra?* Was there never any ſuch Power exerciſed at all, either by *Chriſt* or his Diſciples?

'Tis granted, that there are ſeveral Tokens of Poſſeſſion which are equivocal and fallible; but there are others alſo which are indubitable. A Perſon may counterfeit a Demoniac, ſo far as to imitate the Actions, Words, Motions, Contortions, Cries, Howlings, and Convulſions of one that is poſſeſſed: Some Effects that ſeem to be ſupernatural, may be the Effect of an heated Imagination, menlancholy Blood, or only Trick and Contrivance. But if a Perſon, all on a ſudden[c], ſhould ſpeak and underſtand Languages that he has never learned, talk of ſublime Matters which he has never ſtudied, diſcover Things that were ſecret and unknown; ſhould he lift himſelf up into the Air without viſible Aſſiſtance, act and ſpeak in a Manner very different from his natural Temper and Condition, and that without any Inducement from Intereſt, Paſſion, or any other Motive; if all theſe Circumſtances, or the greateſt Part of them, ſhould concur in the ſame Poſſeſſion, can there be any Room to ſuſpect that it is not a real one? But there have been many Poſſeſſions, in which all, or moſt of theſe Circumſtances have concurred together: There have therefore been real ones; and eſpecially thoſe which the Goſpel mentions as ſuch.—Nor ought we to wonder if God was pleaſed to permit, that in our Saviour's Time there ſhould be many ſuch among the *Jews*, to furniſh him with Occaſions of ſignalizing his Power, and to ſupply us with a great Number of convincing Proofs of his Miſſion and Divinity.

We own, that true Poſſeſſions of the Devil are very rare, and very difficult to be diſtinguiſhed; yet it cannot be allowed, that when ſuch happen, they are therefore miraculous. They do not happen without the Permiſſion of God; but they are neither contrary, nor ſuperior, to the Laws of Nature. No body thinks he has recourſe to a Miracle, when he ſays, that a good Angel inſpires him with good Thoughts, or prompts him to avoid any Danger. It is ſuppoſed in like Manner, that the Devil may tempt to Evil, excite irregular Impreſſions, or raiſe Tumults, in our Breaſts. The Scripture imputes to evil Angels, as we before obſerved, the Death of the Firſt-born of *Egypt*, and the Deſtruction of *Sennacherib*'s Army: So it imputes to good Angels the raining of Fire and Brimſtone, when *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were conſumed. Theſe Events are miraculous in ſome of their Circumſtances; but not in all. God on ſuch Occaſions, only ſuffers the *Demons* to act; and they but exerciſe a Power which is natural to them, though it was before ſuſpended and reſtrained by the ſovereign Lord of Nature. Theſe Things would be plainer to us, could we form adequate Ideas of what the Power of thoſe ſpiritual Beings is: But we conclude too haſtily concerning theſe Matters, when we pronounce how much or how little may be done, by Creatures of whom we have at beſt a very imperfect Knowledge.—— Theſe are ſome of the general Arguments, which are brought in Defence of Poſſeſſions by evil Spirits, againſt thoſe who pretend there are no ſuch Things, becauſe they cannot account for them clearly by the Strength of their Reaſon.

VI. We are now to conſider the Arguments of thoſe who ſpeak not ſo openly againſt the Reality of Poſſeſſions, but palliate the Matter, by pretending either, *Firſt*, That the Evangeliſts endeavoured at no more in what they ſay of *Demoniacs* than to deſcribe Perſons out of their Mind, ſuch as we commonly call *Madmen*; or, *Secondly*, That theſe *Demoniacs* were only Perſons afflicted with ſtrange Diſeaſes, Fits of the Mother, Convulſions, Falling-Sickneſs, and the like. Theſe two Opinions, though we propoſed them ſeparately, that the Manner of each Author's reaſoning might be the more viſible, will be beſt anſwered together; becauſe as Madneſs is properly a Diſeaſe, the ſame Proofs that are brought againſt the Arguments of the latter Claſs, will hold good againſt thoſe of the former: For Particulars are always included in their General.

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[b] See Calmet in the Word *Poſſeſſion.*

[c] Many Inſtances have been recorded, as ſtrange as theſe which follow.

In the firſt Place then, we allow, [d] that in the Goſpel the Generality of Diſeaſes are attributed to ſome Devil. It is there ſaid, that the Devil had bound the Woman, who had been bent down for eighteen Years: [e] *Ought not this Woman, who is a Daughter of* Abraham, *whom Satan hath bound, lo theſe eighteen Years, lo be looſed from this Bond on the Sabbath Day?* The ſame Perſon is alſo mentioned as having [f] *a Spirit of Infirmity.* We are likewiſe told in the Goſpel of a [g] dumb Devil, and another who ſcarce could ſpeak; that is to ſay, which cauſed theſe Infirmities in thoſe who were poſſeſſed by them. The joining together of theſe Expreſſions, *He hath a Devil and is mad, he is lunatic and hath a Devil,* has been before remarked, and we again confeſs that there are ſeveral Paſſages in the New Teſtament to this Effect, and that therefore *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, whenever they had a Mind to reſtore theſe indiſpoſed Perſons, began with driving out the Devils, upon which the Cure always immediately followed. This is all too plain in the ſacred Records, for us to call in Queſtion any Part of it.

And in Conſequence of this, we are willing to allow in the ſecond Place, that Diſeaſes and Death were often cauſed by the Devil; or, at leaſt, that it is plain they were aſcribed to him by the *Hebrews.* For that People, who were very little verſed in the Study of natural Philoſophy, and not much accuſtomed to recur to phyſical Cauſes, and conſult Phyſicians, when they were ſick, imputed their Diſtempers, eſpecially if they were any thing beyond what was uſual, to evil Spirits, the Executioners of divine Vengeance. How right they were in this Particular, we will not pretend to ſay, nor have we any need to enquire: For granting all that is here contended for, even to the admitting that moſt of the Diſeaſes which were cured by our Saviour, were cauſed by the Devil, or Devils; it will yet appear, upon Examination, that the Devils and the Diſeaſes were not the ſame, as they muſt be according to foregoing Hypotheſes, if any Senſe at all be made of them. This we ſhall prove both from Authority, and from ſeveral Circumſtances relating to the Devils themſelves.

[h] *Firſt,* From the *Authority of the Scriptures and eccleſiaſtical Writers,* which make a conſtant and a plain Diſtinction betwixt theſe two Things, the *curing of Diſeaſes,* and *the caſting out of Devils.* That it is thus with regard to the Scriptures, every one who hath read over the Books of the New Teſtament, or heard them read, with any Attention, (that is, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, every Chriſtian) muſt eaſily remember of himſelf; and therefore we ſhall be the more ſparing in Quotations, of which the following ſhall ſuffice. [i] *They brought to him,* ſays St. *Matthew, all ſick People, that were taken with divers Diſeaſes, and thoſe that were poſſeſſed with Devils, and thoſe that were lunatic, and had the Palſy, and he healed them.* The ſame Evangeliſt informs us, [k] that *he gave to the Apoſtles Power againſt unclean Spirits to caſt them out, and to heal all Manner of Sickneſs and Diſeaſes.* St. *Mark* aſſures us, that [l] *he healed many that were ſick of divers Diſeaſes, and caſt out many Devils;* and St. *Luke,* that when [m] *they brought to him thoſe that were ſick with divers Diſeaſes, he laid his Hands on every one of them, and healed them: And Devils alſo came out of many.* It is impoſſible to be plainer than the Evangeliſts are on this Head; nor are the Fathers leſs explicit in what they have recorded of their own Times, as we ſhall fully demonſtrate before we have done with this Subject. For the preſent theſe two or three Paſſages from them will be ſufficient. [n] *The Chriſtians,* ſaith *Irenæus, truly caſt out Devils, and heal the Sick, by Impoſition of Hands.* [o] *They caſt out Devils, and heal many Diſeaſes,* ſaith *Origen.* And *Tertullian* puts this Queſtion, as it were by way of Appeal in a Caſe that is well known; [p] *How many honeſt Men have by us been healed, or freed from Devils?* Here the Diſtinction is obſerved by them all.

Secondly, We are to prove this from certain Circumſtances relating to the Devils themſelves; either when they were about to be ejected, or were actually caſt out. And to theſe we may alſo add ſome Circumſtances which regard the Perſons who are ſaid to have been poſſeſſed. Relating to the Devils, we have the ſeveral Queſtions, Expoſtulations, and Commands, which paſſed betwixt them and our Lord: For granting what was [q] advanced from Dr. *Hammond* in the preceding Diſſertation, that when our Lord commanded *them not to make him known,* he ſpoke to the Multitude and not to the Devils; there will yet be abundance of Paſſages that can be no otherways underſtood, than as ſpoken by our Lord to the Devils, or by the Devils to him. Such, for Inſtance, are thoſe Places where they expoſtulate with *Chriſt,* ſaying, [r] *What have we to do with thee? Art thou come to torment us before the Time?* Where they pray him that *he would not torment them,* and *aſk his Leave to enter into the Herd of Swine,* which having obtained, they hurry them *down violently into the Sea;* where they *beg* that *that they may not be ſent out of the Country;* where they acknowledge that their Name is *Legion,* there being many of them, who poſſeſſed one Man. Such, on the other Hand, are thoſe Places where *Chriſt* puts Queſtions to theſe Demons, aſking them *their Names;* or commands them *to be ſilent,* or *come out of a Man, and enter no more into him.* " Now to make all theſe Sayings the Effect of a Diſeaſe, or to imagine that *Chriſt* ſpoke thus to a Diſeaſe, is, ſays [f] Dr. *Whitby*, too great an Evidence of one that is himſelf diſeaſed." Indeed it is difficult to conceive, how any Man can imagine that the Evangeliſts in recording all this, endeavoured only to give us the Idea of a Madman, or a Man afflicted with a violent Diſtemper.

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[d] Calmet in the Word *Diſeaſe.*
[e] Luke xiii. 16.
[f] Ver. 11.
[g] Mark ix. 17, 25. Luke xi. 14.
[h] Whitby on Matth. viii. 31.
[i] Matth iv. 24.
[k] Matth. x. 1.
[l] Mark i. 34.
[m] Luke iv. 40, 41.
[n] Iræn. Lib. ii. Cap. 56, 57.
[o] Orig. Cont. Celſum, Lib. i.
[p] Tertull. ad Scapulam.
[q] See Page 311.
[r] See Mark v. 1—14. i. 25. ix. 25. Luke iv. 41. viii. 27—33. & alibi.

With regard to the *Demoniacs* or Perſons poſſeſſed, we may conclude what they were from the Symptoms diſcovered in them; ſuch as their being of ſo great Strength, that no Chains, or Fetters, could bind them. Could this be ſaid of diſeaſed Perſons, even ſuppoſing they were Madmen of the moſt violent Sort? Or could a diſeaſed Perſon fear to be deſtroyed, tormented, ſent out of the Country, or into the Abyſs, by *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the *Demons* are ſaid to have done? There is Abſurdity in the very Thought.

VII. But ſtill the grand Objection is produced; "That we find no Mention of Perſons thus poſſeſſed with Devils, either among *Jews* or Gentiles, before our Saviour's Advent; nor have we now Experience of any ſuch Thing, either among Chriſtians, or in the Heathen World; and that therefore we cannot without the utmoſt Credulity, believe it was ſo whilſt our Saviour was upon Earth." This is the general Refuge of Infidels and Sceptics: What Service it will do them, we ſhall ſoon ſee.

In the firſt Place, were what is aſſerted in this Objection granted to be true, yet would the Conſequence which is drawn from this Aſſertion be far from being ſo; unleſs it could be proved, that God is obliged always to act towards us in the ſame Manner, and to cauſe a Continuance of every Thing that he ſuffers for a Seaſon, or for particular Ends. For otherwiſe, the Providence of God will very ſingularly appear, in ſuffering thoſe evil Spirits to have an extraordinrry Power juſt at that Time when ſuch extraordinary Teſtimonies were requiſite, to convince Mankind that *Jeſus* was the promiſed Meſſiah: [t] And it muſt be a Demonſtration of the Authority of *Chriſt*, and of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, that it enabled its Profeſſors every where, by Virtue of the Name and Invocation of the Holy *Jeſus*, thus to heal all Manner of Diſtempers, which no Phyſicians could cure by the utmoſt of their Art, much leſs by ſpeaking of a Word. But we have no Occaſion for Arguments of this Nature, becauſe it can be proved that the Aſſertion above recited is entirely falſe, and that Poſſeſſions by evil Spirits were heard of and believed, by Gentiles as well as *Jews*, both before and after the Appearance of our bleſſed Saviour. This is what we ſhall now endeavour to make manifeſt.

The Falſehood of the Suggeſtion, that Men poſſeſſed with evil Spirits were not known among the *Jews* in former Ages, appears from the plain Teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who ſaith, [u] *That God taught to* Solomon, *for the Benefit of Men, and that* Solomon *left behind him, thoſe Ways of exorciſing* Demons, *which ſo effectually expelled them, that they never entred into the Perſons any more: And from that Time to this*, continues the Hiſtorian, *hath that Way of curing thoſe who were poſſeſſed, been very powerful.* He alſo talks of a ſtrange Herb, or Shrub, which being artificially pulled up, [w] *inſtantly expels Devils.* We alſo read in the [x] *Acts* of the ſeven Sons of one *Scæva* a *Jew*, who *were Exorciſts*; and in St. *Matthew*, [y] *of the Children of the* Jews *who caſt out Devils.* And both [z] *Juſtin Martyr* and [a] *Irenæus* inform us, that the *Jews* did this before the Time of our Saviour, *by Invocation of the God of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob. In Imitation of which we may ſuppoſe it was, that when our bleſſed Saviour was famous for his Miracles, ſome of the *Jews* ſet up the Trade of exorciſing *in his Name:* Of which *John* complained to him, [b] *ſaying, Maſter, we ſaw one caſting out Devils in thy Name, and he followeth not us; and we forbade him, becauſe he followed not us.* But we ſhall ſpeak more laregely of theſe Exorciſms of the *Jews* in another Place, where a Compariſon of them with what was performed by our Saviour, will be neceſſary.

That there were Perſons poſſeſſed among the Heathens, appears ſufficiently from the Number of Exorciſts and Magicians that were among them in every Nation: Of whom [c] *Plutarch* ſaith, that *they adviſed thoſe who were poſſeſſed to repeat the* Epheſian *Letters.* And *Lucian* mentions it as a Thing known to all, that they had thoſe among them [d] *who diſpoſſeſſed* Demons. *Juſtin Martyr* ſaith, [e] that the *Jews* exorciſe *Demons, uſing the ſame Art that the Heathens did*; and *Origen*, [f] that the Names of *Abraham, Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were uſed, not only by the *Jewiſh* Exorciſts, *but by almoſt all who practiſed the Arts of Magic or Enchantment*; plainly intimating that thoſe Ars were practiſed by others as well as by *Jews*. And as this is a certain Truth, ſo is it as certain, that the Hiſtory of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles caſting out Devils in *Judea*, and of the antient Chriſtians caſting them out in all Parts of the World, was in the firſt Ages of the Church never queſtioned either by *Jew* or Gentile; the Reaſon of which was plainly this, that they had among themſelves in every Place, Perſons who pretended to the ſame Power. Theſe Things will be farther confirmed a little lower, where we ſhall ſhew, that the antient Chriſtians ejected Devils, not only out of Men, but alſo from Temples, Oracles, and Altars; and that ſo ſignally, that the beſt Hiſtorians of thoſe Ages, even tho' by Religion they were Heathens, and ſome of them profeſſed Enemies to Chriſtianity, are forced to confeſs that their Oracles were ſilent, and that Chriſtianity had thus triumphed over their ſuppoſed Deities; nay, we ſhall find, that theſe evil Spirits were obliged by the Chriſtians to confeſs themſelves that they were but *Demons.*

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[f] See Whitby's Preface to the Epiſtles.

[t] Whitby ubi ſupra.

[u] Joſeph. Antiq. b. 8. cap. 2.

[w] De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 23.

[x] Acts xix. 23.

[y] Matth. xii. 25.

[z] Dialog. cum Tryph.

[a] De Hæreſ. Lib. 2. Cap. v.

[b] Mark ix. 38.

[c] Sympoſ. Lib. 7. 25.

[d] Philoſ. Ed. Gr. P. 363, 364.

[e] Dialog. cum Tryph.

[f] Cont. Celſ. Lib. 1. & Lib. 4.

VIII. In theſe Paragraphs, as we proceed, we ſhall trace the Original of this Power among the antient Chriſtians, the Occaſion of giving it, and how it was a Confirmation of Chriſtianity. Now we read that our Lord promiſed [g], among [h] many other wonderful Things, that thoſe who believed in him ſhould *caſt out Devils:* Which Promiſe he performed with ſuch a conſtant Scene of glorious Inſtances, and ſuch amazing Circumſtances, (if in this Matter we may credit the primitive Profeſſors of, and Martyrs for, Chriſtianity) that 'tis not poſſible for any Man to doubt the Truth and Certainty of the Chriſtian Faith, who does not look upon them as impudent Untruths, and lying Legends. The Promiſe, we may obſerve, was given by our Saviour before his Aſcenſion, to be a Teſtimony to the true Believers themſelves when it came to be fulfilled, that he in whom they believed had not deceived them, but was in reality the *Anointed of God:* And the fulfilling of this Promiſe, joined with the preaching of the Fathers, was a Teſtimony of the ſame Truth to all who beheld the wonderful Works that were thereby wrought. That theſe Works were ſuperior to any thing of the ſame Kind, which was wrought by other Means, will appear from the Conſideration of the Perſons that performed them, and the Extent of their Power againſt all evil Spirits, in all Places, and from obſerving that this Power was manifeſted without the Uſe of any natural Means: Conſequently Chriſtianity will be hereby confirmed, the Reality of Poſſeſſions among all Nations will be proved, and all the Ends of a Diſcourſe on this Subject will be fully anſwered.

[i] Our bleſſed Saviour having ſaid, *Behold I give you Authority over all the Power of the Enemy*, great Multitudes of Chriſtians gave a continual Demonſtration of the Truth of this Prediction. For, *that our Lord was ſent for the Deſtruction of theſe evil Spirits, you may now learn,* ſaith [k] *Juſtin Martyr, from what is done before your Eyes; for many Chriſtians throughout all the World, and in every City of your Empire, have healed many that were poſſeſſed of the Devil, and ſtill do they eject, by Invocation of the Name of* Jeſus, *thoſe whom none of your Inchanters, Conjurers, or Sorcerers, were able to expel.* Origen is ſtill more to our Purpoſe, and no Body can pretend he has here an *allegorical* Meaning: [l] *Thoſe Chriſtians are not few,* ſays he, *who eject Devils from thoſe that are poſſeſſed with them; and this they do without all curious Arts, or any Sorcery, or Magic, only by Prayers, and ſimple Adjuration of them: For moſtly this is done even by the meaneſt Chriſtians, the Grace aſſiſtant to the Word of* Chriſt *demonſtrating by this the Devil's Weakneſs,* in *that to expel them from the Soul or Body of a Man, there is no need of Men of Wiſdom, or* who are *powerful in Demonſtration of the Faith.* And in another Place, *Now,* [m] ſays he, *were not* Chriſt *of a divine Compoſition, the Devils would not thus quit the Bodies they poſſeſs at the bare Invocation of his Name:* For, as he elſewhere ſays, [n] *ſuch is the Efficacy of the Name of* Jeſus, *that it ſometimes profits when it is uſed by wicked Men.* This is agreeable to our Lord's Prediction, that at the dreadful Audit, many ſhall be rejected who can make this Plea, [o] *Lord, Lord,— in thy Name we have caſt out Devils:* And to that Paſſage in the Goſpel before quoted [p], where *John* complains of having ſeen one who was no Follower of *Jeſus, caſting out Devils in his Name.* 'Twas this gave Courage to the *Jewiſh* Exorciſts, the Sons of *Scæva,* [q] *to abjure evil Spirits by the Name of* Jeſus; and not to the *Jews* only, for *other Inchanters* alſo, ſaith [r] St. *Auſtin, mixed the Name of* Jeſus *with their Incantations.* Thus we ſee that by this ſacred Name *every Chriſtian,* as [ſ] *Clemens* expreſſes it, *had command over the Devils*; and even the *Jewiſh* and Heathen Exorciſts, were permitted to do that by Virtue of this Name, which they could not do by their uſual Sorceries; by which means they were left without Excuſe for their Incredulity, if they perſiſted in it after theſe Teſtimonies to the Divinity of our *Jeſus.*

This Name was efficacious againſt all evil Spirits whatſoever, none of them being able to reſiſt the Power of it. *Even now,* ſaith [t] *Juſtin Martyr, we who believe in* Jeſus, *adjuring the whole Herd of Devils and malignant Spirits, have them all ſubject to our Power:* And again, *By the Name of the Son of God, all kind of Devils, being adjured, are overcome, and brought into Subjection. 'Tis evidently ſeen,* [u] ſaith *Origen, that by the Name of* Jeſus *ten thouſand Devils have been expelled from the Souls and Bodies of thoſe who were poſſeſſed by them.* On this Account the Chriſtians triumphed over the Heathen Exorciſts, that by the Name of *Jeſus* they expelled thoſe [w] Devils *which none of their Inchanters, Sorcerers, or Magicians could expel*; and over all the Heathen Deities, who were no other than Devils. *Bring one poſſeſſed, mad, and raging,* ſaith [x] *Lactantius, to your* Jupiter, *or, becauſe he is not skilled in theſe Matters, bring him to* Æſculapius, *or* Apollo; *let both their Prieſts adjure him, in the Name of their ſuppoſed Deities, to quit his Station; they in vain attempt it: But let the ſame Devils be adjured in the Name of the true* God, *and inſtantly they fly. Were this* Jove *any better than themſelves, why do they fear our* Chriſt, *and not your* Jupiter? And on the ſame Account they triumphed over the Heretics, which then appeared to corrupt the Truth: For though God ſuffered the Name of *Jeſus* to be efficacious even in the Mouths of wicked Perſons, beyond any of their Incantations; yet were theſe Effects leſſened to ſuch Men, in order to convince them of their Error. *We by this,* ſaith [y] *Irenæus, confound the Hereſies of* Simon Magus, Carpocrates, *and the whole Tribe of thoſe deceitful Workers,*

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[g] Mark xvi. 17, 18.
[h] Whitby ubi ſup.
[i] Whitby ibid.
[k] Juſt Mart. Apol. 1.
[l] Orig. cont Celſ. lib. 7.
[m] Cont. Celſ. lib 3.
[n] Ibid. lib. 1.
[o] Matth. vii. 22.
[p] Mark ix. 38.
[q] Acts xix. 14,
[r] Aug. Tract. 7. in Johan.
[ſ] Recogn. lib. 4. cap. 33.
[t] Dialog. cum Trph.
[u] Contra Celſ. lib. 1.
[w] Apol. 1.
[x] Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 27.
[y] De Hæreſ. lib. 2. cap. 56.

that they cannot expel all Kinds of Devils; but only ſuch as are confederate with them.

Theſe Devils the Chriſtians expelled not only out of *Men*, but even from *Temples*, *Oracles*, and *Altars*. *We are ſo far*, ſaith [y] *Origen*, *from worſhipping of* Demons, *that we expel them from the Places where they are ſeated. Go no more*, ſaith [z] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* in his Exhortation to the *Greeks*, *to your* Caſtalian, *or other Fountains; all theſe prophetic Streams are now dried up, and they are paſſed away with their own Fables.* And the Heathens themſelves acknowledged the ſame, as we before aſſerted, and ſhall now prove. *Divination and Oracles*, [a] ſaith *Strabo*, *were by the Antients much regarded; but now they are as generally neglected and contemned, the Oracles at* Delphos *and* Hammon *being wholly ſilent.* Plutarch [b] *confeſſes*, that *not above one or two of their Oracles were remaining, the reſt being wholly ſilent, or entirely deſolate. The Spirit of the Gods*, ſaith the Apoſtate [c] *Julian*, *comes now but rarely, and to very few:* And *Porphyry* [d] owns the Triumphs of our *Jeſus* over their ſuppoſed Deities. This was a great deal from two ſuch profeſſed Enemies of Chriſtianity, as *Julian* and *Porphyry* are known to have been.

Nor did the Chriſtians only ſilence their Oracles, and ſtop the Mouths both of their Prieſts and of the *Demons* who inſpired them, ſo as that they could no longer deceive after their uſual Manner; but they alſo opened the ſame Mouths at the ſame Time, in behalf of the Truth, and forced their pretended Gods to confeſs even before their Prieſts and Votaries, that they were evil Spirits. *This moſt Men*, ſaith [e] *Minutius Felix*, *know, and ſome of you Heathens, that all your* Demons, *when they are forced out of Bodies by our Words and Prayers, do with Grief confeſs what they are, not belying their own Filthineſs, even in your Preſence: Believe their Teſtimony, when truly they confeſs themſelves to be Devils.—All the Dominion we have over them*, ſaith [f] *Tertullian*, *proceedeth from the Name of* Chriſt, *and the Commemoration of thoſe Things they are to ſuffer from him as their Judge: This cauſeth them, at our Command, to come forth of the Bodies they poſſeſs, with great Reluctance, Grief, and Shame, even when you are preſent. You who have credited their Lyes, believe them when they ſpeak the Truth of themſelves; for none will lye to their Diſgrace, but for their Honour: They are more to be believed, who confeſs againſt themſelves, than who deny for themſelves.— Theſe Devils*, ſaith [g] *Cyprian*, *being adjured by the true God, do inſtantly own what they are, and are compelled to come out of the Bodies they poſſeſs. You may ſee them, by our Voice, and by the Power of the inviſible Majeſty, as it were whipped and ſcorched; and as their Torments increaſe, you may hear them howling, groaning, deprecating, and confeſſing, even in the Audience of their Friends, whence they are, and when they will depart.*

And the ſame Father, in [h] another Place, makes it one Property of a Chriſtian, *to force impure Spirits to confeſs what they are, and to urge them by powerful Strokes to depart.*

Again: This was done not in *Rome* and *Carthage* only, and other Cities of chief Note, but [i] *throughout all the World*; not only for ſome Weeks or Months together, but from the firſt Riſe of Chriſtianity till the Days of *Conſtantine*; for even about that Time *Lactantius* ſpeaks thus: [k] *As* Chriſt *himſelf, whilſt he converſed with Men, did with a Word expel all Kind of Devils; ſo now his Followers expel thoſe filthy Spirits by their Maſter's Name, and by the Sign of his Paſſion.* *Euſebius* adds, [l] *Even now he ſhews the Virtue of his divine Power, by expelling wicked and hurtful Devils from the Bodies and Souls of Men, only by Mention of his Name, as from Experience we have found.*

Laſtly: All this, ſay the ſame Authors, was done without the Uſe of *Medicines*, or *magical Incantations*, only *by Invocation of the Name of* Jeſus, or by [m] *reciting ſome of the ſacred Books*; [n] *without Deceit, without* [o] *Advantage, without Reward*; it being then conceived criminal to gain by ſuch ſpiritual Gifts, and contrary to that Injunction of our Lord, [p] *Freely ye have received, freely give.* And indeed to think [q] theſe Things were done by any Medicines, or magical Incantations, were the greateſt Folly: For how ſhould Multitudes of mean and ſimple Chriſtians arrive at ſuch a Skill in any of thoſe Arts, which neither *Jew* nor Gentile, who had long exerciſed them, could attain to, and which none of thoſe numerous Apoſtates or Heretics, who fell off from them in Times of Perſecution, could diſcover, or inſtruct others to perform, or themſelves exerciſe? And much leſs is it to be thought that Satan ſhould aſſiſt them to build Chriſtianity upon the Ruin of his own Kingdom, and to promote an Intereſt as contrary both to his Nature and Deſigns, as Light is to Darkneſs. Theſe Particulars, one would think, are ſufficient to convince any reaſonable Perſon.

IX. But theſe Teſtimonies of the Fathers, as Hiſtorians, and of thoſe Heathens who agree with them, is not all the Proof that can be produced. That none might doubt of the Truth of what they aſſerted, the antient Chriſtians appealed to every Teſt they could think of, even thoſe that were the moſt ſtrict and ſevere, and which muſt inſtantly have ruined, not only themſelves, but their Cauſe, if they had been detected in a Falſehood. But no Deceit or Evaſion could ever be fixed upon them, ſo that in Spite of all the Oppoſition they met with, their Doctrine ſpread, their Followers increaſed, and their Characters became every Day more amiable. Is not this enough to prove that the Poſſeſſions they write of were real? But we will be a little more particular upon this Head.

For the Truth of their Power over evil Spirits, they frequently appeal even to the Senſes of the very Infidels. *If you are willing*, ſaith [r] *Juſtin Martyr, it is eaſy for you; even now, to be aſſured of theſe Things by your own Eyes.* And *Tertullian*, [s] in a yet bolder Tone, bids them *diſbelieve theſe Things, if their Eyes and Ears would ſuffer them ſo to do.* To this Purpoſe alſo, admirable are thoſe Words of [t] *Cyprian* to *Demetrianus*, a Perſecutor of the Chriſtians: *Come and experiment the Truth of what we ſay; and ſince thou ſayeſt, thou worſhippeſt the Gods, believe the Gods thou worſhippeſt; or, if thou wilt, believe thy ſelf: For he that now dwells in thy Breaſt, and holds thy Soul in Ignorance, ſhall in thy Audience ſpeak of thee: Thou ſhalt ſee them, whom thou now entreateſt, entreating us; them whom thou feareſt, fearing us; thou ſhalt ſee them bound, and trembling under our Hand, whom thou adored as Gods: Sure this muſt be ſufficient to confound thee in thy Errors, when thou ſeeſt and heareſt thy Gods, at our Command, inſtantly confeſſing what they are, and not daring to conceal their Cheats in our Preſence.*

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[y] Cont. Celſ. lib. 7.
[z] Clem. Exhort. ad Græcos, p. 9.
[a] Strab. Geog. lib, 9, & 17.
[b] Plut. de Defect. Orac.
[c] Apud Cyrill. Alex. lib. 6.
[d] Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 5. cap. i.
[e] In Octavio.
[f] Apologet. cap. 23.
[g] De Idol. Vanitat. Ed. Ox. p. 14.
[h] In Epiſt. ad Donat.
[i] Juſtin. Mart. Apol.
[k] Inſtit. lib. 4. cap 27.
[l] Contr. Hieroc.
[m] Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 3.
[n] Iren. De Hæreſ. lib. 2. cap. 57.
[o] Juſt. M. Apol. cap. 37.
[p] Matth. x. 8.
[q] Whitby in Præf. ubi ſupra.

They appeal alſo to their Conſciences, repeating it in their Teeth, that they [u] *are well acquainted with theſe Things:* And alſo to the Confeſſions of the very Devils, as hath been already proved from [w] ſeveral Teſtimonies. And by this laſt Argument *Theophilus* proves them to be evil Spirits, becauſe, [x] *even at this Day*, ſays he, *being exorciſed by the Name of the true God, they confeſs themſelves to be deceitful Spirits.* Without Diſpute this was a very good Proof, and agreeable to the excellent Maxim of *Tertullian* above recited.

Farther: They appeal to the Effects produced upon the Perſons thus diſpoſſed, even their Converſion by this Means to the Chriſtian Faith. *Some Chriſtians*, ſaith [y] *Irenæus*, *have the Gift of caſting out Devils ſo certainly, and ſo effectually, that many Times they who are healed, and delivered from theſe evil Spirits, believe and continue in the Church. Theſe Teſtimonies of your Gods*, ſaith [z] *Tertullian, do often make Chriſtians; believing them, we believe in* Chriſt; *They advance the Credit of our Writings, and build up our Hope: For you worſhip them with the Blood of Chriſtians; they therefore would not loſe ſuch profitable Votaries, leſt turning Chriſtians, you ſhould, wtih us, expel them, if they durſt lye to a Chriſtian attempting to confirm you in the Truth. Lactantius* [a] accounting for the Multitude of Chriſtians, ſaith this is no ſmall Reaſon of it, *that the Devils being caſt out by Chriſtians, they who are healed embrace that Faith, whoſe Benefit and Power they have felt.*

Again: They encourage others to receive the Chriſtian Faith, by promiſing to them this Power of ejecting Devils, when they ſhould cordially embrace it. *Be you baptized*, ſaid [b] *Clemens, in the Name of the moſt holy Trinity, and then, if you believe with an entire Faith, and with true Purity of Mind, you alſo ſhall expell impure Spirits and Devils out of others, and free Men from Diſeaſes: For the Devils know and own thoſe who have given themſelves up to God, and ſometimes at their very Preſence are caſt out. We exhort you therefore to be of our Religion, and we aſſure you, that when you have advanced to the ſame Faith and Innocence of Life with us, you ſhall obtain like Power over evil Spirits.*

In the laſt Place, they offer upon Pain of Death, and all that could be dear to them, to make this Experiment before the Eyes of Heathens; that is, not only to eject the very *Demons* they invoked, but even to force them to confeſs they were Cheats, and own themſelves to be but Devils. *I come now*, ſaith [c] *Tertullian, to the Demonſtration of the Point. Let any one be placed before your Tribunals, who manifeſtly is poſſeſſed by the Devil; being commanded by any Chriſtian to ſpeak what he is, he ſhall as certainly and truly confeſs himſelf to be a Devil, as elſewhere he falſely profeſſeth himſelf to be a God. Produce any other of them who profeſs to be inſpired by your Gods, and if they do not confeſs themſelves to be Devils, not daring to lye to a Chriſtian, let the Blood of that malapert Chriſtian be ſhed before you in that very Place. What is more manifeſt than this Experiment, more faithful than this Proof? Here is plain Evidence laid before you, whoſe Virtue will aſſiſt itſelf; here can be no Suſpicion; even ſay that Magic, or ſome ſuch Fallacy, is impoſed upon you, if your Eyes and Ears will permit you.*

X. [d] All this we have delivered down upon certain Knowledge, and confirmed to us with the higheſt Atteſtations, by Men of the greateſt Wiſdom to diſtinguiſh between Truth and Falſehood, and ſo the moſt capable to diſcern Matters of Fact from vain Impoſtures; by Men of that Sincerity, and undiſguiſed Piety, as renders their Veracity, in Matters ſubject to their Senſes and their Experience, inconteſtable; by Men who ſuffered all that is terrible to human Nature, for the Profeſſion of a Faith whoſe Truth depended upon the Certainty of theſe Events, and which in this World called for Acts of Self-denial and Auſterity, and the renouncing all that tends to gratify the ſenſual Appetite, only for the Enjoyment of inward and ſpiritual Pleaſures here, and of celeſtial Joys hereafter. Add to this, that all theſe Things were ſaid in their Diſcourſes directed to Emperors and Judges, or to the Heathen World, partly to mitigate their Hatred of them, and partly to engage them to embrace the Chriſtian Faith; which ſure no Perſon of Sincerity would, no Perſon of Wiſdom could, attempt by ſuch Untruths as might be eaſily dejected: And ſuch muſt theſe have been, upon the Suppoſition that there was any Fallacy in them at all; as will appear to any one who conſiders what hath already been ſaid.

Let us, to conclude, and to leave the ſtronger Impreſſion of theſe Truths, take a ſhort Review of ſome of the preceding Particulars; and conſider what Probability there is that the primitive Chriſtians *would* have acted in the Manner they did, if they had endeavoured only to impoſe upon the World; or what Poſſibility there is that they *could* have acted in this Manner, if they had been impoſed upon themſelves. Had either of theſe been the Caſe [e], could they, with Succeſs, have boaſted of their continual Triumphs over *Satan*'s Kingdom throughout all the World, and have ſent the Heathens to *Rome* and *Carthage*, and other famous Cities, to be convinced of the Truth of what they ſaid? Should we hear them talk of the Multitude of Converts they had made to the Chriſtian Faith, by diſpoſſeſſing Men of Devils, or forcing evil Spirits in their Preſence to confeſs they were but Devils? Would they encourage others to embrace the Chriſtian Faith, by Promiſe of like Power when they did cordially believe, and practiſe ſuitably thereto? Would they appeal to the Senſes, to the Eyes and Ears, to the Conſcience and Experience, of their moſt ſubtil Adverſaries? Would they provoke them to make the Experiment of the Truth of what they ſaid with the Hazard of their Lives, and even encourage them to ſhed their Blood, if, upon Trial, they ſhould fail of Performance? Or could they by ſuch Means as theſe prevail upon the World, and daily gain new Proſelytes, had not the Evidence of Truth confirmed their Sayings? And if in theſe Aſſertions they ſpoke *the Words of Truth and Soberneſs*, they gave the cleareſt Evidence of the Power of that *Jeſus*, whoſe Name ſo mightily prevailed over the Hoſt of theſe infernal Legions.

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[r] Dialog. cum Tryph.
[s] Apologet. cap. 23.
[t] Oper. p. 191.
[u] Tertull. ad Scap. cap. 2. & Minut. Fel. Octavius.
[w] Tertullian, Minutius, Cyprian.
[x] Ad Autol. lib. 2.
[y] De Hæreſ. lib. 2. cap. 57.
[z] Apologet. cap. 23.
[a] Inſtit. lib. 5. cap. 27.
[b] Recognit. lib. 4. Sect. 32, 33.
[c] Apologet. cap. 23.
[d] Whitby ubi ſupra.

There have been many Enthuſiaſts in the World, who have carried their Pretenſions very high, and perhaps from the Force of their Imaginations have conceited that they were really commiſſioned by God, and that God would ſupport and aſſiſt them in all their extravagant Attempts. But did the Event in theſe Inſtances ever anſwer their own Expectations, or ſatisfy the Curioſity of others? Have they not always failed in the Trial, and left their Followers (if they had from among the moſt Ignorant gained any) expoſed to the utmoſt Shame and Contempt? We may ſtand by the Examination of this Point, and ſuffer it to be purſued throughout all Hiſtory, antient and modern. For among all that have pretended to a Power of working Miracles, excepting thoſe of the true Religion, we ſhall find either that their Miracles, if they went ſo far as to boaſt of any, were not ſufficiently atteſted, or elſe that they were detected in the very Attempt of propagating their Impoſture by theſe Means. But the Apoſtles of *Jeſus*, and their Succeſſors for ſome Ages, were ſo open in what they did, that they could not be ſuſpected of endeavouring to impoſe upon others; and ſo ſucceſsful, that it is impoſſible to think they were themſelves deceived, and carried on by a Spirit of Enthuſiaſm. Is it not ſurprizing that any one, even of the moſt ſceptical Turn of Mind, ſhould queſtion the Reality of Poſſeſſions, after having heard ſuch Evidence of it as this? But is it not more ſurprizing that Perſons who profeſs Chriſtianity, ſhould voluntarily give up ſuch a Proof of its divine Authority as is hence to be taken, by endeavouring to confound theſe Poſſeſſions with Bodily Diſeaſes, or, what is worſe, by pretending that no more is meant by them than ſimple and common Madneſs?

For admitting that theſe Poſſeſſions, with all the above recited Circumſtances, were real, as 'tis to be hoped we have ſufficiently evinced that they were, we can hardly have any Proof of the Truth of Chriſtianity that is more valid than this. [f] Is it reaſonable to conceive that theſe *Demons*, without Conſtraint from a ſuperior Power, ſhould not only quit the Power which they had ſo long exerciſed over the Souls and Bodies of thoſe who worſhipped them as Gods, but alſo ſhould frequently confeſs in the Preſence of their Votaries, at the Command of them who ſought the Ruin of their Kingdom, and uſed their Confeſſions to that Purpoſe, that they were evil Spirits? Or could the Name of *Jeſus*, without the Power to which he pretended, have been ſo great a Terror and a Torment to them? or have been thus efficacious even in the Mouths of wicked Men, and thoſe who followed not him, had not this alſo tended to the Confirmation of his Power? Did ever any of the Heathen Juglers, with all their magic Arts, extort ſuch plain Confeſſions from them? Did they thus force them to deſert the Bodies and Temples which they poſſeſſed, and to exert their Power to the Ruin of themſelves, and the Amendment of thoſe Souls whom they had enſnared? This therefore being only done by our *Jeſus*, and others in his Name, demonſtrates his divine Commiſſion, and calls upon us to render Praiſe and Glory to that ſacred Name [g] *at which every Knee ſhall bow*, whether *of Things in Heaven*, or *of Things in Earth*, or *of Things under the Earth*.

DISSERTATION III.

The Hiſtory of our Saviour's curing the *Paralytic* explained and defended.

I. *Introduction. Myſtical Interpreters inconſiſtent with themſelves.* II. *Not improbable that there ſhould be a great Croud about* Jeſus *at* Capernaum, *or that this Croud ſhould refuſe a Paſſage to the* Paralytic. III. *That the Haſte of the Bearers to come to* Jeſus *might be neceſſary.* Chryſoſtom *ſet in a true Light.* IV. *The getting to the Top of the Houſe no very difficult Thing. Houſes in the Eaſtern Countries deſcribed. Knowledge of Eaſtern Cuſtoms neceſſary.* V. *Several Ways of aſcending the Houſe. Of uncovering, or breaking up the Roof.* VI. *Why* Jeſus *did not make the Acceſs more eaſy for the Bearers, or go out to them*

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[e] Whitby ubi ſup.

[f] Whitby ibid.

[g] Philipp. ii. 10.

himſelf. VII. *That the Houſe in which this Miracle was wrought, belonged, in all probability, to* Jeſus, *or one of his Diſciples.* VIII. *That the foregoing Objections are trifling. The Greatneſs of this Miracle aſſerted. Several Phyſicians quoted.* IX. *The myſtical Applications of the ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory to Mankind, to a Diſeaſe of the Soul, to the four Evangeliſts,* &c. *conſidered, and the Interpretations of the Fathers ſet in a true Light.*

I. ONE of thoſe Miracles of our Saviour which are animadverted on by Mr. *Woolſton,* [a] is that of the Cure, [b] of the *Paralytic,* who could not approach to *Jeſus* by the Door of the Houſe at *Capernaum,* on Account of the Multitude of People who preſſed to hear him and ſee his Miracles. It is ſaid [c] by *Mark there was no Room to receive them, no not ſo much as about the Door*; and by *Luke* [d] that *they, the four Bearers* of him on a Couch, *ſought Means to bring him in, and to lay him before* Jeſus; *and that when they could not find by what Way they might bring him in, they went upon the Houſe-Top,* [e] *and let him down through the Tiling with his Couch into the midſt before* Jeſus. On this Occaſion our Author indulges his Humour of [f] making Exclamations againſt the Abſurdities of this Story, as more monſtrous and incredible than thoſe of any other miraculous Narrative. But ſince this is an uſual Artifice with him to infuſe the ſtronger Prejudices into the Reader, and prepare him for his following Invective; we ſhall neglect it ſo far as to conſider firſt all the imaginary Difficulties he has invented, in order to ſupport ſo bold a Charge.

But before we conſider his Aggravations, we muſt not omit to take notice of his Repetition of an Inſinuation ſo plain as to amount to an Aſſertion that [g] *Jeſus* is an Impoſtor. For theſe are his blaſphemous Words: "*In another Impoſtor*'s *Caſe,* the Clergy would preſently have pointed out the Incredibilities and Abſurdities that are in this Story to the Ridicule of his Admirers and Adorers." This Author has aſperſed our Lord in the ſame impious Manner more than once; which wicked Inſinuation, if true, is abſolutely inconſiſtent both with the literal and myſtical Senſe of the Goſpel; and it is very evident from hence, that the only Myſtery he would reduce the Goſpel to is a *Myſtery of Iniquity*; that is, that the Whole, whether Letter or Myſtery, is a mere Cheat and Deluſion of Mankind. And conſequently, this Writer is not merely an allegorical Enthuſiaſt, as ſome have pretended, but one that labours very induſtriouſly, under the Pretence of Myſtery, to reduce Chriſtianity to a mere *Babel* or Confuſion; ſince, at the ſame Time that he pretends to advance the Myſtery of the Goſpel in Oppoſition to the Letter of it as a Fact, he has dared to Style, by a plain *Innuendo,* the bleſſed *Jeſus* an Impoſtor; and therefore in Effect has declared his Goſpel, whether it be literal or myſtical, to be entirely falſe, and without any good Foundation. For how can even the myſtical Senſe of the Goſpel be true, if *Jeſus* is literally an Impoſtor? And if *Jeſus* is literally an Impoſtor, or a Jugler, or a Magician, with what Property can he be ſtyled the *Holy Jeſus* even in the myſtical Way? So that here, and elſewhere, Mr. *Woolſton* confutes his own wild Scheme, and ſhews that it is not the revealed Religion of a ſpiritual and holy *Meſſiah* which he would eſtabliſh, but the Religion of Nature, if any Religion at all be in his View. So vain and groundleſs a Thing is the pretended Spirit, or the myſtical Senſe, of the Goſpels, when contradiſtinguiſhed from the real and literal Senſe of them.

II. After this inſolent Charge on *Jeſus,* and abundance of warm Declamations againſt the Credibility of this Story, he proceeds to offer ſome Objections againſt it, which ſhall now be conſider'd. The firſt is, " [h] That there is no Reaſon to believe there could be ſuch a Crowd as to hinder the Paralytic from Admiſſion at the Door." To which the Anſwer is, that the Evangeliſts aſſure us there was actually ſuch a Crowd that he could not be admitted that Way. And particularly St. *Peter,* who muſt be preſumed to have been preſent at this Miracle, ſays expreſly in St. *Mark*'s Goſpel (which he is well known [k] to have dictated, or at leaſt to have actually reviewed and ratified,) that when [i] *it was noiſed at* Capernaum *that* Jeſus *was in a Houſe there, ſtraitway many were gathered together, inſomuch that there was no Room to receive them, no not ſo much as about the Door*; that is, not only the Houſe was filled with the Crowd, but even the Entrance at the Door was obſtructed.

But againſt this Teſtimony of a Perſon preſent it is pretended, that this Account of the Crowd cannot be true, [l] " Since *Jeſus* was commonly ſeen and well known, and was without Honour at *Capernaum.*" Now it is certain, that tho' *Jeſus* had left *Nazareth* (called *his own Country)* on Account of ill Treatment there, and retired to *Capernaum,* which is called [m] *his own City,* though he did not conſtantly reſide there; it is not true that *Jeſus* as a Prophet was *without Honour* at *Capernaum,* ſince we find that [n] *his Fame was ſpread throughout all the Region round about* Galilee, *before* the Cure of the *Paralytic* there; and that when *he taught in the Synagogue at* Capernaum, *they were there aſtoniſhed at his Doctrine, for he taught them as one that had Authority*; as likewiſe that, upon a Diſpoſſeſſion of an unclean Spirit there by his Command, [o] *they were there all amazed*; that *they*

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[a] Diſc. 4. p. 51.
[b] See Vind. Vol. II. 194 to 256. whence the following is extracted.
[c] Mark ii. 2.
[d] Luke v. 18, 19.
[e] Matt. ix. 2, *&c.*
[f] Ibid.
[g] P. 52.
[h] Ibid. p. 53, 54-61.
[i] Mark iii. 14. and ii. 1, 2.
[k] Marcus—Interpres & Sectator Petri.——Marcus Diſcipulus & interpres Petri, & ipſe quæ a Petro annunciata errant, per ſcripta nobis tradidit.——Vide Irenæum, lib. 3. cap. 1. 11. Vide etiam Euſeb. H. E. lib. 2. cap. 15. ubi liquet [ex Teſtimoniis Papiæ, Ariſtionis, & Clem. Alex.] Petrum Apoſtulum Auctoritate ſuâ Marci Evangelium ratum feciſſe, quò in Eccleſiis paſſim prælegeretur. Idem aſſerit Marcum, quæ a Petro audierat, accurate perſcripſiſſe. V. H. E. lib. 3. cap. 39. V. Milli Prolegom.
[l] Page 53. Luke iv 23, 24.
[m] Matt. ix. 1.
[n] Mark i. 38, 39. and 35, 38.
[o] Mark i. 21, 22, 27, 28, 32, 33, 37.

brought there *great Numbers of diſeaſed and poſſeſſed* Perſons to him, and that he *healed many of them*; that *all the City were gathered together at the Door* and that *all Men there ſought after him.* Now when, all this is eſtabliſhed by the ocular Evidence of St. *Peter* in St. *Mark*'s Goſpel, antecedently to the Cure of the Paralytic, it is very ſuprizing that any Writer, can be ſo immodeſt as to aſſert that *Jeſus* was *without Honour* at *Capernaum*, though *Capernaum* is ſtiled *his own City*. Thoſe Words therefore of being *without Honour*, muſt be reſtrained to *Nazareth*, *where he was brought up*, and cannot be applied to *Capernaum* where he wrought many Miracles, and was highly honoured.

But after making a ſeeming Conceſſion of the Multitude's crowding about *Jeſus* to ſee his Miracles, our Author endeavours to ſupport it by a falſe Reaſon, and indeed ſuch a one as is inconſiſtent with the Obſtruction of the Paralytic by the Crowd. Says he, [p] "Perhaps it was a Day appointed before-hand for his Healing of the Deſeaſed, which might occaſion a more than ordinary Concourſe of the People. But then this Reaſon would have induced the People to make way for the Lame, Blind, and the Paralytics to come to *Jeſus*." But to obviate this fine deluſive Suppoſition, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that St. *Mark* repreſents the preſent Coming of *Jeſus* to *Capernaum* as a Thing not concerted, and therefore the Concourſe of the People as accidental, upon the Report of his being returned thither from other Parts of *Galilee*. For theſe are his Words; [q] *And again*, (that is after his [r] ſudden leaving them before) *he entred into* Capernaum *after ſome Days, and it was noiſed that he was in the Houſe, and ſtraitway many were gathered together, inſomuch that there was no Room to receive them:* That is, upon this ſudden Report of *Jeſus*'s Preſence there, and without any Preparation made, or any Notice given, for introducing the Sick to him, the Houſe where he was, and the Paſſage to it, were immediately filled with infirm as well as whole Perſons, as they happen'd to gain Admiſſion. And conſequently, as Multitudes were healed there as well as taught, it is evident our Paralytic came later than they did to the Houſe where *Jeſus* was teaching and healing, and therefore came too late to be admitted by the Door of the Houſe, that was then too much crouded for his Entrance that Way. This being the true State of the Caſe, it is by no Means [s] *hard to account for this tumultuous crowding*, or for the Excluſion of the Paralytic, and eſpecially as *borne of four*, from Entrance by the Door of the Houſe.

III. In the next Place, on Suppoſition that no Admiſſion could be had by the Door, Mr. *Woolſton* aſks, [t] "What need was there of ſuch Haſte and Pains to get to *Jeſus* for a Cure? It was but waiting, ſays he, a while, not many Hours, and in all Probability the Tumult would be appeaſed, and Acceſs eaſily had to him." But all this is precariouſly brought in, and there are Reaſons to be aſſigned for the Method that was taken of introducing the Paralytic into *Jeſus*'s Preſence. One Reaſon is, that there ſeems to have been a Neceſſity for Expedition in curing this Paralytic: For by his being *borne of four* Perſons, he ſeems to have had an univerſal Palſy; which (according to the Acknowledgement of eminent [u] Phyſicians) is quickly fatal, as ending ſpeedily in an Apoplexy. Another Reaſon might be, that it was uncertain whether they could otherwiſe have had Admiſſion to *Jeſus* upon the Diſperſion of the Crowd, whenever that ſhould happen. For we find *Jeſus*'s Stay at *Capernaum* was a very uncertain Thing. And the Bearers knew no Doubt that when he was laſt at *Capernaum*, [w] he left them ſdudenly. Being therefore quickned by this Experiment, no Wonder they uſed their firſt, and poſſibly their only, Opportunity of approaching *Jeſus*. And once more, another Reaſon might poſſibly occur to them was, that ſo extraordinary a Method of approaching *Jeſus* would demonſtrate a proportionably extraordinary Strength of their Faith in *Jeſus*, as that was the uſual Qualification of being cured by him. And it is clear from the Event that *Jeſus* had a great Regard to their uncommon Degree of Faith, as expreſs'd in this their Attempt to come into his Preſence; for when [x] *he ſaw their Faith*, he not only ſaid, *Be of good Cheer, thy Sins are forgiven thee*; but *ariſe, take up thy Bed and walk*, or *go thy Way into thine Houſe*.

On this Occaſion Mr. *Woolſton* cites St. *Chryſoſtom*, as ſtarting an Objection, [y] "that the Paralytic, when he ſaw the ordinary Paſſage obſtructed, did not order his Bearers to ſtay till the Houſe was clear'd, and Admiſſion gain'd to *Jeſus*." To which he replies, "That their *Faith* might have diſpoſed them to ſtay till *Jeſus* could come out to them, or they get in to him." But we will ſet this Matter in a true Light from *Chryſoſtom* himſelf, and then ſubmit it to the Reader whether *Chryſoſtom* or our Author gives the beſt Account of it. *Chryſoſtom* had been ſaying, "[z] That it was uſual for ſick Perſons rather to chuſe to die privately of their deſperate Diſtempers than to expoſe them publicly to the World." After this he immediately ſpeaks thus: "But this Paralytic did not act ſo, but ſeeing the Houſe filled, the Paſſages to it obſtructed, and the Entrance block'd up, had Patience enough to be let down through the Tiling. So ingenious a Thing is Affection, and ſo fruitful in Invention is Love.—He did not ſay to his Relations and thoſe about him, what is the Meaning of this? What Occaſion is there for this Tumult? Why do you precipitate Matters? Let us wait till the Houſe be empty, and the Aſſembly break up. The Company will retire; we ſhall then privately obtain Acceſs to *Jeſus*, and conſult him upon this Affair. What Neceſſity is there for expoſing my Calamity to the View of all the

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[p] Page 54. [q] Chap. ii. v. 1, 2. [r] Chap. i. 35. [s] Diſc. p. 54. [t] P. 54, 55.

[u] Vide Tho. Barthol. Paralytic. N. T. p. 357. &c. apud Creu. Faſcicul. 5^m. Roterod. 1695.

[w] Mark i. 34, 35. [x] Mark. ii. 5, 9, 11. [y] P. 55.

[z] V. Chryſ. Hom. 62. ſc. in Paral. demiſſ. per tect. p. 824. t. 5. ed. Front. Du. Par. 1636. [Hæc Hom. non occurrit in Ed. Sav.]

Aſſembly, and of letting me down from the Top of the Houſe in an indecent Manner? But he ſaid nothing of all this either to himſelf or his Bearers, but thought it became him to make ſo great a Number of Perſons as were preſent Witneſſes of his Cure. But his Faith was not only viſible from hence, but likewiſe from the very Words uſed by *Chriſt* on this Occaſion.— For which Reaſon likewiſe *Chriſt* did not go out to him, but waited for the ſick Man to come to himſelf, that he might have an Opportunity of demonſtrating the Faith of the Paralytic to all the Company. For could not he have made the Admiſſion of the Paralytic to him an eaſy Thing? But he did nothing of that Nature, that he might exhibit to all the Company the Diligence and fervent Faith of the Paralytic." So that, upon the whole, tho' our Author ſays, "The Faith of the Paralytic and his Bearers might have worked Patience," yet ſo great a Qualification for the Cure of a deſperate Diſtemper, as this eminent Degree of Faith, being made evident in a public Manner, the Company no doubt was much edified by it; and longer Patience might not have been ſo proper, ſince, for the fore-mention'd Reaſons, it would have been very hazardous, and conſequently imprudent, to have deferred the Cure. And therefore we are ſtill of Opinion, that the three Reaſons juſt now aſſigned, one of which is that of *Chryſoſtom*, are a *three-fold Cord not eaſily broken*.

But ſince our Author has been ſo hardy as to quote *Chryſoſtom* for this Objection, how fully ſoever it has been anſwered by himſelf, it will not be any Digreſſion from the principal Point before us, to take this Opportunity of ſhewing that this Father explained and acknowledged the miraculous Cure of our Paralytic in the literal Senſe. After *Chryſoſtom* has mentioned two miraculous Operations performed by *Jeſus* in the Caſe of this Paralytic; the one, his authoritative Forgiveneſs of the Sins of the Paralytic; and the other, his knowing the Thoughts of Men, who imagined that he blaſphemed: After this ſays the Father, [a] "He again performed another Miracle; and of what Kind is that? The ſtrengthening and bracing again the Body of the Paralytic." So again ſays he, "[b] our Lord induſtriouſly gives on all Occaſions, clear and irreſiſtible Demonſtrations of his Miracles: And accordingly here he makes the ſtrengthening of the Body of the Paralytic an evident Proof of the Forgiveneſs of his Sins, and the Carriage of his Bed another Proof of the reſtored Strength of his Body; that what was actually performed might not be thought an imaginary but a real Thing." And once more, ſays he, "[c] he made even thoſe Perſons to be Witneſſes of the Soundneſs of the Paralytic, who had been ſo of his extreme Weakneſs." And laſtly he adds as it were prophetically, "[d] Do you ſee how *Jeſus* evinces himſelf to be the real Creator both of Soul and Body? He heals the Palſy of both of them, and diſcovers what is inviſible from that which is viſible and conſpicuous." So vain and groundleſs a Thing is the Pretence that it was only the myſtical Palſy of the Soul, and not the natural Palſy of the Body, that was here ſo miraculouſly cured by our Lord, in the Judgment of ſo eminent a Father as St. *Chryſoſtom*.

IV. In the next [e] Place, Mr. *Woolſton* pretends that the Attempt of the Bearers to carry the Paralytic to the Top of the Houſe was an impracticable Thing. But how does he prove it ſo? Why, by drawing a ridiculous Sort of Conſequence; That [f] "if they could not get to the Door of the Houſe for the Preſs, of Conſequence they could not come at the Sides of it." This is very weak indeed; for a very ſmall Degree of Thought would have appriſed him that the Front of any Houſe may be crowded, and the Sides of it may be free of Acceſs, if not joined to other Houſes; as likewiſe, that if the Sides of it were joined to other Houſes, there might be Admiſſion, by either of the adjoining Houſes, into the Back-ſide or Yard of the Houſe ſuppoſed to be crowded in the Front, and indeed within too. Theſe ſurely are very eaſy and probable Suppoſitions, whichſoever of them is the true one; and therefore an Attempt to approach the Houſe was practicable.

But then our Author [g] unreaſonably aggravates the Difficulty of raiſing the Paralytic to the Top of the Houſe where *Jeſus* was, on Suppoſition it could be approached. For though the Evangeliſt ſays only in general Terms that [h] *they went upon the Houſe Top*, without aſſigning which Way, there are ſeveral Suppoſitions of their doing ſo, which ſhew it to be a very feaſible Thing. The moſt obvious and natural among them is that of their mounting a Stair-caſe or Ladder, conſtantly fix'd in the Back-ſide or Yard of the Houſe, for aſcending at Pleaſure to the Top of each Houſe. And if ſo, the propoſed Difficulty is at an End.

Indeed this Suppoſition may ſeem, at firſt View, a little odd to thoſe, who in the North-Weſt Parts of the World are not uſed to any ſuch Cuſtom. But this Aſcent to the Top of the Houſe by a fix'd outward Stair-caſe or Ladder, cannot appear more odd to us than the Occaſion of it, namely the Flatneſs of the Tops of the Eaſtern Houſes; on which the People there ſpend ſome of their moſt agreeable as well as religious Hours. This evidently appears not only from many [i] obvious Paſſages of Holy Scripture, but from the Teſtimony of St. *Jerome*, who lived long in *Paleſtine*; as well as from the more modern Accounts of Travellers. That learned Father ſpeaks thus; "[k] The Word *Doma* in the Eaſtern Provinces ſignifies what we call *Tectum*, that is the Top of the Houſe. In *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*, where the ſacred Books were either wrote or interpreted, they had no raiſed Roofs in the Tops of their Houſes; but they have what are called *Domata*, that is flat Tops, which at *Rome* are ſtyled *Solaria* and *Mæniana.*" Modern Travellers into the *Levant* likewiſe confirm the ſame Account of flat Tops of Houſes there at this Day. Such, for Inſtance, as [l] *Sandys*, and [m] *Bellon*; Dr. [n] *Rauwolf* a Phyſician, who writes of *Paleſtine* itſelf; [o] Dr. *Tournefort*, a late learned Phyſician, in his Account of *Candia*, &c. and [p] *Terry* in his Account of *Indoſtan*; as likewiſe the late Author of [q] *The Agreement of the Cuſtoms of the* East-Indians *with thoſe of the* Jews. And indeed it is obſervable on this Occaſion, that the *Eaſtern* People are more tenacious of their antient Cuſtoms and Faſhions than Men generally are in theſe Weſtern Parts of the World; and therefore their preſent Cuſtoms are in a great Meaſure explanatory of their antient ones.

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[a] Vide Chryſoſt. in loc. Matt. p. 202. Tom. 2. Ed. Savil.
[b] Ibid.
[c] Ibid.
[d] Ibid.
[e] Page 65.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Page 56, 57, &c.
[h] Luke v. 19.
[i] See 2 Sam. xi. 2, &c.
[k] Vide Hieron. Epiſt. 135. ad Sun. & Fretell.

The Truth is, Commentators ought to read and explain ſo antient an oriental Book as the Bible is with oriental Eyes and Ideas, rather than by thoſe Idioms, and Notions, and Cuſtoms, that prevail in theſe Weſtern Parts of the World. And perhaps a judicious Collection of the Cuſtoms and Notions that prevail in the Eaſtern Parts, and more particularly when made out of ſkilful Travellers, would ſet many Paſſages of the Bible in a much better Light than they have hitherto been.

But ſince it may be juſtly doubted, whether all Houſes in *Jeruſalem*, and indeed elſewhere, had always or uſually a Stair-caſe or Ladder fix'd and ſet up againſt the Outſide of each of them, in order to aſcend from without to the Top of each Houſe; and ſince [r] *Lamy* himſelf, who has treated more expreſly of this Point than other Writers, has given no poſitive or deciſive Evidence in Proof of his Aſſertion, that Ladders or Stair-caſes were antiently fixed without Doors; for this Reaſon, we ſhall not lay the whole Streſs of the Aſcent of the Paralytic merely on the fore-mentioned Suppoſition of fixed outward Stairs or Ladders, tho' it may be fairly allowed, that ſuch Ladders or Stairs were ſometimes uſed.

If therefore this firſt Suppoſition ſhould be conteſted, another that is very reaſonable offers itſelf to us; namely, that probably the Bearers of the Paralytic found a Ladder ready for their Purpoſe in the Backſide or Yard of the Houſe, where ſuch Sorts of Utenſils are generally placed; that to this Place Admiſſion was eaſy thro' a neighbouring Houſe, and that they occaſionally uſed that obvious and common Engine, for carrying the ſick Man to the Top of a low and flat Houſe, where *Jeſus* was.

A third Suppoſition is, that if no ſuch Admiſſion was found by the Backſide or Yard of the Houſe where *Jeſus* was, the Paralytic might have been carried through the very next Houſe on either Side, to the Top of it; and from thence no Doubt was an eaſy Paſſage to the contiguous Top of the Houſe where *Jeſus* was. For tho' it be granted, [s] that there were ſome Battlements on the Top of every Houſe among the *Jews*, yet they were too low to give any Obſtruction to the Paſſage of the Paralytic from the Top of a contiguous Houſe. And the Lowneſs of the Battlements of ordinary Houſes will appear more clearly, by conſidering that even the Battlements [t] of the lofty *Jewiſh* Temple itſelf were not above three or four Cubits high. And therefore if the Battlements of a contiguous Houſe were proportionably low, the Paralytic might eaſily be removed from the Top of a neighbouring Houſe, to the Top of that where *Jeſus* was.

Here then are offered three fair Suppoſitions, for carrying the Paralytic to the Top of the Houſe where *Jeſus* was, notwithſtanding the pretended Impoſſibility of ſuch an Attempt from an Obſtruction of the Paſſage in the Front of that Houſe. And it is ſufficient to ſhew that this Aſcent was feaſible, tho' it is not neceſſary to determine preciſely which of theſe three Suppoſitions was practiſed, ſince the Evangeliſts have not deſcribed the particular Method of the Aſcent of the Paralytic.

V. We now proceed to the Conſideration of what our Author objects [u] againſt the *letting down* of the Paralytic from the Top of the Houſe into the Room where *Jeſus* was. Now here our Objector does not pretend, as he did before with Regard to the *bringing up* the Paralytic, that it was impoſſible for him to be let down into *Jeſus*'s Preſence: No, he only enlarges on the Difficulty of this Deſcent in a ludicrious Manner. But if he had thought fit to be a little ſerious, he might have recollected that ſeveral very probable Suppoſitions may be made, to ſhew that ſuch an Operation was not ſo difficult and laborious a Thing as he repreſents it. The firſt Suppoſition is, that the Door from the upper Room to the Roof of the Houſe was forced open by the Bearers, and that the Paralytick was let down thro' the Door-place, or the [u] *Way of the Roof*, in the *Talmudical* Phraſe. And if this Door be conſider'd as a ſort of Trap-Door, placed horizontally, and therefore as Part of the Roof, the forcing open ſuch a Door anſwers literally to the [w] *uncovering* and *breaking up* Part of the Roof of the Houſe. If this Suppoſition be the true one, and the Door-place was large enough for a ſmall Couch to paſs through, as it ſeems to have been by [x] *Lightfoot*'s Talmudical Caſe of a dead Man's being carried on a Bier to the Top of the Houſe by the *Way of the Roof*, and from thence to his Grave, the propoſed Difficulty vaniſhes at once.

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[l] See Sandys's Travels. p. 149, 160, 177, 192.

[m] See Bellon's Account of Paleſtine, &c. p. 336.

[n] See Rauwolf's Travels in the Levant, &c.——Their Habitations at Jeruſalem are little and low; have Clay-Walls, &c.—— Theſe their Habitations, as they are ſtill built in theſe Days, have, inſtead of Thatch or Tiles, Plaiſter'd Roofs; ſo that one may walk upon them, as you may ſee here that King David walked on it. Page 279, 283. Ed. Ray.

[o] See Tournefort's Travels in the Levant, &c. —— As for the Houſes, they are at Candia as every where elſe in the Levant, very ordinary: The beſt are but two Stories high, &c. From the firſt Floor you aſcend to the ſecond by an almoſt perpendicular wooden Ladder: The ſecond Floor——is cover'd Terraſs-wiſe, but without either Brick or Plaiſter, only ſome Deal-Boards put together like a Ceiling, ſupported by Joiſts of Oak laid two or three Feet aſunder: Outward it is cover'd with a Lay of Earth tempered like Mortar and well beaten, and then paved with ſmall Flint-Stones and Pebbles. The Terraſs is made a little ſloping for the Rain to run off: In fine Weather they walk, and in the great Heats will lie, on theſe Terraſſes. Theſe Coverings muſt be repair'd every Year.——In the Villages of Candia the Houſes have but one Floor, divided into two or three Apartments.——The Roof is a kind of Terraſs, conſiſting of a Lay of Earth half a Foot in Thickneſs, ſpread upon Faggots, ſupported by Joiſts planked over.—In Turkey the Architects only ſet up a Kind of wooden Ladder covered with a Shed. P. 17, 18. Vol. 1. & p. 71, 131. Vol. 2. Ed. Lond.

[p] See Terry's Voyages to the Eaſt-Indies.——The Indians build their Houſes low, not above two Stories, and many of their Tops flat, &c. and thoſe flat Tops ſupported with ſtrong Timber, and coated over with a Plaiſter, like that we call Plaiſter of Paris, &c.—P. 188, 189, 190, 192. Lond.

[q] See Agreement of the Cuſtoms of the Eaſt-Indians with thoſe of the Jews, &c.—— As to the Indians Manner of Building, —almoſt all their Roofs are made in the Form of a Terraſs, as thoſe in Paleſtine were, and as they are ſtill in almoſt all the hot Countries. p. 63, 64. Lond. 1705.

[r] Vide Lamy de Tabernaculo, &c. lib. 2. cap. 6. p. 253, 254. Par.

[s] Deut. xxii. 8.

[t] Vide Anotat. in Cod. Middoth per L'Empereur. p. 161, 162. Lug. Bat 1630.

[u] P. 57, 58, &c.

But if it ſhould be ſaid, that this does not come up to the full Import of the emphatical Phraſes uſed on this Occaſion by St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, the former of whom ſays that the Bearers of the Paralytic [y] *uncovered the Roof, and having broken, or rather dug it up, they let down the Bed*; and the latter, [z] *that they let him down through the Tiling with his Couch*, it may be replied on this Occaſion, that if the former Suppoſition is not admitted, that of *Lightfoot* may be aſſigned; which is this; [a] That the Paſſage of the Door of the Roof being ſomewhat too narrow for the Admiſſion of the Paralytic, as let down in his Couch, that Paſſage was a little widen'd by breaking up ſome Part of the Roof on the Sides of it. This cannot be denied to anſwer very exactly to the Phraſe of *letting him down through the Tiling*, ſome ſmall Part of which was *uncovered and broke*, or dug *up*, on this Occaſion. As for the [b] Bearers letting down the Paralytic on a Couch, and not in a Chair, or a Blanket, it is too trifling a Cavil to be anſwered any otherwiſe, than that it was proper to let him down in whatever they found it neceſſary to bring him thither, on account of his univerſal Palſy. The Couch was certainly very ſmall, ſince it is expreſſed by a diminutive Word, which [c] *Heſychius* tells us ſignifies a Thing large enough for one Man only to lie on. And indeed no good Reaſon can be given why a Couch might not be let down by Cords as well as a Chair, or a Blanket, and likewiſe with leſs Uneaſineſs to the ſick Man.

As for any pretended Difficulty about the Word [d] *Tiling*, which is ſaid to have been *broke up*, it is certain that the original Word ſignifies not only *Tiling*, properly ſo called, but any ſort of Materials that covered the Roof of an Houſe, and is ſometimes put for the Roof itſelf. We find in [e] *Athenæus* the Word uſed even of Lead. And [f] *Terry* cited before, tells us of a Plaiſter like that of *Paris*, being uſed at this Day for covering the flat Roofs of Houſes in the *Eaſt-Indies*. So that flat whether we conſider the Roof as covered with Tiles properly ſo called, or with Earth, or a Sort of Plaiſter, or other Materials, the Caſe is the very ſame.

VI. But diſmiſſing theſe ſolemn Trifles, I ſhall add a Word or two in Anſwer to ſome remaining Queſtions, tho' they are much of the ſame Nature with the former. Our Author aſks, as a Matter of great Conſequence, [g] "Whether *Jeſus* could not have made the Acceſs to himſelf more eaſy? Could not he, to prevent all this Trouble and Pains of getting to the Top of the Houſe, and of breaking up the Roof of it, have deſired, or even forced, the People to make way for this poor Man and his Bearers? And why did he not? [h] Or why did not *Jeſus*, to prevent this Trouble and Damage to the Houſe, aſcend through the Door of the Roof to the Top of it, and there ſpeak the healing Word to the Paralytic?" The Anſwer is this; that *Jeſus* could have done all this, but he would not; that is, for wiſe and good Reaſons he would not on this Occaſion exert that Power, which in the miraculous Event he ſhew'd himſelf to be Maſter of. All theſe Queſtions then are reduceable to one, namely, Why *Jeſus* would not exert his Power in the Manner preſcribed him by Mr. *Woolſton*? And for his not doing ſo, the following Reaſons are ſufficient to vindicate his Wiſdom, his Power, and his Goodneſs, from the unjuſt Aſperſions of our Objector.

Firſt, *Jeſus* did not think it proper or agreeable to the Reaſon and End of his Diſpenſation to work Miracles inceſſantly, and upon all Occaſions that occurred. This is a general Reaſon that is aſſigned by [i] *Chryſoſtom* in his Homily on this very Miracle, and indeed elſewhere.

2. Whereas *Jeſus* was engaged in teaching and curing a great Multitude in the crowded Houſe at this very Juncture, as has been ſhewn; ſuch a Preference of one ſick Perſon to all the reſt, ſo much Attention and Regard to him alone, and ſuch a Neglect of his large Audience of *Phariſees* and *Doctors of the Law*, who had flow'd thither from all Parts of *Galilee*, *Judea*, and *Jeruſalem*, would have been very unreaſonable and invidious, and therefore were prudently avoided.

3. Such an Aſcent of *Jeſus* to the Top of the Houſe would have render'd his miraculous Cure of the Paralytic a more private and concealed Tranſaction, and conſequently more liable not only to the Suſpicions of his ſharp-ſighted Adverſaries below, whom he was then inſtructing, but likewiſe to thoſe of our Author himſelf; who no Doubt would have been very ready to have imputed ſome jugling Artifice to ſuch a ſecret Miracle, ſince he has done ſo, with the greateſt Liberty, to thoſe of the moſt public Nature.

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[u] Vide Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. in loc.

[w] See Mark ii. 4.

[x] Vide Lightfoot in loc.

[y] Mark ii. 4.

[z] Luke v. 19.

[a] Vide Lightfoot in loc.

[b] Page 59.

[c] Vide Heſych. in voc. σκιμπόδιον.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Vide Athenæi Deipnoſoph. l. 5. & H. Stephan. Theſ. Gr. in voc. κεραμὸς: ubi ita, Pollux tradit non ſuo tempore ſolum κεραμὸν fuiſſe vocatum ipſum τέγος, ſed Ariſtophanem quoque ita appellâſſe in Cocalo.

[f] See Terry's Account before, in the Margin.

[g] Page 60.

[h] Page 59.

[i] Vid. Chryſoſt. Homil. in Matt. p. 200. Sevil.

4. The *Phariſees* and *Doctors of the Law* below, who conſtituted the better Part of *Jeſus*'s Audience, are to be equally conſidered as proper to receive Inſtructions from this miraculous Cure, as the Paralytic to be cured himſelf; and therefore it was requiſite, that this complicated Cure both of Soul and Body ſhould be performed in as public a Manner as was poſſible, in order to convince more advantageouſly the moſt critical and malicious Adverſaries of *Jeſus*.

5. Agreeably to what has been already cited from *Chryſoſtom*, and on which that Father lays very great Streſs, a clearer Demonſtration was given of the extraordinary Faith of the Paralytic and his Bearers in the extraordinary Method of his approaching *Jeſus*, than had otherwiſe been ſhewn; and therefore the ſick Man had a more than common Qualification both for Pardon and Cure.

Laſtly, if our Author's Objection has any Force at all in it, it proves too much for his Purpoſe; ſince if it were thought neceſſary for *Jeſus* to have interpoſed miraculouſly, in favour of his approaching him with greater Eaſe, he ſhould more reaſonably have prevented any Trouble at all in any Way coming to him, and have pardoned and healed him at his own Home with one powerful Word, as he relieved and cured ſeveral other abſent Perſons.

VII. Having thus anſwered theſe ſeveral Queſtions together, we will only add a ſhort Reply to one Queſtion more, that could not be ſo regularly introduced before; not out of Regard to it as of any Weight, but leſt it ſhould be inſultingly pretended that any of theſe Qeſtions are unanſwerable. It is this; "[i] Where was the good Man of the Houſe all this while? Would he ſuffer his Houſe to be thus broken up, and not command them to deſiſt?" To this we may anſwer by asking, How is any one apprized that this Houſe, the Roof of which is ſaid in ſome ſmall Part to have been *broken up*, was not the Houſe of *Jeſus* himſelf? Not his own in Property; for we are aſſured by himſelf when he was elſewhere that he [h] had not *of his own where to lay his Head*; but an Houſe hired at *Capernaum* for his occaſional Uſe. Or if it was not his hired Houſe, how is it known whether it was not the Houſe of *Peter* and *Andrew*, [l] in which it is certain *Jeſus* was received the laſt Time he was at *Capernaum*, which was not long before his Cure of the Paralytic there? *Grotius* is of Opinion that *Jeſus* removed from *Nazareth* to *Capernaum* with his Mother and Relations. And ſince he reſided chiefly at *Capernaum* after he had left *Nazareth*, it is by no Means improbable that he removed his Family and Diſciples thither? and more eſpecially, upon the Death of *Joſeph*, as preſumed by that Author to have ſoon happen'd. This Suppoſition is favoured by the Uſe of the Word *dwelt*; [m] *he dwelt in* Capernaum; which is therefore properly called *his own City* in the Narrative of the preſent Cure. It is certain that he *dwelt* at *Nazareth* near *thirty* Years; and therefore it is highly probable he likewiſe *dwelt* in the ſame Senſe at *Capernaum*; ſince the ſame original Word is uſed in both Caſes by the ſame Evangeliſt; and the ſame Senſe is favour'd by the Reaſon of the Thing, with Regard to the Removal of his Family. And if either of theſe Suppoſitions be true, namely, if *Jeſus* lived in an hired Houſe at *Capernaum*, or *Peter* and *Andrew* accommodated him again with their own Houſe there, it is moſt probable that the Houſe in which the Cure of the Paralytic was wrought was either *Jeſus*'s hired Houſe, or the Houſe of thoſe his Diſciples; ſince he received Company, and taught, and healed in it. And conſequently, this whole Difficulty vaniſhes immediately: Since if it ſhould be conteſted whether *Jeſus* had an hired Houſe for himſelf and his Relations at *Capernaum*, yet it cannot poſſibly be doubted that *Peter* [n] and *Andrew* had one there a little before, and therefore now, ſince all the three firſt Evangeliſts have recorded that Fact, as likewiſe that *Jeſus* had then uſed it.

VIII. Upon the whole then, with Regard to the Objections in Point of Argument againſt the Credibility of this Miracle, ſince it has been evinced that the Carriage of the Paralytic was a practicable Thing, tho' an extraordinary Method was uſed; what is all this Aggravation of the Difficulties now ſhewn to be capable of being overcome, but throwing Duſt in the Readers Eyes, that he may not clearly diſcern the Miracle that was wrought by *Jeſus* on the Paralytic, the Reality of which is not at all affected by ſome pretended Difficulties of the Paſſage to him? For whether thoſe Difficulties were real in ſome Degree or merely imaginary, and whether the Bearers of the ſick Man acted prudently or imprudently in contriving that uncommon Method of approaching *Jeſus*; it cannot be proved that they amounted to an Impoſſibility of approaching him. And if the Bearers were bad Contrivers, how does it follow that no Miracle was wrought by *Jeſus*, on Suppoſition that their new Paſſage to him was practicable? And without a Proof of ſuch an Impoſſibility, which neither is, nor can be, produced, all this previous Attempt towards rendring this miraculous Cure an incredible Thing, however dreſſed up in the ſtrongeſt Terms, is utterly impertinent. And indeed all that our Author has aimed at here, tho' in a vain and fruitleſs Manner, is to preclude the Paralytic from any Admiſſion to *Jeſus*; as well knowing that if he were admitted, the Miracle wrought upon him was incapable of Contradiction. And accordingly he himſelf in Effect confeſſes that this is the Caſe, in theſe Words; "[o] I don't here queſtion *Jeſus*'s Power to heal this Paralytic, nor the Miraculouſneſs of the Cure of him. The Trouble of that Queſtion is ſaved me by the many other incredible Circumſtances of the Story." 'Tis true, he had great Reaſon to inſiſt only on Preliminaries, and to throw out abundance of ill Language about the Paſſage to *Jeſus*, in order to decline the Miracle itſelf; for it is really one of the greateſt in all its Circumſtances that was performed by *Jeſus*. For, as has been before obſerved from *Chryſoſtom*, here are ſeveral Miracles in one; namely, *Jeſus*'s Forgiveneſs of the Sins of the Paralytic, as acknowledged to be performable by God alone; his Knowledge of the moſt ſecret Thoughts of his Audience, which was demonſtrated by his addreſſing himſelf to them in a Manner ſuitable to thoſe Thoughts; his inſtantaneous reſtoring to perfect Health and Vigour the Paralytic, tho' immediately before borne to him in a deſperate Condition; which was evinced by his being able to take up his own Bed, and to walk home with it to his Houſe, probably thro' that very Crowd, among whom but a little before his four Bearers could not force a Paſſage for him.

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[i] Page 58, 62.

[k] Matt. viii. 18, 20.

[l] Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 39.

[m] Matt. iv. 13. ix. 1.

[n] Matt. viii. 5, 14. Mark i. 29. Luke iv. 38.

[o] P. 62.

But how much better did [p] *Bartholine*, a Phyſician diſtinguiſhed by his ſuperior Learning, form a Judgment of this Matter? Tho' he ſeems to grant that the Bearers acted imprudently, which however he excuſes, yet he acknowledges the Reality of the miraculous Cure by *Jeſus*. Theſe are his Words; "The Bearers of the Paralytic having not Patience enough to ſtay any longer, take, upon the Spot, an haſty and precipitate Reſolution, as being under ſome Neceſſity of uſing that Opportunity; and *going up to the Top of the Houſe*, &c. which Houſe, ſays he, was low; —— or, an eaſy Paſſage was granted to them from the equally flat Roof of a neighbouring Houſe." And afterwards he adds, "The ſupreme Phyſician, *Jeſus*, miraculouſly cured inveterate and obſtinate Diſeaſes by only one Word of Command, without the Uſe of any Remedy; and reſtored perfect Vigour without the leaſt Delay." To his Judgment we will ſubjoin the concurring Opinion of the learned [y] *Ader*, who ſpeaks farther thus: "The Paralytic who was carried by four Men, had certainly an univerſal Palſy, and without Doubt was given over by his Phyſicians, and was juſt expiring: Thus we read that he was ſomewhat haſtily let down thro' the Tiling in the Midſt of a Crowd, and preſented to *Chriſt*, whilſt he was engaged in curing vaſt Numbers of ſick Perſons there. The Reaſon was, that any farther Delay was dangerous." We ſhall only add, in order to ſhew the extreme Danger this Paralytic was in, and in Juſtification of the expeditious Method that was uſed by the Bearers, a few Words out of [r] Dr. *Harle*, an ingenious Writer on *the Diſeaſes mentioned in the Bible*. "The Word, Palſy, ſays he, is frequently by *Hippocrate*s and others of the Antients uſed for the Apoplexy, and the Apoplexy for the Palſy; this latter being very often the Effect of the former, its Product and Conſequence, and is eaſily convertible into the other.——'Tis plain the Paralytic was forced to lie in his Bed; whether it was he could not ſit, or ſtand upright, or that he lay powerleſs, ſtretched out like a dying Man. This might be either an Apoplexy or Palſy." But we ſhall here omit all farther Account of the Judgment of Phyſicians on the preſent or the like Caſe, ſince it appears that a confirmed and univerſal Palſy is acknowledged by the moſt ſkilful Perſons in the Art of Phyſick to be abſolutely incurable: From which Conceſſion it is a neceſſary Conſequence, that *Jeſus*'s Cure of the Paralytic now before us was truly miraculous. This therefore being demonſtrated, and the pretended Difficulties of the Paralytic's Approach to *Jeſus* for a Cure being entirely removed; and the Honour of our Lord, who approved of the ſick Man's Faith, and therefore cured him, being vindicated; it is moſt evident how very far it is from being [s] *abſolutely neceſſary to turn the whole into Allegory*, as our Author pretends. But however ill-grounded ſuch an Aſſertion is, we ſhall endeavour to ſet right the myſtical Expoſitions of this Miracle, that are drawn by him from the Fathers.

IX. He begins with *Hilary*; who, as he cites him, acquaints us, [t] "that by this Paralytic is to be underſtood Mankind of all Nations." But tho' [u] *Hilary* underſtands Mankind by the Paralytic in the myſtical Senſe, yet he again and again acknowledges the Reality of the Cure of the Paralytic, to which the other was only additional.

Mr. *Woolſton* goes on, and ſays, "[w] By his Palſy is not meant any bodily Diſtemper, but the ſpiritual Palſy of the Soul; that is, as St. *Auguſtine* and St. *Jerome* interpret, a Diſſoluteneſs of Morals." Here he inſinuates that *Auſtin* and *Jerome* did not mean any bodily Diſtemper by that of the Paralytic; for otherwiſe his Quotation of them, in Conſequence of his own Aſſertion now mentioned, is wholly foreign to the Purpoſe. As for *Auſtin*, after his Repetition of the Fact as an Acknowledgment of it, he ſays no more of it than than that "from the Story of the Paralytic may be underſtood a Soul diſſolved, or paralytical in its Members, that is, in good Works, or Operations." But how does this figurative Application of this Story to Acts of the Mind hinder but that the Cure of the Paralytic may be, and was deſigned to be, taken in the literal Senſe, as not being at all excluded by this moral Application? And indeed *Auſtin* goes on in the very ſame Method throughout all the Circumſtances of the Fact, which he acknowledges in the literal Senſe, and then moralizes them. All which, for ſeveral Reaſons, and particularly becauſe the myſtical Application of thoſe literal Circumſtances to Acts of the Mind is very heavy and flat, out of Honour to St. [x] *Auſtin* we ſhall not tranſlate.

With Regard to the Quotation from a Commentary on St. *Mark* that paſſes under St. *Je-*

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[p] Vide Tho. Barthol. Paralyt. N. T. apud. Cren. Faſcicul. 5^{m}. p. 351, 361, 387, &c. Roterd. 1695.

[q] Vide Ader de Morb. Evang. apud Critic. ſacr. tom. 9. p. 3369, &c. Lond.

[r] See his State of Phyſick in the Old and New Teſtament. p. 126.

[s] P. 63.

[t] P. 64.

[u] Vide Hilar. in loc. Matt. p. 362. Baſ. 1550.

[w] p. 64.

[x] Vide Auguſtin. Quæſt. Evang. lib. 2. in Q. 4. tom. 4. Baſ. 1569.

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rome's Name, it has been proved that this Commentary is falſely aſcribed to *Jerome*, and therefore a Quotation of it as his is highly uncritical. However, even this ſpurious Commentator acknowledges the literal Senſe of the Cure of the Paralytic, tho' he afterwards allegorizes it. For he ſpeaks thus; [y] "Then, in a fourth Miracle, four Men come bearing the Paralytic on his Couch, who being offended with the Crowd, uncover the Top of the Houſe. By whoſe Faith the Sins of the Paralytic are pardon'd, who carries the Bed on which he himſelf was carried, and goes unto his own Houſe before all the Company." After which follows this Author's myſtical Expoſition of this Cure, but too late to ſerve Mr. *Woolſton*'s Cauſe, after his Acknowledgment of this Miracle in its literal Senſe.

But what our Allegoriſt has here only inſinuated from *Auſtin* and *Jerome*, he has expreſly cited from his own *Euſebius Gallicanus*. For he writes thus; "[z] *Euſebius Gallicanus* ſays, our Saviour's Words ſignify, that it is not a bodily but a ſpiritual Diſeaſe here meant; or he had never ſaid to the Paralytic, Son, *thy Sins are forgiven thee*; which Words reſpect the inward Man, and demonſtrate the Palſy here to be a Diſeaſe of the Soul." Now all this is an imperfect and falſe Repreſentation of *Euſebius Gallicanus*, whom, notwithſtanding his Spuriouſneſs, we will here ſet right. Theſe are his Words: [a] "Do you ſee how our Lord himſelf explains his own Goſpel; and how *by thoſe Things that are performed without*, if any one is capable of Sight, and is not yet wholly paralytical, he inſtructs us *within* in a ſpiritual Manner? For when he ſays, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee*, he ſhews that the inward Man, that is, the Soul, is paralytical. For what Infirmity is there of the Soul but Sins? Let theſe therefore be taken away, let this Diſeaſe be removed, and the Soul will be healed. For he had not ſaid this, if he had had a View to the Infirmity of the Body. The Body is not therefore healed, becauſe the Soul is freed from the Guilt of its Sins. For the Apoſtle ſays, *When I am weak, then I am ſtronger*; ſignifying, that the Soul is ſtrengthened by the Weakneſs of the Body. But the Scribes who were there preſent miſunderſtanding him, and not regarding the Palſy of the Soul, but that of the Body, ſaid that *Chriſt* had blaſphemed God. —— *Whether is it eaſier to ſay, thy Sins are forgiven thee, or to ſay, ariſe, take up thy Bed and walk?* Each of them is very eaſy to ſay to God. But to forgive Sins, or to ſupply Strength to the Paralytic for riſing and walking, is a difficult Work. But becauſe the one was inviſible and the other was viſible, he proves that which was inviſible by what was viſible; that whilſt they ſee him exerciſe Power upon the Body, they may be aſſured of his Power over the Soul. — What therefore they reaſon'd about is proved; now they ought not to entertain any Doubts, but to believe that the Soul is freed from the Guilt of Sins, whilſt they likewiſe ſee the Body cured of the Palſy. — But the Multitude ſeeing this were afraid and glorified God, who gave ſuch Power unto Men." We have here tranſcribed this whole Paſſage, to ſhew how falſe our Author's Aſſertion is, when he ſays, as from this pretended Father, "that our Saviour's Words ſignify that it is not a bodily but a ſpiritual Diſeaſe that is here meant:" For as *Jeſus* cured on this Occaſion the Diſeaſe of the Body as well as of the Soul, ſo it is moſt clear and evident that *Euſebius Gallicanus* does, in the Words now cited, acknowledge as fully the Cure of the one as of the other.

But Mr. *Woolſton* goes on to ſhew, that [b] the four Bearers of the Paralytic are myſtically the four Evangeliſts. And this he pretends to do from a Paſſage of the ſame *Euſebius*, who ſpeaks thus; [c] "But who are thoſe four who carry this Paralytic, and preſent him to our Lord? I don't know who can better be underſtood by thoſe than the four Evangeliſts. For no Soul is preſented to our Lord but by them; no Soul is healed but by Faith in them." Now to ſhew that theſe Words are by no Means inconſiſtent with the literal Senſe, that is, that there were really four Bearers of the Paralytic, tho' they may myſtically repreſent the four Evangeliſts; it is ſufficient to recollect that ſoon after this very Citation follows in *Euſebius* the long Paſſage juſt now tranſcribed from him, which begins thus; "Do you ſee how our Lord himſelf explains his own Goſpel?" In which it is moſt evident, as has been ſhewn, that this Author acknowledges the Truth of the miraculous Cure, and then moralizes it. So that the literal Paſſage is explanatory of the neighbouring Paſſage that is uſed in the myſtical Senſe.

Our Author [d] quotes too on this Occaſion *Theophylact*, as underſtanding the four Evangeliſts by the four Bearers of the Paralytic. But does *Theophylact* exclude the literal Senſe of this Miracle, or deny that the Paralytic was really brought to *Jeſus* by four Bearers? No, he is ſo far from doing ſo, that he ſays expreſly in his Commentary on [e] this Story, that [f] "*Jeſus* firſt forgave the Sins of the Paralytic, and then cured his Diſeaſe." And then he adds, that "Our Lord gives Aſſurance by healing the Body, that he can alſo heal his Soul."

Mr. *Woolſton* now ſtoops ſo low as to quote [g] *Bede* for a myſtical Interpretation of *going up* to the Top of the Houſe, and *uncovering* the Tiling there. He acknowledges indeed that *Bede* is only a Tranſcriber of the Fathers; but he would have ſpoken more properly, if he had ſaid that he chiefly tranſcribed one Father, namely St. *Auſtin*. As therefore his Maſter has been ſhewn to have acknowledged the Truth of the literal Senſe of the Miracles of *Jeſus*, and of this in particular, notwithſtanding the Addition of his myſtical Interpretations of them; ſo *Bede*, who muſt be granted to tranſcribe him, has done the ſame. But we have ſaid as much as this before, and therefore ſhall take no Notice of *Bede* on any future Occaſion.

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[y] Vide Hieron. in Marc. tom. 9. fol. 45. Baſ. 1516.

[z] Page 64, 65.

[a] Vide Euſeb. Gallic. Homil. in Dominic. 19. poſt Pentecoſt. p. 784, 785. tom. 6. Bibl. Pat. Max. Lugd.

[b] P. 65.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Mark ii. 5.

[f] Vide Theoph. Com. in loc. Marc.

[g] P. 66.

To conclude, our Author adds a Citation or two more of *Auſtin* in the myſtical Way, about an internal Palſy, and the *opening the covered Roof* of the Scriptures to come to *Jeſus*, and the being otherwiſe hindered by Crowds in the Knowledge of him. But ſince all theſe myſtical Amuſements of *Auſtin* have been frequently ſhewn to be conſiſtent with the literal Senſe, which is likewiſe acknowledged by him in [h] theſe very Quotations; it would be an inexcuſable Piece of Tautology to enter upon a new Examination of either the ſame, or any equivalent, Quotations of that Father, after what has been already perhaps too copiouſly diſcuſſed about his Sentiments of *Jeſus*'s Miracles on this and other Occaſions.

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[h] Vide Auguſtin. Serm. 46. p. 232. tom. 5. ed. Benedict.

CHAP. IV.

I. The Calling of *Matthew.* Why *Jeſus* converſed with Publicans. II. Why He, and his Diſciples, did not practiſe ſuch Severities as the Diſciples of *John* and the Phariſees uſed. III. The impotent Man cured at the Pool of *Bethſeda*. IV. The *Jews* murmur at his breaking the Sabbath. V. He publiſhes the Author of his Cure, which expoſes *Jeſus* to the Rage of the *Jews*. VI, VII. *Jeſus* declares himſelf to be the Son of God, the Object of divine Worſhip and ſaving Faith, and the future Judge of all Mankind. VIII. He appeals to the Evidence of *John* for his being the *Meſſiah*. IX. Alſo to the Miracles which he wrought in their Preſence, and to the Scriptures. X. Laſtly, he tells the Reaſon of their Unbelief, and aſſures them that they ſhall be condemned by the Writings of *Moſes*.

I. [a] *AFTERWARDS* Jeſus *went out to the* [b] *Lake ſide; and a great Multitude followed him, whom he inſtructed in the Precepts of holy Living. At his going out of the* [c] *Town, he ſaw a* [d] *Publican, whoſe Name was* Levi, *or* Matthew, *ſitting in the Cuſtom-Houſe, or Toll-Booth, upon the Duty of his Office.* Jeſus *commanded this Man to follow him; who immediately quitting his Employment, obey'd, and became his conſtant Diſciple. Not long after this the ſame Publican made a great Feaſt, and invited* Jeſus *and his Diſciples to it, as alſo many of his own Profeſſion, and others of the ſame Stamp, Men generally of looſe Lives. This being taken Notice of by the* [e] *Phariſees and the Doctors of the Law, they asked* Jeſus's *Diſciples, how it came to paſs that they and their Maſter, who ſeemed to make Profeſſion of a ſtricter Sort of Life, thus kept Company with Tax-gatherers and others, whoſe Morals they well knew were none of the beſt, and who made no Account of the Cleanſings required by the Law. Which* Jeſus *over-hearing, without ſtaying for his Diſciples Anſwer, he told them that he was converſant with theſe People for the ſame Reaſon that a Phyſician viſits his Patient; namely, to convert them to a ſound Mind, as the other reſtores Health to the Body.* I am ſent, *ſaid he,* not to exhort the Pious to a Change of Manners, but to teach a Reformation to thoſe whoſe Vices have made it neceſſary for them: And this I do out of a Principle of Good-will to Men; a Virtue which God has ſignified is more acceptable to him than all the external Offices of Religion which you ſo magnify, in theſe Words of the Prophet *Hoſea*, [f] *I deſired Mercy and not Sacrifice:* Which Paſſage you would do well to conſider ſeriouſly, inſtead of carping at my Actions.

II. [g] *Now the Diſciples of* John, *and of the* [h] *Phariſees, uſed to faſt often upon account of their Prayers; which thoſe of* Jeſus *were never accuſtomed to do. They came therefore to* Jeſus *upon one of their Faſt-Days, and told him, that theſe Days of Abſtinence were frequent with them, that they might be the more imployed in Prayer; whereas his Diſciples had no Obſervances of this Nature: Which, they ſaid, they much wondered at, ſince he did not pretend to allow them a ſofter or a more voluptuous Life than other People; and therefore they deſired him to acquaint them with the Reaſon of this Difference.* Jeſus *anſwered them in theſe Similitudes:* As the ſpecial Friends of the Bridegroom, that have been invited to the Wedding, obſerve no Faſts while they continue with him; ſo likewiſe am I unwilling to impoſe any Faſts upon my Diſciples, while I continue here among them; but the Time of their faſting will come, when I by Death ſhall be taken from them. *He added alſo, that he had Reaſons not to require ſuch an auſtere Way of Living of them as yet:* For, *ſaid he,* as no one patches up an old tattered Garment with a Piece of new Cloth, and of a different Colour from it, leſt the Rent thereby become the worſe, and the Coat look the uglier for it; and as Men do not put new Wine into old Bottles, leſt the Bottles burſt, and the Wine be ſpilt; but chuſe rather to put new Wine into new Bottles, whereby both are preſerved: In like Manner, I am loth to alienate the Minds of my

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[a] Matth. ix. 9—13. Mark ii. 13—17. Luke v. 27—32.

[b] Of Genneſareth.

[c] Capernaum. See the preceding Chapter.

[d] See the following Diſſertation.

[e] See the Diſſertation.

[f] Hoſea vi. 6.

[g] Matth. ix. 14—17. Mark ii. 18—22. Luke v. 33—39.

[h] For the Opinions and Diſcipline of the Phariſees ſee Pages 119, 120.

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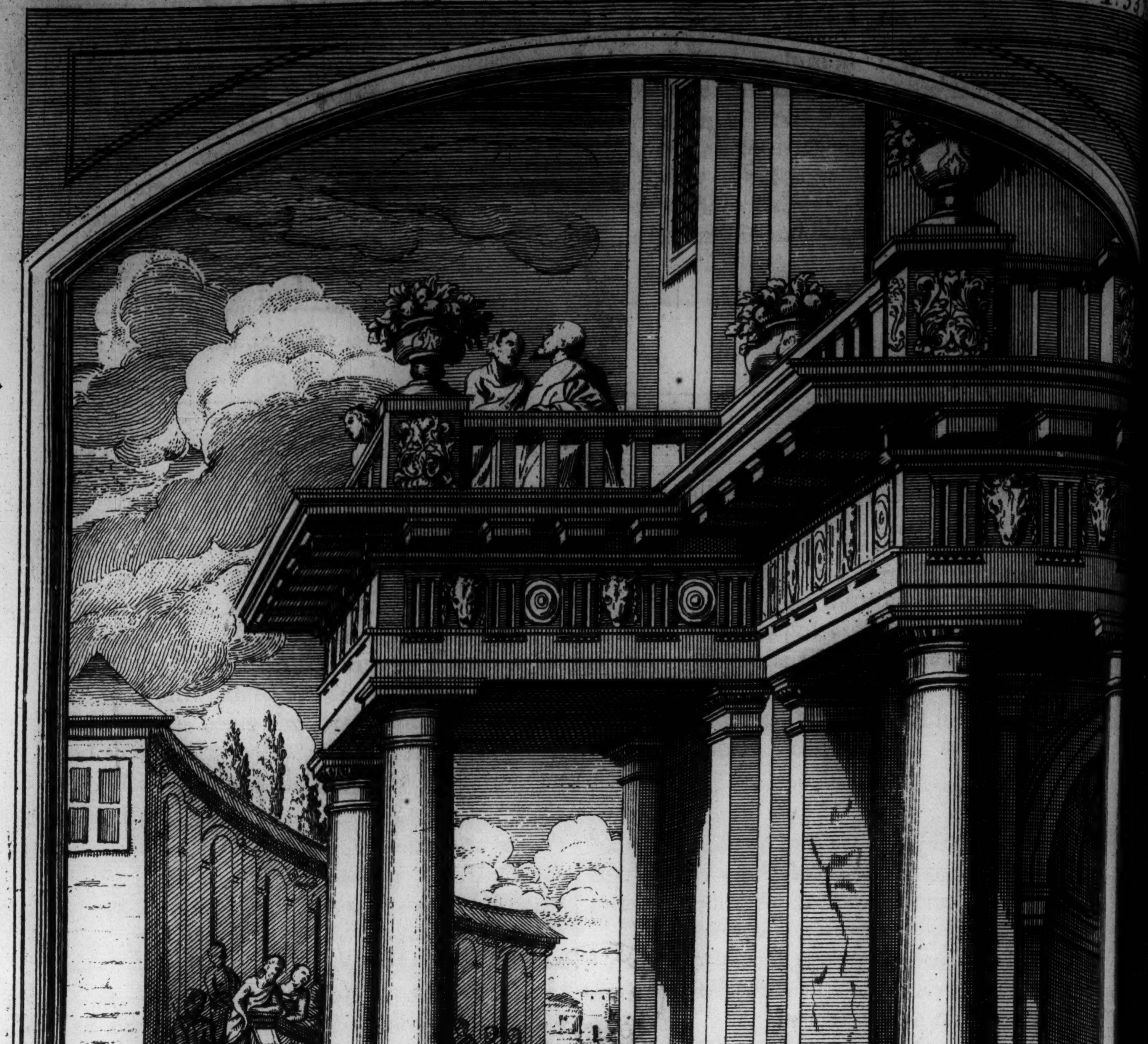

J. Mynde f

The impotent Man cured at y^{e} Pool of Bethe

John V.

Diſciples by ſuch Severities you talk of; and therefore will wait till they have been inured to my Doctrine, and their Minds confirmed in the Practice of it, before I expect an Obedience to theſe Injunctions, which are yet too grievous to be complied with; leſt by an unſeaſonable Auſterity I ſhould give them an Occaſion to reject my Doctrine, and thereby involve themſelves in utter Deſtruction. Beſides, *continued he*, thoſe who have been a long while habituated to one Way of living, are not preſently induced to embrace the contrary: As he that hath accuſtomed himſelf to old Wine cannot ſuddenly reliſh the New, but prefers that which he hath a long Time been uſed to. For theſe Reaſons cannot my Diſciples, who but lately began to follow me, as yet bear with ſo thorough a Change in their Way of Living, as the Auſterities which you practiſe would bring them to.

III. [i] *After this the* [k] Paſſover *drawing near,* Jeſus, *as it had always been his Cuſtom, went up to* Jeruſalem, *to celebrate that Feſtival according to the Law*[l]. *Now there was in the City, by the Sheep-Market, a Pool, and adjoining to it a Building conſiſting of five Porches, called in the* Hebrew *Tongue* Betheſda, *or* The Houſe of Mercy. *In this were laid Perſons ſick of all Manner of Diſtempers, who had been given over by the Phyſicians; ſuch as the Blind, the Lame, and the Paralytic; who all waited for the Troubling of the Water, that they might throw themſelves into it, and recover their Health, or the Uſe of their Limbs. For at a certain Time of the Year an Angel came down and ſtirred up the Water; after which whoſoever leaped into it firſt, was perfectly cured of whatever Diſeaſe they laboured under. When* Jeſus *came to this Place, he took notice of one that had been afflicted with the Palſy eight and thirty Years; and underſtanding his Caſe, asked him whether he did not deſire to recover his former Strength. The Man told him, he moſt earneſtly deſired it, but had no Body to put him into the Pool after the troubling of it; and while he endeavoured to creep into it without Aſſiſtance, he was always prevented by ſomebody ſtronger than himſelf, who ſtepping in before him, deprived him of the expected Benefit.* Jeſus *taking pity of the Man, reſolved to make him an Inſtance of his divine Power, and accordingly ſaid to him,* Ariſe, take up thy Bed upon thy Shoulders, and walk away with it. *He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe Words, but the Man recovered his Strength, and did as he was commanded.*

IV. [m] *The Day on which this was done happened to be the* [mm] *Sabbath; which made ſeveral of the* Jews, *who ſaw the Man walking with his Bed upon his Shoulders, and imagined he had forgot the Time, put him in Mind of it, and that therefore it was not lawful for him to carry any Burden whatſoever from one Place to another. But the Man told them in Reply, that he had no Scruple upon him on this Account, having been commanded to carry his Bed from one of the Porches of* Betheſda, *by a Perſon who had there cured him of the Palſy by a Word's ſpeaking; who without Diſpute, he ſaid, was a Prophet, and uncapable of commanding any thing unlawful, ſince God had performed ſo remarkable a Miracle on his Behalf. The* Jews *then asked him with Indignation, Who it was that had ſet him upon this ſervile Employment on the Sabbath-Day, and thereby made him tranſgreſs the Law? But the Man that had been cured knew not* Jeſus *by Name, and therefore looked round about to ſhew him to them: However, he could not caſt his Eyes on him again; for* Jeſus *had withdrawn himſelf from the Crowd immediately after he had performed the Cure, to avoid the Malice of the* Phariſees.

V. [n] *Some Time after* Jeſus *met this ſame Perſon* [o] *in the Temple, and putting him in Mind of the Benefit he had received, admoniſhed him, that ſince by the Favour of God he had recovered from a Diſtemper that was laid on him for a Puniſhment of his Sins, he ought now to think in earneſt of a Reformation, and ſeriouſly to ſet about it, leſt by his Ingratitude he ſhould draw down ſome more grievous Affliction upon himſelf, than that from which he had lately been delivered. The Man upon theſe Words preſently knew* Jeſus, *and thinking himſelf obliged to own the Author of his Cure, enquired out his Name; which having learnt, he went to thoſe who had demanded of him who it was that had bid him carry his Bed on the Sabbath-Day, and told them that it was* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *who had cured him; probably hoping thereby to convince them that* Jeſus *was indeed a Prophet, which Point was now a Matter of Diſpute among thoſe who had obſerved his Miracles. But this Information had a quite contrary Effect; for they looking on* Jeſus *as a Violator of the Sabbath, were inflamed with Anger, and judged him to have committed a Crime worthy of Death; whereupon they conſulted how they might have ſome capital Puniſhment inflicted on him, not daring to ſatisfy their Malice by their own Power, the* [p] Romans *having deprived them of all Authority in capital Cauſes.*

VI. [q] Jeſus *ſlighting their Anger, told them that his heavenly Father poured out innumerable Bleſſings on Mankind upon any Day indifferently, and without any Reſpect had on this Account to the Sabbath; and that therefore they had no Reaſon to blame him, if after his Father's Example, he on that Day performed Works that were good and ſalutary. But the* Jews *were yet more enraged at this; ſuppoſing him to have inſinuated, that it was not neceſſary to obſerve the Sabbath; and imagining that he had ſpoken Blaſphemy, by ſtiling God his* [r] *Fa-*

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[i] John v. 1—9.

[k] This was the ſecond Paſſover in our Saviour's Miniſtry. The firſt was that at which he drove the Traders out of the Temple. See John ii. 13. alſo Pages 139, 140, 141, of this Work.

[l] The Particulars of this Hiſtory will be explained and defended in the Diſſertation.

[m] John v. 9—13.

[mm] Our Lord's Juſtification of himſelf and his Diſciples, with Regard to the Sabbath, will be conſidered in a future Diſſertation.

[n] John v. 14—16.

[o] Perhaps returning God Thanks for his Cure.

[p] See Pages 93, 94, &c. of this Work.

[q] John v. 17—23.

[r] The Greek imports *his own Father,* πατέρα ἴδιον. Mr. Le Clerc ſays the uſual Expreſſion when the Jews ſpake of God, of a Father, was *our Father.* And 'tis certain there was much more than uſual in the Words of our Lord; otherwiſe they could not have collected from them, that he made himſelf equal with God.

ther in a peculiar Manner, and not uſing the Phraſe that was common in ſuch Caſes, thereby ſeeming to make himſelf equal with God. To this Jeſus *anſwered by telling them, that tho' they rightly concluded from what he ſaid that he affirmed himſelf to be the Son of God, and equal with the Father, yet was he far from ſpeaking Impiety in this, or ſetting himſelf in Oppoſition to the Father:* For the Son, *ſaith he,* doth nothing of his own Accord, or without Commiſſion for it from the Father, and certain Knowledge that the Father would have done the ſame; and therefore he cannot be blameable for having done good, even on the Sabbath-Day. For out of the infinite Love which the Father bears to the Son, he communicates all Things to him, by that Spirit with which he hath anointed him; and as a Conſequence of this, you ſhall ſee greater Works than theſe, and more worthy of your Admiration, which the Son ſhall be enabled to perform by this Spirit. As the Father not only heals the Sick, but raiſes from the Dead whomſoever he pleaſes; ſo alſo ſhall the Son reſtore [s] to Life whomſoever he will. And this Power of raiſing whom he will, the Father hath given him, becauſe he hath made him the Judge of all Men: For the Father judgeth no Man, but hath committed all Judgment to the Son, who cannot execute this Office till he hath raiſed Men from the Dead. They therefore who worſhip the Father, muſt worſhip the Son alſo, as he who will be their Judge hereafter: But whoſoever will not worſhip the Son, will not worſhip the Father, who hath inveſted him with this Authority and Power.

VII. [t] Be aſſured that whoſoever obeyeth me, and believeth on him who hath ſent me, ſhall undoubtedly obtain everlaſting Life, and ſhall not come into Condemnation for his paſt Sins, but be tranſlated immediately after his Death, into a bleſſed State of Immortality: Which that you may be the more convinced of, the Son of God ſhall in a little [u] while bid the Dead ariſe out of their Graves, who hearing his Voice ſhall inſtantly obey him. For as the Father hath the Fountain of Life in himſelf, and therefore can impart Life to others; ſo hath he given to the Son to have Life in himſelf, and to be able to raiſe by his own Power whomſoever he will. And he hath alſo given him Authority to condemn thoſe that believe not on him; becauſe being the Son of God, he hath notwithſtanding humbled himſelf ſo far as to become Man, and to offer himſelf for the Sins of the World. Let not theſe Things ſeem incredible to you, for there certainly ſhall be a Time hereafter, in which not a [w] few only, but all the Dead, ſhall hear the Voice of the Son of God, and be raiſed out of their Graves: And then the Righteous, who have lived in a ſteady Courſe of Virtue, ſhall be rewarded with immortal Life; but the Wicked, who have died impenitent, ſhall be doomed to receive thoſe Puniſhments which they have deſerved.—And in this Judgment I, as the Son of Man, ſhall do nothing of my own Impulſe and Pleaſure; but as I receive the Terms of Abſolution and Condemnation from my Father, ſo ſhall I judge: Therefore I ſhall condemn no Man unjuſtly, becauſe I ſhall not purſue my own Will, but punctually obey my Father's Orders.

VIII. [x] If in aſcribing this Power and Honour to myſelf, I required you to believe me merely on my own Word, you would not be to blame to diſtruſt what I ſay; for he who pretends to be delegated from God, and hath no Teſtimony to confirm his Miſſion, cannot be a true Prophet: But there is one among you who bears Witneſs of me, whoſe Teſtimony, as it is not unknown to you, ſo ought it to be believed by you; I mean *John the Baptiſt,* who when you ſent your Meſſengers to him, openly declared the Truth before them concerning me. I mention him not for my own Sake, but for yours, (for I need no Man's Teſtimony) that by believing what *John* hath ſaid, you may be reſcued from the Danger to which your Incredulity hath made you liable. He for a while ſhined forth among you, like a burning Lamp, and diſpelled the Darkneſs of your Ignorance; and you ſeemed, tho' but for a ſhort Seaſon, to be pleaſed with his Light, owning him as a Prophet, and a juſt Man: For this Reaſon I inſiſt upon his Teſtimony, as what ſhould in the preſent Caſe be of conſiderable Weight, hoping it may work in you that Faith in me by which alone you can be ſaved.

IX. [y] But I have yet a much greater Witneſs in my Behalf than the Teſtimony of *John.* The Miracles that I perform by Virtue of the Power which I have received from the Father, and in Obedience to his Commands; theſe bear Witneſs of me, and are a much clearer Demonſtration of my divine Authority, and of my Miſſion from the Father, than any thing that *John* can ſay. And the Father himſelf, who hath ſent me, hath alſo borne Witneſs of me, both by a Voice from Heaven declaring me to be his Son, and by the Deſcent of the Holy-Ghoſt upon me: But on this I inſiſt not, becauſe you neither heard the Voice, nor ſaw the glorious Deſcent in a bodily Shape. I appeal to the Scriptures therefore, the Revelation that God hath given you; which it is plain you have never ſeriouſly and impartially conſidered, becauſe you believe not in me whom the Father hath ſent. Search theſe ſacred Writings, the Books which you pretend to be diligent in the Examination of, and which you think are ſufficient to direct you into the Way of everlaſting Life! You will find that they teſtify of me, as of the Perſon thro' whom this everlaſting Life is to be given; and yet you will not become my

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[s] Dr Whitby juſtly obſerves in Defence of our Lord's Divinity, that it was never ſaid of any Prophet or Apoſtle, that he could do ſuch Works at his Pleaſure, &c. See his Note on the Place.

[t] John v. 24—30.

[u] Our Saviour here ſeems to ſpeak of the Bodies of the Saints that aroſe with him at his own Reſurrection. Whitby. See Matth. xvii. 52, 53.

[w] At his own Reſurrection.

[x] John v. 31——35.

[y] John v. 36——43.

Diſciples, that you may obtain it, tho' I promiſe it to all who truly believe on me.

X. [z] Alas! 'tis not your Approbation and Eſteem that I ſeek for, while I am thus ſpeaking to you; I would only warn you of the evil Inclination which I diſcover in you: For, whatever you pretend, it is apparent from your Dealing with me, who come with all theſe Teſtimonies, that you are deſtitute of all true Love of God. I have told you that I am come to you in God my Father's Name; and *John the Baptiſt*, the Miracles that I perform, and your Scriptures themſelves, are all Evidences of this Truth; yet you believe me not: But there will come others, without any Evidence at all of a divine Commiſſion, who ſhall impoſe upon you; theſe will you blindly follow. Indeed the Reaſon of your Disbelief of me is eaſy to be underſtood, ſince 'tis the Applauſe of Men you ſeek, which I have not to beſtow: Hence it is that the Rulers, for fear of diſpleaſing the People, and the People, for fear of diſpleaſing the Rulers, dare not believe on me; meanwhile you all contemn the Favour and Approbation of God, which ſo manifeſty attend on me and my Followers, and prefer to it a temporary Reputation.—Do not, however, imagine that I ſhall accuſe you to my heavenly Father; there is no need of it; *Moſes* himſelf ſhall prove you guilty before God, though you depend ſo much upon his Doctrine, becauſe you have not judged of me by the Rules which he hath given you. Therefore whatever you pretend, you certainly have no Reliance upon the Words of *Moſes*: For if you believed him, you would alſo believe me; ſince he [a] wrote of me ſo plainly, that whoſoever looks upon his Prophecies to be true, muſt be aſſured in himſelf that I am ſent by the Father. But ſince you do not believe *Moſes* himſelf, whoſe Diſciples you profeſs to be, 'tis no wonder, hated as I am by you, that my Words are not received among you with Credit.

DISSERTATION,

Critical and explanatory, on ſeveral Particulars of the preceding Chapter.

I. *Summary of the Chapter.* Matthew *the ſame as* Levi. Publicans *what. The* Phariſees' *and others' Opinion of them.* II. *Why* Chriſt *eat with* Publicans *and Sinners. The Righteous, what*, &c. III. *The Queſtion of* John's *Diſciples and the* Phariſees *explained. A Scripture Idiom obſervable in this Queſtion.* IV. *Our Saviour's Anſwer: His Similitudes, Children of the Bride-chamber*, &c. V. *The Pool of* Betheſda. *Hiſtory of it defended*, &c. VI. *Why not mentioned by* Joſephus. *Remark on that Author, and the* Roman *Hiſtorians.* VII. *Queſtions and Ojections concerning the Hiſtory of this Pool, conſidered.* 1. *Why an Angel deſcended?* 2. *Why one Perſon only was cured? The Hypotheſes of* Hammond *and* Bartholine *conſidered and refuted.* 3. *How often the Angel deſcended, and why that Diſpenſation is not continued?* 4. *Caſe of the Patients at this Pool, and particularly of him that was cured by* Jeſus, *conſidered.* VIII. *Queſtions concerning our Lord's Miracle at the Pool, conſidered.* 1. *Why he cured one Man only? St.* John *defended. St.* Auſtin *ſet right.* IX. *2dly, Whether there was any Miracle in the Cure of this Man? His Infirmity defined, from the Context, from the Fathers, and from modern Phyſicians.* X. *A myſtical Interpretation of this Story, excluſive of the Letter, rejected upon the Authority of the Fathers.* XI. *Remarks on our Saviour's Converſation with the* Jews, *conſequential of this Cure. Of his calling himſelf the Son of God. The* Jews *Opinion of their Meſſiah. In what Senſe* Chriſt *could do nothing of himſelf.* XII. *His Divinity aſſerted from his raiſing of the Dead, and being Judge of the World. Of the Honour due to* Chriſt. *The* Socinians *proved Idolaters.*

I. THE Matter contained in this Chapter may naturally be ranged under four general Heads. *Firſt*, the Hiſtory of *Matthew*'s Vocation and Feaſt, with the Diſcourſes which followed it: *Secondly*, The Queſtion of *John*'s Diſciples concerning Faſting, and our Saviour's Solution of it: *Thirdly*, The Deſcription of *Betheſda* and its miraculous Pool, with the Hiſtory of the impotent Man's Cure there by our Saviour: *Fourthly*, Our Lord's excellent Sermon to the *Jews* concerning himſelf, occaſioned by their charging him with Breach of the Sabbath and Blaſphemy. We ſhall conſider all theſe in the preſent Diſſertation, and that in as brief a Manner as poſſible.

Some of the Antients, as [a] *Clemens Alexandrinus* and [b] *Origen*, and a few of the Moderns, particularly [c] *Grotius* and [d] *Le Clerc*, diſtinguiſh St. *Matthew* from *Levi* the Son of *Alpheus*; but, it is preſumed, with very little Reaſon: For the Hiſtory of *Matthew*'s Calling, as related by that [e] Apoſtle himſelf, and the Hiſtory of the Calling of *Levi* the Son of *Alpheus*, as related by [f] *Mark* and [g] *Luke*, agree ſo perfectly with one another, that not a circumſtantial Difference can be diſcerned. *Grotius* imagines that *Levi* might be the Head of the Office, and *Matthew* one of his Clerks, or ſubordinate Officers; and that the Feaſt at which our Lord was preſent might be in *Levi*'s Houſe, and not in *Matthew*'s: Let us ſee the Foundation of this ſingular Opinion, and by what Arguments it is overthrown. *Firſt*, It is obſerved, that *Matthew* never calls himſelf *Levi*, nor do *Mark* or *Luke* ever call *Levi*, *Matthew*. To this *Jerome* anſwers [h], that *Matthew* out of Modeſty, and in remembrance of his former Life, ſtiles himſelf in another Place [i] *Matthew the Publican*: But *Mark* and *Luke* never call him the *Publican*, leſt they ſhould ſeem to reproach him by recording his former Life. " It is enough, ſays [k] Dr. *Whitby*, that *Mark* calls his *Levi* the Son of *Alpheus*, as *Matthew* is in Church Hiſtory ſaid to be the Son of *Alpheus*. As therefore *Saul* after his Converſion is almoſt always called *Paul*, ſo might *Matthew* the *Publican* by theſe two Evangeliſts be called *Levi*." But *Secondly*, *Grotius* obſerves after *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that *Heracleon*, who lived near the Apoſtles Time, ſpeaks of *Matthew* and *Levi* as of different Perſons. In anſwer to this we need only ſay, that *Heracleon* was a *Valentinian* Heretic, and that no Credit is to be given to what he writes, eſpecially when he contradicts the Opinions of all the orthodox Antients, [l] as in the preſent Caſe. *Thirdly*, We are told that *Origen* [m], when *Celſus* objects to him that our Lord gathered *Publicans* to be his Apoſtles, confeſſes that *Matthew* was a *Publican*, but denies that *Levi* was ſo. But in this *Origen* anſwers himſelf; for in other [n] Works he ſays expreſly, that he whom St. *Matthew* ſtiles by the *Name of* Matthew *the* Publican, *is by St.* Mark *called* Levi. In fine, M. *Le Clerc*, though in his Annotations he quarrels with Dr. *Hammond* for following an Opinion which he ſuppoſes *Grotius* to have confuted, is yet obliged in his *Harmony* to do himſelf what he corrects Dr. *Hammond* for doing, and ſpeak of *Matthew* and *Levi* as of the ſame Perſon. *He ſaw a* Publican, *whoſe Name was* [o] Levi *or* Matthew. Theſe are the Words with which he connects the Senſe of all the three Evangeliſts.

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[z] John v. 41—47.

[a] Deut. xviii. 18. I will raiſe them up a Prophet from among their Brethren, like unto thee, and will put my Words into his Mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I command him. They are the Words of God to Moſes.

[a] Strom. lib. 4. [b] Cont. Celſ. lib. 1. [c] Grot. ad Matth. ix. [d] Cleric ad Hamm. in Luke v. 27.

[e] Matth. ix. 9. [f] Mark ii. 14, [g] Luke v. 27, 28. [h] Hieron. in Matth. ix. 9. [i] Matth. x. 3.

What the *Publicans* were is ſufficiently known, from prophane as well as ſacred Authors. They were Farmers and Receivers of public Money, employ'd in collecting ſuch Impoſitions as were hateful to the People. Among the *Romans*, the principal Farmers were generally Men of great Conſideration in the Government, and, [p] as *Tully* calls them, the Flower of the *Roman* Knights; but the Deputies, the Under-farmers, the Commiſſioners, the *Publicans* of a lower Order, were looked on as ſo many Thieves and Pick-pockets. The Name and Office were no leſs grievous to the *Greeks* than they were to the *Romans*. [q] As to the Name, we are told by the Antients, that *it was infamous*; and we find [qq] it joined with *a Whirlpit, and a Gulph of Rapine*. And *Suidas* declares that the Life of a *Publican* was *an open and free Violence, an unpuiſhed Rapine, a ſhameleſs Covetouſneſs, an impudent Merchandize, and an unreaſonable Negotiation*. We have the ſame Character of it in all other Authors who mention the Profeſſion; whereupon *Muſonius* tells us, that *Theocritus* being once aſked, Which was the moſt cruel of all Beaſts? He made anſwer, That among the Beaſts of the Wilderneſs, the *Bear* and the *Lion*; but among the Beaſts of the City, the *Publican* and the *Paraſite*.

We need not wonder, that Perſons, ſo hateful among the Gentiles, ſhould be the moſt odious Creatures in the World to the *Jews*, a People who valued themſelves in a particular Manner [r] upon their Freedom, and their being the Children of *Abraham*. They could not without the utmoſt Reluctancy, ſee *Publicans* in their Country, rigorouſly exacting thoſe Tributes and Impoſitions that were laid on them by the *Romans*. Thoſe of their own Nation, who undertook this Employ, they looked upon as no better than Heathens: [s] *Let him be unto thee as an heathen Man, and a* Publican. The *Phariſees* in particular thought it a Sin to converſe with them, even though it were to convert them from the Evil of their Ways; objecting it to *Chriſt* by way of Reproach, that *he was a Friend to* Publicans *and Sinners*. The *Publicans*, indeed, are moſt freqently joined with either Sinners or Heathens, (which Words may poſſibly be ſynonimous;) and theſe three Terms ſeem to be the worſt Names that the *Jews* had for the wickedeſt of Men. [t] *If you love them only that love you, or lend to them only that lend to you again, what do ye more than others?* That is, than the worſt of Men: *Do not* Publicans, *and Heathens, and Sinners do the ſame?* 'Tis even ſaid, by ſome, that the *Publicans* were not allowed to go into the Temple, or the Synagogues; to partake of the public Prayers, or of the Offices of Judicature; or to give in their Teſtimony in a Court of Juſtice. But this ſeems a little ſtraining the Point, becauſe our [u] Saviour's Parable of the *Phariſee* and the *Publican*, ſuppoſes that one of them might go into the Temple, as well as the other. We need not aggravate their Character, which we are certain was bad enough; ſo bad, that the Prieſts would not accept of their Offerings, any more than they would of the Price of Proſtitution, or of Blood, or any thing elſe of the like Nature. The *Hebrews* have a Proverb to this Effect; *Take not a Wife out of a Family wherein there is a* Publican, *becauſe*, ſay they, *they are all* Publicans; that is, all Thieves, or very infamous Perſons. And where our Lord mentions [w] Harlots and *Publicans* in the ſame Place, we have Reaſon to think that he ſpoke according to a common Opinion, which joined theſe People together; for we find that *Theophraſtus* maketh *keeping Whores* and *being* Publicans, to be as it were the ſame Thing. Thus we may perceive that all manner of Sin was laid to their Charge.

II. Yet with ſuch as theſe was our bleſſed Saviour pleaſed to converſe, whilſt he was upon Earth; and he gave a very good Reaſon for ſo doing: For [x] when the Scribes *and* Phariſees *murmured againſt his Diſciples, ſaying, Why do you eat and drink with* Publicans *and Sinners?* Jeſus *anſwering, ſaid unto them, They that are whole*

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[k] Whit. on Luke v. 21.

[l] He aſſerts that Matthew, Philip, and Thomas, did not ſuffer Martyrdom; which they certainly did, as we ſhall prove in their reſpective Lives.

[m] Cont. Celſ. lib. i.

[n] Præf. ad Ep. ad Rom. & Caten. in Matth. See alſo another Anſwer in Cotelerius.

[o] The Original is, Levi, ſeu Matthæus.

[p] Orat. pro Planc.

[q] Cic. Ep. ad Q. Frat. 3. lib. 1. Ep. 1.

[qq] See the Notes of Hammond and Whitby on Matth. ix.

[r] John viii. 38.

[s] Matth. xviii. 17.

[t] Matth. v. Luke vi.

[u] Luke xviii.

[w] Matth. xxi. 31.

[x] Luke v. 30, 31, 32.

need not a Phyſician, but they that are ſick. For I came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance. That we may the more perfectly underſtand this Paſſage, let us conſider, 1*ſt*, who the Scribes and Phariſees were, who murmured thus; and 2*dly*, what is the full Import of our Saviour's Anſwer.

That the Scribes and Phariſees here mentioned could not be Part of the Gueſts that ſat down at Meat with the Publicans, appears from this; that they themſelves muſt then have been guilty of the ſame Crime, for which they murmured at *Chriſt* and his Diſciples, and conſequently muſt themſelves have been included in their own Cenſure. It appears alſo from what has been ſaid, of their Abhorrence of all the Publicans, and their Caution never to converſe with them. What were they then, and when did they ſay thus to the Diſciples? Doubtleſs the Expreſſions are general, and ſignify the Phariſees and Scribes of the City, who were gathered about the Houſe where *Jeſus* was, and who being informed that there was a Feaſt within, at which many of *Matthew*'s Profeſſion were preſent, might, in a Senſe not altogether improper, be ſaid to *ſee* Jeſus *eat with Publicans and Sinners*, as St. *Mark* [y] expreſſes it, tho' they did not actually behold him at the Table. And as to the Time when they ſpoke thus, we may well ſuppoſe it was whilſt *Jeſus* and his Diſciples were coming out of the Houſe, after the Entertainment was over.

The firſt Part of our Lord's Anſwer, *They that are whole need not a Phyſician*, &c. is a proverbial Expreſſion, and to be found in other Authors. Thus when the Philoſopher *Antiſthenes* [z] was asked, *Why he converſed with wicked Men?* His Anſwer was, *Phyſicians are with the Diſeaſed.* And when *Diogenes*, or *Pauſanias*, (for the ſame [a] Thing is ſaid of them both) was asked, *Why he praiſed the* Lacedemonians, *but ſtaid not with them?* he anſwered, *That Phyſicians converſed not among the Healthy, but among the Sick.*

"But what is meant by *the Righteous*, whom our Saviour *came not to call?*" Here ſome have anſwered, that *Righteous* in this Place ſhould be underſtood of Perſons righteous in their own Opinion; ſuch as the Scribes and Phariſees to whom he ſpake. But the Word hath another, and better Signification, which is more agreeable to the proverbial Similitude above recited. For how can it be ſaid of Perſons who are righteous only in their own Conceits, [b] *who juſtify themſelves before Men*, and [c] *truſt to themſelves that they are righteons, deſpiſing others in Compariſon of themſelves*; how can it be ſaid of ſuch as theſe, that they are whole, and need not a Phyſician, ſince they are [d] in an eſpecial Manner called to Repentance by the Goſpel? Beſides, the Word *Sinner*, which is put in Oppoſition to it, ſignifies, as applied to the Publicans, Perſons who live in a cuſtomary Practice of Sin; Perſons the Tenor of whoſe Lives is wicked, and who are therefore called to that Repentance, which conſiſts in the Change of their Lives from the Slavery of Sin and Satan to Holineſs and the Fear of God: Conſequently, by the Word *Righteous*, we muſt underſtand ſomething which may properly be oppoſed to this Character. But it cannot mean thoſe who are entirely free from Sin; for in that Senſe, there is [e] not a juſt Man upon Earth, [f] nor any Man who is not a Sinner: It muſt ſignify, therefore, thoſe who have truly and ſincerely reformed their Lives, who carefully endeavour to abſtain from all known Sin, and who ſet themſelves to the Performance of their whole Duty both to God and Man; and, in Conſequence of this, are accepted as righteous in the Sight of God. In this Senſe, [g] Job *was righteous, and eſchewed Evil*; [h] and Zacharias *and* Elizabeth *were righteous, walking in all the Commandments of God blameleſs*; and alſo [i] *Simeon*, who *took up our Saviour in his Arms and bleſſed him.* None of theſe Perſons needed that Repentance, which conſiſts in a Change of the Life, from a *Courſe* of Sinning, to a *Courſe* of living unto God: For tho' they were not abſolutely without Sin, and therefore not righteous in the ſtricteſt Senſe; yet they lived in a *Habit of Holineſs*, and never ſinned but thro' *Inadvertency* or Weakneſs.

St. *Matthew* informs us, [k] that our Saviour on this Occaſion, bid the *Jews*, go and learn what that meaneth, [l] *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice:* [m] Which Words cannot be underſtood abſolutely, becauſe God had commanded Sacrifices, and therefore could not abſolutely ſay, *He would not have them.* The Senſe therefore is, that *He would rather have Mercy than Sacrifice:* And this was very properly ſaid to the Phariſees, who becauſe the Publicans were Men notoriouſly wicked, concluded that it was a Crime to converſe with them, even in a merciful Manner for their Good. From hence it appears, that the Argument of our Saviour's whole Anſwer is twofold. [n] *Firſt*, That tho' familiar Converſe with Sinners was in the general to be avoided, yet was that only on this Account, That they might not be encouraged, or we be defiled by them; and ſo it could not hinder that great Act of *Charity* and *Mercy* to their Souls, which was directed to the Converſion of them from their evil Ways; the avoiding of Familiarity with them, being only as the Precept of *Sacrifice*, and therefore not to be regarded ſo as to obſtruct that more important Duty of ſhewing *Mercy* to their Souls. *Secondly*, That *Chriſt* was the great ſpiritual Phyſician, ſent to heal thoſe Sin-ſick Souls, and call them to Repentance; and that therefore in converſing with them, purſuant of this End, he was ſo far from tranſgreſſing his Father's Precepts, that he was doing the great Work for which he was ſent by him into the World. Theſe Things may ſuffice under the firſt general Head, of thoſe four propoſed by us at the Beginning of this Diſcourſe, and into which we divided the Matter of the preceding Chapter.

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[y] Mark. ii. 16.

[z] Apud Laert. in Vit. Philoſoph.

[a] Stobæus ſaith it of Diogenes Serm. xi. Apothegm. Laced. Plutarch applies it to Pauſanias.

[b] Luke xvi. 15.

[c] Luke xviii. 9.

[d] Matth. iii. 8, 9, 10.

[e] Job ix. 2. Eccleſ. vii. 20.

[f] 1 Kings viii. 46. James iii. 2. 1 John i. 8.

[g] Job i. 1.

[h] Luke i. 6.

[i] Luke ii. 25, 28.

[k] Matth. ix 13.

[l] Hoſ. vi. 6.

[m] Whitby in loc. Matth.

[n] Id. ib.

III. In the ſecond Place, we are to conſider the Queſtion of *John*'s Diſciples concerning Faſting, and our Saviour's Solution of it. Upon which Paſſage Mr. *Le Clerc* ſuppoſes that it was not the Deſign of *John*'s Diſciples to enquire ſimply, Why the Diſciples of Chriſt did not faſt? but, Why they did not follow the Example of all devout Men among the *Jews*, who faſted often? But this [o] ſeems to be a Miſtake; for they ask of Chriſt, Why his Diſciples did not faſt at all? And our Saviour's Plea for them, is for an entire Exemption from that Duty whilſt he was preſent with them. Beſides, were that allowed to be the Senſe of their Queſtion, yet no Conſequence would follow with regard to the Diſciples of *John*, who, [p] as Dr. *Hammond* pertinently obſerves, did not intend to ask, Why they themſelves, and the *Phariſees*, faſted often? they being ſo well ſatisfied with the Reaſon of that, that they wonder why the Diſciples of Chriſt did not as they did. The true Meaning of this Queſtion therefore, according to the ſame Reverend Author, is only this: *Since we, and all pious* Jews, *faſt ſo devoutly, why do not thy Diſciples do this as well as we?*

And here we muſt not omit an excellent Obſervation of the ſaid learned Author upon the Form of this Queſtion, which he places among the Idioms or peculiar Forms of Writing, obſervable in the ſacred Authors. [q] "When one Thing only, ſays he, appears by the Context to be deſigned and meant, another Thing is yet often deliver'd, as preparative thereto, that by it, either by way of Compariſon or Oppoſition, the one principal Thing deſigned may be the more ſet out. Thus [r] in the fourth Commandment, in which the Sabbatic Reſt is the only Thing deſigned, that is introduced with a *ſix Days ſhalt thou labour, and do all that thou haſt to do*; which being not the Matter of that Commandment, is there ſet only to prepare for the enſuing Reſt, *but the ſeventh Day is the Sabbath*, &c. That is, as thou haſt ſix Days allowed thee to labour, ſo the Seventh muſt be looked on as a Reſt to that God who hath been ſo liberal to thee. So here the Diſciples of *John* deſigning to ask only one Queſtion, *Why Chriſt and his Diſciples faſt not?* introduce it with another, *Why do we and the Phariſees faſt oft?* Which cannot be better interpreted than by way of Compariſon, as above, *Why do not thy Diſciples faſt as well as we?* In like manner, when our Saviour ſays, [s] *If a Woman ſhall put away her Husband, and marry another, ſhe committeth Adultery*, it is not to be thought in the Power of a Wife to put away her Husband, but only of the Husband to put away the Wife; but becauſe it is poſſible for a Woman, the Wife of one, to yield herſelf to be married to another, and in what Caſe ſoever ſhe doth ſo, ſhe committeth Adultery, the Thing deſigned to be ſpoken of; therefore the former Circumſtance, *of putting away the Husband*, is mention'd without any Weight ſet on it, to prepare for the important Circumſtance *of marrying another*, againſt which our Saviour here ſpeaks. And this in conformity to what was before ſaid, and to continue the Oppoſition obſerved in the former [t] Verſe, where he ſpoke *of the Husband's putting away the Wife, and marrying another*. — But we need not run thro' all the Examples quoted by Dr. *Hammond* on this Occaſion, theſe few being ſufficient to ſupport his Expoſition of the Words before us.

IV. The former Part of our Lord's Anſwer to this Queſtion of *John*'s Diſciples, is contained in another Queſtion, *Can the Children of the Bride-Chamber mourn, ſo long as the Bridegroom is with them?* For the better underſtanding of which, we muſt obſerve, [t] That *the Children*,[u] *or Sons of the Bride-Chamber*, were thoſe who were admitted into it. Their Buſineſs was, to enter into the Bride-Chamber, and to rejoice and exhilerate themſelves with the Bridegroom, during the Time of the Marriage-Feaſt, which was ſeven Days. They were uſually the Kindred or intimate Friends of the Bridegroom; by which latter Appellation they are ſometimes called: Whence St. *John Baptiſt* [w] repreſents himſelf as rejoicing to hear the Voice of the Bridegroom Chriſt, one of whoſe *Friends* he was. — So then our Saviour's whole Argument in this Queſtion, and the Words immediately following it, runs thus: "I am the Bridegroom, and the Church is my Bride, and my Diſciples are the Friends of the Bridegroom, and Children of the Bride-Chamber. All the Time that I am on Earth, the Marriage-Solemnities continue; and my Friends are not to mourn, but rejoice with me, ſo long as that Time laſts. At my Death, and Departure out of the World, this Bridegroom will be taken from them; and then will be the Time for them to faſt, and mourn." Nothing can be more apt than the Words here uſed, when the Alluſion is underſtood.

This Apology of our Lord for the Non-abſtinence of his Diſciples, is continued by two more Similitudes; That of *ſewing new Cloth on an old Garment*, and that of *putting new Wine into old Bottles:* Which Similitudes, in the Opinion of many Fathers and Interpreters, whom we have followed in our Paraphraſe, are brought by our Lord to ſhew, that he thought it not fit at the firſt Entrance of his Diſciples, and before the Holy Ghoſt had deſcended upon them, to impoſe on them the Burden of Faſting, becauſe they were not fit to bear it by reaſon of their Infirmity, and might be tempted by ſuch Auſterities to fall off from him. And hence it has been juſtly added, that Chriſt, by his Example, recommends it to his Diſciples, and to the Miniſters of the Goſpel, not to impoſe on weak Conſciences

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[o] Whitby in loc.

[p] See Hammond on Matth. ix. 14.

[q] Id. ibid.

[r] Exod. zx. 9, 10.

[s] Mark x. 12.

[t] See Lightfoot, Hammond, and Whitby, on the Place.

[u] Called by the Greeks παράνυμφοι, and πρόχοροι; by the Latins *Pronubi*; by the Jews *Shoſhebinim*.

[w] John iii. 24

ſciences that *Weight of Ordinances* which they cannot bear. But againſt this Interpretation there has been one Objection ſtarted; to which we think it our Duty to produce an Anſwer, leſt it ſhould be a Matter of ſtumbling to any of our Readers. The Objection is, "That no Reaſon can be aſſigned, why Chriſt's Diſciples ſhould be leſs able thus to faſt, than the Diſciples of the *Baptiſt*, or the *Phariſees*." To this it has been anſwered, [x] That there were among the *Jews* not only Sects of *Eſſenes*, and others, who lived retired by themſelves, and led an auſtere Life, but alſo [y] Schools of the Prophets; and theſe were frequently kept in Mountains and Deſarts, and their Pupils were alſo many of them *Nazarites*, conſecrated to the Service of God. They had alſo their academical and private Schools, to train up Men in Diſcipline. From ſome, or all, of theſe, might come Diſciples to *John* in the Wilderneſs, and Diſciples to the *Phariſees*: Whereas 'tis certain that the Diſciples of our Lord were choſen from the Fiſhing-Trade, and other mean Employments; and ſo came to him wholly unacquainted with, and unfitted for, thoſe Auſterities that were practiſed by others. Inſtead therefore of interpreting this Place, as thoſe do [z] who advance the above Objection, by ſaying, "That our Lord meant it was as unfit or unſeemly for his Diſciples to faſt, whilſt he was with them, as it would be to ſew a new Piece of Cloth on an old Garment, or to put new Wine into old Bottles;" we chuſe rather to maintain the Senſe given in our Paraphraſe, which imports, *That our Lord repreſents not the Unſeemlineſs, but the Hurt or Damage of doing either of theſe Things*: And this is altogether agreeable to his Reaſoning from theſe Compariſons, when he tells us, that the new Cloth on the old Garment would make the Rent worſe, and the new Wine in the old Bottles would endanger the Breaking of the Bottles, and the Spilling of the Wine; which can have no Alluſion to the Fitneſs or Seemlineſs, but only to the Loſs and Damage of the Thing.

V. Thus are we come in Order to the third Point, of which we propoſed to treat in this Diſſertation; the Deſcription of *Betheſda*, and its miraculous Pool, with the Hiſtory of the impotent Man's Cure there by our Saviour. And this being one of the Paſſages animadverted on by the pretended allegorical Interpreter of our Saviour's Miracles, we muſt here be a little more copious than we have been upon either of the former Heads: Tho', in order to avoid Prolixity, we ſhall paſs over much of his Trifling and Raillery, as well as many of his Miſrepreſentations of the Fathers; having, we preſume, already given Specimens of both kinds, ſufficient to furniſh our Readers with juſt Notions of the Author's Ability and Honeſty. It is for this ſame Reaſon, the ſake of Brevity, that we chuſe to treat this Subject here, rather than in a ſeparate Diſcourſe.

Under the Head of Trifling and Raillery we place that poor Pretence of our Author, [a] "That a Perſon who is expreſly ſaid to have had an *Infirmity of thirty eight Years* Duration, and to have been ſo decay'd that he could not go Time enough to the Pool to be cured, but had long waited for an Opportunity of ſtepping in firſt upon the Commotion of the Water, was a mere *Diſſembler*, and an *idle Lubbard*. And it is an equally ridiculous Objection, that, if he was not a Diſſembler, he was [b] *only fancifully ſick*, and therefore might be *fancifully cured* by *Jeſus*, after an *Infirmity of thirty eight Years*, that had deprived him ſo long of the Uſe of his Nerves.

And of a Piece with this is the [c] Abuſe thrown on St. *John*, for inſerting this and ſome other Accounts of Miracles that had been omitted by the other Evangeliſts: For he ought to have recollected, that the moſt antient Writers of the Church aſſure us, that St. *John* deſignedly wrote his Goſpel as a Supplement to the three Preceding. He has therefore mention'd very few Miracles of *Jeſus* that had been recorded in the former Goſpels. So that his Goſpel is in ſome Reſpects new, and eſpecially as he has deliver'd to us thoſe very Miracles that Mr. *Woolſton* enumerates: One of which, namely, *Jeſus*'s Conference with the *Samaritan* Woman, has been already vindicated in this Work; and the others objected againſt, as peculiar to St. *John*, ſhall be ſo too, by God's Aſſiſtance, in due Time.

Nor is it more worthy of Notice, [d] that after he had reviled the *beloved Diſciple of Jeſus*, our Author took a Step farther, and gave a mean and degrading Character of *Jeſus* himſelf. Sarcaſm and Ridicule were tried in ſeveral Shapes upon *Jeſus*, both in his Life and at his Death; and therefore it may be expected that the ſame Method will ſtill be practiſed by the like ſort of Infidels, tho' it will ever be attended with the ſame ill Succeſs. The Character here drawn of *Jeſus* is ſo unworthy of him, that it muſt be conſider'd as the Reſult of a diſorder'd Imagination, and on that Suppoſition as well-nigh equivalent to the modern one of *Student in Phyſick and Aſtrology*. For how can he be ſaid to be only a [e] *good natural Orator*, or a mere *Haranguer of the People*, who when he was but [f] *twelve Years old* amazed the moſt learned Doctors among the *Jews* with the Underſtanding expreſſed in his *Queſtions* and *Anſwers* to them, and afterwards in the Courſe of his Miniſtry ſilenced them on many Occaſions?

But after theſe preliminary Cavils, about which we have promiſed not to ſpend any Time, ſome particular Objections are offered by the Author of the *Diſcourſes on the Miracles*; and to give the greater Weight to them, with ſome Shew of Method. Whatever they are, they ſhall be now conſider'd in the Order propoſed.

VI. *Firſt*, It is ſaid, that [g] "the Account given of the Pool of *Betheſda* has no good Foundation in Hiſtory, and that St. *John* is the only

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[x] See Whitby on the Place.

[y] Campeg. Vitring. l. 2. c. 7.

[z] Particularly Epiſcopius.

[a] Diſc. 3. p. 34. See Vind. Vol. 1. p. 489.

[b] Ibid. p. 35.

[c] Page 36.

[d] Page 37.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Luke ii. 42, 46, 47.

[g] Page 38.

Author that has made any mention of it." To this we anſwer, That though *Joſephus*, the only authentic *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian (except the ſacred ones) that is now extant, makes no mention of any miraculous Cure upon a Commotion of the Water in the Pool of *Betheſda*, yet his Silence may reaſonably be accounted for, and therefore is far from being deciſive againſt the expreſs Atteſtation of an Eye-witneſs of *Jeſus*'s Cure there, and on that Occaſion of a Relater of the ſanative Virtue of that Water. For is not *Joſephus* ſilent on ſeveral other Occaſions that bear ſome Relation to *Jeſus?* Does he ſo much as intimate the [h] *Slaughter of the Infants at* Bethlehem, mention'd by St. *Matthew?* Does he give a clear Account of the *Roman Cenſus*, or [i] Taxation, that is recorded by St. *Luke?* Or indeed any at all of the *Galileans*, [k] *whoſe Blood* Pilate *had mingled with their Sacrifices*, as it is recorded by the ſame Evangeliſt? Or will it be acknowledged that *Joſephus* has at all mention'd *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, and that the controverted Paſſage relating to him is genuine? Why then ſhould his Silence be thought an inſuperable Difficulty in the preſent Caſe, which has a viſible Connection with the miraculous Cure of the impotent Man by *Jeſus* at the Pool of *Betheſda?* For he could not with any Decency take notice of the miraculous Virtue of the Pool of *Betheſda*, without taking notice at once of the miraculous Cure of the impotent Man by *Jeſus* at the ſame Place; a Cure that muſt have made great Noiſe at *Jeruſalem* but a little before *Joſephus*'s Time. It is poſſible, therefore, that he might decline the mentioning of the one, in order to avoid taking notice of the other.

But this Objection is reinforced by drawing a Parallel [l] "between a Writer of the natural Hiſtory of *Somerſetſhire* that ſhould omit an Account of the medicinal Waters of *Bath*, and *Joſephus*, the *Jewiſh* Antiquarian, as omitting an Account of the Pool of *Betheſda*;" and we are told we may as well ſuppoſe the one as the other. To this Plea two Anſwers may be returned. The one is, that "the Pool of *Betheſda*, which cured Diſeaſes till the Coming of *Chriſt*, and for ſome Time after, that is, during his Appearing in the World, ceaſed afterwards to be beneficial to the *Jews*, when they perſiſted in blaſpheming the Name of our Lord;" according to the expreſs Teſtimony of [m] *Tertullian*. And if ſo, there is no Parallel in the Caſes propoſed, nor was there any Reaſon why *Joſephus* ſhould inſert an Account of the ſanative Virtue of thoſe Waters, that was loſt when he wrote his Antiquities. The other Anſwer is, that [n] *Joſephus* does incidentally mention a Pool at *Jeruſalem*, which (according to the Conjecture of [o] Father *Lamy* and others) ſeems to be the Pool of *Betheſda*. And if this Conjecture be well grounded, *Joſephus* did not entirely neglect to take notice of that Pool. But if it be ſaid, that he did not take notice of any miraculous Cures performed there; it may be replied, that as he mention'd that Pool in a very curſory Manner, on occaſion of the military Works of the *Romans* erected againſt *Jeruſalem*, ſo he [p] aſſures us in the very ſame Book of the *Jewiſh* War, that he *fully deſigned to write a more particular and exact Account of* Jeruſalem *and its Walls*; near one of the Gates of which was this Pool of *Betheſda*. And therefore no farther Account of this Pool could be here given by *Joſephus*, without breaking in too much upon the immediate Subject of his Diſcourſe; nor was it neceſſary to be here given, ſince it might well be reſerved to his larger Survey of *Jeruſalem*, which either was never written, or is now loſt. And as to what we now have of this Author, it muſt be granted in general by all that have been converſant in him, that his Works are very deficient in their preſent State, after all Collations of Copies and Annotations of the Critics upon them. To which Conſideration it may be added, that though it were allow'd that *Joſephus* is reſtored to ſome Degree of Perfection, yet it is not at all ſurpriſing that he has made ſeveral Omiſſions; ſince we find that the like Omiſſions were made by the *Roman* Hiſtorians in the Antiquities of their own Country, as being Things ſo familiarly known to them, that they neglected to inſert ſome conſiderable Matters of that Nature in their Writings. And that this Aſſertion may not be thought precarious, we ſhall expreſly refer to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, as an eminent *Greek* Author, who has given us many of the *Roman* Antiquities, which, for the Reaſon now aſſigned, were entirely neglected by the *Roman* Hiſtorians. And indeed it is well known to the Learned, that the *Roman* Hiſtorians themſelves very often ſupply the Deficiencies of one another, either by inſerting additional Facts, or abſolutely new Circumſtances of the ſame Facts. But there is no Occaſion for any thing more to be added in the way of Apology for the Silence of *Joſephus*, ſince our Author grants, [q] "that there are ſeveral Prodigies, as well as political Events of antient Times, that, though they are reported but by one Hiſtorian, meet with Credit: And therefore that St. *John*'s Teſtimony may be equal to, and ſhall paſs ſooner than, another Writer's, upon Suppoſition the Matter be in itſelf credible." But then,

VII. *Secondly*, It is denied that [r] the Circumſtances of this Account in St. *John* are credible. And in order to ſhew that they are not ſo, ſeveral Queſtions are propoſed, and a Solution of them is demanded. The firſt Queſtion is, [s] "What was the true Occcaſion of the Angel's Deſcent into the Pool?" We anſwer, To impart an healing Quality to the Water. To which we add, that it would have been proper for Mr. *Woolſton* to have reflected before he put this Queſtion, Whether ſo free an Agent as God is not allow'd the Choice of his own Methods of Cure? Or whether he has not in Fact employ'd Angels, or ſeparate Spirits ſo called, in Affairs of the like Nature, and particularly in inflicting Diſeaſes? And if in inflicting Diſeaſes, why not in curing them? And again, he ought to have recollected, what greater Occaſion there can be for enquiring here how a ſpiritual Being moved the Waters of *Betheſda*, than how ſuch Beings act upon other Bodies, as they have in fact done, in a great Variety of Inſtances recorded in the Old and New Teſtament? Or, indeed, how his own Soul acts upon and moves his Body?

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[h] Matth ii. 16.
[i] Luke ii. 1, 2, &c.
[k] Luke xiii. 1.
[l] Page 39.
[m] Vid. Tertull. c. Jud. cap. 13.
[n] Vid. Joſeph. Bell. Jud l. 5. cap. 4. Tom. 2. p. 1248. Edit. Hudſon. Ox.
[o] Vide de Tabernac. & Temp. lib. 4. cap. 5.
[p] Vid. Joſeph. ibid. lib. 5. cap. 5.
[q] Ibid. p. 39.
[r] Ibid. p. 40.
[s] Ibid.

2. To his next Queſtion, [t] "Why one diſeaſed Perſon only reaped the Benefit of each Deſcent of the Angel?" we anſwer, that the Cure of one diſeaſed Perſon only at once, was more ſuitable to ſome Part of the Deſign of this Diſpenſation than the Cure of many at Time would have been. For the keeping up a lively Senſe of the Providence of God among the *Jews*, during that Interval of Time in which all Prophecy had wholly ceaſed, ſeems to have been one of the Ends that were propoſed by this angelical Diſpenſation. But this Senſe of the divine Providence, was more effectually kept up by the Cure of one Perſon only at every angelical Commotion of the Water, than by the Cures of many at once. For the Cure of one Perſon alone, upon each Commotion, evinced that Cure to be miraculous; whereas, on Suppoſition many Perſons had been cured there at once, thoſe Cures might have been imputed to the natural Virtue of that Water, as it was impregnated with ſome Mineral; or elſe, as the warm Entrails and Blood of the *Jewiſh* Sacrifices, and eſpecially at the *Paſſover*, gave a balſamic and healing Quality to it. And indeed this ſingle Conſideration (beſides ſeveral other Reaſons that may be aſſigned) ſhews the Vanity of the two principal Hypotheſes, that have been advanced, in the mechanical Way, by *Hammond* and *Bartholine*, concerning the Cures of this Pool.

Having mentioned theſe two great Authors, we think it not improper to add a few Obſervations on them, in order to evince more clearly the Neceſſity we are under to acquieſce in the literal Account of theſe Cures at the Pool of *Betheſda*, and believe the whole to be miraculous. Now the Hypotheſis of [u] *Hammond*, who ſometimes affected a Sigularity of Interpretation, is ill-grounded in ſeveral Reſpects. For he arbitarily pretends, that the Word [w] uſually rendred Angel, is here no more than an Officer of the Prieſts, conſider'd as ſent by them at a proper Seaſon to ſtir the Water of that Pool, with which he ſuppoſes the Blood and Ordure of the Entrails of ſacrificed Beaſts to have been mixed; and as a Meſſenger to the Diſeaſed there to attend him, whilſt he enjoy'd the Benefit of the animal Warmth communicated to the Water by the Commotion of it. But, beſides what has been already mention'd about the Cure of one Perſon only upon each Commotion of the Water, there are other Difficulties in this Hypotheſis which cannot be ſo entirely overcome, as to reconcile it to the expreſs Account given by St. *John*. One of them is, that the original Word here uſed, is not found to have this Senſe in any hiſtorical Narrative of Scripture, whatever it may have in the prophetical Stile. Another Difficulty is, that ſuch a Mixture, in Conſequence of each Commotion of the Water by the Prieſt's Mſſenger, cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to cure all manner of Diſeaſes, though it were granted that ſuch an animal Warmth might be proper enough in ſome particular Diſeaſes. But in the preſent Caſe, the ſacred Hiſtorian aſſures us that *whoſoever firſt ſtepped in, after the troubling of the Water, was made whole of whatſoever Diſeaſe he had.* A third Difficulty in this Suppoſition is what ſubverts the whole, namely, that the Entrails of the Sacrifices were not, in fact, waſhed in this Pool, but in a certain Laver placed in a peculiar [x] Apartment in the Temple; as likewiſe that there is no Account given by any *Jewiſh* Writer of the Sacrifices being waſhed elſewhere. This is what our [y] *Lightfoot* inſiſts on; and if the Caſe be thus, the Foundation of *Hammond*'s Hypotheſis is abſolutely overthrown.

As for *Bartholine*'s [z] Scheme, it is clogged with ſome of the very ſame Difficulties as the preceding one, and indeed with others peculiar to it; as he ſuppoſes the Waters of *Betheſda* to be naturally medicinal, and the Commotion of them to be an extraordinary Fermentation of ſome Mineral in them. For he is thus obliged to convert an *Angel* into *a Divine Power*, which originally gave them ſuch an Efficacy, though it was exerted in a natural Manner. But the Word *Angel* occurs no where in Scripture in this Senſe. And in vain too would our learned Author ſoften the Word, [a] *Firſt* in the Singular into *Firſt* in the Plural, in order to avoid the Inconſiſtency of his Hypotheſis with the Cure of only one Perſon at once. For it appears from the Complaint of the impotent Man in this Narrative, (that [b] *whilſt he was coming* to the Pool, upon a Commotion of it, *another ſtepped down before him,*) that ſo great a Violence as is put upon that Word is entirely uſeleſs. And on the other Hand it is certain, that an Hot-Bath, to which *Bartholine* compares this Pool in a State of Fermentation, muſt be ſuppoſed either to cure many Perſons at once, or none at all. And again, as no ſort of Mineral is powerful enough to cure all Manner of Diſeaſes, ſo neither can any Mineral be reaſonably ſuppoſed to cure any Diſeaſes by a ſingle Immerſion and in an Inſtant. And ſurely they that object againſt the literal Senſe of St. *John* from the Silence of *Joſephus*, cannot with a good Grace favour this Suppoſition of Mineral-Waters, about which *Joſephus* is equally ſilent.

3. To the next Enquiry, [c] "How often in in the Week, the Month, or the Year, this Angel deſcended?" we anſwer, That the Evangeliſt has not thought fit to gratify our Curioſity with

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[t] Page 41. [u] See Hammond's Annot. on John v. [w] ἄγγελος.

[x] Conclave lavantium. Vid. Cod Middoth. c. 5. n. 3. [y] Vid. Lightfoot in Harmon.

[z] Vid. Bartholin. de Paralyticis N. T. ap. Crenii Faſcicul. Tom. 5. p. 408, 410, &c. Roterod. 1695.

[a] πρῶτος into πρῶτοι. [b] Ver. 7. [c] Page 41.

any Account of thoſe Niceties; but that it is moſt probable this Miracle was performed once every Year, (as *Chryſoſtom* and others have ſuppoſed) and that this angelical Deſcent always happened about the Time of the Paſſover. For ſuch is the Time thought by very able Critics to have been, when *Jeſus* performed this Cure on the impotent Man, who was incapable of enjoying the Benefit of the Commotion of the Water.

But [d] "For how many Ages before *Chriſt*'s Advent, ſays our Author, and why not ſince, and even now, was this angelical Favour granted?" And he immediately adds, "that St. *John* ſhould have been particular as to theſe Points." But St. *John* could not poſſibly be ſo very particular in reſolving, "Why the Angel does not now deſcend?" and that for a Reaſon too obvious to be mentioned. And beſides this, there is no other Anſwer requiſite to our Author's Queſtion, but that which *Ambroſe* himſelf has given to the ſame Queſtion. That Father, in an occaſional Manner, ſpeaks thus; [e] "As often as the Angel deſcended, the Water was troubled. Perhaps you'll object, why is not the Water troubled of late? Hear the Reaſon why; Signs are for thoſe that do not believe, and Faith is for thoſe that do believe." By which the Father intimated, that there is no Occaſion now for ſuch a Miracle, as was only typical of *Chriſt*, to thoſe that already believe the Truth of Chriſtianity.

Fourthly, [f] It is farther objected againſt the Credibility of the Story of *Betheſda*, "that the Cures there were irregularly diſtributed, and that no proper Care was taken by the Magiſtrates of the Sick and Impotent at that Place." But ſurely it ought to be recollected, that the Magiſtrates had accomodated them with an Hoſpital for their Reception, which had five convenient Porches, or Cells, for ſtepping down into the Water upon its Commotion by an Angel. But what Advantage does our Author gain, if it were granted that Hoſpitals among the *Jews* were not under ſo good Regulations as they have been in later Ages, and in particular among ourſelves? How does ſuch a Conceſſion affect either the anniverſary Cure at *Betheſda*, or *Jeſus*'s Miracle there? As for the Competition, which might happen between the Sick and Infirm at *Betheſda*, the Recovery of Health in deſperate Caſes was no Doubt a Prize worth contending for, and it cannot be denied that Health might be diſpenſed upon what Terms the great Donor of it thought fit. Perhaps he choſe this Method of Cure, in order to exerciſe the Diligence, and Faith, and Patience, of the weak and diſeaſed Perſons, and hereby contribute to the Cure of their Souls as well as of their Bodies. The Buffoonery made Uſe of by our Author on this Occaſion, we deſignedly paſs by, with a juſt Contempt of ſo mean an Abuſe of a ſacred Subject.

And for this Reaſon we ſhall be the ſhorter in giving an Anſwer to another Objection; which is the [g] pretended "Incapacity of the Diſeaſed at *Betheſda*, and particularly of the Blind, the Halt, and the Wither'd, to enjoy the ſuppoſed Benefit of the Water after its Commotion, by throwing themſelves into it." Which Piece of Burleſque is the mere Reſult of a prejudiced Fancy, or rather a barbarous Jeſt on the Miſery and Poverty of the Diſeaſed at that Hoſpital. For otherwiſe any good-natur'd Author muſt have conſider'd, that their ſeveral Defects of Eyes, or Feet, or Nerves, might occaſionally have been ſupplied by Friends, or Relations, or poſſibly, in ſome Caſes, by Servants, that may fairly be ſuppoſed to attend at the critical Juncture, and aſſiſt at putting them into the Pool at the proper Minute of Commotion. The Want indeed of ſuch an Aſſiſtant was the particular Misfortune of the impotent Man in St. *John*, and he accordingly complained thus to *Jeſus*; *Sir, I have no Man when the Water is troubled, to put me into the Pool:* Intimating, as is the Opinion of [h] *Theophylact* and [i] *Eraſmus*, by that Anſwer to *Jeſus*'s Queſtion, *Wilt thou be made whole?* that he (who knew not the Perſon that asked it) meant no more than modeſtly to deſire *Jeſus* to ſupply his Want of an Aſſiſtant, by putting him into the Pool himſelf at the proper Seaſon. But *Jeſus*, we find, ſupplied all his Wants immediately, in his own better Way. And as for any Imputation of Folly on the poor Impotent Man, who had waited ſo long for the Cure of a chronical Diſtemper; as he betray'd nothing that deſerved that Cenſure in his courteous and prudent Diſcourſe with *Jeſus*, ſo he could not act a more wiſe Part than to continue there in his deplorable Caſe, on the merely probable Proſpect of a future Cure, of which he muſt otherwiſe have deſpair'd by the Art of Phyſic.

But the Queſtion whether the impotent Man was a Fool or a wiſe Man, does not at all affect the Reality of *Jeſus*'s miraculous Cure of him, nor indeed the Credibility of the Story of *Betheſda*; ſince whatever the impotent Man was, the Matter of Fact continues the ſame with Regard to both of them; namely, that upon his Want of an Opportunity of being cured by the Water of *Betheſda*, he was actually reſtored to perfect Health and Vigour by *Jeſus*. Beſides, we are not ſure that he expected a Cure at *Betheſda* for ſo long a Space as thirty eight Years, for it is granted by the ableſt Critics to be very uncertain how long he had lain at that Place, and that the Phraſe uſed on that Occaſion is ſomewhat ambiguous. However, it is very certain that he had an Infirmity for thirty eight Years; and therefore he wiſely put in for a contingent Cure. And indeed his Conduct is at leaſt as excuſeable as that which is frequently practis'd among us, in deſperate Caſes of the Stone or Palſy, by Men far advanced in Years, who try to procure Eaſe and Health for the Remainder of Life even by the moſt contingent Cures.

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[d] Diſc. Page 41, 42.
[e] Vid Ambroſ. de Sacr. l. 2.
[f] P. 42, 43, 44.
[g] P. 45, 46.
[h] Vide Teeoph. in loc.
[i] Vide Eraſ. Paraphraſ. in loc.

VIII. But after all this Apparatus, our Author proceeds to animadvert more immediately on the miraculous Cure performed at this Pool by *Jeſus*, and offers an Objection or two againſt it which ſhall now be likewiſe diſcuſſed. The former of them is propoſed as a Query, namely, "What was the Reaſon that of ſo great a Multitude of diſeaſed People at *Betheſda*, *Jeſus* exerted his Power, and extended his Mercy, on only *one* poor *Paralytic*? Why did not he heal all the reſt?" This was an Omiſſion, that, as he pretends, is not only a Reflection on *Jeſus*, but "abſolutely deſtroys his Credit as a Worker of Miracles." But tho' theſe are big Words, yet ſome plain Reaſons may be aſſigned in Vindication of *Jeſus*'s Conduct; which may be ſatisfactory to all unprejudiced Enquirers after Truth, tho, perhaps, not to obſtinate Infidels. The moſt obvious of theſe Reaſons, is, that he was peculiarly unqualified for a Cure by thoſe Waters, on Account of his own natural Incapacity to *ſtep in firſt* himſelf, and of his Poverty in not being ſupplied with one to aſſiſt him in ſtepping into the Pool upon its Commotion. He was therefore a moſt compaſſionable Object, and more eſpecially as he had been in that ſaid Condition *for thirty eight Years*. And can we be aſſured that the reſt of the Diſeaſed there were qualified by ſo good a Diſpoſition, as appears in this infirm Man's Diſcourſe with *Jeſus*? Or, if ſome of them were well qualified, that they could not ſucceſſively partake of the Benefit of thoſe Waters? And if a ſufficient Proviſion was made there, for the Cure of thoſe that were well-qualified to ſhare it, by a ſtanding Miracle; why ſhould it be thought neceſſary for *Jeſus* to break in upon this ſtanding Miracle, ſince probably the Caſe of the impotent Man was ſingular, and he was ſelected out of a Crowd as an uncommon Object of Pity?

And it deſerves to be further obſerved here, that *Jeſus* not only left other diſeaſed Perſons at *Betheſda* to the ſtanding Miracle for curing them that was there appointed by God, but, that he likewiſe complied with the Rule providentially there eſtabliſhed, of curing one Perſon only at once. And therefore *Jeſus*'s Cure of one Perſon only is no more an Objection againſt his Miracle there, than it is ſo againſt the miraculous Diſpenſation of that Place, that it was confined to one Perſon only, and that on a certain Condition; the probable Reaſons of which Limitation of Cure have been already aſſigned.

But, beſides this Conformity to the Rule of Cure appointed at *Betheſda*, can it be denied that *Jeſus* was ſo free an Agent as to beſtow his Favours as he pleaſed, or that he had the Liberty to chuſe what particular Objects of Cure he at any Time thought fit, conſiſtently with the great End and Deſign of all his miraculous Cures, his giving a juſt and clear Proof of his Divine Authority? For, as for his Miracles being entirely beneficial, that is a Point, which is (as *Grotius* obſerves) of a ſecondary or ſubordinate Conſideration. Moſt certainly then *Jeſus* was not obliged to cure whole Hoſpitals at once, tho', upon ſome Occaſions, he was pleaſed to cure great Numbers at the ſame Time. In fact, *Jeſus* uſed very different Methods on different Occaſions. Sometimes he healed even the Abſent by a Word, ſometimes the Preſent by the Touch of his Garment, ſometimes by the Uſe of Materials inſufficient of themſelves for a Cure, ſometimes ſingle Perſons, ſometimes whole Multitudes, in Subſerviency to the Ends propoſed by himſelf, and not to thoſe of others, who would confine Omnipotence to their own narrow Views, and particular Methods.

But our Author is here pleaſed to cite St. *Auſtin*, as concurring with him in his Objection againſt the Power and Goodneſs of *Jeſus*, in healing only one impotent Man at *Betheſda*: Says that Father, "So many lay there, and one was cured, when with one Word he might have raiſed them all." Of which Difficulty [k] *Auſtin* himſelf gives the following Solution; "What therefore is the Meaning of it, but that his Power and Goodneſs aimed more at the Improvement and Benefit of the Souls of Men, by his miraculous Facts with regard to their eternal Salvation, than what their Bodies deſerved, with regard to temporal Health." And this he ſays after he had mentioned *Jeſus* as "equally a Phyſician of Souls and Bodies". Whether this be a good Solution of the propoſed Difficulty, we are not ſollicitous; ſince it muſt be acknowledged, that this Father does not always give the moſt ſatisfactory critical Anſwers. But whatever the Solution is, *Auſtin* did not acquieſce in the Objection, here borrowed from him, without offering at ſome Anſwer to it; and this is ſufficient for us to obſerve.

IX. *Secondly:* The ſecond and laſt Objection that has been offered, in a more direct Manner, againſt *Jeſus*'s miraculous Cure of the impotent Man at *Betheſda*, comes now in Order to be examined. It is this: "That [l] it may reaſonably be queſtioned, whether *Jeſus* wrought any Miracle in the Healing of this one Man; ſince Miracles are Works done out of the Courſe of Nature, and beyond the Imitation of human Art or Power." Here our Author pretends, that [m] "we know not what was the Man's Infirmity, ſince the Word [n] which we tranſlate, *Infirmity* or *Weakneſs*, is a general Name for all Diſtempers. How then can we ſay (as this Author goes on) that he was miraculouſly cured, unleſs we knew his Diſeaſe to be incurable by Art, which, as he aſſerts, none can affirm?" We have thus tranſcribed his Objection at large, that we may give a juſt Anſwer to it, as being perſuaded it is very capable of one. For, with regard to the Text itſelf, though the Word *Infirmity* alone be uſed about this Man, how can there be aſſigned a more natural Interpretation of that Infirmity, than the Suppoſition of his labouring under an inveterate *Palſy*? Do the Symptoms of any other Diſtemper ſo exactly correſpond with the Deſcription given of this Infirmity, both in Point of ſo long Continuance, and of ſuch extreme Weakneſs at the ſame Time? Is it to be imagined, that a Fit of the Gout could have laſted ſo long; or that, if it had been repeated ſo frequently, and for ſo many Years, it had not been incurable? And does not the Word *Weakneſs*, more properly anſwer to ſuch a Relaxation and Unbracing of the nervous Syſtem, or ſome Parts of it, as rendered the Man incapable to ſtep quick enough out of his Cell into the adjacent Pool upon its Commotion? It is likewiſe obſervable from the Context, in ſupport of the Opinion, that this Infirmity was the Palſy, that *Jeſus* uſed here the very ſame Form and Method of Cure which he did [o] to other Paralytics: Which Form it is not recorded that he uſed in the Cure of any others but Paralytics; namely, *Riſe, take up thy Bed, and walk*; or, what is equivalent, *Go into thy Houſe*. A Form very proper for Paralytics, who muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed, in a confirmed Palſy, to be ſo weak, that they had Occaſion to lie much upon their Couches, as not being able to ſtand upright, and much leſs to walk. And it was too very properly uſed in their Caſe, as the Carriage of their Bed or Couch was preſcribed them on their Cure, to demonſtrate the perfect Recovery of their Health and Vigour, and that in a Moment.

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[k] Vide *Auguſtin.* in c. 5. *Johan.* tom 9. p. 147. *Baſ.*

[n] ἀσθένεια.

[l] Ibid. p. 53, 54, &c.

[m] Ibid. p. 47, and 43.

But tho' theſe Probabilities are ſtrong enough to induce us to believe that the Infirmity here cured was the Palſy, and that of the confirmed kind; yet it cannot be improper to corroborate this Interpretation by the Authority of the Fathers. Now it is moſt certain, that the Fathers underſtood this Infirmity of the Palſy; and particularly that *Iræneus*, and *Auſtin*, and *Ambroſe*, and *Hilary*, and *Chryſoſtome*, and *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *Theophylact*, and even our Author's own *John* of *Jeruſalem*, not to mention others, concur very unanimouſly in expounding the miraculous Cure of the impotent Man as of a Paralytic. And how could he, who profeſſed to have ſo abſolute and unreſerved a Veneration for the Authority of the Fathers on all Occaſions, decline with any Decency the Tribunal of their Judgment in the preſent Caſe? It is very obvious, that he was here exceedingly diſtreſſed, when the following Paſſages were extorted from him: " [p] The Fathers indeed call this Man's Infirmity the Palſy. But why do they call it ſo? They have have no Authority from the Text." Here Mr. *Woolſton* is ſo great a Literaliſt, that he gives up even the Fathers, and adheres to the Text (as he underſtands it) againſt them. And for his doing ſo he vouchſafes to gives a merely jocoſe Reaſon; namely, that " As the literal Doctors will not ſubſcribe to the Opinions of the Fathers in other Caſes, without the Text, ſo, ſays he, why ſhould I here?" But if he would act conſiſtently with his own avow'd Principles, he muſt ſtand or fall by the Judgment of the Fathers; whereas others, who do not pay ſo implicit a Regard to them, though they allow them a proper but limited Authority, are fairly excuſed in not ſubmitting to their precarious allegorical Interpretations, which indeed are the leaſt defenſible Part of their Writings. Nor can the Difficulty be evaded by this coarſe Palliation; That " the Fathers had never called it the Palſy but for the ſake of the Myſtery." Which ſurely is a very poor Pretence; ſince as they plainly acknowledge *Jeſus*'s Cure of the Paralytic, they acknowledge the Truth of the literal Senſe of the Miracle: And therefore whatever allegorical Expoſitions they give of this Miracle, thoſe Expoſitions can by no means evacuate their prior Acknowledgment of the literal Senſe, but are entirely conſiſtent with it.

But though the Fathers are rejected, yet ſurely the Opinion of profeſſed Phyſicians muſt be of ſome Weight with the Diſciples of our Author, who complains frequently that the Evangeliſts do not give ſo minute an Account of this and other Diſeaſes that were cured by *Jeſus* as could be wiſhed for. We will therefore ſupply in ſome meaſure, what he pretends is deficient in the ſacred Hiſtorians; tho' very few Hiſtorians can be named, that deſcribe Diſeaſes, incidentally mention'd, with the Accuracy of ſkilful Phyſicians. He objects, as has been before obſerved, that " [q] the Word Infirmity, is a general Name for all Diſtempers, and does not ſignify the Palſy in a peculiar Manner." This is indeed confeſſed, but it does not come up to the Caſe in view. For all that is neceſſary to be aſſerted is, that this Word is properly applicable to the Palſy, though it be not reſtrain'd to it. And if ſo, it plainly follows that the Infirmity here ſpoke of may well be underſtood as ſomething more than a ſmall imaginary Indiſpoſition. Now ſo good a Judge as [r] *Hippocrates* himſelf does not take *Weakneſs* to be a Word not expreſſive enough of the Palſy; for he joins them together. And conſequently St. *John* might very properly mean the Palſy by the general Word *Weakneſs*, when the Symptoms of the Weakneſs deſcribed by him, in the Context, more exactly agree to thoſe of the Palſy than any other Diſeaſe.

But we ſhall again cite *Bartholine*, to evince by his Authority that the impotent Man at *Betheſda* was a Paralytic, and after ſo many Years was naturally incurable. For tho' that celebrated Phyſician advanced a mechanical Account of the uſual Cure at the Pool of *Betheſda*, yet he has offered ſeveral Reaſons to prove that the impotent Man cured there by *Jeſus* was a Paralytic, and indeed was incurable by the Art of Phyſic. In his learned Treatiſe on the Paralytics recorded in the New Teſtament, and particularly on Occaſion of the impotent Man at *Betheſda*, he ſpeaks thus; [s] " Tho' therefore the Infirmity of the Paralytic was even incurable, upon the Failure of a kind Phyſician, *Chriſt* undertook the Cure of him, which no Phyſicians either could or would take upon themſelves to perform.—— But the great Phyſician who came from Heaven performed that Cure with one Word of Command. He ſpake and it was done."

Another [t] profeſſed Phyſician, takes this very impotent " Man in St. *John* to have had the Palſy, and that ſo inveterate and univerſal, that, ſays he, any Phyſician would in vain have undertaken the Cure of him." And he adds theſe emphatical Words; "It was prodigious that this Paralytic ſhould live ſo many Years! I believe that God left, or preſerved him in a dying Condition, that in ſo difficult, impoſſible, and unheard of a Cure, and upon the Fame of this almighty Miracle, it ſhould be impoſſible for all the Infidels in the World, and even thoſe among them that have the moſt hardned Hearts, to doubt of the Divinity of *Chriſt*."

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[o] Matth. ix. 6. Mark ii. 2. Luke v. 24. John. v. 8.

[p] Page 54.

[q] Ibid. p. 47, 53.

[r] Vid. Hippocrat. Epidem. l. 7. c. 7.

[s] Vid. Bartholin. de Paralyticis. N. T. p. 330. ap. Cren. Faſc. Tom. 5.

[t] Vid. Ader de Morb. Evangel. apud. Critic. Sacr. Tom. 9. p. 3669. Lond.

We will add to this Conſult of Phyſicians, [u] Dr. *Harlé*, a pious Writer upon this Subject; whom, as well as *Bartholine* and *Ader*, we have before quoted. This Author, tho' he does not expreſly ſtyle this impotent Man a Paralytic, ſpeaks thus of this Cure, after an hiſtorical Repetition of the Text: "To me all the Circumſtances of the Story ſeem ſupernatural; That neither the Concuſſion of the Earth about the Well, nor opening Channels for Mineral Streams to paſs into the Pool, and impregnate the Waters with healing Particles, nor the waſhing of the Entrails of the Beaſts ſacrificed, nor the Beaſts themſelves there waſhed for cleanſing before Sacrifices, could produce ſuch wonderful Cures." And for this he aſſigns ſeveral Reaſons, to which we refer; and then he adds, "But this was not the Place for Waſhing of Sacrifices, and ſo all Diſpute is at an End, about the Medicinal Virtues of the animal Recrement and Ordure." And he juſtly concludes, "that this impotent Man, who had lain here ſo long in Expectation, was to abide here (ſo well are the Deſigns of God concerted!) to bring Glory to God by a Cure from the Hand of his Meſſiah, both for Soul and Body; a full Compenſation for his ſo long waiting!" This whole Paſſage is wrote with ſo good a Spirit, that it well deſerved to be here tranſcribed.

Upon the whole, therefore, it is moſt evident, from the united Authorities of the Context, the Fathers, and ſome Phyſicians, that the Infirmity of the Man cured by *Jeſus* at *Betheſda* was a confirmed Palſy, and was therefore incurable; and from that of another Phyſician, that the whole at *Betheſda* was ſupernatural. And to theſe Authorities we will now add Mr. *Woolſton*'s own Confeſſion, [w] "that the Palſy in truth is generally worſe than better by Time, and after *thirty and eight Years* muſt needs be very deplorable, and *incurable without a Miracle*." So that if this Author did not here entirely give up the Authority of the Fathers, (and if he does in this Inſtance, why not in other Caſes?) it cannot be doubted but that the Cure of this impotent Man is juſtly reducible to that Definition of a Miracle which he himſelf has aſſigned, namely, [x] "a Work done out of the Courſe of Nature, and beyond the Imitation of human Art and Power."

X. Having thus gone through the Examination of our Author's Objections againſt the Hiſtory of the angelical Cures at *Betheſda*, and of *Jeſus*'s Cure of the Paralytic there, we proceed to conſider his myſtical Citations of the Fathers concerning both of them; which (as has been intimated) ſhall be done very compendiouſly; only in order to ſhew how univerſally they are miſrepreſented, when we are told "that they ſo univerſally betake themſelves to the myſtical Interretation of this Story, that they ſeem to have believed nothing at all of the Letter of it;" and, in particular, "that *Chryſoſtom*, who is as much a literal Interpreter of the Scriptures as any of them, here entirely diſcards the Letter." This is aſſerted indeed with great Aſſurance, ſince this Writer himſelf quoted *Chryſoſtom* but a few Leaves before, to prove that "Only one Perſon was cured once a Year:" And it is of that annual Cure at *Betheſda* that he now affirms, "that *Chryſoſtom* entirely diſcards the Letter."

But let us now hear *Chryſoſtom* himſelf, and determine from his own Words, whether in the Paſſage here cited from him, the good Father contradicts himſelf. [y] *Chryſoſtom* on the Place, after a Repetition of the Hiſtory of the annual Cure at *Betheſda* from St. *John*, ſpeaks of it thus; "What Manner of Cure is this? What Sort of Myſtery is here ſignify'd? For theſe Things are not deſcribed with ſuch a Simplicity and Impropriety as not to have any farther View: But Futurities are here deſcribed to us in a Figure and Type, that a Thing which happen'd in a very wonderful and unexpected manner might not ſomewhat offend the Faith of thoſe among the Vulgar that hear the Story." How *Chryſoſtom* in this Paſſage entirely diſcards the Letter of this Story, let the Reader judge with all poſſible Freedom. But indeed, all this is explained by what *Chryſoſtom* [z] adds immediately; for he goes on thus: "What then is it that St. *John* intimates in this Deſcription? It is that Baptiſm, which was to be given, as having the greateſt Power and Grace; that Baptiſm, which purges away all Sins, and makes us alive from the Dead. Theſe then are the Things that are figuratively ſignified by the Pool and ſeveral other Parts of the Story." And again, ſoon afterwards, this Father ſpeaks even more plainly, thus; [a] "An Angel on his Deſcent troubled the Water, and gave an healing Virtue to it, that the *Jews* might learn that the Lord of Angels has Power to heal, in a vaſtly higher Degree, all the Diſeaſes of the Soul." Here he treats at large of the Benefits of Baptiſm, as the *Laver* ſignified by the Pool of *Betheſda*; all which is *verbatim* tranſcribed by *Theophylact* on the Place. And therefore as the Letter of the Story is moſt clearly allow'd of by *Chryſoſtom*, tho' he allegorizes it, ſo it is likewiſe by *Theophylact*, who is [b] cited too in the myſtical Way on this Occaſion. The whole therefore is a groſs Miſrepreſentation both of *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact* at once.

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[u] See Dr. Harle's Eſſay on Phyſic in Old and New Teſtament. p. 120.

[w] Diſc. p. 54.

[x] P. 53.

[y] Vide Chryſoſtom. in Evang. Joan. Homil. 35. P. 699. tom. 2. Savil.

[z] Ibid.

[a] Chryſoſt. p. 700.

[b] Diſc. p. 57.

The Teſtimony of [c] *Auſtin*, to ſhew there was ſome myſtical Meaning of the angelical Cure at the Pool of *Betheſda*, is readily ſubmitted to; whilſt *Auſtin* [d] himſelf acknowledges the literal Senſe of "the Cure affected by the ſanative Virtue imparted to the Water by an Angel."

As for the pretended *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, though this ſpurious Father deſerves little Conſideration, yet it cannot be improper to intimate that he ſpeaks thus of the Paralytic: "[e] *Jeſus* came to the ſick Man, and healed him, ſaying, *take up thy Bed*, &c." And again ſays he, "At the Coming of our Lord the *Jews* were *troubled at Sight of his Miracles*; as the Water at *Betheſda* was *troubled* by the Commotion of the Angel." Such Illuſtrations ſurely as theſe are not only very conſiſtent with the literal Senſe of this Miracle, but ſtrongly confirm it.

There remains now nothing but a Citation or two of *Cyril* of *Alexandria* to be ſet right, in the myſtical Way. The former is, That [f] "*the Feaſt of the* Jews, when *Jeſus* returned to *Jeruſalem*, and performed this Cure of the Paralytic, (falſely ſuppoſed by *Cyril* and others to be the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*) enigmatically ſignifies [g] the Return of our Saviour at the grand Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* in the laſt Ages of the Word;" the Time of feaſting intellectually, or of ſeeing Viſions, and of dreaming Dreams, as our viſionary Author pretends. Be it ſo without farther Diſpute at preſent; this, however, is very conſiſtent with *Cyril*'s Acknowledgment of the literal Senſe of this miraculous Cure of *Jeſus*. For previouſly to this myſtical Application, ſays that Father [h] thus: "So far I have given an Account of the Hiſtory, or literal Senſe of the Paralytic; which I ſhall here conclude, and transfer the Type drawn from the Fact to a ſpiritual Speculation or Theory." Nothing can be plainer than that *Cyril* here acknowledged this miraculous Fact, though he thought fit afterwards to allegorize it.

The other myſtical Paſſage cited from *Cyril*, is, that the *Jews*, who are ſaid by St. *John* to have reprimanded the Paralytic for carrying his Bed on the Sabbath-Day, "were not ſo ſtupid and fooliſh, as to think the taking up and carrying a Stool to be a Breach of it." Now who would not naturally think from this Citation, that *Cyril* denied that the *Jews* could be ſo ſtupid as to ſay, *It is the Sabbath-Day*; *it is not lawful for thee to carry thy Bed?* But this [i] Father really ſays the reverſe of it. For after he has repeated the Expoſtulation of the *Jews* with the Paralytic, he ſpeaks thus: "We may, I think, very opportunely cry out on this Occaſion, [k] *Behold a fooliſh People, and without Underſtanding*; *they have Eyes, and ſee not*. For what can be more fooliſh and ſtupid than theſe Men? They do not comprehend their Obligation to admire the Power of him that performed this Cure."—But we think it Time to have done with this Subject, having of Neceſſity been longer upon it already, than we at firſt deſigned. However, we hope an Attempt to vindicate the Honour of our Meſſiah, where it has been openly and blaſphemouſly attacked, will be always excuſable in a Work of this Nature; tho' Matters of Controverſy are not in themſelves altogether ſo pleaſing as other Subjects.

XI. And thus we are come to the fourth general Head of this Diſſertation, The Conſideration of our Lord's Diſcourſe with the *Jews* concerning himſelf, which was conſequential of his Cure of the Paralytic. Here we find him calling himſelf the Son of God, in a particular Manner, and the Judge of the World, and aſſuming to himſelf divers Characters which can belong to him only as he is God in a proper Senſe. This Diſcourſe therefore is a Proof of our Saviour's Divinity: We do not however conſider it merely on that Account, but with a View to the rendring ſome Paſſages in it more intelligible, and making the whole agreeable to what we have before advanced on that Head. Here the only Method we can obſerve, is to take the Obſervations in that Order which the Subject of them ſuggeſts.

[k] The firſt Objection of the *Jews* to *Chriſt*, was, that he broke the Sabbath, in cauſing a Man to carry his Bed on that Day. To which he gave this Anſwer only: [l] *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work*: That is, [m] Ever ſince the Time that he reſted from the Works of Creation, the Father continues to preſerve and govern all Things which he created, and to do thoſe Things which tend to his own Glory and the Good of his Creatures, even on the Sabbath-Day: And in imitation of him, I do my wondrous Works of Mercy, to the Glory of his Name, upon that Day; which Works being divine, and done by his Power and Aſſiſtance, ſhew that I do nothing in them contrary to his Will." Which Expoſition is agreeable to the Sentiment of *Philo* the *Jew*, who ſpeaking of God's reſting on the Sabbath-Day, ſaith, [n] *We have declared that God ceaſeth not to work, but proceeds to the Production of other Things, as being not the Artificer only, but the Father of them.*

Here the chief Difficulty is, to find what it was in this Speech of our Saviour, for which the *Jews* accuſed him of Blaſphemy, as if *he made himſelf equal with God*. The Socinians tell us, the *Jews* founded their Charge of Blaſphemy upon our Saviour's ſaying he did the Works of God his Father: But we have already affirmed, [o] that they founded it upon the peculiar Manner in which he ſpoke of God as his Father, *Becauſe he ſaid God was his* own, *or his* proper *Father*, as the Words import. To make this Interpretation a little plainer, let us obſerve, 1. That to call God his Father in a common Senſe could not have occaſioned this Judgment of the *Jews*; for

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[c] Diſc. p. 57.

[d] Vide Auguſtin. in loc. Johan.

[e] Vide Theoph. Antioch. Comment. in Evang. apud Biblioth. Patr. tom. 2. p. 155. Colon. 1618.

[f] John v. 1.

[g] Diſc. p. 61.

[h] Vide Cyril. Alex. in loc. Johan. p. 206. tom. 4. Par.

[i] Vide Cyril. p. 209.

[k] The following Paragraphs are extracted chiefly from Whitby's Notes.

[l] John v. 17.

[m] Whitby.

[n] Vide Phil. in l. prim. Legis Alleg.

[o] See the Chapter and Note.

[o] *Philo*, and other of their [p] Writers, ſpeak of God as the Father not of *Iſrael* only, but of all thoſe who had a true Knowledge of him. Such an Expreſſion as this could not be thought worthy of Death, or worſe than a Breach of the Sabbath. 2*dly*, Neither could they accuſe him of Blaſphemy, as *making himſelf equal with God*, for ſaying that he did the Works of God; for ſuch Works they expected their Meſſiah to do, and none of them believed that their Meſſiah would be God. It neceſſarily follows therefore, that *Chriſt* ſpeaks of himſelf as the Son of God, not as *Adam* and the Angels were, by Creation, nor as good Men are, by Adoption only; but in a more ſublime Senſe, peculiar to himſelf alone; finally, in a Senſe which they would not allow even to their Meſſiah: Otherwiſe, they had ſooner accuſed him for aſſuming the Character of Meſſiah, on which the other was dependant, than that other, which he muſt needs have had, upon Suppoſition that he was the Meſſiah.

But that the *Jews* did not expect their Meſſiah to be any thing more than Man, [q] is generally allowed; and both *Origen* and *Jerome* teſtify as much. *Origen* ſays, [r] that *having diſcourſed with many wiſe Men of the* Jews, *he could find none of them who allowed, that the Meſſiah was to be God or the Son of God*; that is in the ſublime Senſe above mentioned: And *Jerome* on theſe Words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, [ſ] *Curſed is he who putteth his Truſt in Man*, remarks, *that the* Jews *are accurſed, who truſt in a Man, that is in* their *Meſſiah, whom they expect to come as a mere Man, and not as the Son of God.* Hence their Charge of Blaſphemy on the Words of *Chriſt*.

To this Charge *Jeſus* replies, by telling them, *That* [t] *the Son can do nothing of himſelf, but what he ſeeth the Father do.* Here it may poſſibly be demanded, Why *Jeſus*, ſince he was very God, diſclaims the Ability of doing any Thing of himſelf? But we refer thoſe who would ſtart this Queſtion to the [u] general Anſwers already given to all Queſtions of this Nature; being ſatisfied that *Chriſt* here ſpeaks not of his own eſſential Power, but of his prophetic Office; and that for the following Reaſons. 1. The Occaſion of this Diſcourſe. The *Jews* concluding *Chriſt* to be a falſe Prophet, becauſe he in this peculiar Manner ſtiled God his Father, *Chriſt* here undertakes to ſhew, that he exerciſed his Office according to the Will of his Father, and confirmed it by Miracles done by the Power reſiding in him: All this has Relation only to his prophetical Capacity. 2*dly*, Becauſe, as to his eſſential Power, the Action of the Father and the Son being the ſame, the Son cannot properly be ſaid to do nothing of himſelf, or but what he ſees the Father do. To *do nothing of himſelf*, therefore, reſpecteth his prophetic Office, and ſignifies to do nothing without Commiſſion from the Father, and certain Knowledge, by the Spirit reſiding in him, that the Father would have it done; which is the Senſe of the Phraſe, *what he ſeeth the Father do.* And this appears farther from the following Words: *For the Father loveth the Son, and ſheweth him all Things that he doth:* Where, becauſe we receive all our Knowledge from our Eyes or Ears, *Chriſt*, ſtill ſpeaking of the Execution of his prophetic Office, continueth theſe Metaphors taken from our Senſes, to ſignify the imparting of the Father's Will to himſelf, by the Spirit which reſided in him, and which deſcended upon him at his Baptiſm in the Form of a Dove.

XII. In ſome following Verſes our Lord aſſerts his Divinity in the plaineſt Manner imaginable: [w] *As the Father raiſeth the Dead, and quickeneth them, ſaith he, even ſo the Son quickeneth whom he will.* And again, [x] *as the Father hath Life in himſelf, ſo hath he given to the Son to have Life in himſelf.* In theſe Places there is more ſaid of *Chriſt*, than ever was ſaid of any Prophet or Apoſtle: For tho' the Apoſtles and others raiſed Men from the Dead, it is not ſaid of them, that they raiſed whom they would, or that they had Life in themſelves; becauſe when they raiſed any one, it was only to promote the Kingdom of their Maſter, *Chriſt*, by whoſe Power alone they did it. But to *raiſe whom he will*, is an Action repreſented as proper to God alone, who ſaith, [y] *I am, and there is none beſides me; I kill, and I make alive:* It is to be performed by his [z] ſole Power, and by *the* [a] *Strength of his Power*, who is a God [b] *quickening the Dead.* Hence it is evident that *Chriſt*, who will not only [c] *raiſe our mortal Bodies*, but alſo make them *like to his own glorious Body, according to the Working whereby he is able even to ſubdue all Things to himſelf*, muſt be God; and that the Father, by *giving him to have Life in himſelf, as the Father hath it in himſelf*, muſt have given him the Fulneſs of the Deity, from which this Power is inſeparable. Let us ſee in what Manner this is evaded, by thoſe who deny our Saviour's Divinity.

We are told, in the very next Verſe, that [d] *the Father judgeth no Man, but hath committed all Judgment to the Son.* This follows in Connection with the Words juſt conſidered, as a Conſequence of the Son's quickening *whom he will.* Now “ ſeeing this Judgment is *committed* to him, 'tis evident, ſaith *Woltzogenius*, that he cannot be God the higheſt, becauſe God reigns, and judges, by his own Power, derived from none.” And yet the ſame Author owns, “ that in this Judgment is comprehended an entire Government, and divine Empire over the whole World, and eſpecially over the whole Church of God.” If this latter be true, it is demonſtrable that he muſt be God: For this Government muſt be attended, as indeed the Text expreſſes it, with a Power of raiſing all them from the Dead, whom he ſhall place before his Judgment-Seat; and with a perfect Knowledge, not only of the Actions of all Men from the Beginning of the World, but alſo of their ſecret Thoughts; ſince otherwiſe he cannot *bring every ſecret Thought and Work into Judgment*, nor [e] *bring to Light the hidden Things of Darkneſs*, or [f] *manifeſt the Secrets of the Heart*, or *judge every Man according to his Works*. He alſo muſt be Omnipreſent and Omniſcient, even *the Searcher of all Hearts*, that he may know, and anſwer, the Prayers of all his Servants in all Corners of the Earth; as the *Socinians* grant he doth: And Almighty, that he may be able to ſupply all their Wants; aſſiſt and enable them to do every where the greateſt Miracles in his Name; defend and preſerve them againſt all the Powers on Earth, and even *the Gates of Hell*; raiſe and condemn their Enemies, with the Devil and his Angels, to eternal Deſtruction from his Preſence; and alſo to crown his Servants with everlaſting Glory. But how all theſe Things can be done by a mere Creature, is, at leaſt, as difficult to conceive as any Myſtery of the bleſſed Trinity. We ſhould ſay therefore, that the Perſon thus judging is the Son of Man; this Judgment being to be exerciſed by [g] *the Man* Chriſt Jeſus: But the Power or Principle by which he does it, is the Fulneſs of the Deity, individually united to his human Nature, or, as [h] St. *John* calls it, *the Word made Fleſh*. This therefore hinders not, that he to whom this Judgment is given, ſhould be truly God, in the ſame Senſe as the Father.

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[o] Phil. de Confuſ. Linguar.

[p] Vide Midraſh. Coheleth. Fol. 93. 4.

[q] See Page 38 of this Work.

[r] Cont. Celſ. l. 2 & l. 4.

[ſ] Jerem. xvii. 15.

[t] John v. 19.

[u] See Pages 156, 57, 258, 259. of this Work, where we have proved that Chriſt performed his prophetic Office by the Power of the Holy-Ghoſt, and not by any Exertion of his Divinity.

[w] Ver. 21.

[x] Ver. 26.

[y] Deut. xxxii. 39. See alſo, 1 Sam. ii. 6.

[z] Matth. xxii. 29. Acts xxvi. 8.

[a] Eph. i. 19.

[b] Rom. iv. 17.

[c] Philip. iii. 21.

[d] Ver. 22.

And that he is ſo, appears from the Reaſon for which this Judgment is committed to him, as given in the next Words; *That all Men may honour the Son, as they honour the Father*. "That is, ſaith *Woltzogenius*, that they owning this Dignity and Power, by which he is *equal to God*, may give him that Obedience, Honour, and Worſhip, which is due to a divine and heavenly King: For that the Honour and Worſhip due to *Chriſt*, is divine Honour, is evident from this, That it is ſuch as is due to the Father; to whom, by the Conſent of all Men, belongs divine Worſhip." And hence he proves, That *Chriſt* is to be worſhipped with Invocation; "Becauſe, he who refuſes to pray to him, doth not honour him as he honours the Father. In this, ſaith he, conſiſts the higheſt Honour we give to the Father, that we own him for the chief Monarch, and Lord of all Things, in whoſe Power is our Salvation and Deſtruction; and therefore, by Prayer, endeavour to obtain from him the Enjoyment of good Things, and Deliverance from Evil. He that owns theſe Things to belong to *Chriſt*, and doth thus worſhip him, honoureth the Son as he doth the Farher." Thus far this Author, who was here obliged to grant almoſt as much as could be wiſhed for of him, and more than enough to overthrow his whole Syſtem of the mere Humanity of *Chriſt*, or to convict him of Idolatry. For can all this, which he here of Neceſſity aſcribes to *Chriſt*, be ſaid of a mere Creature? Or can he be *equal to God* who is only a Creature, or be counted *worthy of divine Worſhip* who is no God? The Precept is very plain, and owned by *Chriſt* himſelf; [hh] *The Lord thy God is one Lord*; and therefore *thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*: Could *Chriſt*, after repeating this, arrogate that Worſhip to himſelf, which he aſcribes to God alone, if he were only a Creature? Could he, who ſaid, [i] *Thou ſhalt worſhip no other Gods but me*, and [k] *I will not give my Glory to another*, himſelf appoint, that any Creature ſhould be worſhipped as God, or have that Worſhip, Honour, and Obedience, in which his own Glory conſiſts? The Conſequence is clear to any conſiderate Perſon: Either *Chriſt* muſt be truly God, or divine Worſhip ought not to be paid to him, as to the Father.

It is therefore no unjuſt Imputation, to call them Idolaters, who give divine Worſhip to one, who, they ſay, is by Nature only Man; ſince they do the very Thing charged upon the Heathens, [l] *They worſhip them which by Nature are no Gods*; they pay that Tribute to a Creature, which God claims as his own Property, the [m] *glorifying him as God*; and they do that for which God upbraids his own People, [n] *worſhip a new God which their Fathers had not known*. Certainly this is a very *dangerous Error*, if we may call any Thing by that Name!

'Tis not ſufficient to ſay, that they give *Chriſt* the ſame Worſhip as the Father, as the intermediate, but not as the firſt and principal, Cauſe of our Salvation. For it may be eaſily replied, That then they cannot *honour him as they honour the Father*, even in this View, and much leſs as *the chief Monarch, and Lord of all Things*. In a Word, we need only enquire, whenever a Diſpute turns upon this Point, Whether this Middle Cauſe be created or uncreated? If uncreated, then he is by Nature God; and ſince there is but one God, he is of the ſame Eſſence with the Father: But if created, as the *Socinians* hold, then they muſt be guilty of Idolatry, who give him the ſame Worſhip with the Father, and thereby render *to the Creature*, that which is due to *the Creator only*.

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[e] 1 Cor. iv. 5.
[f] 2 Cor. v. 10.
[g] Acts xvii. 31.
[h] John i. xiv.
[hh] Deut. vi. 13. Matth. iv. 10.
[i] Exod. xx. 3.
[k] Iſai. xlii. 8.
[l] Gal. iv. 8.
[m] Rom. i. 21.
[n] Deut. xxxii. 17.

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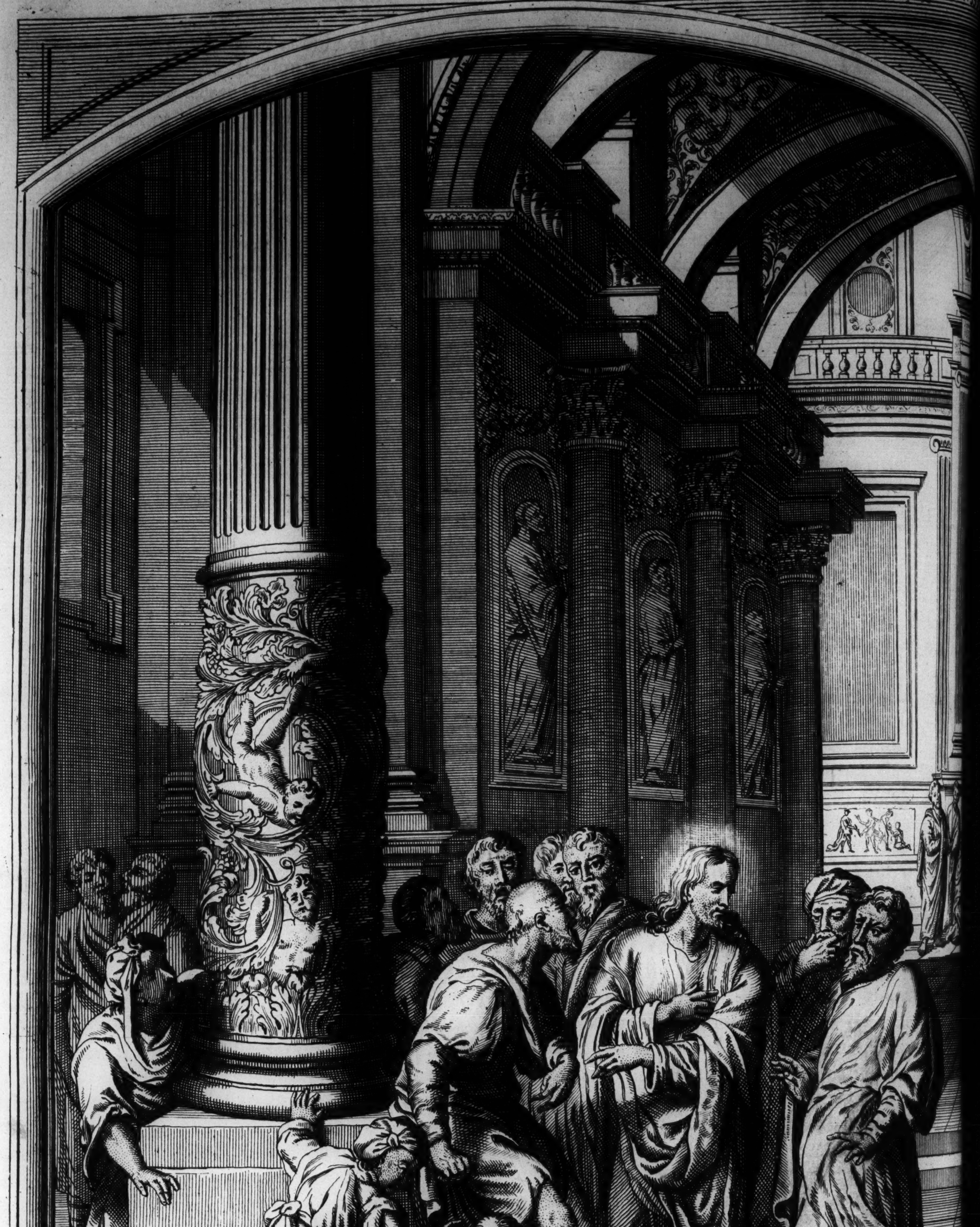

The Wither'd Hand healed.

Mark c.III.v. 1. to 6.

CHAP. V.

I. The Diſciples of *Jeſus* gather ſome Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-Day. The *Phariſees* murmur. II. *Jeſus* excuſes his Diſciples by the Examples of *David* and the Prieſts, *&c.* III. He reaſons again of the Uſe of the Sabbath, on Account of a Man whoſe Hand was withered. IV. He cures the impotent Man, and avoids the Rage of the *Phariſees*, by departing to the Lake of *Genneſareth*. Multitudes come to him. V. He cures all Manner of Diſeaſes, and drives out *Demons*, whom he commands to be ſilent. A Prophecy of *Iſaiah* applied to *Chriſt*.

I. IT [a] *happened on the* [b] *firſt Sabbath after the ſecond Day of the* Paſſover, *that as* Jeſus *and his Diſciples were returning out of* Judea *into* Galilee, *they paſſed through certain Fields of Corn. Now the Diſciples being hungry, and perceiving the Corn to be almoſt ripe, they plucked off ſome of the Ears, and rubbing them in their Hands, eat the Grain. This was taken notice of by the* Phariſees, *who, as we have before remarked, were very ſuperſtitious in the Obſervance of the Sabbath. They told* Jeſus, *therefore, that his Diſciples had done what it was unlawful for any one to do on the Sabbath-Day, namely, that they had gathered the Ears of Corn for their Eating; requiring him to give them a Reaſon for this Action of his Followers.* Jeſus *complied with their Requeſt, and turning their Thoughts to ſuch Precedents as they durſt not diſpute, excuſed his Diſciples in the following Manner.*

II. [c] Have you not read, *ſays he*, what *David* did, when he and his Retinue were hungry, and deſtitute of Victuals? How he went into the Houſe of God, in the Days of *Abiathar*, who afterwards was High-Prieſt, and, with his Permiſſion, not only eat himſelf, but divided among his Followers, the Loaves that had been conſecrated to God, and which it was not lawful for any to eat but the Prieſts? Or have you not read in the Law of *Moſes*, that Sacrifices are to be offered up to God on the Sabbath, whereby the Prieſts violate the Reſt due to that Day? And yet whoever blamed either *David* or the Prieſts for theſe Things? Now, it was the Neceſſity that *David* was in, being unprovided of any other Victuals, that excuſed his making uſe of the dedicated Bread; and the neceſſary Service of the Temple alſo abſolves the Prieſts. In like Manner, 'twas Hunger that preſſed my Diſciples to the making uſe of the Ears of Corn; and this they did, being fatigued with accompanying me in my Journey, who am much greater than the Temple, and conſequently than any Thing belonging to it. If therefore the Temple Service can excuſe their Labour, who attend on it, from being a Prophanation of the Sabbath, much more will the Service which my Diſciples owe to me, excuſe their eating a few Ears of Corn, as they paſs along, on the Sabbath-Day, that they may be the better able to attend on their Duty to me. And if you had duly conſidered what is ſo viſible in all God's Word and Methods [d], that he prefers Charity to them that are in need, even before his own ritual Inſtitutions, you would rather have acquitted my Diſciples of this involuntary Deviation from the Duty of the Day, than have paſſed an unjuſt Cenſure on a neceſſary Action. Beſides, know ye not that the Sabbath was inſtituted for the Good of Men; not that it ſhould be ſo ſtrictly obſerved as to endanger their Lives by it, as if it had been made the very End of their Creation? Therefore the ceremonial Obſervance of this Day, which ye ſuppoſe to be broken, may be diſpenſed with in Caſes of Neceſſity: And the Son of Man, the Meſſiah, who is here preſent, and who I have told you is greater than the Temple, has undoubted Right to grant this Diſpenſation to his Diſciples.

III. [e] *Upon another Sabbath-Day, having entered the Synagogue of a certain Place which he then reſided at,* Jeſus *took notice of a Man whom the Palſy had deprived of the Uſe of his Right Hand. Wherefore ſome of the* Phariſees *and Lawyers that were preſent, obſerved him, to ſee whether he would perform a Cure on the Man, that they might accuſe him of having violated the Sabbath. But he perceiving their Intentions, called the ſick Man to him, and placed him in the Middle of the Synagogue. The* Phariſees *hereupon asked* Jeſus, *whether it was lawful to do Cures upon the Sabbath-Day? that according to his Anſwer, they might have ſomething to accuſe him of. But* Jeſus, *not at all afraid of their Malice, asked them in return, Whether it were not lawful, according to the Opinion of the Doctors, and their ordinary Practice, if a Sheep fall into a Ditch, to drag it out on the Sabbath-Day?* Why then, *ſaid he*, ſhall it not be lawful to do good to Man, who is of ſo much more Value than a brute Beaſt? But I will put another Queſtion to you: Is it lawful to do good on the Sabbath-Day; or, if this be not, is it lawful to do evil? May we by the Law preſerve Life, or deſtroy it? *But they made him no Reply, concealing their Malice under a ſullen Silence; having nothing to object, and yet being unwilling to aſſent to what he had ſaid to them.*

IV. [f] Jeſus *then, having looked round about him on them all, and being filled with Indignation at their Obſtinacy, with a loud Voice commanded the Paralytic to ſtretch forth his withered*

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[a] Matth. xii. 1, 2. Mark ii. 23, 24. Luke vi. 1, 2.

[b] See the Diſſertation which follows.

[c] Matth. xii. 3—9. Mark ii. 25—28. Luke vi. 3—5.

[d] The Evangeliſt here quotes Hoſea vi. 6. *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* But we choſe rather to give the Senſe only, than repeat what was quoted in the preceding Chapter.

[e] Matth. xii. 9—12. Mark iii. 1—4. Luke vi. 6—9.

[f] Matth. xii. 13, 14, 15. Mark iii. 5—8. Luke vi. 10, 11.

Hand; which, upon his Obedience, immediately recovered its former Strength and Motion. Upon Sight of this Miracle, the Phariſees *and* Herodians, *tho' of contrary Factions one to another, left the Synagogue in a Rage, as not being able to make any Reply to the Queſtions propoſed to them by* Jeſus, *and conſulted together how they might put him to Death, or at leaſt inflict ſome very grievous Puniſhment upon him, whom they looked on as a Violator of the Sabbath. But* Jeſus *underſtanding their Deſign, departed from thence with his Diſciples, and came to the Country about the Lake of* Genneſareth: *To which Place a vaſt Multitude repaired, not only out of the adjoining Parts of* Galilee, *but alſo from* Judea *and* Jeruſalem *itſelf; as likewiſe out of* Idumea, Perea, Phenicia, *and the Borders of* Tyre *and* Sidon; *all on Account of his many and ſurprizing Miracles, the Report of which had been ſpread over each of thoſe Countries, and had engaged the Attention of every Rank of Men.*

V. [g] *By Reaſon of this Multitude, he ordered his Diſciples to have a Boat in Readineſs for him, that he might avoid the Croud which throng'd him on every Side: For he not only cured thoſe whom he ſpoke to, or on whom he laid his Hands; but alſo they that only touched his Clothes, were healed of their Infirmities. Beſides, thoſe that were poſſeſſed, as ſoon as they ſaw him, fell down on their Knees before him, and being acted by the evil Spirits, who made Uſe of their Organs, proclaimed him to be the Son of God. But* Jeſus *immediately commanded them to be ſilent, not being willing as yet to have that Truth divulged;* [h] *probably leſt his Followers, who were in Expectation of an Earthly Empire, ſhould raiſe ſome Tumult on that Account, which might give Occaſion to his Enemies, who waited all Opportunities to enſnare him, to repreſent him as a riotous and ſeditious Perſon. By this remarkable Prudence of* Jeſus, *that Prophecy of* Iſaiah *was fulfilled, in which we have the following Deſcription of the Meſſiah:* [i] Behold my Servant whom I uphold, mine Elect in whom my Soul delighteth! I have put my Spirit upon him; he ſhall bring forth Judgment to the Gentiles. He ſhall not cry, nor lift up, nor cauſe his Voice to be heard in the Street. A bruiſed Reed ſhall he not break, and the ſmoking Flax ſhall he not quench. He ſhall bring forth Judgment unto Truth.— And the Iſles afar off ſhall wait for his Law. *In which Words are contained an excellent Character of the mild and merciful Temper of* Jeſus, *ſo averſe to all Sedition, and Tumult and full of a zealous Concern for the Salvation of all thoſe who have any Sparks of a good Diſpoſition.*

DISSERTATION,

Of the Sabbath-Day; and, of the Applicaion of Old Teſtament Prophecies by the Evangeliſts.

I. *Matters to be treated of. What Sabbath it was on which the Diſciples gathered Corn.* II. *Objection of the* Jews, *the full Intent of it.* III. *The Example of* David, *to what Purpoſe alledged. Of the Days of* Abiathar. IV. *Example of the* Jewiſh *Prieſts. The Sum of our Saviour's reaſoning.* V. Son of Man, *the Signification of that Phraſe.* Grotius *anſwered.* VI. *Other Arguments uſed by our Lord, in ſpeaking of the Sabbath elſewhere.* VII. Jewiſh *Sabbath, the End of it's Inſtitution,*&c. VIII. *Obligation of the Sabbath on Chriſtians,* &c. IX. *The Import of this Phraſe in the Goſpels,* That it might be fulfilled. X. *The* Jews *ſometimes did, and ſometimes did not, know what was intended in a Prophecy,* XI. *No Neceſſity ſometimes for this Knowledge in the* Jews. &c. *The Apoſtle's Authority ſtrengthens their Aſſertions,*&c. XII. *Objections to what is above aſſerted, conſidered and anſwered.* XIII. Iſaiah's *Prophecy of* Chriſt, *as applied by St.* Matthew, *conſidered and illuſtrated.*

I. WE promiſed ſome Pages backwards, that we would, in a proper Place, bring together in one View, all the Exceptions of the *Jews* againſt our Saviour and his Diſciples for violating of the Reſt required on the Sabbath-Day, and our Lord's Arguments by Way of Defence againſt the *Jews*. A great Part of the Chapter juſt ended turns upon this Point, and indeed the whole of it contains not a great Deal elſethat needs a particular Explanation: This was what we foreſaw, when we poſtponed the treating of this Subject; and therefore 'tis in Execution of our former Purpoſe, that we ſhall here treat of it according to the Promiſe then made. To what we have to ſay concerning the Sabbath, we ſhall add an Enquiry into the full Senſe of the Phraſe, *That it might be fulfilled*, as uſed by the Evangeliſts in their Applications of Old Teſtament Prophecies to *Chriſt:* For which we have alſo an Occaſion given at the End of the Chapter, by an Application of a Text in *Iſaiah*. The Prophecy itſelf likewiſe will require a few explanatory Remarks, and with thoſe we ſhall conclude the preſent Diſſertation.

The Reader will find by the References, that the Hiſtory of plucking the Ears of Corn, is related, as well as many others, by no leſs than three of the Evangeliſts; among whom [a] St. *Luke* has given us a Deſignation of the Time when it hapened; but inſuch a Manner, as to have cauſed ppretty deal of Trouble to Interpreters. Our

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[g] Matth. xii. 15——21. Mark. iii. 7——12.

[h] See other Reaſons for this Conduct of Jeſus in Pages 311, 312, of this Work.

[i] Iſaiah xlii. 1——4. We quote it from the Old Teſtament, where it varies a little from what St. Matthew recites.

[a] Luke vi. 1.

Tranſlation renders his original Words by, [a] *The ſecond Sabbath after the firſt*, than which Phraſe nothing can be more obſcure and unintelligible. For the clearing up of this Difficulty, we ſhall introduce two Conjectures on the Senſe of the Evangeliſts, and intimate which we prefer, without entring into a long Diſquiſition of a Matter which we are certain will not be thought of the greateſt Conſequence.

The firſt Conjecture is that of the learned *Grotius*, which Dr. *Hammond* thinks to be the moſt probable of any, and therefore explains and confirms it in Words to this Effect. [b] When any ſolemn yearly Feaſt fell on the Sabbath-Day, that Sabbath had an extraordinary Reſpect attributed to it, and was ſometimes called [c] *a great Sabbath*, or *a great Day of Sabbath*. Now three of theſe Feaſts were, the *Paſſover*, the *Pentecoſt*, and the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*; ſome Days of which Feaſts were [d] Days of ſolemn Aſſemblies; and theſe being Days of Reſt, were a kind of Sabbaths, and diſtinguiſhed from the other Days of the Feaſt by the Name of the [e] *Great Day*, or the *Great Day of the Feaſt*. It was when any of thoſe great Days of the Feaſt fell on the Sabbath-Day, that there was a *Great Sabbath*, which was always called a *Prime*, or *firſt Sabbath*. Of theſe *Primes* there were three; at the *Paſſover*, the *Pentecoſt*, and the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*; that is, when any of the great Days of thoſe Feaſts fell on the Sabbath: And whenever this happened, they were called, according to their Order, [f] the *Firſt Prime Sabbath*, the [g] *Second Prime Sabbath*, and the [h] *Third Prime Sabbath*; the firſt when a great Day of the *Paſſover* fell on the Sabbath, the ſecond when a great Day of *Pentecoſt* did the ſame, the third when the like happened during the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*. From all this the learned Author thinks it apparent, that the Words [i] of St. *Luke* ſhould be tranſlated the *Second Prime Sabbath*, and that they mean the *Great Day of Pentecoſt*, falling that Year on the Sabbath-Day. This Conjecture is ſupported by ſome Quotations of parallel Readings.

The other Conjecture is that eſpouſed by Dr. *Whitby*, [k] who maintains that this Paſſage ſhould have been rendered, *The Firſt Sabbath after the Second Day of the Paſſover*: For [l] after the firſt Day of the *Paſſover* that was a Sabbath, from *the Morrow* of that Day, they were to *count to themſelves ſeven Sabbaths complete*. Now this Morrow after the firſt Sabbath, which was a Rule for the ſeven following Sabbaths, was called [m] the ſecond Day of the *Paſſover*, or, of the Feaſt of Unleavened Bread; and from hence the next enſuing Sabbath was called, [n] *The Firſt Sabbath after the ſecond Day of the Paſſover*, the next after that, *The Second Sabbath after the ſecond Day*, &c, and ſo on to the Seventh. By this Expoſition, Dr. *Whitby* thinks all that *Grotius* has advanced may be anſwered. Beſides, the Barley and Wheat Harveſt was gathered in before the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, and therefore it could not be during that Feaſt, that the Diſciples plucked the Ears of Corn in the Field.—Theſe Arguments in Behalf of this latter Conjecture, are what determined us to prefer it before the other, and according we have followed Dr. *Whitby*'s Paraphraſe in the Hiſtory of the Action now under Conſideration.

II. We are next to take a View of the Exceptions of the *Jews*, and our Saviour's Anſwers, which were occaſioned by this Action of the Diſciples: And firſt of the Exceptions of the *Jews*, chiefly as contained in this Paſſage, *Why do thy Diſciples on the Sabbath-Day that which is not lawful?* Which Words, by Interpreters, have had two different Significations put upon them, both of which we ſhall mention.

[o] The firſt is taken from a Cuſtom of the *Jews*, to abſtain ſtrictly from eating 'till the ſixth Hour, or till the ſolemn Service was performed. This is ſaid to have been obſerved with the utmoſt Religion, eſpecially on their Sabbaths, and the great Days of any Feaſt: And this Strictneſs is thought to be alluded to by St. *Peter*, when, on the Day of *Pentecoſt*, he affirms, and as it were proves, [p] that he and his Companions were not drunk, as was ſuppoſed, *becauſe* it was yet *but the third*, not the ſixth, *Hour of the Day*, before which it was known the *Jews* did not eat or drink. Hence it is ſuppoſed, that the Quarrel which the *Jews* had againſt our Lord's Diſciples, was on Account of their eating before the Time on a Sabbath Day, and not for their violating the Sabatical Reſt, by rubbing the Ears of Corn.

But the foregoing Interpretation, tho' given [q] by very learned Men, ſeems not to be well founded: [r] For as it is not intimated at what Time of the Day the Diſciples did this, we have no Room to ſay that they broke thro' the Cuſtom of faſting till the ſixth Hour; nor have we any need to ſuppoſe this, in order to give Strength to the Charge of the *Jews*, ſince it is certain that at what Time of the Day ſoever the Thing was done, it was a Tranſgreſſion of the *Jewiſh* Canons. *Maimonides*, informs us, that "plucking the Ears of Corn was a kind of reaping, and therefore forbid on the Sabbath-Day:" And the Accuſation of the *Jews* has not a Word of the Morning Service in it, but ſets forth only that the Diſciples *did that on the Sabbath-Day*, which it was not lawful for them *to do on that Day*. It has no Regard, therefore, to any thing more, than their rubbing the Ears of Corn, and eating that which they had rubbed out. Which will appear farther, if we conſider our Lord's whole Defence, and eſpecially the Argument drawn from what the Prieſts did on the Sabbath-Day: For this cannot be applicable to the Caſe of eating before Morning Sacrifice, becauſe we have no Reaſon to think that the Prieſts ever did this: For though they were employed about preparing the ſaid Sacrifices, they might very well abſtain from eating till the Offering of them was over. The Violation of the ſabbatical Reſt, therefore, was the whole Charge of the *Jews*; which Charge our Lord proves invalid by two parallel Examples, in which, according to themſelves, there was no ſuch Violation committed.

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[b] See Hammond's Note on Luke vi. 1.

[c] John xix. 31.

[d] Iſaiah. i. 13.

[e] John vii. 37.

[f] πρωτόπρωτον σάββατον.

[g] δευτερόπρωτον σάββατον.

[h] τριτόπρωτον σάββατον.

[i] δευτερόπρωτον σάββατον.

[k] See his Note on the Place.

[l] Levit. xxiii. 15.

[m] Joſeph. Ant. l. iii. c. 10

[n] δευτερόπρωτον, δευτερόδευτερον, &c.

[o] Ham. in Mat. ix.

[p] Acts. ii.

[q] See Ham. in Matt. xii.

[r] See Whitby on the ſame Place.

III. The firſt Example is that of *David* and his Followers, who eat of the Shew-Bread when they were preſſed with Hunger, though that Bread was appropriated only to the Prieſts. Here the Argument is, That if the Hunger of *David* and his Followers made the Breach of that ritual Law juſtifiable, which gave the Shew-Bread to the Prieſts only; the Hunger of our Saviour's Diſciples muſt equally juſtify their Violation of that other ritual Law, by which the Obſervance of the Sabbath was enjoined. And that the Law concerning the Sabbath was only a ritual one, and not a Duty of moral Obligation, like the other Commandments, is what we have [s] elſewhere proved. But if the Flight of *David*, when he made uſe of the Shew-Bread, was on a Sabbath-Day[t], as the *Jews* affirm; then his Example, as urged by our Lord, contains two Things, tending to juſtify the Action of the Diſciples. That this Flight of *David* was on the Sabbath, they collect from the Text which ſays, that [u] Doeg *was detained that Day before the Lord:* For this Detention, they ſuppoſe, was occaſioned by the Religion of the Sabbath. But they clear *David* of any ſinful Violation of the Sabbath by his Flight, arguing thereon in this Manner: *Our Maſters think it lawful for him, whom the Gentiles or Thieves purſue, to prophane the Sabbath for the Preſervation of his Life; for ſo we read of* David, *that when* Saul *ſought to kill him, he fled and eſcaped.* Thus the *Jews* themſelves furniſh a new Argument againſt their own Objection. And as to the Suppoſition on which the other Argument is founded, *That the Laity might eat of the Shew-Bread for the Preſervation of Life*, their own Canons expreſly affirm it, in ſpeaking of this very Hiſtory of *David:* For on theſe Words of the Hiſtory, [w] *Yea, though it were ſanctified this Day in the Veſſel*, the Rabbinical Gloſs is as follows: [x] *It is a ſmall Thing to ſay it is lawful for us to eat the Bread removed from the Table; it would be lawful for us, in this extreme Hunger, even to eat the Bread now ſanctified upon the Table, if there were no other.* Indeed the Opinion, that a ritual Law might be violated for the Preſervation of Life, had obtained among the *Jews* long before the Incarnation of our Saviour. Dr. *Whitby* thinks, that they had learned to diſpenſe with the Sabbath on ſome neceſſary Occaſions before the Tranſlation of the Septuagint, becauſe thoſe Tranſlators render a Paſſage of the Law in a Manner which ſeems to favour ſuch a Diſpenſation. [y] *Ye ſhall do no ſervile Work on it; but that which ſhall be done for the Sake of Life, that only ſhall be done by you.* But whether the *Jews* had given themſelves this Liberty ſo ſoon, we will not pretend to determine; nor need we; becauſe it is ſufficient that, in our Saviour's Time, this Allowance was general enough to make the Example of *David* concluſive, and conſequently our Saviour's Argument from it, unanſwerable.

Before we proceed to the other Example, we ſhould take notice of a Difficulty that occurs in St. *Mark*'s Relation of this Story. He tells us[z], that the Action of *David* was *in the Days of* Abiathar *the High-Prieſt*; whereas [a] it is certain that *Abimelech*, the Father of *Abiathar*, was High-Prieſt at that Time. On this Account divers Criticiſms have been uſed by Interpreters, to reconcile the Evangeliſt with the Prophet. Dr. *Hammond* thinks the [b] Word which we tranſlate *in*, ſhould have been rendered *before*; *before the Day*, &c. Dr. *Lightfoot* ſuppoſes theſe Words, *the Son of*, to be underſtood, thus; *in the Days of Abiathar* the Son of *the High-Prieſt:* And he imagines that *Abiathar* may be named rather than *Abimelech*, becauſe [c] he brought the Ephod to *David*, and [d] made the Enquiry by Urim and Thummim. Either of theſe Conjectures might be ſatisfactory, were it neceſſary to make uſe of either of them: But perhaps it will be better to ſay, with [e] Dr. *Whitby*, that by the High-Prieſt here we need not underſtand him who was ſtrictly ſo called, but only one who was eminent in the Order of Prieſts, as the Word frequently ſignifies. And can it in this Senſe be applicable to any Prieſt more than *Abiathar*, who ſeems to have been *David*'s [f] peculiar Favourite?

IV. To return from this Digreſſion: *Chriſt*'s ſecond Argument, in Defence of his Diſciples, is taken from the Work performed Morning and Evening by the Prieſts, in preparing and offering the Sacrifices: This, "ſaith *Chriſt*, by Virtue of the ſame Law, and Authority of the ſame Lawgiver, who commanded the Reſt of the Sabbath, was done by the Prieſts on the Sabbath-Day; whence it is evident, that far more laborious Work than that of rubbing a few Ears of Corn, was, by God's Command, and in Obedience to the ritual Precepts concerning Sacrifices on that Day, to be performed: And if the doing of this, becauſe in Obedience to a ritual Precept, be no Crime with the Prieſts, much leſs is it a Crime in my Diſciples, that, in compliance with the great Law of Charity, and in order to render them fitter for their Attendance on me, they have rubbed out a little Corn to ſatisfy their Hunger." And to this arguing of our Lord, agree thoſe Sayings of the *Jews*, cited by Dr. *Lightfoot* on the Place: *There is no Sabbath at all in the Temple:* And, *The ſervile Works which are done about holy Things, are not ſervile.* In Confirmation of which Argument, and in order to carry the Defence of his Diſciples yet further, our Saviour adds, that all the Work by which the *Jewiſh* Prieſts profaned the Sabbath, was done only for the Service of their tranſitory Temple; whereas the Service done by his Diſciples to their Lord, was Service done to one much *greater than the Temple,* (both in reſpect of Dignity, as being a divine Perſon, and of Sanctity, as being not only relatively holy, but ſanctified even in his human Nature, by Inhabitation of the Spirit:) What might be done therefore for the Service of the Temple, might much more be done for the Service of him, who was infinitely *greater than the Temple.*

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[s] See Page 11 of this Work.

[t] Midbar Rabba Seder, Pataſch. 23.

[u] 1 Sam. xxi. 7.

[w] 1 Sam. xxi. 5.

[x] R. Kimchi on the Place.

[y] Exod. xii. 16. according to the Septuagint. See Whitby on Matth. xii. 2.

[z] Mark ii. 26.

[a] 1 Sam. xxi.

[b] ἐπὶ.

[c] 1 Sam. xxx. 7.

[d] Ver. 8.

[e] See his Note on Mark ii. 26.

[f] 1 Sam. xxii. 23.

This Argument our Saviour continues, ſtill by Way of Compariſon: Thus, the Obſervation of the Reſt preſcribed by the Law, was only the Obſervation of a ritual Command, like that of Sacrifice; but the feeding of the Hungry was a moral Precept: God therefore, by ſaying he *would have Mercy rather than Sacrifice,* ſufficiently declared he would diſpenſe with theſe ritual Precepts, when the Obſervation of them obſtructed the Rules of Charity and Mercy. And this was alſo ſuitable to that Declaration of the *Jews,* that [g] *to love our Neighbour as ourſelves, is more than all Burnt-Offerings and Sacrifices.*

Again: That which was inſtituted for the Sake of another Thing, ſays our bleſſed Lord, muſt yield to the Good of that for whoſe Sake it was inſtituted: But the Reſt of the Sabbath was inſtituted for the Sake of Man, tired with the Labours of the Week; therefore the reſt of the Sabbath is to yield to the Good of Man.

Thus have we the Sum of our Saviour's reaſoning in his firſt Diſcourſe to the *Jews* concerning the Sabbath; that is, ſo far as he proceeds in a plain argumentative Way, without being liable to be miſinterpreted: (For what follows in all the three Evangeliſts, *of the Son of Man's being Lord of the Sabbath,* has had different Senſes put upon it by Commentators; as we ſhall ſhew immediately.) In the whole we have two Examples, each containing an unanſwerable Concluſion in Defence of the Diſciples; the latter of which is heighten'd by our Lord's Dignity above the Temple: Then we have a Quotation fromone of the Prophets, in which God expreſſes the kind of Service that is moſt acceptable to him; and here the *Jews* are again confounded: Laſtly, we have an Argument drawn from the Nature of the Sabbath itſelf, and the End of its Inſtitution; in which it is proved, not only that he is excuſed, who makes the Obſervance of the Sabbath give Way to a moral Duty, but alſo that hewho does not this, errs from the very End for which the Sabbath was inſtituted, *The Good of Mankind: The Sabbath was made for Man, not Man or the Sabbath.*

V. Proceed we now to examine thoſe Words, *The Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath*; in which we have already hinted, there is ſome Difficulty: For becauſe they are connected in St. *Mark* with what goes before, thus; [h] *The Sabbath was made for Man, not Man for the Sabbath; therefore the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath*; for this Reaſon *Grotius* conceives, that "the Phraſe, *Son of Man,* hath no Relation to *Chriſt,* but only ſignifies Man in general, ſince the Conſequence will not otherwiſe follow from what precedes." And 2*dly*, "Did this relate, ſays he, to *Chriſt*'s Authority over the Sabbath; it would ſeem to be an Intimation of his Power to abrogate, or diſſolve, the Sabbath; which Power he was ſo far from aſſerting, that he declares *he came not to diſſolve the Law, but to fulfil it.* And they who were ſo highly offended with him, for the Works of Charity which he did on the Sabbath-Day, had he openly aſſerted his Power to abrogate the Sabbath, would have been more offended with him, and would have needed no other Accuſation againſt him, this being by their Law a capital Crime." 3*dly*, Says the ſame Author, "this would have been aſſerting plainly, that he was the *Chriſt*; whereas he never ſpake thus to the Phariſees, nor would he ſuffer his Diſciples to declare it." Theſe are the Sentiments of the learned *Grotius,* and the three Reaſons why he takes theſe Words to belong to Mankind in general.

But other Commentators [i] of great Reputation conceive, that this Phraſe muſt ſignify him who is *the Son of Man* by Way of Eminence. *Firſt*, becauſe this Phraſe is uſed eighty eight times in the New Teſtament; and in all other Places, unqueſtionably ſignifies our *Bleſſed Lord.* 2*dly*, Becauſe where this Phraſe occurs in the [k] Prophecy of *Daniel,* all the antient Chriſtians, and even the *Jewiſh* Doctors, expound it not of Man in general, but ſay expreſly, *This is the King Meſſiah*: *Chriſt* therefore ſpeaking of himſelf to the *Jews* in the Language of the Rabbins, muſt be ſuppoſed to uſe this Phraſe in the Senſe they underſtood it in *Daniel*; and ſo he ſeems plainly to interpret himſelf, when he ſays, doubtleſs in Alluſion to the Prophet, [l] *Hereafter ſhall ye ſee the Son of Man coming in the Clouds.* 3*dly*, Becauſe he who before had argued from his Dignity, in ſaying that his Diſciples might lawfully do this in his Service who *was greater than the Temple,* might alſo argue from his Power, as a Prophet ſent from God to the *Jews,* for an Exemption of his Diſciples, in Caſes of Neceſſity, or of greater Good, from the Reſt of the Sabbath.——Theſe are the Arguments of thoſe who underſtand this Phraſe of *Chriſt*; nor is it difficult, ſay they, to anſwer the Arguments of *Grotius.* They do it thus.

Firſt, The *Greek* [m] Particle, which in *Mark* is rendered *therefore,* (*therefore the Son of Man* &c.) may on good Authority be tranſlated by *moreover,* or ſome other Word which implys no Conſequence from what precedes, but the Beginning of a new Argument. And even according to the preſent Reading, the Conſequence may be underſtood thus: "The Sabbath was made for the Good of Man; therore the Son of Man, who came not to deſtroy Men's Lives, but to ſave them, muſt have Power, in ſuch Caſes as concern the Good and Welfare of Mankind, to diſpenſe with the ſtrict Reſt required by the Law of the Sabbath."

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[g] Mark xii. 33.

[h] Mark ii. 28.

[i] Particularly Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Whitby.

[k] Chap. vii. ver. 13.

[l] Matth. xxvii. 64. compared with the Text of Daniel.

[m] ὥστε.

Secondly, *Chriſt* might here challenge ſuch a Power as the *Jews* allowed to their Prophets, in Caſes of Neceſſity, and of high Importance, a Power of diſpenſing with the ſabbatical Reſt for the ſake of greater Good; without aſſuming to himſelf an Authority to abrogate or diſſolve the Sabbath, as *Grotius* imagines he muſt if theſe Words belong to him: And that he claimed no more than ſuch a diſpenſing Power, appears ſufficiently from his juſtifying himſelf by this Aphoriſm; *It is lawful to do Good on the Sabbath-Day.*

Thirdly, We have already [n] given the Reaſons why *Chriſt* ſometimes concealed whom he was: But when none of theſe Reaſons were in the way, (which he, who was Wiſdom itſelf, could not but know,) we may well ſuppoſe he made no Difficulty of declaring himſelf to be the Meſſiah. Thus we find he ſometimes not only permits others to aſſert this Truth, but confeſſes it himſelf, and pronounces Sentence againſt the *Jews* for their Unbelief of it. Inſtances of this kind there are ſeveral, which we need not turn to: And if there was but one ſuch Inſtance, it would be ſufficient to prove, that the third Argument of *Grotius* is invalid, becauſe no certain Rule could be form'd from our Lord's Conduct in this Particular; much leſs can ſuch a Rule be formed as the Caſe now ſtands.—Thus are his three Arguments to prove that the Phraſe *Son of Man*, belongs to Mankind in general, ſhewn to be of not ſufficient Force: Conſequently, we ſhould conclude, with the other learned Interpreters quoted in the Margin, That *Jeſus Chriſt* alone, who is the *Son of Man* in an emphatical Senſe, is to be underſtood in this Place, as claiming a Power, by Virtue of his prophetical Office, to diſpenſe with a ritual Inſtitution, for the ſake of a moral Good, a Work of Charity and Mercy to his Diſciples.

VI. To the Arguments uſed by our Lord on this Occaſion, to prove the Neceſſity of diſpenſing with the ſabbatical Reſt in ſome Caſes, we may add two others which he elſewhere uſes, and which are taken from their own Practice with regard to their Cattle, and their new-born Infants. The firſt is contained in two Inſtances: One, is that which was produced by our Lord, when, upon his [o] curing on the Sabbath-Day a Woman who had been troubled *with a Spirit of Infirmity eighteen Years, the Ruler of the Synagogue anſwered with Indignation, becauſe that* Jeſus *had healed on the Sabbath-Day, and ſaid unto the People, There are ſix Days in which Men ought to work, in them therefore come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath-Day.* Obſerve how our Saviour argues on this Occaſion. *The Lord anſwered him, and ſaid, Thou Hypocrite, doth not each one of you on the Sabbath looſe his Ox or his Aſs from the Stall, and lead him away to watering? And ought not this Woman, being a Daughter of* Abraham, *whom Satan hath bound, lo, theſe eighteen Years, to be looſed from this Bond on the Sabbath-Day?* The other Inſtance is in the [p] Caſe of the *Hydropic*, who preſenting himſelf before him on the Sabbath, as he went into the Houſe of a *Phariſee* to eat Bread, Jeſus *ſpake unto the Lawyers and* Phariſees, *ſaying, Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-Day?* The Text tells us hereupon, *That they held their Peace: And he took him and healed him, and let him go; and anſwered them, ſaying, Which of you ſhall have an Aſs, or an Ox, fallen into a Pit, and will not ſtraightway pull him out on the Sabbath-Day?*

In both theſe Places, the Argument is plainly from the Greater to the Leſſer; it being a greater Charity to work for the Benefit of Man on that Day, than for the Good of Beaſts. Here *Chriſt* argues, as before, from the *Jewiſh* Canons, which, as *Capellus* and *Lightfoot* have obſerved, permitted them not only to draw Water for their Beaſts, but alſo to lead them out to Water, on the Sabbath-Day: And though the latter *Jews*, out of Hatred to *Chriſt*, will not allow the drawing of a Beaſt out of a Pit on the Sabbath; yet it is certain, both from theſe Words of *Luke*, [q] *They could not anſwer him a Word*, and from their Canons, cited by Dr. *Lightfoot* on the Place, that they antiently allowed this. And this is ſtill more evident, ſays Dr. *Whitby*, from the Words before quoted out of the Septuagint, which allow them to do that which was requiſite to *preſerve Life:* From which Tranſlation [r] *Tertullian* and *Jerom* have concluded poſitively, *That the Law allowed to do on the Sabbath-Day, thoſe Things which belonged to the Preſervation of Life*; as there is no Reaſon to doubt but it did in the juſteſt Senſe of it.

Our Saviour's laſt Argument is taken from the Law of Circumciſion, which required, that their Children ſhould be circumciſed on the eighth Day, though that were the Sabbath; and Circumciſion was a Work of conſiderable Labour. The Occaſion was this: [ſ] *Jeſus* went up to *Jeruſalem*, at a Feaſt, ſome time after he had offended the Rulers, by healing an impotent Man at *Betheſda* on the Sabbath-Day; and notwithſtanding their Prejudices, began again to teach boldly in the Temple; upon which the People wondering, he *ſaid unto them, I have done one Work, and ye all marvel.* Moſes *therefore gave unto you Circumciſion (not becauſe it is of* Moſes, *but of the Fathers,) and ye on the Sabbath-Day circumciſe a Man. If a Man on the Sabbath-Day receive Circumciſion, that the Law of* Moſes *ſhould not be broken, are ye angry at me, becauſe I have made a Man every whit whole on the Sabbath-Day?* The one Work which he himſelf hints at, was his aforeſaid Cure of the impotent Man at the Pool of *Betheſda*; and as he well knew they ſtill had a Grudge againſt him upon that Account, he endeavours to excuſe himſelf by this Example of Circumciſion: As if he had ſaid, "Since the Reſt of the Sabbath may be broken for the Circumciſion of an Infant, which is but a ritual Precept, ſurely it may be ſo for the Reſtoration of a Man to Health that has been diſeaſed thirty eight Years, which is a Work of Humanity and Charity." And this alſo was agreeable to the Canons of the *Jews*, their wiſe Men ſpeaking thus: *They do all Things neceſſary to Circumciſion on the Sabbath-Day, tho' this may ſeem prophane on that Day.*

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[n] See Pages 311, 312 of this Work. See alſo the preceding Chapter, Par. V.

[o] Luke xiii. 11—16.

[p] Luke xiv. 1—5.

[q] Luke xiv. 6.

[r] Tertull. adv. Marcian. lib. iv. cap. 12. & adv. Jud. cap. 4, 5. Hieron in Iſai. lviii.

[ſ] John vii. 14—23.

Upon the whole then, we find that the Drift of our Saviour's Reaſoning whenever he ſpoke on this Subject, tended to eſtabliſh one great Truth, that it was neceſſary to prefer a moral Duty before a poſitive Precept; and conſequently, that feeding the Hungry, healing the Sick, or, in a Word, relieving the Afflicted in any kind, is ſo far from being criminal, even in thoſe Times that are moſt ſolemnly devoted to ſacred Uſes, that it is a Fault to omit thoſe good Offices out of Regard to ſuch Times.

VII. Now we have been thus long on this Point, it will not be amiſs, if, to avoid our being obliged to ſpeak again on the ſame Subject, we add a Remark or two of a more general Nature concerning the Sabbath, and conſider the End for which the Obſervation of it was firſt injoined the *Iſraelites*, and how far we Chriſtians are bound by the ſame Injunction. This will alſo prevent our being miſunderſtood in any of the preceding Particulars, as if we ſuppoſed *Chriſt* to ſet more lightly by the Sabbatical Reſt than he really did, or than Chriſtians now-a-days ought to do.

In the firſt Place, we are to conſider for [v] what End God commanded the Obſervation of the Sabbath to the *Iſraelites*; and this was, that thereby, as by a Symbol or Type, they might teſtify and profeſs what God they worſhipped: The Reaſon of which will appear from the following Reflections.

All Nations had ſomething in their Ceremonies, whereby they ſignified the God they worſhipped: Thus among the Heathens, in the Worſhip of the celeſtial Gods, as they termed them, and of thoſe which were deified Souls of Men, there were different Rites, whereby the one was known from the other. Thoſe Gods who had formerly been Men, had Funeral Rites in their Services, as Cognizances that they were Souls deceaſed; and each of them an Imitation of ſome remarkable Paſſage of the Legend of their Lives, either of ſome Action done by them, or ſome Accident which befel them: As in the Ceremonies of *Oſyris* and *Bacchus* is obvious to any that reads them. And indeed it is natural for Servants and Vaſſals, by ſome Mark or Cognizance, to teſtify who is their Lord and Maſter: Thus in the [w] *Revelations*, the Worſhippers of the Beaſt receive his Mark; and the Worſhippers of the Lamb carry his Mark, and his Father's Mark in their Fore-heads. Hence came the firſt Uſe of the Croſs in Baptiſm, as the Mark of *Chriſt*, the Deity to whom we are initiated; and the ſame afterwards was uſed in all Benedictions, Prayers, and Thankſgivings, in Token they were done in the Name, and Merits, of *Chriſt* crucified: So that in the Primitive Church this Rite ſignified no more than the Words wherewith we conclude all our Prayers, and Thankſgivings, when we ſay, *Through* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord and Saviour*; though afterward it came to be abuſed, as almoſt all other Rites of Chriſtianity were, to abominable Superſtition, by the *Romaniſts*.

Agreably to this Principle, and this Cuſtom of all Religions, and of all Nations, the Lord *Jehovah*, Creator of Heaven and Earth, ordained to his People the Obſervation of the Sabbath-Day, for a Sign and Cognizance, that he ſhould be their God, and no other. [x] *It is for a Sign*, ſaith he, *between me and you, that I Jehovah am your God.* And in another Place: [y] *The Children of* Iſrael *ſhall keep the Sabbath, to obſerve the Sabbath throughout their Generations, for a perpetual Covenant; it is a Sign between me and the Children of* Iſrael *for ever; for in ſix Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and on the ſeventh Day he reſted:* As if he had ſaid, it is a Sign that the Creator of Heaven and Earth is your God.

But for the diſtinct Underſtanding of this Signification, we muſt know that the Sabbath includes two Reſpects of Time: Firſt, that which in general regards one Day of ſeven, or the ſeventh Day after ſix Days Labour: Secondly, the Deſignation, or fixing of that ſeventh Day upon the Day we call *Saturday*. In both, the ſabbatical Obſervation was a Sign and Profeſſion that *Jehovah* and no other was the God of *Iſrael*: The firſt, according to his Attribute of Creator; the ſecond of Deliverer of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. For by ſanctifying the ſeventh Day, after they had laboured ſix, they profeſſed themſelves Vaſſals and Worſhippers of that only God, who created the Heaven and the Earth, and having ſpent ſix Days in that great Work, reſted the ſeventh Day; and therefore commanded them to obſerve this ſuitable Diſtribution of their Time, as a Token that their religious Service was appropriate to him alone. And this is that which the fourth Commandment, in the Reaſon given from the Creation, intendeth, and no more but this.

But ſince they might profeſs this Acknowledgment, as well by any other ſix Days working, and a ſeventh's reſting, as by thoſe they pitched upon; there being ſtill (what ſix Days ſoever they had laboured, and what ſeventh ſoever they had reſted) the ſame Conformity with their Creator; let us ſee the Reaſon why they pitched upon thoſe ſix Days wherein they laboured, for labouring Days, rather than any other ſix; and why they choſe that ſeventh Day, which we call *Saturday*, to hallow and reſt in, rather than any other.

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[t] Pirk. Eliez. c. 29. p. 65.

[v] See Mede's Diſc. on Ezek. xx. 20.

[w] Rev. xiii. 16. & alibi.

[x] Ezek. xx. 20.

[y] Exod. xxxi. 16, 17.

And this was, that they might profeſs themſelves Servants of *Jehovah* their God, in a Relation and Reſpect peculiar and proper to themſelves; namely, that they were Servants of that God, who redeemed *Iſrael* out of the Land of *Egypt*, and out of the Houſe of Bondage; and who upon the Morning Wath of *that very Day* which they kept for their Sabbath, overwhelmed *Pharaoh*, and all his Hoſt, in the *Red-Sea*, and ſaved *Iſrael* that Day out of the Hand of the *Egyptians*. This is gathered from the Repetition of the Decalogue in [z] *Deuteronomy*, where that Reaſon from the World's Creation given in the Decalogue at [a] *Horeb* being left out, *Moſes* inſerts this other of the Redemption of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt* inſtead thereof, as the Reaſon, why thoſe ſix Days rather than any other ſix for Work, and that ſeventh Day rather than any other ſeventh for Reſt, were pitched upon, as *Iſrael* obſerved them. [b] *Remember*, ſaith he, *thou wert a Servant in the Land of* Egypt, *and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty Hand, and a ſtretched-out Arm: Therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath-Day:* Not commanded thee in general to chuſe one Day of ſeven, (for of that another Reaſon was given, the Example of God in the Creation;) but commanded the particular Deſignation of that Day which thou now keepeſt.

But whether this Day were in Order the ſeventh from the Creation or not, the Scripture is ſilent; for where it is called in the Commandment the ſeventh Day, that is only in reſpect of the ſix Days of Labour, and therefore, whenſoever it is ſo called, thoſe ſix Days of Labour are mentioned with it. The ſeventh Day therefore is the ſeventh after ſix Days of Labour, nor can any more be inferred from it. The Example of the Creation is brought for the chuſing of one Day of ſeven, as we have ſhewn, and not for the Deſignation of any certain Day for that ſeventh. Nevertheleſs, it might fall out ſo, by the Diſpoſition of divine Providence, that the *Jews* ſeventh Day was both the ſeventh in order from the Creation, and alſo the Day of their Deliverance out of *Egypt*. But the Scripture no where tells us it was ſo, and therefore it may as well be not ſo: And certain it is that the *Jews* kept not that Day for a Sabbath till the raining of *Manna*: For that which ſhould have been their Sabbath the Week before, had they then kept the Day which afterward they kept, was the fifteenth Day of the ſecond Month; on which Day they [c] marched a weariſome March, and came at Night into the Wilderneſs of *Sin*; where they murmured for their poor Entertainment. That Night the Lord ſent them Quails; the next Morning it rained *Manna*, which was the ſixteenth Day, and ſoon ſix Days together; the ſeventh, which was the two and twentieth, it rained none, and that Day they were commanded to keep for their Sabbath. Now if the two and twentieth Day of the Month were the Sabbath, the fifteenth ſhould have been, if that Day had been kept before: But the Text tells us expreſly, they march'd that Day, and, which is remarkable, the Day of the Month is never named, unleſs it be once, for any Station but this, where the Sabbath was ordained; otherwiſe it could not have been known, that that Day was ordained for a Day of Reſt, which before was none. And why might not their Day of holy Reſt be altered, as well as the Beginning of their Year was, for a Memorial of their Coming out of *Egypt*? We can ſee no Reaſon, why it might not; nor find any Teſtimony to aſſure us it was not.

And thus much of the *Jewiſh* Sabbath, how and wherein it was a Sign, whereby they profeſſed themſelves the Servants of *Jehovah*, and no other God.

VIII. Now we come to the ſecond Thing propounded; To ſhew how far, and in what Manner, the like Obſervation binds us Chriſtians, who are Worſhippers of the ſame God with the *Jews*, tho' not altogether under the ſame Relations.

In general, therefore, we ſay that the *Chriſtian*, as well as the *Jew*, after ſix Days ſpent in his own Work, is to ſanctify the ſeventh; that he may profeſs himſelf thereby a Servant of God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as well as the *Jew*. For in the one Day of ſeven, as a Memorial of the Creation, the *Jew* and *Chriſtian* agree; but in Deſignation of the Day they differ. For the Chriſtian chuſeth for his Day of Reſt, that which with the *Jews* was the firſt Day of the Week, and calls it *The Lord's Day*; that he might thereby profeſs himſelf a Servant of that God, who on the Morning of that Day vanquiſhed Satan, the ſpiritual *Pharaoh*, and redeemed us from our ſpiritual Thraldom, by raiſing *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord from the Dead; *begetting us*, inſtead of an earthly *Canaan*, to *an Inheritance incorruptible in the Heavens:* In a Word, the Chriſtian, by the Day he hallows, profeſſes himſelf a Chriſtian; that is, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, [d] *To believe on him that raiſed up* Jeſus *from the Dead.* So that the *Jew* and *Chriſtian* both, though they fall not upon the ſame Day, yet make their Deſignation of their Day upon the like Ground: The *Jews*, the Memorial Day of their Deliverance from the temporal *Egypt*, and temporal *Pharaoh*; the Chriſtians, the Memorial of their Deliverance from the ſpiritual *Egypt*, and ſpiritual *Pharaoh*.

“ But might not the Chriſtian, as well have obſerved the *Jewiſh* for his ſeventh Day, as the Day he doth?” The Anſwer is, No; he might not: For, in ſo doing, he would ſeem not to acknowledge his Redemption to be already performed, but ſtill expected. For the Deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt* by the Miniſtry of *Moſes*, was intended for a Type and Pledge of the ſpiritual Deliverance, which was to come by

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[z] Deut. v.

[a] Exod. xx. 11.

[b] Deut. v. 15.

[c] Exod. xvi. 1.

[d] Rom. viii. 11.

[e] Col. ii. 16, 17.

Chriſt; their *Canaan* alſo, to which they marched, being a Type of that heavenly Inheritance, which the Redeemed by *Chriſt* are taught to look for: Since therefore the Shadow is now made void by the coming of the Subſtance, the Relation is changed, and God is no longer to be worſhipped, and believed in, as a God foreſhewing and aſſuring by Types; but as a God who hath performed the Subſtance of what he promiſed. And this is that which St. *Paul* means[e], where he ſaith, *Let no Man judge you*, henceforth, *in reſpect of a Feaſt-Day, New-Moon, or Sabbath-Day, which were a Shadow of Things to come, but the Body is of* Chriſt.

Thus we have ſeen the general Reaſon, for which both *Jews* and Chriſtians keep one Day in ſeven, for a Day of Reſt unto God; and alſo the particular Reaſon of each for fixing upon that Day which they reſpectively keep, preferable to any other. But here we expect to have it asked, "How a ritual Inſtitution, varied according to the different Circumſtances of the People who obſerve it, can contain an Obligation, both upon *Jew* and Chriſtian, for the keeping of one Day in ſeven, in Memory of the Almighty's Reſt from Creation? And how that Reſt from Creation can properly be commemorated, in a Feſtival which has been thus varied from one Day to another, and which at this Time is kept on different Days by different People?" To which we anſwer, that when God mentions his own Reſt from Creation, as a Reaſon for keeping one Day in ſeven, he does not urge it as a Reaſon for the keeping of any particular Day of the Seven, preferable to another: For this there was another Reaſon to be given of a more particular Nature. This particular Reaſon was the Deliverance out of *Egypt* for the *Jews* Seventh-Day, and the Deliverance from the Power of Satan for the Chriſtians Firſt-Day, as before hinted. So that, in a Word, the Sabbath, both *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian, hath two Foundations; the one, which is the Reſt after the Creation of the World, is common to them both; the other is peculiar to each, the Deliverance from *Pharoah* to the *Jews*, and the Deliverance from our Spiritual Enemy to us Chriſtians: And this is the Sum of the whole Matter.

Only one Queſtion remains to be examined, and that is, "Whether, from the Beginning of the Word, the Law of the Sabbath was given by God? And whether the Seventh-Day was kept by the Antients, in Memory of the Creator's Reſt, before the Revelation was made upon Mount *Sinai?*" Here[f] ſeveral Fathers, and[g] ſome *Jewiſh* Doctors, have aſſerted the Affirmative; and[h] *Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael*, in particular, aſſures us, that, according to the Traditions of the Antients, *Abraham* and his Poſterity having preſerved the Memory of the Creation, they obſerved the Sabbath alſo in Conſequence thereof. We may add the Teſtimonies of *Philo*, *Joſephus*, *Ariſtobulus*, *Tibullus*, *Lucian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who all ſeem to confirm the ſame Opinion. *Philo* ſays, [i] that *the Sabbath is not a Feſtival peculiar to any one People or Country; but is common to all the Word; and that it may be named the general and public Feaſt, or the Feaſt of the Nativity of the World. Joſephus* advances, [k] that *there is no City, either of* Greeks *or Barbarians, or any other Nation, where the Religion of the Sabbath was not known. Ariſtobulus* [l] quotes *Homer* and *Heſiod*, who ſpeak of the Seventh-Day, as of a Day that is ſacred and venerable. *Tibullus*, ſpeaking of the Feaſts that were obſerved by the *Roman* Women, [m] alludes *to the holy Seventh-Day of the* Jews. *Lucian* informs us, [n] that the Boys of his Time kept Holiday on the Seventh-Day. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o] ſpeaks of the Sabbath in the ſame Terms as *Ariſtobulus* juſt now quoted, and to the Teſtimonies of *Homer* and *Heſiod* adds that of *Callimachus*, who alſo celebrates the Seventh-Day. And the learned *Grotius*, quoting moſt of the Authors here introduced, obſerves, [p] that *the Memory of the Creation's being performed within Seven Days was preſerved, not only among the* Greeks *and* Italians, *but alſo by the* Celts *and* Indians, *who all of them divided their Time into Weeks.* For this he quotes [q] *Philoſtratus*, [r] *Dion Caſſius*, and *Juſtin Martyr*; alſo the antient Names of the Days, as preſerved by *Scaliger* [ſ] in an antient Oracle, and in ſome Verſes of *Orpheus*.

There are ſome, [t] who believe that *Job* obſerved the Sabbath-Day; becauſe at the End of ſeven Days he offered a Sacrifice to the Lord for his Children. Some Rabbies alſo inform us, [u] that *Joſeph* obſerved the Sabbath in *Egypt*.

But the contrary Opinion is not without its Proofs alſo. A great many Fathers and Commentators hold, that the Benediction and Sanctification of the Sabbath, mentioned by *Moſes* in [w] the Beginning of *Geneſis*, ſignifies only that Appointment then made of the Seventh Day, to be afterwards ſolemnized and ſanctified by the *Jews*. It does not appear from any Paſſage of Scripture, that the antient Patriarchs obſerved the Sabbath, or that God had any Deſign to oblige them thereto, before the Law took place. And *Philo* himſelf ſays, [x] that the *Hebrews* having forgot which was the Day of the Creation of the World, began to be appriſed of it again, when God having cauſed it to rain Manna all the other Days of the Week, did not permit it to rain any on the Sabbath-Day. Which Conceit of *Philo*, by the way, confirms what we have ſaid above, that the Sabbath was not kept by the *Iſraelites* at their Coming out of *Egypt*, till the End of the firſt Week of Manna, whatever it might have been by their Predeceſſors; and ſhews, that the *Jewiſh* Author was ſenſible, from the Words of *Moſes*, of a Neglect of the preceding Seventh-Day. As to the Pagans, the Seventh-Day which was honoured by them, and of which ſome of their Authors have ſpoken as of an Holiday, ſeems to have been dedicated to the Honour of *Apollo*, or to have been kept only in Imitation of the *Jews*, ſome of whoſe Ceremonies the Pagans ſuperſtitiouſly copied, as they did thoſe of all the other Nations with whom they had any Commerce.

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[e] Coloſſ. ii. 16, 17.

[f] Vide, ſi placet. Clem. Alex. lib. v. Strom. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. xiii. cap. 12.

[g] Vide Rabbin. ap. Selden. de Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. iii. cap. 13, &c.

[h] Man. B. Iſ. de Creat. prob. 8.

[i] Philo de Mundi Opificio.

[k] Joſeph. cont. Apion. lib. iii.

[l] Apud. Euſeb. in Præp. Evang. lib. xiii. cap 12.

[m] Cultaque Judæo ſeptima ſacra viro.

[n] Vid. Lucian. in Paralogiſta

[o] Strom. lib. v.

[p] Grot. de ver. rel. Chriſt. lib. i

[q] Philoſt. lib. iii. cap. 13.

[r] D. Caſſ. cap. 33.

[ſ] In Prol. ad Emend. Temp.

[t] Abenezra apud Boulduc in Job i. 2, 5.

[u] Bechai ad Bereſchith.

[w] Gen. ii. 3. See Calmet's Dict. in the Word, *Sabbath*.

[x] Phil. vit. Moſ. lib. i.

For our own Part, we ſhould not take upon us to ſay any Thing in this Diſpute, were it not that the allowing the Obſervance of the Sabbath to be univerſal, and as antient as the Creation, would be making it the Effect of ſome natural Principle, which informed the Antients that it was their Duty to keep this Day, rather than of any poſitive Inſtitution of God, given peculiarly to his own People; which is what we can by no means believe to have been the Caſe. For that the Sabbaths, and other Feaſts of the *Jews*, were given to them as Signs, to diſtinguiſh them from other People, is what the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſays [y] expreſly, and what we have argued for in ſeveral preceding Paragraphs. And if they were Signs given to the *Jews* for a Characteriſtic, certainly they could not be given to thoſe other People, from whom theſe Signs were to diſtinguiſh them; though ſeveral Nations might copy the *Jews* in this Point, as they did in that of Circumciſion, and that ſo antiently, as not to leave the Moderns any Footſteps of the Time when, or the Occaſion from which, this Imitation began. There is no doubt but this was the Caſe in many other Particulars; and if in many others, why not in the preſent? Conclude we therefore, with [z] *Juſtin Martyr*, [a] *Tertullian*, [b] *Euſebius*, and [c] *Bernard*, that neither the Patriarchs before the Deluge, nor thoſe that came after to the Time of *Moſes*, obſerved the Sabbath; and that the Manna's ceaſing to fall on the Seventh Day after it began, which *Philo* believes to be the Renewal only, was the Original of this Obſervance.

In fine, without enquiring whether the Command concerning the Sabbath be as obligatory to us Chriſtians as it was to the *Jews*, we may conclude, ſays Dr. *Hammond*, from the Equity of that Command, many Things of Uſe to us. As, *Firſt*, That it is not only lawful, but, for a public Community of Men, neceſſary, to ſet apart ſome ſet Times for God's Service, and by the ſame Reaſon, ſome ſet Places, ſet Veſtments, ſet Geſtures, and other the like Ceremonies, ſuch as may beſt comply with, accompany, and heighten, our ſpiritual Performances to God. *Secondly*, That what it thus ſet apart to God's Uſe, is ſaid to be ſanctified or hallowed, that is, to have a ſeparate Reſpect due to it; ſuch, as that it muſt not ordinarily be mixed with prophane and common Uſes; which is alſo the Import of the Reſt joined with the Hallowing, the not mixing our worldly Employments with our divine Performances. *Thirdly*, That the Remembrance of God's ſpecial Mercies, is a fit Hint, or Occaſion, to pitch upon ſome Day, or Time, or Place, *&c.* in Relation thereto, and thus to diſcriminate it from others. Such was the Creation of the World, mentioned above to both *Jews* and Chriſtians; the Coming out of *Egypt* in the *Jewiſh* Church, and the Reſurrection of *Chriſt* in the Chriſtian Church.

The Time thus ſet apart is to be employed to the Practice and Advancement of Piety, in private, and in public; in private, by Reading, Prayer, Thankſgiving, Meditation, *&c.* in public, by public Exerciſe of the ſame Duties, together with Preaching and Inſtructing of Youth, by the Hand of a lawful Miniſter, choſen to be a public Perſon, both from God to us, and from us to God. And to theſe we ſhould join the Uſe of the Sacraments, in ſuch Manner, and with ſuch Frequency, as ſhall ſeem good to thoſe to whoſe Charge we are committed. And all this ſhould be done with all due Care, Reverence, and Zeal; not ſlightingly, or formally, or prophanely; but ſo, as will beſt tend to the Increaſe of Piety and Charity, to the Benefit, not enſnaring of Mankind; the Sabbath (and all ſuch Inſtitutions) *being*, as our Lord expreſſes it, *made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath.*

IX. The Importance of the Subject, which we have hitherto treated of in this Diſſertation, will, we preſume, be a ſufficient Excuſe for our having continued ſo long thereon. But, that we may not ſeem as it were to dwell upon any one Thing, we now proceed to the other Point, which we propoſed to conſider; namely, the Import of this Phraſe, *That it might be fulfilled*, as uſed by the Evangeliſts in their Applications of Old Teſtament Prophecies to *Chriſt*. Here the the Enquiry will be, [d] *Whether theſe Words ſometimes only note that ſuch an Action may by Accommodation be ſaid to be the fulfilling of the Words of the Prophet cited, becauſe they were more ſignally accompliſhed by that Action, than by the Action to which they in the Prophet relate, though no ſuch Thing was intended by the Prophet, or by the Spirit of God, when the Words were ſpoken?* Or, *Whether it be neceſſary, by Virtue of thoſe Words, to ſay, that the Holy Ghoſt intended the Prophecy quoted ſhould refer only to, or, at leaſt, ſhould be more ſignally accompliſhed by, that Action or Paſſion to which it is applied by the Evangeliſts?* In anſwer to which we ſhall obſerve two Things.

Firſt, That when the Phraſe runs in this abſolute Manner, *This was done* [e], *that*, or, *to the End that*, *ſuch or ſuch a Prophecy might be fulfilled*; it is then neceſſary to ſay, that the very Completion there mentioned is what was intended by the Holy Ghoſt, ſince otherwiſe the Action by which the Prophecy is there ſaid to be completed, cannot, in Propriety of Speech, be performed *for that End.*

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[y] Ezek. xx. 12, 20. See alſo Deut. v. 15.

[z] Dialog. cum Tryph.

[a] Tert. cont. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 4.

[b] Euſeb. H. E. lib. i. cap. 4. Præp. E. lib. vii. cap. 3. Dem. lib. i. cap. 6. in Pſalm xci. 1.

[c] Bern. in Cant. Serm. 50.

[d] See Whitby's Appendix to Matth. ii. printed at the End of his Commentary on that Goſpel:

[e] ἵνα, or ὅπως πληρωθῇ.

Secondly, That when the Words run only thus, [f] *Then was fulfilled ſuch a Thing ſpoken by the Prophets*, we may if we pleaſe admit of a Completion by Way of Accommodation only; (tho' perhaps there is no Neceſſity for ſo doing.) For ſince the End of doing ſuch an Action is not expreſſed, the ſame Reaſon for an immediate Intention of the Holy Ghoſt, that holds good in the preceding Form, cannot obtain here.

There is but one conſiderable Objection againſt the firſt of theſe Rules, and that is taken from theſe Words of St. *John*; [g] *But tho' he had done ſo many Miracles before them, yet they believed not on him*; *That*, or, to the End that, *the ſaying of* Eſaias *the Prophet might be fulfilled, which he ſpake, ſaying,* [h] *Lord, who hath believed our Report? and to whom hath the Arm of the Lord been revealed?* For ſince the Prediction could be no Cauſe of their Infidelity, it ſeems improper to affirm, that the *Jews* believed not, to the End that this Prediction might be verified.

To this Dr. *Whitby* anſwers, [i] that in all Predictions of evil Actions to be performed by free Agents, or Agents capable of being diverted by a providential Interpoſition, there is not only a Fore-knowledge that the Action, if Providence interpoſe not, will be done, but a Declaration that Providence will not interpoſe to hinder them for doing it. The Import of theſe Words, therefore, may be no more than this; that God foreſeeing the Infidelity of the *Jews*, left them to the Blindneſs and Hardneſs of their own Hearts, permitting them to continue in it, that the Saying of *Iſaiah* might be fulfilled. So that tho' the Prophecy was not the proper and internal Cauſe of their Infidelity, yet was the Completion of the Prophecy the final Cauſe of the divine Permiſſion; and therefore the Action in ſuch Caſes is aſcribed to God, tho' he be no ways productive of it, becauſe he ſuffers it as a Puniſhment of Men's evil Diſpoſitions. Thus God is ſaid to [k] *ſend among Men ſtrong Deluſions to believe a Lye, becauſe they received not the Truth in the Love of it, but had Pleaſure in Unrighteouſneſs.*

X. Of theſe Prophecies that were directly and properly fulfilled in *Chriſt*, and of which it is ſaid, that ſuch and ſuch Actions of *Chriſt* were performed *that they might be fulfilled*, we may diſtinguiſh two Sorts: *Firſt*, thoſe which contained ſuch Characters of the Meſſiah as it was neceſſary for the *Jews* to know, and which therefore they did know were to belong to him only, or chiefly. *Secondly*, thoſe which tho' they were primarily and fully accompliſhed in the Actions of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and thereſore properly applied to him by the Evangeliſts, were yet not underſtood by the *Jews* as belonging to their Meſſiah, and conſequently were no Proofs to them that *Jeſus* was that Meſſiah. We ſhall illuſtrate this by ſeveral Inſtances of both Kinds, and then proceed to anſwer ſuch Objections againſt our Manner of underſtanding this Phraſe, as we have met with in Authors.

In the firſt Rank of theſe Prophecies, we muſt reckon ſuch as theſe: [l] *That a Virgin ſhould conceive, and bear a Son*; [m] *that their Meſſiah was to die for the Sins of the People*; [n] *that he ſhould come riding on a Colt, the Foal of an Aſs*; [o] *that his Sides ſhould be pierced*, &c. For we muſt ſuppoſe it natural for the *Jews* to enquire, touching ſuch Words as theſe, *Of whom ſpeaketh the Prophet this?* And hence we find that their Doctors did, by Tradition, expound theſe Words of their Meſſiah. And in the ſame Light we muſt conſider their Notions of a Similitude between the Characters of *David*, and the Meſſiah; it being expreſly foretold, and generally received among them, that their Meſſiah was to be the Son of *David*: Whence nothing is more common in their Writings, than to apply to him the Words of *David*, and even to call him *David*, after the Example of the holy [p] Prophets; ſaying of their King Meſſiah, [q] David *is his Name*. For this being the Caſe, it could not be difficult for them to believe, that the Words ſpoken by, or relating to *David*, might, by the Intention of God, have a higher and more eminent Completion in this ſecond David *their King*. Thus, that by [r] his ſpeaking in Parables, that of the Pſalmiſt, [ſ] *I will open my Mouth in Parables*, might be more eminently fulfilled: That by ſome [t] providential Preſervation of his Bones from being broken, thoſe Words of the Pſalmiſt concerning the righteous Man, [v] *He keepeth all his Bones, ſo that none of them is broken*, might be more literally accompliſhed: That what was ſpoken of *Abſalom*'s Inſurrection againſt *David*, [w] *He that eateth Bread with me, hath lift up the Heel againſt me*, might have a more full Completion in the Meſſiah, by the Treachery [x] of one of his Followers in betraying him: And more eſpecially that theſe Words, which by their own Confeſſion were not at all verified in *David*, were to be underſtood ſolely of the Meſſiah; [y] *They parted my Garments among them, and for my Veſture did they caſt Lots.* In all this there could be nothing ſtrange to the *Jews*, who, as their *Targum* on the Pſalms demonſtrates, expound Places of their Meſſiah, which relate but very obſcurely, if at all, to *Jeſus Chriſt*.

But then *ſecondly*, there are other Prophecies applied to *Chriſt*, which it is not eaſy to conceive how, without teaching, they ſhould expect to ſee accompliſhed in their Meſſiah: As, that by theſe Words of *Hoſea*, [z] *Out of* Egypt *have I called my Son*, ſhould be predicted his being called [a] out of *Egypt* after the Death of his Perſecutor: That what was ſaid by the Prophets of the

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[f] τότε ἐπληρώθη. See what we have ſaid in Page 76 of this Work, concerning this Manner of ſpeaking.

[g] John xii. 37, 38.

[h] Iſaiah liii. 1.

[i] Whitby ubi ſupra.

[k] 2 Theſſ. ii. 10, 11, 12.

[l] Iſaia. vii. 14. Matth. i. 23.

[m] Iſaia. liii. 7, 8. Matth. xxvi. 54.

[n] Zach. ix. 9. Matth. xxi. 4, 5.

[o] Zach. xii. 10. John xix. 37.

[p] Ezek. xxiv. 23, 24. xxxvii. 24, 25. Hoſ. iii. 5.

[q] See Dr. Pocock on Hoſ. iii. 5, alſo Pugio Fidei, Pt. 2. c. 5. §. 8.

[r] Math. xiii. 55.

[ſ] Pſal. lxxviii. 2.

[t] John. xix. 36.

[u] Pſalm. xxxiv. 20.

[w] Pſalm. xli. 9.

[x] John xiii. 18.

[y] Pſalm xxii. 19. John xix. 24.

[z] Hoſ. xi. 1.

[a] Matth. ii. 15.

Meſſiah's being deſpiſed and rejected, ſhould be made good by his dwelling [b] at *Nazareth*, a deſpiſed City: That by the coming of the Meſſiah to them, [c] the Lands of *Zabulon* and *Naphthali* ſhould be enlightened: That by doing of his Miracles in Secrecy, and without Contention, ſhould be fulfilled theſe Words of the Prophet, [d] *He ſhall not cry, nor lift up, nor cauſe his Voice to be heard in the Street*. Of ſuch Paſſages as theſe we may venture to ſay, that the *Jews* did not know, unleſs they received it by Tradition, that they had any Relation to the Meſſiah whom they expected; yet were they all fulfilled in the Actions of *Chriſt*.

XI. But then there was no Neceſſity for the *Jews* to know before hand, that any of the Actions of *Chriſt* were intended by the Prophets in theſe Places; theſe Prophecies being produced by the Evangeliſts, not to prove that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah promiſed to the *Jews*, or to convince the Infidel; but only as Inſtances, which they by the ſame Spirit which ſpake by the Prophets, were aſſured did belong to him. And of this all the believing *Jews*, and Gentiles, might be certain, upon the ſole Authority of the Evangeliſts, whom they ſaw aſſiſted by the ſame Spirit which moved the Prophets, and thereby enabled to give us the true Interpretation of them. This was enough with Relation to theſe particular Prophecies; ſince as to the proving that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah, that was ſufficiently done by thoſe other Prophecies mentioned before, which contained diſtinct and unalienable Characters both of his Perſon and Office, and which were therefore produced by the Evangeliſts to that Purpoſe, in their proper Places. But here we have two Objections [e] to obviate.

The *Firſt* is, “ That if theſe myſtical Senſes relating to *Chriſt*, were intended by the Prophets, or by the Holy Ghoſt which influenced them, in thoſe ſecondary Prophecies which were not before explained of the Meſſiah; then the *Jews* could never thoroughly underſtand thoſe Prophecies before the Event, and conſequently they were of no real Uſe to them.”— To which we anſwer, That the *Jews* certainly put ſome literal Conſtruction on them, as well as on other Places of Scripture; and it was ſufficient that they underſtood this literal Senſe of them before the Event, when they had the myſtical Senſe of them laid open alſo, by Virtue of that Explication, which was given of them by Men aſſiſted by that very Spirit which at firſt indited them. Theſe Prophecies therefore were to the *Jews* before their Accompliſhment, what the Book of *Revelations* is now to us; they could collect many uſeful Doctrines from the literal Interpretation of them, but as to their myſtical Senſe they were wholly in the Dark. Now will any one pretend to ſay, that the Book of *Revelations* is of no Service in the Church, or that it is not at all underſtood in any Senſe, becauſe we do not underſtand the myſtical Senſe of many Predictions therein contained? Certainly no; it being ſufficient that we receive uſeful Inſtruction from it at preſent, and that the Myſteries of it ſhall be underſtood in thoſe Times when they are fulfilled, that is, as ſoon as the Underſtanding of them can be of any Advantage to the Church.

A *ſecond* Objection is, “ That the Authority of the Evangeliſts, in the Application of theſe Prophecies, is not produced as that which added Strength to their Reaſonings.”— But this is incorrectly ſtated; for in theſe Paſſages the Evangeliſts never pretended to reaſon, but barely to aſſert: And ſurely the Authority of Men delivering what they ſaid by Virtue of the Holy Spirit, *ſent down from Heaven to teach them all Things*, and to *lead them into all Truth*, muſt be ſufficient to prove the Verity of what they affirmed concerning theſe Prophecies. Now this Authority the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts muſt aſcribe to themſelves in all their Writings; or the whole Church of *Chriſt* muſt be continually miſtaken, in receiving the Goſpels written by them as the Word of God, and an unqueſtionable Rule of Faith: For if we only have Recourſe to their Honeſty in relating Things, we never ſhall perſuade ourſelves to believe, that, merely by the Strength of Memory, they could record, not only all they have delivered of *Chriſt's* Actions, but his whole Sermon on the Mount, and ſeveral long Diſcourſes in [f] St. *John*, ſo exactly, as in nothing to vary from the true Meaning of his Words; eſpecially if the Goſpel of St. *John* was written, as is ſuppoſed, almoſt ſeventy Years after the Words recorded in it had been ſpoken by *Chriſt*. It therefore muſt be ſaid, that the holy Spirit, who was promiſed to them for that End, did actually *bring all theſe Things to their Remembrance*, and enable them, by *comparing ſpiritual Things with ſpiritual*, thus to apply the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament to their particular Events: Or elſe it muſt be allowed, that the Goſpels in which thoſe Paſſages are ſo applied, and all thoſe long Diſcourſes are recited, are of no Certainty, and conſequently cannot be to us any Rule of Faith.

And here it may be noted moreover, that the Evangeliſts neither did, nor could, take it for granted, that ſuch and ſuch Paſſages of the Old Teſtament ſhould be ſo explained, by reaſon of any received Tradition of the *Jews*; there being no ſuch Application of them to be found in any of their *Targums*, or any in of their cabbaliſtical and rabbinical Expoſitions. And even ſuppoſing any ſuch traditionary Interpretations to have exiſted, either theſe Interpretations were intended by the Holy Ghoſt, or they were not: If they were, the Apoſtles deliver a no leſs certain Truth, when they ſay ſuch Things were done, *that it might be fulfilled which was ſpoken by the Pro-*

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[b] Matth. ii. 23. John i. 46.

[c] Matth. iv. 14. comp. with Iſaiah ix. 1, 2.

[d] Iſai. xlii. 2. Matth. xii. 19.

[e] Started by Woltzogenius and Le Clerc. See the before quoted Appendix of Dr. Whitby. We have given both the Objections and Anſwers a little more fully than our Author.

[f] See Chap. vi. and Chap. xiii, to xvii.

Prophets, that they would have delivered by ſaying the ſame Words in caſe the Senſe of the Holy Ghoſt had not been before known: But if theſe Interpretations were not intended by the Holy Ghoſt, then the Apoſtles, in following of them, muſt have been guilty of a manifeſt Untruth; becauſe they declared many Things to be done, to this End, *that the Scriptures might be fulfilled*, which were only accommodated, after they were done, to the extravagant Traditions of the *Jews*. So that, in fine, the Argument comes clearly to this: Either we muſt allow the Evangeliſts to have delivered every Thing by the immediate Influence of the Holy Ghoſt, and give to their Aſſertions concerning theſe Prophecies ſuch an Authority as is conſequential of this Suppoſition; or, we muſt give to their Aſſertions in this particular no Authority at all, and, conſequently, muſt renounce their Writings as being the Word of God, and a certain Rule of Faith. The Traditions of the *Jews*, if there were any ſuch, can do nothing in this Matter, unleſs we give up Inſpiration in their Favour; and we would not willingly think, that any one who calls himſelf a Chriſtian, (for with ſuch only we argue at preſent,) has an Inclination to do this.

XII. Againſt what has been here ſaid, there is yet[g] another Argument to be conſidered, with the Refutation of which we ſhall conclude this Enquiry. It conſiſts of three Parts, which are made to depend on one another: *Firſt*, "That God intended that the Prophecies which were committed to Writing, and enrolled in the public Canons of the Church, ſhould be underſtood by the Perſons concerned in them." *2dly*, "That Prophecies committed to Writing, and deſignedly propagated to future Ages, muſt needs have been of a general and permanent Concern." *3dly*, "That the Chuch concerned in theſe Prophecies, cannot be only thoſe Ages which ſurvive the Accompliſhment, but alſo thoſe before; becauſe the only momentous Reaſon that can be conceived, for theſe as well as other Revelations, muſt be ſome Duty, which would not otherwiſe be known."

In Anſwer to the *firſt* Aſſertion, we ſay, that it is neceſſary a Prophecy ſhould be underſtood by the Perſons concerned in it, as ſoon as they are ſo concerned, and not before, which ſometimes is not till after the Event. And will any one hence infer, that the *Jews* muſt rightly underſtand, in every Age, the[h] Prophecies of *Jacob*, or[i] the Song of *Moſes*, or[k] *Ezekiel*'s Deſcription of the Temple, or[l] *Daniel*'s Prophecies of the ſeventy Weeks, and the four Monarchies? Or that the Chriſtians muſt, in all Ages, underſtand the Contents of the *Revelations* of St. *John*, which were to be[m] *ſent to the Churches*, and which undoubtedly concern what ſhall befal them? Let us conſider particularly the Prophecies of *Jacob*. That good old Patriarch having called[n] his Sons about him, *Come*, ſaid he, *I will tell you that which ſhall befal you in the laſt Days*. Then he propheſies of *Simeon* and *Levi*, thus; [o] *I will divide them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael: Of *Judah*, [p] that he *is a Lion's Whelp, gone up from the Prey*: Of *Iſſachar*, [q] that he is *a ſtrong Aſs, couching down between two Burthens*: Of *Dan*, [r] that he ſhould *judge his People*, namely by *Sampſon* of the Tribe of *Dan*; that he ſhould be *a Serpent in the Way, and an Adder in the Path*: Of *Gad*, [s] that *a Troop* (of Ammonites and Moabites) *ſhould invade him*, but that he ſhould *overcome at the laſt*; as he did by the Hand of[t] *Jephtha* the *Gileadite*: Of[v] *Naphthali*, that he *is a Hind let looſe*; *he giveth goodly Words*. Now what Neceſſity was there, or what Probability, that the Sons of *Jacob*, or the *Iſraelites* their Children, ſhould preſently underſtand the Import of theſe myſtical Expreſſions, which were to be fulfilled by ſuch Perſons as *Sampſon* and *Jephtha*, of whom they could have no Knowledge, and by ſuch Providences as the chuſing the Tribe of *Levi* to be God's Inheritance, and ſettling the Scepter in the Tribe of *David*, of which they then knew nothing? Theſe Prophecies therefore, at leaſt many of them, muſt be expounded only by the Event; and that was ſufficient for the *Jews*.

As to the *ſecond* Aſſertion, *that Prophecies thus committed to Writing, and deſignedly propagated, muſt needs have been of a general and laſting Concernment*; we reply, that it is enough to ſuppoſe them of Concernment to thoſe Ages in which they are fulfilled: For otherwiſe Experience ſhews, that the *Jews* had no juſt Notions of *Ezekiel*'s Viſions, or the Prophecies of *Daniel* and *Zachary*; nor have the Chriſtians, at this Day, any certain Interpretation of many Predictions contained in the *Revelations*. Indeed if they are Prophecies deſigned for the Support and Comfort of God's People under afflictive Circumſtances, as the Promiſe to the *Jews*[w] of their Return from *Babylon* after ſeventy Years Captivity, or the Promiſes reſpecting the ſpeedy[x] *Coming of their* Meſſiah *to his Temple*; theſe being calculated for the ſtrengthening of their Faith, and the raiſing of their Hope and Expectation, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed in ſuch Caſes, that they ſhould have ſome preſent Knowledge of the true Import of them, tho' much inferior to that which the actual Completion of them would afford; and therefore[y] many Prophets, and righteous Men, *deſired to ſee thoſe Things* which they ſaw therein predicted. But when the Predictions were of Things merely typical, and related not to the literal and primary Senſe of the Words, but only to ſome myſtical Senſe of them which ſhould be accompliſhed by a future Event; it was then ſufficient that they were underſtood when the Event really happened. Thus the Prophecy of *Jacob* concerning *Simeon* and *Levi*, *that he would*

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[g] Cited by Le Clerc from Dodwell.

[h] Gen. xlix.

[i] Deut. xxxiii.

[k] Ezek. xl. to the End of the Book.

[l] Dan. ix, and xi.

[m] Rev. i. 4.

[n] Gen. xlix. 1.

[o] Ver. 7.

[p] Ver. 9.

[q] Ver. 14.

[r] Ver. 16, 17.

[s] Ver. 19.

[t] Judg. xi.

[v] Gen. xlix. 21.

[w] Jerem. xxv. 12. xxix. 10.

[x] Malach. iii. 1. Hag. ii. 7.

[y] Matth. xiii. 17.

divide them in Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael, was Time enough underſtood, when it ſo fell out, that [yy] the Poſterity of *Simeon* had no ſeparate Inheritance by themſelves, but only a Portion in the midſt of the Tribe of *Judah*, and [z] the Tribe of *Levi* was diſperſed among all the other Tribes; nor have we any Reaſon to think that they underſtood this before.

But *thirdly*, whereas it is ſtill aſſerted, *that the Church in the Ages before their Accompliſhment, muſt be concerned in Prophecies committed to Writing, becauſe the only momentous Reaſon for any Revelation, is the Diſcovery of ſome Duty which could not otherwiſe be known*; thoſe who affirm this are deſired to ſhew upon what Duty, which could not otherwiſe be known, depended the true Interpretation of *Ezekiel*'s Viſions before mentioned, or of *Daniel*'s and *Jacob*'s Prophecies, or of many Paſſages in the Book of *Revelations*, which are yet myſterious; and why ſuch an After-Knowledge as we ſuppoſe, might not ſerve as well, either to illuſtrate the divine Preſcience, or to confirm the Chriſtians in what they already believ'd, and convince the *Jews* and Heathens who believed not. The [a] Author of the *Revelations* ſays, *The Teſtimony of* Jeſus *is the Spirit of Prophecy*; and if ſo, the Teſtimony of his Diſciples, commiſſioned by him, and miraculouſly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt according to his Promiſe, is ſufficient to convince us of the true Senſe of any Prophecy: Conſequently their Applications of Prophecies relating to *Chriſt*, may be as effectual to any good Purpoſe, as the underſtanding of thoſe Prophecies at their firſt Delivery could have been.

Nor is it of any Service to ſay, *that Prophecies cannot deſerve the Name of Revelations, unleſs they may be underſtood by ordinary Means, without new Revelations.* For the Writings of *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* are never called Revelations, but only *Viſions*; and thoſe of St. *John* were ſo called, not becauſe they were made known, as to their Import, to the Churches, (for it is plain they were not thus made known) but only on Account of their being revealed to the Author St. *John*. And it is evident from the New Teſtament, that there was need of a new Spirit of Prophecy, for the underſtanding of many Myſteries in the Old Teſtament; and of an extraordinary Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, to know that ſuch and ſuch Paſſages of the Prophets belonged to ſuch particular Actions of our Lord, and Tranſactions relating to the Propagation of the Goſpel; nor will any Man be able to eſtabliſh the Application of them to ſuch Paſſages, upon any other Foot. And in like Manner, when the Fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and the Body of the *Jews* ſhall be gathered to the Chriſtian Faith, there is no Reaſon why a new Effuſion of the Spirit may not be expected.

XIII. Having thus, as we hope, ſufficiently cleared up the Matter before us, we have only one Thing more to do, according to the Plan of this Diſſertation; (which we muſt confeſs has not much Connection between the Parts of it, eſpecially between the two preceding ones; but we are ſometimes obliged to throw together Subjects of a different Nature, for fear of multiplying the Number of Titles:) 'Tis to explain ſeveral Phraſes in that Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, which is applied by St. *Matthew* to the mild and peaceful Temper of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and rehearſed by us at the End of the laſt Chapter, in the Words of the Old Teſtament according to our Verſion. And this we ſhall do, without enlarging on the Difference of ſome Words in St. *Matthew*'s Recital of it, from what was originally delivered by the Prophet.

[b] *I have put my Spirit upon him, and he ſhall bring forth*, or *ſhew*, *Judgment to the Gentiles.* [c] Here the *ſhewing Judgment*, being the Effect of his having *the Spirit upon him*, muſt reſpect all the righteous Laws, which he was to deliver, by Virtue of this Unction, in his Father's Name; according to the uſual Acceptation of the Word *Judgment* for the Laws of God, in the Old Teſtament: As when God is ſaid to have given his People [d] *Statutes and Judgments*; to have [e] taught, and commanded them to keep, his *Statutes and Judgments.* Now 'tis very obſervable, that when the Phariſees held a Council to deſtroy *Jeſus*, he retired from them to the Sea of *Galilee*, whither came to him a great Number, from *Galilee*, from *Idumea*, from beyond *Jordan*, and from the Parts about *Tyre* and *Sidon*; and by teaching theſe, and doing his Miracles before them, he *ſhewed Judgment to the Gentiles.*

[g] *He ſhall not ſtrive, nor cry, neither ſhall any Man hear his Voice in the Streets.* That is, He ſhall not be contentious, nor ſet forth himſelf with Noiſe, or Tumult, or Oſtentation of his Doings. This was here fufillled, as we obſerved in the Chapter, by his ceaſing to diſpute any longer with the Phariſees, who, when *they could not anſwer him a Word*, conſulted *how they might deſtroy him*; and by his Charge to the Multitude whom he healed, that *they ſhould not make him known*, as mentioned alſo in many other Places of the Goſpel.

[h] *A bruiſed Reed ſhall he not break, and the ſmoking Flax ſhall he not quench.* The Reed, ſays [i] Dr. *Hammond*, is the weak, infirm Chriſtian; and the bruiſing of that Reed, is his falling into Sin: The Flax on Fire in the Lamp, is the Man again; the ſmoking of that Flax, when the Flame is almoſt out, or burns darkly for Want of Oil, anſwers to that Man in whom Grace is decay'd, but yet not deſperately or irrecoverably gone out. And this Perſon, in this low Eſtate, *Chriſt* is ſo far from deſtroying, or triumphing over, that he moſt tenderly cheriſhes him, and labours *to reſtore him in the Spirit of Meekneſs*, to a firm Habit of Chriſtian Practice. And here an Idiom of Speech is obſerveable, which is very frequent in the ſacred Writers,

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[yy] Joſh. xix. 1, 9.
[z] Joſh. xxi.
[a] Rev. xix. 10.
[b] Iſai. xlii. 1. Matth. xii. 18,
[c] Whitby in loc.
[d] Deut. v. 31.
[e] Deut. iv. 5.
[f] Ver. 14.
[g] Iſai. xlii. 2. Matth. xii. 19.
[h] Iſai. xlii. 3. Matth. xii. 20.
[i] See his Note on Matth. xii. 20.

of uſing Phraſes which expreſs much leſs than they would have underſtood: [k] For *Chriſt*'s *not breaking* and *not quenching*, ſignify poſitively his repairing, reſtoring, and curing. So *thoſe that do not love good*, are ſet down by the Apoſtle for the moſt virulent Haters of orthodox, pious Chriſtians. And thus in the third Commandment, where it is ſaid of the perjured Perſon, that *the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs*, the Meaning certainly is, that God will look on him, and deal with him, as a moſt guilty puniſhable Perſon. So alſo when it is ſaid of Charity, or Love, [l] *that it worketh no ill to his Neighbour*, the Apoſtle would in form us, that it worketh all the Good it can; otherwiſe it would not thence be concluded, that *Charity is the fulfilling of the Law*. And this Manner of interpreting the Words before us, is agreeable to the Sentiment of *Jerome*, who ſays, [m] *He that ſtretcheth not forth his Hand to the Sinner, and he that beareth not the Burthen of his Brother, breaketh the bruiſed Reed; and he that contemneth the ſmall Spark of Faith in little Ones, quencheth the ſmoking Flax.* Now tho' *Chriſt* went from the Place where he was, to avoid the Rage of the Phariſees; the Text informs us, [n] that he ceaſed not to heal and inſtruct the Multitudes: And by continuing ſuch Acts of Charity to the Souls of all that were inclined to hear him, tho' they were yet weak in Faith and by healing all that came to him for Relief, he fully anſwered the Character given him by the Prophet, that he *would not break the bruiſed Reed, nor quench the ſmoking Flax.*

This tender Behaviour of *Chriſt* is to continue, [o] *till he bring forth Judgment unto Victory*, or, as the Prophet has it, *unto Truth:* That is, according to [p] moſt Interpreters, till he hath made his Goſpel, and righteous evangelical Law, victorious over all his Enemies: And to this Senſe agree the Words of the Prophet, in the next Verſe, [q] *He ſhall not fail, nor be diſcouraged, till he hath ſet Judgment on the Earth:* That is, till he hath ſet up the Profeſſion of the Goſpel in the World, among the Heathens, if the *Jews* will not receive it: To which the Prophet adds, *and the Iſles ſhall wait for his Law*; which the Evangeliſt, preſerving the Senſe, turns into this Phraſe, *and in his Name ſhall the Gentiles truſt*; whereby we are taught, that the Word Iſles in the Prophecy ſignifies the Heathen Nations, and this confirms the Interpretation here given of the whole Paſſage: Unleſs, with ſome others, we had rather render it thus: [r] *He ſhall not fail, nor be diſcouraged, till the Time come, that he ſhall execute his Judgment on the ſtubborn unbelieving* Jews, *and ſuffer his Wrath to fall upon them to the uttermoſt; and they being rejected, the Goſpel being taken from them, and their Houſes left unto them deſolate, the Favour of* Chriſt *ſhall be transferred to the Gentiles, who ſhall truſt in his Name.* But we think the former Way, which continues the Character of Mildneſs and Gentleneſs to *Chriſt* throughout the whole Prophecy, is to be preferred, as being agreeable to that Affection and Tenderneſs which our Saviour often expreſſed for the *Jewiſh* Nation, among whom he did *not break the bruiſed Reed, nor quench the ſmoking Flax*, till by their own Obſtinacy in denying him, they made themſelves incapable of ſharing the Benefits of his Mercy.

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[k] 2 Tim. iii. 3. according to the Original.

[l] Rom. xiii. 10.

[m] Hieron. in loc.

[n] Matth. xii. 15. Mark iii. 10.

[o] Iſaia. xlii. 3. Matth. xii 20.

[p] See both Hammond and Whitby on the Place.

[q] Iſai. xli. 4.

[r] Whitby on the Place.

BEFORE we enter on the following Book, the firſt Chapter of which contains that excellent Sermon of our Lord to his Diſciples, wherein he has in a great Meaſure explained and perfected the moral Law of *Moſes*; we think proper to take notice of one Queſtion that has been ſtarted by Interpreters, and the Reaſons that inclined to take the Part we have taken in Relation thereto. The Queſtion is, *Whether the Sermon of our Lord mentioned in the ſixth Chapter of St.* Luke, *be the ſame with that recorded more at large in the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Chapters of* Matthew; *or only a Diſcourſe like it, ſpoken at another Time and Place?* For if the Diſcourſe be the ſame in both Goſpels, the Words of one Evangeliſt ought to be explained by the other: But if in the two Goſpels we have different Diſcourſes, we are not ſo ſtrictly confined to give the ſame Interpretation to the Words of them.

One Reaſon for the latter Suppoſition, is, [a] that *Luke* omits the greateſt Part of the Sermon recorded by *Matthew*, and therefore muſt have performed what he intended very imperfectly, if his Intention was to give us that ſame Sermon: Moreover, that he has added ſeveral Woes after the Bleſſings, of which *Matthew*, tho' ſo very copious, has made no Mention.

A ſecond Reaſon for the ſame Suppoſition, is taken from the Time and Place of delivering what each Evangeliſt records. Now in the Accounts of theſe, there are the following Diverſities: 1. St. *Matthew* mentions our Saviour's healing [b] the Leper as ſubſequent to his Sermon; whereas St. *Luke* gives [c] the Story of the Leper firſt, and the Hiſtory of [d] the Sermon after. 2*dly*, St. *Luke* reckons *Matthew* [e] among the twelve who were choſen before the Sermon: But St. *Matthew* relates the Sermon a [f] long while before he mentions his own Calling. 3*dly*. *Matthew*'s Sermon was preached on [g] a Mountain; but *Luke*'s in [h] a Plain, after our Lord's Deſcent from the Mountain, as the Context ſeems to intimate.

Notwithſtanding theſe Arguments, we have ventured, after M. *Le Clerc*, (who certainly was a good Critic in Matters of this Nature) to connect the two Diſcourſes, and paraphraſe them jointly; for which we are now to give our Reaſons.

Firſt, The Variety of Words in the two Goſpels, and the Brevity of St. *Luke*, ſeem to have been occaſioned by this Evangeliſt's writing from [i] ſhort Notes, which he had received from thoſe who were preſent, not being himſelf an Eye or Ear-Witneſs, as St. *Matthew* was. Whence it follows, that he is here to be interpreted according to St. *Matthew* in thoſe Places that are nearly common, and that his Additions are to be inſerted in thoſe Places where St. *Matthew* ſeems to have omitted them.

Secondly, Whereas St. [k] *Matthew* has had little or no Regard to the true Order of Facts, nothing can be concluded with reſpect to Time from the Method he has followed; eſpecially againſt St. *Luke*, [l] who, at the Beginning of his Goſpel, has declared his Intention to write of all Things *in order, from the very firſt*. For this Reaſon we have already anticipated St. *Matthew* in ſeveral Relations, particularly in that of the Leper above mentioned, in order to make him agree with the other Evangeliſts, and above all with St. *Luke*.

Thirdly, We are not certain that the twentieth Verſe of the ſixth Chapter of *Luke*, where the Beatitudes begin, is ſo immediately connected with the preceding Verſes, as to make it neceſſary that *Jeſus* ſhould be in the Plain mentioned in the ſeventeenth Verſe, when he delivered theſe Beatitudes. At leaſt, there are Tranſitions in the Goſpels, that are not more plainly marked than this.

We will not, however, inſiſt upon a Point that is not eaſily to be determined, but will rather offer two or three Reaſons, that would have induced us to have joined theſe Diſcourſes, if their Diverſity had been ſomewhat greater than it is; not to repeat any of the general Rules neceſſary to be obſerved in forming a Harmony of the Goſpels, which we gave in [m] a Diſſertation on that Subject, and which the Reader may conſult at his Leiſure, whenever ſuch an Occaſion as this offers itſelf.

1. The End of both Diſcourſes is evidently the ſame; that is, To explain and perfect the moral Laws of the *Jews*, and vindicate them from the falſe Gloſſes of the Scribes and Phariſees, who, in a great Number of Inſtances, had perverted them from their true Intent and Meaning.

2. There can be no Inconſiſtencies in our Saviour's Doctrine, at what Time ſoever delivered, or by what Evangeliſt ſoever recorded: Conſequently two Diſcourſes, evidently calculated to the ſame End, may be joined together, and explained one by another; eſpecially when the Caſe is allowed to be doubtful, whether they were, or were not, delivered at different Times.

3. We think there is more Neceſſity for this Method in this Place, than can be pretended in any other becauſe theſe two Diſcourſes, thus united, contain almoſt a complete Syſtem of the Morality, of the Goſpels, which therefore may, by this Means, be treated of to more Advantage, and in a more copious Manner, in the following Diſſertations.——Theſe Reaſons were of Weight with us, and we hope will be ſatisfactory to all our Readers, who may take the Trouble to examine this Matter.

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[a] See Whitby on Matth. v. 1.
[b] Matth. viii. 2.
[c] Luke v. 12.
[d] Luke vi. 17.
[e] Luke vi. 15.
[f] The Calling of Matthew is in Chap. xi. ver. 9.
[g] Matth. v. 1.
[h] Luke vi. 17.
[i] Luke i. 2.
[k] See Pages 138, 139. of this Work.
[l] Luke. i 3.
[m] See Pages 138, 139, & ſeq. to 150.

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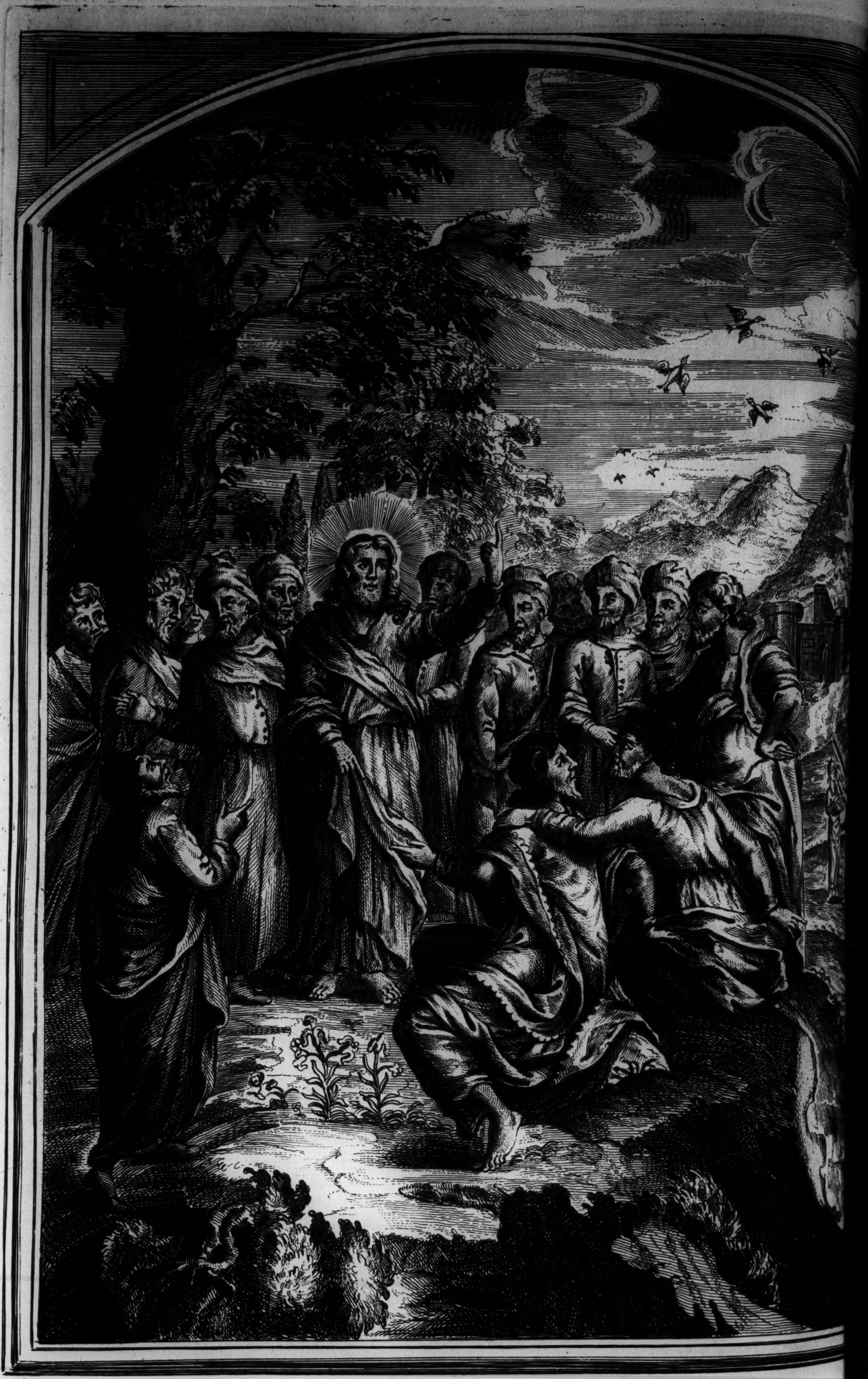

The Sermon on yͤ Mount.

Matt: V.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF OUR
Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

I. *Jeſus* retires, and at his Return chuſes the twelve Apoſtles. Their Names. II. He goes with the Apoſtles into the Plains, and from thence to *Capernaum, &c.* III. He aſcends into a Mountain, and pronounces the eight Beatitudes. IV. Woes denounced againſt the Rich, the Voluptuous, and the Honourable. V. The Character and Duty of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples. VI. *Chriſt* came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil, the Law. VII. Of Murder, cauſeleſs Anger, and Reconciliation. VIII. Of Adultery and Luſt. IX. Of Divorce. X. Of Perjury and prophane Swearing. XI. Of Retaliation, *&c.* XII. Of Loving our Enemies. That Duty enforced. XIII. Of Almſgiving. XIV. Of Prayer. The Lord's Prayer, *&c.* XV. Of Faſting. XVI. Of the Deſire and Love of Wealth. XVII. Of Worldly Care. Several Similitudes. XVIII. Of Judging others. XIX. Of blind Guides, and the Proſtitution of holy Things. XX. Of the Prevalence of Prayers. XXI. Of doing as we would be done unto. XXII. Of the ſtrait and wide Gates. XXIII. Marks of falſe Teachers. XXIV. Of unſound Profeſſors of Religion. A Similitude. XXV. The People admire *Jeſus.*

I. NOT [a] *long after his* [b] *Retreat from the* Phariſees, Jeſus *being in a hilly Part of the Country, retired one Evening from his Diſciples, and went into a Mountain, where there was a* [c] *Houſe of Prayer, in which he continued all Night without Interruption, in fervent Devotion to his Father. At Break of Day he returned to his Diſciples, and having called to him ſeveral of them by Name, he choſe twelve out of thoſe whom he called, to be his conſtant Attendants. To theſe he gave a* Hebrew *Name, which in* Greek *is* Apoſtle, *and ſignifies* Meſſenger, *becauſe he deſigned to ſend them abroad with the good Tidings of his approaching Kingdom: Which that they might the more ſucceſsfully publiſh, he gave them the Power of working Miracles, and caſting out evil Spirits. The Names of theſe Perſons were as follows:* Simon, *who, as we have related, was called* Cephas *or* Peter *by* Jeſus *when he firſt ſaw him;* Andrew, *the Brother of* Simon; James *and* John, *the Sons of* Zebedee, *whom he called* Boanerges, *or* Sons of Thunder; Philip; Bartholemew; Matthew, *named alſo* Levi; Thomas, *whoſe Surname was* Didymus; James *the Son of* Alpheus; Judas *the Brother of* James, *called alſo* Thaddeus; Simon *ſurnamed the* Canaanite, *or* Zelot; *and* Judas Iſcariot, *who afterwards betrayed* Jeſus.

II. [d] *With theſe* Jeſus *came down from the Mountains into the Plains, whither the reſt of his Diſciples repaired to him; as alſo a vaſt Multitude of People from* Jeruſalem, *and all* Judea, *and the maritime Parts of* Phenicia, *(where are ſituated the Cities of* Tyre *and* Sidon) *either to hear his Doctrine, or to preſent their Sick to him for Cure.*

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[a] Mark. iii. 13.——19. Luke vi. 12——16.

[b] See the preceding Chapter.

[c] A Proſeucha. See the Diſſ. on Synagogues, Pages 304, 305.

[d] Mark iii. 19, 20, 21. Luke vi. 17, 18, 19.

There were brought alſo ſuch as were poſſeſſed with evil Spirits, whom he likewiſe healed; and not only thoſe whom he ſpoke to, or on whom he laid his Hands, were cured by him, but, as uſual, even thoſe who barely touched his Clothes: So that a miraculous Power, of curing all Manner of Diſtempers, ſeemed continually to flow from him. And having, in this Manner, continued ſome time in the Country, he returned to Capernaum, *and lodged in the Houſe at which he formerly ſojourned. Here the Concourſe of People, that came to hear him, or be freed from their Infirmities by him, was ſo great, that he had not ſo much as Time to eat or drink: By which continual Moleſtation he was ſo affected, that a Rumour was ſpread about of his being* [e] *fallen into a Swoon, or that he was beſide himſelf; which made ſome of his Relations, who were ſettled at* Capernaum, *come to him, that they might be in a Readineſs to aſſiſt him, on any difficult Occaſion, or officiouſly to remove him out of this Hurry to ſome of their own Habitations.*

III. [f] *But* Jeſus, *to avoid the Inconvenience of the Multitude, went up again into the mountainous Part of the Country, and was followed by a great Number of Diſciples, whom he there inſtructed in a Morality far ſuperior to what had ever been taught by the* Jewiſh *Doctors. He began his Diſcourſe with pronouncing Bleſſedneſs on ſeveral virtuous Characters, which he thus enumerated and deſcribed.*——Bleſſed, *ſaid he,* are the Poor in this World, and thoſe, who, how high ſoever their Condition may be, are yet humble and lowly in their Minds and Affections; for they ſhall be Partakers in the Felicity of the Meſſiah's Reign.——Bleſſed are they that mourn thro' a Senſe of their ſpiritual Wants and Infirmities; for they ſhall be comforted at preſent with an Aſſurance of Pardon, and hereafter with eternal Felicity.——Bleſſed are they who are of a meek, ſubmiſſive, quiet, and courteous Diſpoſition; for they ſhall enjoy the Benefit and Protection of Government, and not be deprived of their Poſſeſſions, like thoſe who are of a turbulent and ſeditious Temper.—Bleſſed are they whoſe Appetites are removed from the mean Objects of Senſe, and who are as concerned to be righteous before God, and to become the Objects of his Favour, as the hungry Man is to have Meat, or the Thirſty Drink; for ſuch as theſe ſhall be ſure to obtain what they purſue, both here and hereafter.——Bleſſed are they who are compaſſionate and pitiful towards the Wants and Infirmities of other Men, whether of their Souls or their Bodies; who are apt to relieve and pardon, to give and forgive: For God ſhall deal with them as they deal with others; he ſhall anſwer their Requeſts in Time of Neceſſity, and be abundantly merciful to them at the great Day of Accounts.—Bleſſed are thoſe who have their Minds purged from evil Thoughts and Inclinations; for they ſhall be rewarded hereafter with that Viſion of God, which none who are not thus pure ſhall ever attain to.——Bleſſed are they who labour earneſtly for Peace, and make it a great Buſineſs of their Lives to reconcile Men of oppoſite Principles and Practices; in doing which they ſhew their Reſemblance of God, who is peculiarly ſtiled the God of Peace: Theſe ſhall be own'd for the Children of the Moſt High, and as ſuch ſhall be rewarded.——Bleſſed are thoſe who ſuffer for their Diſcharge of a good Conſcience, and for their ſteady Adherence to Truth and Virtue; for their Sufferings ſhall be rewarded with the Kingdom of Heaven, from which their Perſecutors ſhall be excluded.——Finally, Bleſſed ſhall ye be, when Men ſhall revile and perſecute you, when they ſhall ſeparate you from their Aſſemblies, and raiſe all Manner of evil Reports againſt you, for your Faith in me, and your Profeſſion of my Name: You ought to be ſo far from grieving at theſe Things, that you have the greateſt Reaſon to be filled with Joy and Exultation, ſince God will reward on you their multiplied Revilings and Slanders, with a multiplied Recompence in another World. Thus were the Prophets formerly dealt with, who came with Commiſſions immediately from God, and whom if you continue to imitate them in ſuffering patiently, you ſhall communicate with in the Enjoyment of the divine Favour to all Eternity.

IV. But, on the contrary, wretched are thoſe whoſe Characters are oppoſite to what have been here mentioned. [g] —— Miſerable are the Rich, who vaunt themſelves upon that Account, and who impart none of their Wealth to the Relief of the Indigent: Theſe bleſs themſelves upon the Account of their Riches, and have nothing farther to expect from God.—Miſerable are thoſe that abound in all Manner of Delicacies, and beſtow nothing out of their Abundance to the Relief of the Neceſſities of the Poor; hereafter they ſhall ſuffer what will be as intolerable as the greateſt Hunger.—Unhappy are thoſe who, becauſe of their uninterrupted Proſperity, give themſelves to perpetual Feaſting and Jollity; the Time will come when their Mirth ſhall be turn'd into continual Grief and Anguiſh.—Envy not the Condition of thoſe who have the greateſt Reputation among the *Jews*: The Anceſtors of theſe very *Jews* in like Manner applauded the falſe Prophets, while the true Meſſengers of God ſuffer'd under their Obloquy and Defamation.

V. [h] O all ye that embrace my Doctrine, you are like thoſe ſalt Aſhes that are employ'd in the manuring of Land, which, if they once loſe their Saltneſs, are for ever after uſeleſs, and thrown out into the High-way, and trodden under Foot. Thus ought you in your Words and Actions to incite Mankind to the Purſuit of Virtue, in which if you ſhould fail, there is no one upon Earth, neither in *Judea*, nor any other Country, that can reclaim you: So that if you prove wanting in your Duty, like thoſe inſipid Aſhes, you will become for ever an unprofitable Burden on the Earth.—You are like to a Light illuſtrating the whole Globe of the Earth; wherefore it behoves you to take Care that your Doctrine be not obſcur'd with the leaſt Cloud of Vice or Error. 'Twill be impoſſible for you not to be taken Notice of, and you will reſemble a City ſeated upon an Eminence, and conſpicuous afar off. And this indeed you ought to be acquainted with, ſince it is for this very Purpoſe that you have been call'd by God. As Men light a Lamp to be of Uſe to all the Family, not to obſcure the Light of it by covering it with a Buſhel, and ſo fruſtrating the very End it was deſigned for; ſo ſhine out by the Light of your Doctrine, and a holy Life, that Men obſerving your Words and Actions to be conformable to your Profeſſion, may praiſe your heavenly Father, and give Thanks to him for ſending ſuch Men into the World to diſpel the Darkneſs it was involv'd in.

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[e] We have given two Senſes of the original Word ἐξέστη, which in our common Verſion of St. Mark is rendered, *he is beſide himſelf*, becauſe Interpreters are not agreed which of theſe two is the true one in this Place; ſome imagining that the Evangeliſt means no more than his having fainted, or being ready to faint, for want of Victuals; others, that his Friends thought him guilty of ſome Exceſſes in his Behaviour, occaſioned by a vehement Commotion of Mind, not being ſenſible that he was now ſhewing himſelf in the full Luſtre of his prophetic Office. The Reader may conſult the Notes of Hammond and Whitby on this Place, where he will ſee the Arguments on both Sides.

[f] Matth. v. 1—12. Luke vi. 21—24. Compare the Verſes referred to in both Goſpels, and the Reaſon of every Part of our Paraphraſe will be manifeſt.

[g] Luke vi. 24, 25, 26.

[h] Matth. v. 13—16.

VI. [i] Do not imagine, becauſe I ſay ſome Things repugnant to the common Notions of the *Jews*, that I am come with Deſign to teach Men that they are now no longer under any Obligation to the Laws of *Moſes* and the Prophets: On the contrary, I am ſent by God to acquaint them more fully with their Duty, and to explain and perfect thoſe Inſtitutions. While Heaven and Earth ſhall laſt, not the leaſt Tittle of the moral Injunctions deliver'd by *Moſes* and the Prophets ſhall be cancell'd. And whoever teaches that any the leaſt divine Precept of Morality, becauſe it ſeems to him of ſmall Importance, may be omitted, and by his own Example encourages others to the Neglect of it, ſhall be as lightly regarded by God in the Account he will take of the Inhabitants of his heavenly Kingdom. Contrarily, whoever ſhall, by his Doctrine and Example, recommend a diligent Obſervation of all thoſe Virtues that have been enjoin'd by God upon any Occaſion, ſhall be accounted great in the Kingdom of Heaven. For I admoniſh you (ſo far am I from expecting leſs Sanctity from you) that unleſs your Holineſs exceed that of the very Phariſees and Doctors of the Law, who are reputed the moſt holy Perſons among the *Jews*, you will forfeit the Rewards that ſhall be diſtributed in the Kingdom of Heaven.

VII. [k] You know that when the Law was given to your Anceſtors, Murder was made a capital Crime by God himſelf; but I am further to inform you, that not only that and the like enormous Crimes ſhall be puniſh'd in the Life to come, but the ſmaller alſo, and ſuch as are ſcarce reputed Faults by the *Jews*. Whoſoever ſhall indulge his Anger, and behave himſelf paſſionately without Cauſe, ſhall ſuffer ſuch Puniſhment as may be compar'd to that capital one inflicted by the leſſer Councils. But he that ſhall habituate himſelf to ſcoff at and jeer his Neighbour, ſhall hereafter be ſentenced to as ſevere Puniſhment as thoſe who are condemn'd by the greater Council for the greateſt Crimes. But he who above all ſhall outragiouſly villify and defame his Neighbour, ſhall ſuffer no leſs Torment than thoſe [l] who are burnt alive in the Valley of *Hinnom*. For this Reaſon when you have brought your Victim to the Altar, and are at the Point to offer it up, if it comes into your Mind that you are at variance with any one, leave your Victim at the Altar, and immediately uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to be reconcil'd to him: When you have thus made your Peace with Men, return, and perform your Sacrifice, and depend upon it, your Offering will be acceptable to God. If you are threatened with the Law for the Recovery of a Debt, common Prudence will direct you to compound the Matter as ſoon as may be, leſt your Creditor force the Rigour of the Law upon you, and ſo the Judge paſs Sentence of Condemnation, and the Officer hurry you to Priſon, from whence you will not be ſet free, till you have paid the intire Sum. In like Manner make your Peace with God by an early Reformation of Manners, leſt by an obſtinate Perſeverance in your Sins, you draw down God's Judgments upon you, and be irrecoverably loſt.

VIII. [m] You know that God in the Decalogue has prohibited Adultery, which Crime hath by him ſince been made capital; but I declare further unto you, that the very Inclinations of the Mind are criminal, and that whoever looks on another Man's Wife with Eyes inflam'd with Luſt, and wants only an Opportunity to perpetrate the Fact, that Man is already an Adulterer in his Mind, and accordingly ſhall be puniſh'd by God, who knows the moſt hidden Secrets of the Heart, although theſe vicious Appetites do not fall under the Cognizance of a Court of Judicature. But ſome one perhaps will ſay, that while he has his Senſe of Seeing about him, it is impoſſible for him to behold a beautiful Woman without Pleaſure and Deſire. Such a One ought to take notice, that if the Eye were the neceſſary Cauſe of ſinning, it would be vaſtly preferable to pluck it out; it being much more eligible to want the Conveniency of one Member in this Life, than by the Abuſe of it to have the whole Body condemn'd to eternal Puniſhment after the Reſurrection. So if the Right-Hand neceſſarily led us to the Commiſſion of any Sin, it ought for that Reaſon to be cut off. (Which plucking out of the Eye, and cutting off the Hand, are not to be taken literally: The Meaning of theſe Phraſes is, that the Occaſions of ſinning are to be avoided, tho it be by parting with ſomething never ſo pleaſant and uſeful to us.)

IX. [n] *Moſes* commanded your Anceſtors, that if any Man had a Mind to repudiate his Wife, he ſhould give her a Bill of Divorce, which might certify that the Woman was diſmiſs'd by her Husband, and was ſuppoſed to leave her at her Liberty to marry whomſoever ſhe pleaſed: But I tell you, whoever puts away his Wiſe for any other Cauſe than that of Adultery, doth thereby lay an Occaſion of Sin in her Way; and whoever marries her is no better than an Adulterer.

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[i] Matth. v. 17—20.

[k] Ver. 21—25.

[l] See the Reaſon of this Interpretation hereafter.

[m] Matth. v. 26—30.

[n] Ver. 31, 32.

X. [o] You have been told, that it was prohibited to your Anceſtors to forſwear themſelves after having been adjur'd by God, and that they were commanded to perform what they thus promis'd out of a Reverence to the Deity; but they were not forbid to ſwear upon any Occaſion whatſoever, nor were there any Puniſhments aſſign'd to the Breakers of thoſe Oaths, in which the Deity is not immediately invok'd as Witneſs. But I abſolutely forbid the Uſe of Oaths, which is ſo common among you upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions, not only thoſe in which God is expreſly invok'd, but all Forms of Swearing whatſoever; and I admoniſh you farther, that God is offended with Perjury of any Sort, ſince 'tis he you appeal to in all your Oaths, though in ſome more obſcurely than in others. Swear not therefore by Heaven, nor imagine you avoid Perjury when you falſify this Oath; for you ſwear by Heaven as it is the Throne of God, and ſo have reſpect to him. Swear not by the Earth, nor ever falſify ſuch an Oath; for therefore you ſwear by it, becauſe you look upon it as God's Footſtool, and ſo God is alſo contain'd in the Oath. Neither ſwear by *Jeruſalem*, becauſe at the mentioning of that Name you are put in Mind that this City is as it were the Seat of the King of Kings, and that in ſuch an Oath you make your Appeal to him. Swear not by your Head; for at that Time you think of God, in whoſe immediate Protection it is, you yourſeleves not being able to make ſo much as one Hair white or black. Abſtain from all Forms of Swearing in ordinary Diſcourſe, and never be guilty of the Breach of any Oath. Let what you ſay be believ'd, merely becauſe you affirm or deny, and always punctually perform your Promiſes. All the ſeveral Forms of Swearing take their Riſe from a wicked Cuſtom of deceiving, which you are to ſhun, as alſo all raſh unneceſſary Swearing.

XI. [p] You know your Anceſtors have been taught, that it was allowed by the Law of *Moſes*, in Caſe of Injury, to bring an Action againſt the Party, and thereby compel him to ſubmit to a legal Penalty, or to make a Reparation of the Damage ſuſtain'd. But I exhort you rather to paſs by an Injury, if it be not inconſiſtent with your own Safety, nor the Damage too heavy to be borne. 'Tis true, that by thus tamely ſubmitting to an Injury, we frequently give Occaſion to a new one; but ſtill 'tis better to run that Riſk, and to expoſe ourſelves to a contumelious Uſage, than to commence a Suit upon a ſudden and trivial Occaſion. Suppoſe a Man has trick'd you out of ſome ſmall Part of your Eſtate; 'tis adviſeable to ſit down contented with the Loſs of it, and ſomething more, rather than to continue obnoxious to a wrangling Quarrel. If a Man require ſomething of you, though it carry Trouble along with it, perform even more than he expects of you, rather than have recourſe to a violent Oppoſition. Grant every one's Requeſt, provided they really ſtand in need of it, and you can conveniently ſpare it. If a poor Man would borrow a Sum of Money of you, deny him not, though you may probably ſuppoſe you ſhall loſe both Intereſt and Principal, if ſo be you thereby relieve his Neceſſities, and it be not attended with too great an Inconvenience to yourſelves.

XII. [q] You know it was the Precept of *Moſes* to your Anceſtors, that there ſhould be a mutual Intercourſe of Kind-dealing among thoſe of the ſame Family, and Partakers in the ſame Religious Duties; but that they ſhould avoid all Familiarity and Friendſhip with other People, that they ſhould never enter into a League and Covenant with thoſe who had aſſail'd them with horrid Imprecations, and that they ſhould wage perpetual War with ſome of the idolatrous Nations. Learn now another Leſſon of me, learn to love your Enemies, and to act as friendly with them as with thoſe who are circumcis'd; to oppoſe Bleſſing to their Curſes, and Love and Beneficence to their Injuries and Hatred; and to requite thoſe who perſecute you for the Sake of your Religion with all outragious Malice, with your Prayers to God that he would reſtore them to a better Mind, and accumulate his Benefits upon them. —If you thus behave yourſelves, you will be the Imitators of your heavenly Father, and deſerve to be ſtiled his Sons; for he is thus beneficent to all Men, bleſſing Good and Bad alike with the common Influence of the Sun and fruitful Showers. But if you love thoſe only who have the ſame Affection for you, what Reward and Favour can you for this expect from God? Certainly the very *Publicans*, the worſt of Men, return Love for Love. If your Converſation be kind and friendly with thoſe only who are of the ſame Family or Religion, what do you more than the moſt Profligate? The very *Publicans* do the ſame. If you confer Benefits on thoſe only from whom you have receiv'd, what Reaſon have you to expect Favour from God on this Account? The worſt of Men can make the ſame Boaſt. If you lend only to thoſe of whom yourſelves have borrowed, or with a Proſpect of Intereſt, what Reward for this can you expect from God? This is the common Practice of the World, and the Bad perform good Turns mutually towards one onother. Act like Friends with your greateſt Enemies, confer Benefits, and lend to thoſe from whom you expect neither Intereſt, nor the like good Offices. In ſo doing great will your Reward be from God, and you will be deſervedly ſtiled his Sons, in thus imitating him who is beneficent to the Wicked and Ungrateful. If you then aim at Perfection, be full of Pity and Bounty towards thoſe from whom you expect nothing, nay ſuch as ſeem to deſerve quite another Uſage; for thus your heavenly Father pours down his Benefits upon the Good and Bad, and expreſſes his Kindneſs indifferently to all Men.

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[o] Matth. v. 33—37.

[p] Matth. v. 38—42. Luke vi. 29, 30.

[q] Matth. v. 43—48. Luke vi. 27, 28. 32—36.

XIII. [r] I have told you, you ought to be beneficent; but take heed that you do not exerciſe your Bounty merely to be taken Notice of by Men, if you expect any Reward from God; for this you will be fruſtrated of, if Glory and the Praiſe of Men be the only Thing you aim at. In ſuch a Caſe your Charity would proceed not from any true Senſe of the Miſeries of the Needy, or a willing Obedience to God's Commands, but out of a Deſire of obtaining the Applauſe of Men; and if it were the Cuſtom to gain by quite contrary Arts, you would not ſcruple to make Uſe of them. When therefore you are inclined to do good to the Poor, do not make Oſtentation of it in the Aſſemblies and publick Places, as the Hypocrites, who make, as it were, Proclamation of their Bounties; not that they are really affected with a Senſe of their Duty in this Particular, but only to gain the Applauſe of Men, which therefore ſhall be the ſole Reward of this their Liberality. As for you, let your Charity be done in ſecret, and according to the Proverb, *Let not your Left-Hand know what your Right-Hand doth:* Then God, who is a Lover of Sincerity and Good-Will, and who takes Notice of what you act in private, ſhall one Day beſtow a Reward upon you in the Preſence of Men and Angels.

XIV. [s] When you pray to God, do not imitate thoſe Diſſemblers in Religion, who are wont to pray ſtanding in the Synagogues and moſt frequented Places, not out of any Zeal for Devotion, but to obtain the Character of religious Perſons, which Reputation is all the Reward they will receive. But as for you, when you are diſpos'd to pray, let it be in the moſt retired Part of your Houſe; and there, ſhutting the Door, pour forth your Petitions to God, who ſhall one Day publicly reward this your ſecret Devotion.— In theſe your Prayers do not frequently repeat the ſame Words, like the Heathens, and ſome of the *Jews* after their Example, who hope to have their Requeſts granted, not by a devout Affection of the Mind, but by a Multitude of Words: Take heed that you do not imitate them; for God knows what you ſtand in need of before you ask him, and is ready to grant the Petitions of thoſe only who are of a religious and pious Temper.

☞ "Now, when you pray, make Uſe of this or a like Form of Prayer: O our heavenly Father, grant that all Mankind may with a holy Awe and Reverence acknowledge thy Protection and Supremacy over all Things, that they may be obedient to thy Will, and execute thy Commands on Earth as readily as the Angels do in Heaven. Give us daily what may ſuffice for the Suſtenance of Life. Pardon our Crimes committed againſt thee, as we forgive the Failings of other Men towards us. Suffer us not to be tempted beyond our Ability, but in all Dangers aſſiſt us, and ſecure our Virtue. For thou art the King of the Univerſe, which thou governeſt as thou pleaſeſt by thy Power, and for which all intelligent Creatures ought to give thee eternal Praiſe. This is the Sum of our Wiſhes, which we entreat thou wilt grant unto us."

You ſee here, you beg that God would give you Forgiveneſs of your Sins, in like Manner as you forgive the Faults of Men towards you, to ſhew you the true Way of obtaining God's Pardon; for unleſs you yourſelves are of ſuch a merciful Diſpoſition, 'tis in vain for you to expect to appeaſe God's Anger.

XV. [t] When you faſt in private, upon ſome religious Account, do not, like the Hypocrites, appear abroad with a ſquallid Look, that all may pry into the Occaſion of it. Theſe certainly ſhall obtain no other Reward than that Praiſe they court. You therefore, when you faſt, make it your Buſineſs to conceal it; appear abroad as at other Times, in your uſual Dreſs, with your Head anointed, and your Face waſhed, according to the Cuſtom of the Place. Men indeed will know nothing of your Faſting: Suffice it that your Father is not ignorant of it, who obſerving what you have thus done privately, will one Day publicly reward your Devotion.

XVI. [u] Seek not for Riches here on Earth, which are liable to Ruſt and Moth, and the Rapaciouſneſs of Thieves; but be ſolicitous after Riches in Heaven, where nothing of this Nature is to be fear'd. In this happy Temper you will not be diſturbed with the uſual Care and Anxiety after Riches; for ſince the Mind generally accompanies the Riches, if theſe are thought to be in Danger, your Mind will neceſſarily be moleſted with Care and Concern for them. —The Eyes do as it were illuſtrate the whole Body of Man; and if they are clouded with no Mark of Envy or Diſingenuity, the whole Body will ſeem to be brighten'd by them: But if the Eyes diſcloſe any thing ungenerous and baſe, the whole Body will be then in Darkneſs. Now if that Member by which the reſt are ſuppos'd to be enlightened, be itſelf involv'd in Darkneſs, how great muſt the Obſcurity of thoſe other Members be which ſhine only by a borrow'd Light? Therefore when you deſign to appear generous, and make Oſtentation of your Liberality (that moſt ſplendid Light by which all other Virtues are illuſtrated) if then you appear to be baſe and ſordid to every one that hath a true Reliſh of that Virtue, how intolerably deformed muſt your Vices be? ——— No Man can ſerve two Maſters with the ſame Chearfulneſs: for he will unavoidably prefer the one, and obey his Orders, while thoſe of the other are neglected by him. In like Manner is your Service of God inconſiſtent with a ſlaviſh Deſire of heaping up Riches. If you would therefore ſerve God with all your Heart, you muſt throw off that Anxiety after worldly Riches, which interferes with your Obedience to the divine Commands.

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[r] Matth vi. 1—4.

[s] Matth. vi. 5——15.

[t] Ver. 16, 17, 18.

[u] Ver. 19—23.

XVII. [w] And this Obedience will ſecure you from the Fear of ever wanting neceſſary Food or Raiment: For God, who has given you Life and a Body, will alſo beſtow upon you whatever is neceſſary for the Suſtenance of that Life, and Defence of your Body from the Injuries of the Weather; and he who is the bountiful Author of your Being, will not refuſe you thoſe leſſer Benefits which conduce to the Preſervation of it. Reflect upon the Condition of the Birds, who fill no Storehouſes againſt a Time of Scarcity, and yet are abundantly ſupplied by the Providence of God: You have no Reaſon then to fear that he will neglect you, the Condition of whoſe Being is ſo vaſtly preferable to theirs. You ought therefore to reſt ſatisfied, that while you perform thoſe Duties which God requires of you, you ſhall by him be ſupplied with all the Neceſſaries of Life. If God fix the Period of your Continuance here on Earth, there is not a Man of you can, with his utmoſt Thoughtfulneſs, lengthen it by one Moment. Wherefore you ought not to be ſo careful about the Preſervation of your Life, as thereby to neglect any of God's Precepts, who is able without the leaſt Care of yours to preſerve it, and can alſo, whenever he pleaſes, deprive thoſe of it who are over ſollicitous about it. Conſider alſo the Lillies and other Flowers of the Field, which grow up and flouriſh without any human Art or Labour, neither do they themſelves acquire that Beauty which we diſcover in them by their own Skill or Induſtry; and yet I tell you, that *Solomon*, heretofore the moſt glorious Monarch in the Eaſt, did not equal the natural Ornament of theſe Flowers with his moſt magnificent Attire. You have then no reaſon to dread the want of Raiment; for if God provide ſo bountifully for theſe Plants, which after a ſhort Duration are burnt up and conſumed, how much greater Care will he take of Men, who are deſign'd by him to be eternally happy, provided they live in Obedience to his Laws? Think you that he will ſuffer them to fall into ſo miſerable a Condition, as to be deſtitute of neceſſary Food and Raiment? They who entertain theſe Thoughts, have no very religious Senſe of the Deity. Be not then ſo ſollicitous after theſe Things, as to omit any moral or religious Duty, if you deſire to excel other Nations in Virtue and Religion, who only ſeek after earthly Happineſs. Let your great Buſineſs be to acquaint yourſelves with the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to live in perfect Obedience to them; and then rely on the good Providence of God, who is acquainted with your Wants, and will provide for you, and beſtow even more upon you than you deſire of him. Neglect not, therefore, the Exerciſe of any Virtue, out of a ſollicitous Care for what may hereafter happen; and content yourſelves with uſing the preſent Opportunity: Every Day is attended with its own Trouble, which you have no Reaſon to anticipate.

XVIII. [x] Condemn no one raſhly, leſt hereafter you be puniſh'd for your raſh Cenſure; rather acquit all that may be acquitted, that you yourſelves in like Manner may be abſolv'd by God: For Judgment ſhall paſs againſt you with the ſame Severity that you have exercis'd; and as you have treated others, you muſt expect to be treated by God. Therefore, before you undertake to cenſure the Actions of other Men, deſcend into yourſelves, and examine ſtrictly whether you are not defil'd with the like or greater Vices than you are ready to upbraid others with: For it would be abſurd to animadvert ſeverely on the ſlighteſt Fault of your Neighbour, if at the ſame Time you take no notice of your own much greater Crimes. And with what Face can one Man exhort another to Repentance, chargeable it may be but with ſome ſmall Fault, who at the ſame Time ſcarce ever troubles himſelf about a much greater Vice he himſelf is infected with, and never thinks of a Reformation? O you Counterfeiters of Virtue, firſt purge yourſelves from your own moſt vitious Defilements, before you pretend to correct the Failings of other Men.

XIX. [y] Take heed you do not obey the Doctrines of Men who are ſo liable to Error, preferably to the Commands of the Prophets, and the Precepts I now deliver to you: For if you give yourſelves up to the Direction of Men, who are ſo eaſily miſtaken, or unacquainted with the Laws of God, you will act as imprudently as one blind Man, who ſhould chuſe another to be his Guide, the Effect of which would be, that both would ſtumble together into the next Ditch. For the Scholar can never excel his Maſter in that Particular which is wholly owing to his Inſtructions, and is ſuppos'd at beſt but to equal him when he has attain'd to the utmoſt Perfection in it. ——— And as we do not throw Jewels to a Herd of Swine, nor offer conſecrated Bread to Dogs, who perhaps would afterwards aſſuage their Thirſt with the Blood of their Benefactors; ſo neither ought you to diſplay the Conſtitution and Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, before Men reſolv'd to reject and ſcoff at whatever you ſhall tell them, without paſſing the leaſt Examination.

XX. [z] Whatever you find you ſtand in need of in your religious Courſe of Life, aſk of God, and it ſhall be granted to you. Make a diligent Search after Knowledge, and implore the divine Aſſiſtance that your Search be not in vain. Knock againſt the Door that conceals from you the Knowledge of what it concerns you to be acquainted with, and it ſhall be open'd, and ſecret Things ſhall be revealed unto you. They ſhall find what formerly they purſued in vain, who make a diligent Enquiry after it with a religious Zeal for Truth; and the moſt abſtruſe Things ſhall be made manifeſt to thoſe who ſeriouſly endeavour to remove all Obſtacles out of their Way to Knowledge. — No Man is ſo wretched, as inſtead of ſomething neceſſary deſir'd by his Son, to give him ſome other Thing deſtructive to him; as ſuppoſe inſtead of a Loaf or Fiſh, a Stone or Serpent. If you then, who are defil'd with ſo many Vices, are wont to beſtow Things profitable upon your Children, how much rather will God, whoſe Bounty is infinite, and who is the common Father of Men, grant them their Requeſts, when they are expedient for them?

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[w] Matth. vi. 24—34.

[x] Matth. vii. 1—5. Luke vi. 37, 41, 42.

[y] Luke vi. 39, 40. Matth. vii. 6.

[z] Matth. viii. 7—11.

XXI. Be [a] liberal to others, that God may be liberal to you, not only in reſtoring to you what you have thus parted with, but in beſtowing on you much more valuable Benefits, in which he will have reſpect to the Charity you have ſhewed towards others. And if you judge others are obliged to you, by the common Ties of Humanity conſider you are under an equal Obligation to them. So behave yourſelves therefore towards others, as you would expect they ſhould behave themſelves towards you, were you to change Places with them. In this Precept is contain'd the Sum of what you meet with in the Law and the Prophets, concerning the mutual Offices of Men one among another.

XXII. [b] The Door of Life is ſtrait, and the Path that leads to it narrow and unfrequented, while the Gates of Deſtruction ſtand wide open, and the high Road to it is always crouded: If then you purſue your Happineſs in good Earneſt, you muſt do it in the narrow and leſs frequented Way. Pleaſure, 'tis true, tho' ſo nearly allied to Deſtruction, hath many Votaries, whilſt an auſtere and ſelf-denying Courſe of Life, tho' the ſafeſt, invites but few: but in your Choice of the Way to Bliſs you are to conſider, not with how much Pleaſure it is attended, but how certainly it will bring you to your deſired End; nor are you to look after the Number, but the Morals of thoſe you would accompany.

XXIII. [c] Take great Care you be not impoſed upon by fallacious Prophets and Teachers, who in their outward Appearance are Sheep, that is, ſeem to have the Inoffenſiveneſs and Harmleſſneſs of that Creature, but inwardly are as rapacious as Wolves. Tho' at firſt they diſſemble with you, and deliver nothing diſagreeable to the divine Laws, yet the Maſk will drop off in a ſhort Time, and you may plainly perceive the Repugnancy of their Manners to their Doctrine, by which they hope to acquire the Reputation of virtuous Perſons. For as Trees are diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral Fruits rather than by their outward Form, and we do not look for Fruit from ſuch as are naturally barren, nor good Fruit from wild and uncultivated Plants; ſo neither can one who has a wicked Heart go on ſteddily in a Courſe of Virtue, nor can he whoſe Practices are vitious with any Propriety of Speech be termed a good Man. And like as a Tree that brings forth bad Fruit is cut down for Fewel, as the beſt Uſe it can be applied to; ſo ſhall thoſe whoſe Morals are depraved, be cut off by God, and puniſhed according to their Demerits, how plauſible ſoever their Diſcourſes may have ſeemed to Men. Moreover, if you make a diligent Obſervation, and bring their Doctrine to the Teſt of divine Revelation, you will be eaſily able to diſtinguiſh between thoſe that are ſincerely good, and ſuch as only counterfeit Religion: For they who have their Minds throughly imbued with Virtue, and filled with generous Principles, will out of this Treaſure bring forth nothing but what will be praiſe-worthy, and conformable to this excellent Diſpoſition; whereas on the contrary they whoſe Minds are depraved, tho' they are cunning enough for the moſt Part to diſguiſe their Wickedneſs, yet every now and then they let ſomething drop which plainly diſcovers what Sort of Principles they are ſtocked with: For it is almoſt impoſſible but that thoſe Things with which the Mind is filled, ſhould ſome Time or other break out, and give us an Opportunity of paſſing Judgment concerning the Fountain from which they flow. Thus Men are diſtinguiſhable both by their Words and Actions, as we come to know the different Species of Trees by the ſeveral Fruits they bear.

XXIV. [d] 'Tis not an outward Profeſſion of being my Diſciple, or the bare calling of me Lord and Maſter, that ſhall intitle any to the Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven, which belong to thoſe only who ſhall lead Lives conformable to the Laws of my heavenly Father. Many will ſay unto me in that Day, wherein I ſhall diſtribute thoſe Rewards among the Pious, that they have been Prophets in my Church, that they have caſt out evil Spirits, and performed many Miracles: To whom I ſhall openly declare, that inaſmuch as they did not join Sanctity of Manners, with thoſe Gifts I had beſtowed upon them, they ought not to be accounted my Diſciples; and are not to expect to ſhare with me in the Happineſs of my Kingdom, ſince they did not throw off their vitious Habits. 'Twill be in vain for any then to call me Lord and Maſter, who have not obey'd my Precepts; for they only can be eſteemed my Diſciples, whoſe Practice has been conformable to my Commands. —Whoever, after having fully acquainted himſelf with my Doctrine, leads a Life conformable unto it, will reſemble a wiſe Architect, who being to build a Houſe near the Bank of ſome River, lays the Foundation of it deep, and upon a Rock. A Houſe thus built will be able to withſtand the Shock of all Storms and Tempeſts, nor is it to be undermin'd by the overflowing of the River: And he that lives agreeably to my Doctrine, has ſo well fortified himſelf, as not to be brib'd or frighten'd from his Duty, but is ſecure againſt the weak Efforts of all worldly Hopes and Fears. On the contrary, whoever is acquainted with my Doctrine, and neglects to live anſwerably to it, is like an unwary Builder, who having a Houſe to build upon the River-ſide, lays the Foundation of it in the Sand, and imagines it is ſecured againſt every Accident; whereas the firſt Tempeſt or Inundation is able to deſtroy it. For he who cannot perſuade himſelf to quit thoſe vitious Practices which are condemn'd by my Doctrine, in Caſe of Perſecution will without heſitating abandon that Religion, whoſe Principles would reſtrain him from indulging himſelf in his beloved Vices.

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[a] Luke vi. 31. 38. Matth. vii. 12.

[b] Matth. vii. 13, 14.

[c] Matth vii. 15—20. Luke vi. 43, 44, 45.

[d] Matth. vii. 21—27 Luke vi. 46—49.

XXV. [c] *When* Jeſus *had finiſhed theſe Diſcourſes, the whole Multitude were in Admiration, both of his Doctrine, and the Authority that went along with it: For whereas the Doctors of the Law were wont only to expound* Moſes, *and the Doctrines handed down to them from their Anceſtors;* Jeſus, *on the contrary, acted as one that had received Commiſſion from God himſelf, no otherwiſe than* Moſes *had done before him, and propounded his Doctrine to them with the Authority of a Legiſlator.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Beatitudes, *&c.*

I. *Contents of this, and the following Diſſertations. Why our Lord went up into a Mountain. Every Chriſtian concerned in his Sermon there.* II. *The eight Beatitudes. Poverty of Spirit, the firſt of them, what it is, and what the Bleſſing of thoſe who poſſeſs it.* III. *Of Mourners, and their Bleſſedneſs.* IV. *Meekneſs, what it is, and how expreſſed towards our Superiors, Equals, and Inferiors. The preſent and future Felicity of the meek Man.* V. *Of hungring and thirſting after Righteouſneſs, and the Happineſs that attends them.* VI. *Of Mercifulneſs, and the Promiſe of Mercy to the merciful Man.* VII. *Of Purity of Heart: Two Senſes of it. The preſent Felicity of the Pure, and their future Reward of ſeeing God.* VIII. *Of Peace-making, and being called the Children of God as a Conſequence of it.* IX. *Of being perſecuted for Righteouſneſs-ſake, and reviled falſely for the Sake of* Chriſt. *The preſent and future Felicity of thoſe who ſuffer in this Manner,* &c. X. *Of the four Woes mentioned by St.* Luke: *The Senſe of them,* &c. XI. *Of the Order of the Beatitudes: Two Things obſervable in it.* XII. *The Neceſſity of an exemplary Life in every Chriſtian.*

I. ACCORDING to the moſt natural Order pointed out in the foregoing Sermon of our Lord, we ſhall introduce our Obſervations thereon in ſix ſeveral Diſcourſes, or Diſſertations. The *Firſt* will be on the Beatitudes, and their appendant Woes, as recited in the twelve firſt Verſes of the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, and between the nineteenth and twenty-ſeventh Verſes of the ſixth Chapter of *Luke:* Concluding with a Remark or two on the Neceſſity of Chriſtians being exemplary in their Lives, from the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th Verſes of the Fifth of *Matthew*. The *Second* will contain an Enquiry into this Queſtion, Whether *Chriſt* in this Sermon, added to the Moral Laws of the *Jews?* And if he did, in what Particulars and Degrees? For this we have an Occaſion in the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Verſes of the ſaid Chapter. In the *Third* we ſhall treat of the ſix Precepts, which *Chriſt* has either added to the Moral Law, or explained in a higher Senſe than they had before, from the twenty-firſt Verſe of the ſame Fifth of *Matthew*, to the End of the Chapter. The *Fourth* ſhall explain and enforce three great Chriſtian Duties, concerning which our Lord gives ſeveral Directions in the firſt Part of the ſixth Chapter of *Matthew*; that is, Alms-giving, Prayer, and Faſting. And becauſe in the latter Part of the ſame Chapter our Lord has treated largely of an immoderate Deſire and Love of Wealth, and an over-anxious Care for the Things of this World, we ſhall devote our *Fifth* Diſcourſe to thoſe Subjects. *Laſtly*, we ſhall, in the *ſixth* Place, conſider the ſeveral Precepts and Cautions laid down in the ſeventh Chapter of *Matthew*, and the correſponding Verſes of the ſixth Chapter of *Luke*; ſuch, for Inſtance, as thoſe concerning the paſſing raſh and unmerciful Cenſures on others; the great Rule of doing as we would be done unto; the Marks by which we are to diſtinguiſh falſe Teachers: the Neceſſity of being Doers, as well as Hearers, of the Word, *&c.* And from theſe Diſcourſes, in the whole, we hope to ſhew the Extenſiveneſs of Chriſtian Morality, and to prove its Excellency above that of either the Heathens or *Jews*; and, in ſo doing, to recommend the Theory of it as moſt worthy of our Conſideration, and the Practice of it as the only Thing that can make us happy, either in this World, or in that which is to come.

[a] That *Chriſt* went up into a Mountain, to deliver this Sermon, might be to intimate the Matter of it to be the Chriſtian Law, as the *Jewiſh* Law was delivered in a Mountain, that of *Sinai*. and that he would have no Auditors, but Diſciples, might be, *Firſt*, Becauſe the Multitude followed him not for Doctrines [b], but for Cures; and therefore were not fit Auditors of Precepts. 2*dly*, Becauſe theſe Precepts were of an elevated Nature, above all that ever any Lawgiver gave before; and therefore were to be diſpenſed only to ſelect Auditors. 3*dly*, Becauſe the Heights and Myſteries of Chriſtianity were not wont to be abruptly diſpenſed, but by Degrees, to them that have formerly made ſome Progreſs, at leaſt have delivered themſelves up to be *Chriſt*'s Diſciples. But then, though it was given only to Diſciples, that will be of Latitude enough to contain all Chriſtians; for by a Diſciple of *Chriſt* here, is meant no more than one that adhered to him, and believed on him. Thus we know that he called Diſciples, and they followed him ſome Time, before he ſent them out, or gave

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[c] Matth. vii. 28, 29.

[a] See Hammond's Practical Catechiſm, B. II.

[b] Matth. iv. 24, 25.

them Commiſſion to preach; that is before he gave any of them the Dignity of Apoſtles; and of ſuch Diſciples as theſe did his Hearers now chiefly conſiſt, for there were [c] *Multitudes* of them. Therefore we muſt conclude in ourſelves that what is in this Sermon ſaid to Diſciples, all Chriſtians are concerned in indifferently; it is obligatory to all that follow him, or profeſs his Name.

II. In the firſt Part of this Sermon, containing the eight Beatitudes, every Chriſtian is ſo far concerned, as to be obliged to believe, 1. That he is no farther a Chriſtian, than he hath in him thoſe Graces, to which the Bleſſedneſs are there prefixed: 2. That every one of thoſe Graces hath Matter of preſent Bleſſedneſs in it; the Word Bleſſed in the Front denoting a preſent Condition, abſtracted from that which we may afterwards expect: 3. That there is Aſſurance of future Bleſſedneſs to all thoſe that have attained to thoſe ſeveral Graces.

To begin with the firſt of theſe Graces, *Poverty of Spirit*. This Phraſe may poſſibly ſignify a Preparation of Mind to part with all worldly Wealth, a Contentedneſs to live poor and bare in this World: But a more warrantable Interpretation is, that it ſignifies a lowly Opinion of one's ſelf, a thinking one's ſelf the meaneſt vileſt Creature, leaſt of Saints, and greateſt of Sinners; contrary to that ſpiritual Pride of the Church of *Laodicea*, which ſaid, [d] ſhe was *rich, and encreaſed with Goods, and had need of nothing*, not knowing that ſhe was *wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked.* This is that Infant Child-like Temper that *Chriſt* [e] preſcribes, as ſo abſolutely neceſſary to a Chriſtian.

The preſent Bleſſedneſs of ſuch as have this Temper, conſiſts in this, *1ſt.* That they poſſeſs an amiable Quality, a Charm of Love amongſt Men, where-ever it is met with; whereas on the other ſide, Pride goes hated, and curſed, and abominated by all; drives away Servants, Friends, and all but Flatterers. *2dly.* In this Poverty of Spirit there is a Seed-Plat of all Virtue, eſpecially Chriſtian; which thrives beſt, when it is rooted deep, in the humble lowly Heart: And it hath the Promiſe of Grace; *God giveth Grace to the Humble*, but on the contrary, *reſiſteth the Proud.* The Aſſurance of future Bleſſedneſs annexed to this Character, is expreſt in theſe Words, for *theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.* Which ſignifies primarily, that *Chriſt*'s Kingdom of Grace, the true Chriſtian Church, is made up peculiarly of ſuch: Thus in the Anſwer of *Chriſt* to *John*, it is ſaid in the Cloſe, [f] *The Poor have the Goſpel preached unto them*, or are wrought on by the preaching of the Goſpel: And as in another Place, [g] *He that ſhall humble himſelf as this Child, the ſame ſhall be greateſt in the Kingdom of Heaven:* And again for of [h] *ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven*, or the *Church*; into which he therefore commands them to be permitted to enter, and chides his Diſciples for forbidding them. Thus is the *Kingdom of Heaven* to be interpreted in divers Places of the new Teſtament, as is obſerved by thoſe who read with Care. And this Kingdom of Grace here, is but an Introduction to that of Glory hereafter; for he that lives here the Life of an humble Chriſtian, ſhall there be ſure to reign the Life of a victorious Saint.

III. The *Mourning*, to which the ſecond Bleſſing is joined, ſignifies, not, as ſome imagine, a miſerable and comfortleſs Condition in this World, nor a ſorrowing for the Corruptions of others, but Contrition, or godly Sorrow, conceived upon the Senſe of our own Wants and Sins. *1ſt.* Of our Wants; ſuch as, of original immaculate Righteouſneſs and Purity; and of Strength and Sufficiency to do the Duty which we owe to God our Creator, to *Chriſt* our Redeemer, and to the Spirit our Sanctifier. *2dly.* Of our Sins; as, of original Depravity, and Proneneſs to all Evil; of the actual and habitual Sins of our unregenerare, and the many *Slips and Falls* of our *moſt regenerate Life.*

Much of the preſent Felicity of theſe Mourners, is that which reſults from the Senſe of this bleſſed Temper; there being no Condition of Soul more wretched, than that of the obdurate Sinner, who is in a kind of Numneſs and Lethargy: On the contrary, this feeling of Sin, and Sorrow for it, is an Argument that we have ſome Life in us, and ſo true Matter of Joy to all that find it in themſelves. And therefore it was very well ſaid of a Father, [i] *Let a Chriſtian Man grieve, and then rejoice that he doth ſo.* Beſides, the mourning Soul is like the watered Earth, like to prove the more fruitful by that Means.

The Aſſurance of future Felicity that belongs to Mourners, is ſet down in theſe Words, *For they ſhall be comforted.* *Chriſt*, who hereafter gives, now makes Promiſe of Comfort to ſuch. The *reaping in Joy* belongs peculiarly to them that *ſow in Tears. Godly Sorrow worketh Repentance to Salvation*, when all other *worketh Death.* And beſides, this Aſſurance ariſeth from the very Nature of Comfort and Refreſhment, of which none are capable but diſconſolate *Mourners*; nor indeed is Heaven (the Viſion of God, and Revelation of his Favour) ever Matter of ſo much Bliſs, as when it comes to thoſe that wanted Comfort, and when it *wipes away all Tears from their Eyes*, who *went mourning all the Day long.*

IV. *Meekneſs*, the third Grace to which a Bleſſing is annexed, ſignifies a Softneſs, Mildneſs, and Quietneſs of Spirit, expreſſing itſelf in many Paſſages of our Life, both towards God, and towards Man. *Firſt*, In Relation to God; by believing what he affirms, be it never ſo much above our Reaſon, (when it is a Captivation of the underſtanding to the Obedience of Faith;) by doing what he commands, and then it is Obedience; or by enduring what he ſees fit to lay upon us, and then it is Patience: In a Word, 'tis Chearfulneſs in Affliction, Contentedneſs with our Lot whatſoever it is, the being [k] *dumb* or *ſilent to the Lord* and reſolving with old

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[c] Matth. viii. 1.

[d] Rev. iii. 17.

[e] Matth. xviii 4, & xix. 14.

[f] Matth xi. 5.

[g] Matth. xviii. 4

[h] Matth. xix. 14.

[i] Auguſtin.

[k] Pſal. xxxvi. 7.

Eli, It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good. All which Faith, Obedience, Patience, though they be Virtues in themſelves, diſtinct from Meekneſs ſtrictly taken, may yet be very fitly reduced to that Head, in as much as Meekneſs moderates the Wrath, which would by Conſequence deſtroy them.

Secondly, In relation to Men, whether Superiors, Equals, or Inferiors. 1. If they be our Superiors, then 'tis Modeſty, and Humility, and Reverence, to all ſuch in general; but if withal they be our lawful Magiſtrates, then our Meekneſs conſiſts in Obedience, acting all their legal Commands, and ſubmitting to their Puniſhments which they ſhall juſtly inflict upon us. 2. If they be our Equals, we muſt conſider them either as our Friends, or our Enemies, or of a middle Nature. If our Friends, then Meekneſs conſiſts, in the not provoking them, for the [l] *Wrath of Man worketh not the Will of God*; in bearing with their Infirmities; in kind, mild, diſcreet Reproof of them; in Patience and Thankfulneſs for the like from them again; and in *ſubmitting one to another in Love, every one thinking another better than himſelf.* If our Enemies, then it is the meek Man's Part to love, to do good, to bleſs them, and pray for them; in no wiſe to recompence Evil with Evil, Injury with Injury; in no wiſe to *avenge ourſelves, but to overcome Evil with Good.* If neither our Friends, nor Foes, then Meekneſs conſiſts in humble modeſt Behaviour towards them, neither ſtriving and contending for Trifles, nor moleſting with vexatious Suits, nor breaking out into cauſeleſs Anger, nor doing ought that may provoke them to the like. If, laſtly, our Equals be thoſe to whom we have done Injury, then Meekneſs towards them conſiſts in acknowledging the Fault, and being ready to make Satisfaction; in going and deſiring to be reconciled to ſuch a Brother, and willingly ſubmitting to all honeſt Means tending to that End. —— 3. Towards Inferiors, Meekneſs expreſſes itſelf in Condeſcenſion and Kindneſs, in neither oppreſſing nor tyrannizing, nor taking the Rod when it may be ſpared, nor *provoking to Wrath* Servants, Subjects, or Children.

The very Poſſeſſion of this Grace is a preſent Felicity to the meek Man; it being of all others the moſt delightful, both as that which adorns us in the Eyes of others, (and is therefore called the [m] *Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit*) and as that which affords us the greateſt Matter of inward Comfort. For Example, that Part of Meekneſs which is oppoſed to Revenge, and conſiſts in bearing of Injuries, is to a ſpiritual-minded Man Matter of infinite Delight, for theſe Reaſons: *1ſt*, As it conquers that mad Paſſion of Revenge, and gets Victory over one's ſelf, which is the greateſt Act of Valour. *2dly*, As it conquers the Enemy, of which there is no ſuch Way, as the [n] *ſoft Anſwer*, which, ſaith the *Wiſe Man*, *turneth away Wrath.* Feeding the hungry Enemy, ſaith St. *Paul*[o], is the *heaping live Coals upon his Head*, which is the Way that Metalliſts uſe to melt thoſe Things that will not be wrought on by putting of Fire under them; (and this the Apoſtle farther expreſſes by the Phraſe of *overcoming Evil with Good.*) *3dly*, As by it we outſtrip all the *Jewiſh* and Heathen World, which had never attained to this Skill of *loving Enemies*, at the leaſt of thinking it a Duty to do ſo. In a Word, Meekneſs is Matter of preſent Felicity to us, in reſpect of the Tranquility it gains us here, within our own Breaſts, a Calm from thoſe Storms that Pride, and Anger, and Revenge, are wont to raiſe in us; and in Reſpect of our peaceable living with others, without Strife and Debate, without Puniſhments and Executions, that are the Portion of turbulent Spirits. Which is the Meaning undoubtedly of the Promiſe in the *Pſalmiſt*; [p] *The Meek ſhall inherit the Earth*, that is, ſhall generally have the richeſt Portion of the good Things of this Life: From whence our Lord's Promiſe in the Goſpel being taken, though it may be accommodated to a ſpiritual Senſe, yet undoubtedly it literally denotes the Land of *Canaan*, or *Judea*, which is oft in the Old and New Teſtament called the *Earth.* So then the Promiſe of *inheriting the Earth*, will be all one with that annexed to the fifth Commandment, that *thy Days may be long in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee*; that is, a proſperous long Life here is ordinarily the meek Man's Portion. And this he that ſhall obſerve the ordinary Diſpenſations of God's Providence, ſhall find to be moſt remarkably true, eſpecially if compared with the contrary Fate of turbulent Perſons.

But this temporal Reward can no ways deprive the meek Man of the eternal: For as the temporal *Canaan* was to the *Jew*, a Type, and to them that obeyed, a Pledge, of the eternal; ſo is the Earth here a real Inheritance below, and a Pledge of another above. And this is the meek Man's peculiar Advantage; a double *Canaan* is thought little enough for him; the ſame Felicity in a Manner attending him, which we believe of *Adam*, if he had not fallen; a Life in Paradiſe, and from thence a Tranſplantation to Heaven. The like we read of them that part with any thing dear to them for *Chriſt*'s Sake, or in Obedience to *Chriſt*'s Command, a (Character which belongs eſpecially to the Meek:) *He* [q] *ſhall have a hundred fold more in this Life, and in the World to come Life everlaſting.* And unleſs it be here to the *Meek*, or to [r] *Godlineſs* in general in one Place, we meet not with any other temporal Promiſe in the New Teſtament: And therefore this Place here may be reſolved very well to be parallel to that other, not only in the hundred Fold, or Inheritance in this Life, but in that Addition alſo of everlaſting Life after this. Beſides, other Places of Scripture there are that intimate the future Reward of the Meek; as where *the meek and quiet Spirit* is ſaid to be

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[l] Jam. i. 20. [m] 1 Pet. iii. 4. [n] Prov. xv. 1. [o] Rom. xii. 20. [p] Pſalm. xxx ii. 2.
[q] Matth. xix. 29. [r] 1 Tim. iv. 8.

[s] *in the Sight of God of great Price*; and that [t] *if we learn of* Chriſt *to be meek, we ſhall find Reſt to our Souls.* And even here, the Bleſſedneſs in the Front, noting preſent Bleſſedneſs, cannot rightly do ſo, if there were no future Reward alſo belonging to it; it being a Curſe, no Bleſſing, to have our good Things with *Dives*, or, with the Hypocrite, our Reward in this Life, and none to expect behind in another.

V. We come now to the fourth Grace, on which a Bleſſing is pronounced, namely, *Hungring and Thirſting after Righteouſneſs:* Which Righteouſneſs may be of two Sorts, inherent and imputed: The Inherent is imperfect, proportioned to our State, conſiſting in the mortifying of Sins and Luſts, and in ſome Degrees of holy new Life; the Imputed, is *Chriſt*'s Righteouſneſs accepted as ours, which is in plain Words, the Pardon of our Sins, and Acceptation of our Perſons in *Chriſt*. Hungring and Thirſting may be joined both together, and taken for one common Appetite of both thoſe Kinds of Righteouſneſs. Or, if we pleaſe, we may more diſtinctly ſet them thus: That as hungring literally is an earneſt Appetite or Deſire of Food; ſo here, in a ſpiritual Senſe, it is adapted to the firſt Kind of Righteouſneſs, that of God's ſanctifying Grace, which is as it were Bread or Food to the Soul, to ſuſtain it from periſhing eternally; in which Senſe, hungring after Righteouſneſs, will ſignify an eager impatient Deſire of Grace, of Sanctity to the Soul, and that Deſire attended with Prayer and Importunity to God for the obtaining of it. And in like manner, thirſting after Righteouſneſs may be thus defined: That as thirſting, in a literal Senſe, is a Deſire of Moiſture to refreſh; ſo it is here appropriated to that Kind of Righteouſneſs, conſiſting in Pardon of Sin, which is the refreſhing of the panting Soul mortally wounded, and [u] *longing after the Water-Brooks*, like the Hart in the *Pſalmiſt*, to allay the Fever conſequent to that Wound: And ſo thirſting after Righteouſneſs, will appear to be a moſt earneſt Deſire of Pardon, and petitioning of it from God in *Chriſt*, and never giving over that Importunity, till he be inclined to have Mercy.

Now as Appetite to Meat is a Sign of Health in the Body, ſo is this Hunger in the Soul, an Evidence of ſome Life of Grace in the Heart, and in that Reſpect Matter of preſent Felicity: Whereas, on the other Side, the Decay of Appetite, is a conſumptive Symptom, and the not caring for Grace or Pardon, for Sanctification or Juſtification, is the moſt deſperate Condition in the World. And as to the future Happineſs that attends this Hungring, we may expect as much of it as God's Promiſe of filling can afford. Nay, proportionably to the two Parts of the Appetite, the State of Glory is full Matter of Satisfaction to each. There is perfect Holineſs, without Mixture of Infirmity or Carnality, anſwerable to the hungring after inherent Righteouſneſs; and there is perfect Pardon and Acquittance from all the Guilt and Debt of Sin, and ſo the Thirſt of imputed Righteouſneſs is ſatisfied alſo. So that he who hath no other Hunger or Thirſt but theſe, or in Compariſon of theſe, ſhall be ſure to find Satisfaction; which they that ſet their Hearts upon carnal worldly Objects, hungring after Wealth and ſecular Greatneſs, or the Gratification of their Luſts, ſhall never be able to arrive at, either here or hereafter; ſuch Acquiſitions being here, if attained to, very unſatisfying, and in another World there is no expectation of ought that ſhall be agreeable to ſuch Deſires.

VI. *Mercifulneſs*, the fifth Grace, or Chriſtian Virtue, ſignifies abundance of Charity, Goodneſs, and Benignity. There are in the Scripture-Style two Words near kin to one another, Juſtice and Mercifulneſs, often going together; but the latter has a much higher Senſe than the former: The firſt ſignifying the legal Charity, that both the Law of Nature and *Moſes* require to be performed to our Bretheren; but the ſecond an abundance or ſupereminent Degree of it: Expreſſions of both which we have from the Apoſtle, [w] under the Titles of the *righteous Man*, and the *good Man*.

This Mercifulneſs expreſſes itſelf in two Things eſpecially, in Giving and Forgiving. By *giving* we mean the beſtowing of all Sorts of Things, that our Abilities, and others Wants, may propoſe to us: Such are, Relief to thoſe that are in Diſtreſs, Eaſe to thoſe in Pain, Vindication of honeſt Mens' Reputation when they are ſlandered; but above all to Mens' Souls, good Counſel, ſeaſonable Reproofs, Encouragement in performing of Duty, Comfort in Time of worldly Afflictions, ſtrengthening in the Ways of God, and whatſoever may tend to the Good of any Man. By *forgiving* muſt be underſtood, the not avenging of Injuries or Reproaches on others, the not ſuffering their Treſpaſſes againſt Men, nay, nor Sins againſt God, to cool or leſſen our Charity and Mercy to them; but loving and compaſſionating, and ſhewing all Effects of true Chriſtian Mercy, as well to Enemies and Sinners, as to Friends.

Now the preſent Delight of having made another Man happy, of reſcuing a poor Soul wreſtling with Want from that Preſſure, of reprieving him that was, as it were, appointed to die; is certainly the moſt ingenuous Pleaſure in the World. The Gloriouſneſs of ſo doing is a kind of God-like Act; one of the two Things which a [x] Heathen could ſay were common to us with God; eſpecially if it be an Act of ſpiritual Mercy, an Alms to the Soul. To reſcue a poor Sinner dropping into Deſtruction, by Conference, Advice, or Example, is in a Manner to partake of that incommunicable Title of *Chriſt*, that of Saviour: It is a Thing to which, ſaith *Ariſtotle*, as to an heroic Quality, *belongs not Praiſe, but Bleſſing*; according to that of St. *Paul* from our Saviour, [y] *It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive:* Which ſuppoſes that it is a bleſſed Thing to give.

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[s] 1 Pet. iii. 4.
[t] Matth. xi. 29.
[u] Pſalm xlii. 1.
[w] Rom. v. 7.
[x] Pythagoras.
[y] Acts xx. 35.

And the Aſſurance of future Bleſſedneſs *to ſuch as are merciful*, is the greateſt in the World, from this Promiſe annexed, *They ſhall obtain Mercy*. God's Puniſhments are moſtly anſwerable to our Sins, he thinks good to give us a Sight of our Tranſgreſſions by the Manner of his Inflictions, and ſo he is alſo pleaſed to proportion his Rewards to our Graces; Mercy to the merciful moſt peculiarly: By Mercy meaning not only Acts of Bounty, and Liberality, ſuch as temporal and ſpiritual abundance; but Mercy in pardoning, and not imputing our Sins. Upon which ground it is, that in the Form of Prayer which he hath himſelf preſcribed us, he annexeth the *forgiving of all Treſpaſſers againſt us*, to our *Prayer* for *Forgiveneſs to ourſelves*, as the Condition without which we may not hope for ſuch Forgiveneſs.

VII. Proceed we to the ſixth Beatitude, pronounced on thoſe who are *pure in Heart*. Where the Heart ſignifies the inner Man, and eſpecially the practical Part, or Principle of Action. And the Purity of that is of two Sorts; the *Firſt*, that which is contrary to Pollution; the *ſecond*, that which is contrary to Mixture: As Water is ſaid to be pure, when it is clean, and not mudded and defiled; and Wine is ſaid to be pure, when it is not mixed. In the firſt Reſpect it excludes Carnality; in the ſecond Hypocriſy.

Now a Man is ſaid to be pure in Heart, in the firſt Senſe, when not only in the Members, or Inſtruments of Action, but even in the Heart, all Parts of Carnality or Worldlineſs are mortified. As when we neither are guilty of actual Uncleanneſs, nor yet conſent to unclean Deſires; nay, feed not ſo much as the Eye with unlawful Objects, or the Heart with filthy Thoughts: And becauſe there are yet other Pieces of Carnality, as Strife, Faction, Sedition, and Pride; all theſe muſt be wrought out of the Heart, or elſe we have not attained to this Purity; but are, in the Apoſtle's Phraſe, [z] *ſtill carnal*. And ſo in regard to Worldlineſs, we are pure in Heart when we not only keep from Acts of Injuſtice, and Violence, but from Deſigns of Oppreſſion, and from coveting that which is another's.

We may be ſaid to be pure in Heart, in the ſecond Senſe, (that is, as Purity is oppoſed to Mixture) when we attain to Sincerity; when we favour not ourſelves in any known Sin; when we deal doubly with God; when we divide not between him and our own Luſts, our own Ends, our own Intereſts; between God and *Mammon*, God and the Praiſe of Men, *&c.* For this is a great Part of the damning Sin of Hypocriſy, againſt which there are ſo many Woes denounced; it is the *halting between God and* Baal, the not loving and ſerving *God with all our Heart*, the admitting other Rivals to come in Competition with him.

But here, to obviate a Miſtake which ſome ſincere Perſons have run into, we would obſerve, that tho' no Man who is ſtrictly either carnal, or an Hypocrite, can be a good Chriſtian; yet the Truth is, that as long as we live here, and carry this Fleſh about us, ſomewhat of Carnality there will remain to be daily purged out: And ſo alſo ſome Relics of Hypocriſy; ſomewhat of ourſelves, our own Credit, our own Intereſts, ſtill ſecretly interpoſing in our godlieſt Actions: But theſe (ſo they be not ſuffered to reign and to carry the main of our Actions after them) may be reconcileable with a good Eſtate, as human Frailties which we cannot in this Life be free from.

To the firſt Sort of Purity belongs, as a preſent Felicity, that Contentment which reſults from having overcome and kept under our carnal Part, and brought it into ſome Terms of Obedience to the Spirit; the Quiet and Reſt that proceeds from Purity of Heart, contrary to the Diſquiets and Burnings that ariſe from unmaſtered Luſts; the Eaſe of *not ſerving the Fleſh, to obey it in the Luſts thereof*; that Quiet of Conſcience, which is occaſioned by the Abſence of thoſe Pangs that conſtantly attend the Commiſſion of carnal Sins. The ſame may in ſome Meaſure be affirmed of all other Branches of the firſt Kind of Purity. And for the Second, as it is oppoſite to Mixture, or Hypocriſy; the Conſcience of that is matter of great Serenity of Mind, of Chriſtian Boldneſs towards both God and Man. Towards God, when we have no Intricacies, Windings, or Doublings within us; when we need no Diſguiſes or Artifices of Deceit; but can venture ourſelves naked and bare to God's Eye, with a [a] *Prove me, O Lord, and try me*; *ſearch out my Reins and my Heart*. And ſo towards Men, when we fear not the moſt ſtrict Survey, and have a Treaſure of Confidence, thro' which we dread not the Face of any Man; when we have no Pains, no Agonies for fear of being diſcovered; which the Hypocrite is ſtill ſubject to.

The Reward appointed hereafter for thoſe who are pure, conſiſts in the Viſion of God, which none but the Pure are capable of, and which hath no Matter of Felicity in it to any but ſuch.

The Reaſon why only the Pure are capable of the Sight of God, is, becauſe God is a Spirit, and cannot be ſeen by carnal Eyes, till they be cleanſed and purged, and in a manner ſpiritualized; which though it be not done throughly till another Life, yet Purity here, ſuch as this Life is capable of, is a moſt proper Preparative to it; and therefore is ſaid to be that, [b] *without which no Man ſhall ſee the Lord*. And the Reaſon why the Viſion of God hath no Felicity in it, but to the Pure, is, becauſe a carnal Faculty is not pleaſed with a ſpiritual Object; there muſt be ſome Agreeableneſs, before Pleaſure is to be had, and Pleaſure is always neceſſary to Felicity.

VIII. The Word *Peace-Makers*, in the ſeventh Beatitude, ſignifies no more than peaceable-minded Men. The Notion of *making*, in Scripture Phraſe, belongs to the Bent of the Soul: Thus to *make a Lye*, is to be given to lying, to practiſe that Sin, to be ſet upon it. So, [c] *to do Righteouſneſs and Sin*, notes the full Bent and Inclination of the Soul to either of them. And thus, to *make Peace*, both here and [d] elſewhere, ſignifies to have ſtrong and hearty Affections to *Peace*.

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[z] 1 Cor. iii. 3. [a] Pſalm xxvi. 2. [b] Heb. xii. 12. Where the Word rendered *Holineſs*, ſignifies the very Purity here ſpoken of.
[c] 1 John ii. 29. and iii. 4. *Note*, The Word *To do*, is in Greek the ſame as *To make*.

Now this peaceable Affection expreſſes itſelf many Ways; ſometimes in order to private, ſometimes to public Peace; ſometimes to preſerve it where it is, and ſometimes to recover it where it is loſt. We will briefly conſider it in each of theſe Lights.

Firſt, In order to private Peace, it is *1ſt*, A Command and Victory over one's Paſſions, eſpecially Anger and Covetouſneſs; the former being moſt apt to diſquiet Families, the latter Neighbourhoods. The angry Man will have no Peace with Servants, Children, nay Wife or Parents, any that are within the Reach of his ordinary Converſation; and the covetous Man will contend with any near him, who have any Thing that he covets. *2dly*, A charitable Opinion of all Men and Actions, that are capable of candid Interpretations; Jealouſies in all Societies being the moſt fatal Enemies to Peace, and ſuch as foment the leaſt Diſcontents into the mortaleſt Feuds and Hatreds. *3dly*, 'Tis an Openneſs and Clearneſs of Mind, in debating of Actions, paſt, which have been ſubject to Miſconſtruction, without concealing any Grounds of Quarrel, or ſuffering them to boil within. *4thly*, 'Tis a reſolving againſt Contentions in Law as much as is poſſible; being rather content to ſuffer any ordinary Loſs, than to be engaged in ſuch Ways of righting ourſelves. *5thly*, 'Tis a Diſlike to Flatterers, Whiſperers, and Backbiters; and a Purpoſe never to ſuffer our Affections to be altered by any ſuch Perſons.

Secondly, In order to public Tranquility, this peaceable Temper conſiſts in Contentment in our preſent Station, and never faſtning our Ambition on any thing which will not eaſily be attained without ſome public Change; in not thinking our own Opinions in Religion of ſuch Importance, as either to deny Salvation, or Communion, to any that differ from us; in Modeſty and Calmneſs in diſputing; in not affixing Holineſs to a Set of Notions, or thinking them the beſt Men that are moſt of our Perſuaſion; and in many other Particulars, of which we may judge by theſe.

Thirdly, In order to preſerve Peace where it is, the peaceable Man values it according to its true Eſtimation; as that which is in the Eyes of Men very amiable, and *in the Sight of God of great Price*; and as that which is to every particular Man the ſame thing in many Reſpects (of his Eſtate, his Reputation, his bodily Conveniencies, and often his Life itſelf) which bodily Health is in one of thoſe Reſpects only. He conſiders how inſenſibly it may be loſt, and with how great Difficulty recovered again, and how near to a Hell this Life is without it. He prudently watches over it, and over thoſe that are Enemies to Peace. He is not eaſily provoked; but overcometh Strife with Mildneſs, and Kindneſs. He prays conſtantly to God, the Author of Peace, for the Continuance of this beloved Creature of his among us.

Fourthly, To recover it when it is loſt, the Exerciſe of a peaceable Temper conſiſts in humbling our Souls, amending our Lives, and ſearching out thoſe peculiar reigning Sins that have made this Bleſſing too good for us to enjoy; in examining every Man ſingly what we have contributed toward the removing of it, and repairing what we have thus done by Confeſſion and Satisfaction; and, laſtly, in inceſſant Prayer to God that he would reſtore this Bleſſing to us.

The preſent Felicity that belongs to thoſe who exerciſe this Virtue, is found in the Enjoyment of that Reſt and Peace, which is the greateſt of all worldly Pleaſures, and which, as Health in the Body, is the Foundation of all other temporal Joy. It conſiſts in the Conſcience of thoſe charitable Offices which we have done to others by this Means: But, above all, in the Honour of being like God in it, who is the God of Peace; and like *Chriſt*, who came on this Errand to this Earth of ours, to make Peace between the greateſt Enemies, his Father and the poor Sinner. And this Similitude between God and the Peace-makers, is what our Saviour would in Part expreſs by theſe Words, *They ſhall be called the Children of God*; which alſo intimates the future Reward apportioned to Peaceableneſs, conſiſting in God's Acknowledgment of us, as of thoſe that are like him; and conſequently, in his giving us Pardon of Sins, and eternal Reſt and Peace hereafter.

IX. The laſt Beatitude belongs to thoſe that are *perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake*, and to thoſe that are *reviled falſly for* Chriſt's *Sake:* Which Expreſſions differ one from the other, only as a more general Word, and a more ſpecial. Perſecution ſignifies properly and ſtrictly being purſued, and hunted, as Savage Beaſts are wont to be; but in common Uſe denoteth whatever Calamity or Affliction the Malice or Tyranny of others can lay on us; and Reviling is one ſpecial Kind of Perſecution, which is moſt frequently the true Chriſtian's Lot. Thoſe that have no Strength or Power to inflict other Injuries, have yet theſe Weapons of their Malice always in Readineſs: And they who are not good Chriſtians themſelves, do in their own Defence think themſelves obliged to defame thoſe that are; their good Actions, when they are ſilent, being made [e] *to reprove their Thoughts*. Wherefore they endeavour by their Tongues to revenge themſelves upon them, to redeem their Reputation by that Means.

As to the Phraſes, *for Righteouſneſs Sake*, and *falſly for my Sake*, they contain a Reſtraint or Limitation of the Subject, and inform us, that the Beatitude belongs not to thoſe indefinitely that are perſecuted and reviled; (for many may thus juſtly [f] *ſuffer as Thieves, as Murderers, Evil-doers, Buſy-Bodies*, and receive little Joy or Bleſſedneſs in that;) but to thoſe peculiarly that are true Chriſtians: And that when they ſuffer either *1ſt*. For ſome good Action wherein their Chriſtianity and the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience is concerned: As when Men are reviled or perſecuted, becauſe they will not either forſake, and apoſtatize from *Chriſt*, or in any particular Occaſion offend againſt him; or when ſome Chriſtian Performance brings a conſequent Perſecution, or Reproach upon them: Or *2dly*, For ſome indifferent ſinleſs Action; which though it be not done in neceſſary Obedience to *Chriſt*, yet bringing unjuſt Perſecution or reviling falſly upon them, may, though in an inferior Degree, belong to this Matter. And in this Caſe the Perſecution that ſo falls on them, may be thought to be permitted by a wiſe and good God, for the Benefit of the Chriſtian; either as a Chaſtiſement of his other Sins, that he may not be condemned with the World; or as a Means of Trial, whether he will bear it patiently and chriſtianly.

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[d] Jam. iii. 18.

[e] Wiſd. ii. 14.

[f] 1 Pet. iv. 15.

The preſent Felicity of ſuch Sufferers as theſe, conſiſts in ſeveral Particulars: As, *1ſt*, In *having their evil Things* in this Life, that ſo all their *good Things* may remain on Arrear, unpaid till another Life. *2dly*, In the Honour and Dignity of ſuffering for *Chriſt*'s Sake. *3dly*, In our Conformity with the antient Prophets and Champions of God in all Ages. *4thly*, In the Comfort that proceeds from this Evidence and Demonſtration of our being true Chriſtians: For that is the Meaning of, *Yours is the Kingdom of Heaven*, namely, the State of Chriſtians, or the true Chriſtian State: And it is a Chriſtian Aphoriſm, [g] that *God chaſtens every Son*; and that the good Things, that are given to Chriſtians here, ſhall be [h] *with Perſecution*. *5thly*, In this Pledge of God's Favour to us, that we are [i] *thought worthy to ſuffer Shame for his Name*. *6thly*, In the Aſſurance of a greater Reward hereafter, proportioned to our Sufferings here, expreſſed in theſe Words, *Great is your Reward in Heaven*.

But it having been ſaid, at our entring on the Beatitudes, that we were no farther to believe ourſelves Chriſtians than we ſhould find in us all the Graces to which theſe Beatitudes are prefix'd; there may be ſome Difficulty in apprehending how this can be true with Reſpect to the laſt, namely, That a Man cannot be a Chriſtian unleſs he be perſecuted and reviled: In order, therefore, to clear that Difficulty, we ſhall obſerve theſe four Things. *1ſt*, That though to be perſecuted is no Duty of ours; yet, to bear it patiently, and to rejoice in it when it befals us *for Righteouſneſs Sake*, is a Duty required of all Chriſtians. *2dly*, The very being perſecuted, though it be not a Duty, is yet a Mark and Character, of a Chriſtian; and the Scripture ſeems to affirm, that no good Chriſtian ſhall [k] ever be without his Part in it. And, indeed, it will be hard to find out one holy Man, that hath paſſed through his whole Life without this Portion. *3dly*, If ſome good Chriſtians be found, who are not perſecuted, yet ſtill the Preparation of Mind for the enduring of Perſecution is neceſſary to every Chriſtian. *4thly*, The being perſecuted ſhall contribute much to the Increaſe of our Glory, and ſo may ſtill be ſaid neceſſary reſpectively, though not abſolutely, to the attaining of that Degree of Glory: And therefore this is placed after all the reſt, as a Means of perfecting and conſummating the Chriſtian; that as the former ſeven are neceſſary to the attaining any Crown at all, ſo this to the having ſo rich a Crown, as is intimated in the Promiſe of a *great Reward in Heaven*.

X. Having thus gone thro' the eight Beatitudes, and the Characters to which they are affixed, we come to the four Woes, or Maledictions, that are added by St. *Luke*, as denounced by our Lord againſt thoſe that are *Rich*, thoſe that are *full*, thoſe that *laugh*, and thoſe that are *well ſpoken of*. The Reaſon why St. *Luke* recites only four Woes, is thought to be becauſe he has given only four of the Bleſſings, that ſo there might be a mutual Correſpondence between the one and the other: For, in fact, we are to ſuppoſe that in all the Bleſſings mentioned in St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, the oppoſite Curſes are to be underſtood, tho' none of them are there recited. However, the Antitheſis obſerved by St. *Luke* in his Expreſſion is not at all unneceſſary, or ſuperfluous; for it may ſerve not only for a Terror to Evil-doers, but for a Warning to the Pious, that they do not inadvertently ſuffer themſelves, in any Inſtance, to be drawn within the Reach of theſe Maledictions. We know how apt we are to grow giddy in Proſperity, and to have our Minds debauched by the Favour and Applauſe of Men: Even the beſt of Chriſtians are no ways irreproveable in theſe Points, when they are bleſt with an Affluence of good Fortune.

We ſhall not here enter into Particulars, (becauſe what has been ſaid concerning the Bleſſings may be a Guide with Regard to what is oppoſed to them,) any farther than juſt to make a few neceſſary Obſervations: [l] One of which is, That by the *Rich*, who are here curſed, we are not to underſtand all that are favoured by Providence with an Abundance, but only ſuch as ſeek *their Conſolation* in this World, which our Lord therefore tells them *they have received:* Intimating, that for as much as their Wealth has taken them off from any Care concerning the Life to come, they ſhall have no Share in the Felicity of that Life. This can be all that is meant; for we are ſure that *Chriſt* hath not abſolutely caſt out of his Kingdom the good Things of this World, provided they do not become a Snare to his Followers, and draw down their Thoughts from thoſe Things that are above; which St. *Auſtin* very aptly illuſtrates, when he takes notice, that *poor Lazarus* was carried by the Angels into the Boſom of *rich Abraham*. It is in the ſame Senſe that our Saviour denounces Woe againſt the *Full*; meaning ſuch whoſe *Gods are their Bellies*, and who mind the Pleaſures of Earth and Senſe ſo as totally to neglect any higher Views. Theſe ſhall certainly *hunger*, when they are removed from their preſent Enjoyments; becauſe in a State of Immortality, nothing can fill the Soul but the Fruition of God, of which, as they have no Taſte, ſo they ſhall have no Share. In like Manner, thoſe that *laugh*, are put for voluptuous Perſons, who reduce the whole Rule of their Lives to this *Epicurean* Maxim, *Let us live To-Day, for To-Morrow we die*; thinking the Future not worth a Moment's Concern, and endeavouring to graſp the whole Circle of Pleaſures and Joys in one Inſtant *Now*. As for the laſt Malediction, the Intent of it is to correct our Ambition and Vanity; for as there is nothing more common than to ſeek the Good-will and Praiſe of Men, or at leaſt to be drawn aſide by them when they offer, our Lord warns his Diſciples to beware of thoſe Temptations which are the Ruin of ſo many: Which Admonition is addreſſed chiefly to Miniſters of the Goſpel, who can have no greater Foe than an inordinate Deſire of Applauſe; it being impoſſible for them not to diſguiſe the pure Doctrine of *Chriſt*, when their only or chief Aim is to pleaſe, and to gain Eſteem from Men, which can be done no other way than by falling in, either directly or indirectly, with their Intereſts and Paſſions. The Phraſe *All Men* (*Woe unto you when* all Men *ſhall ſpeak well of you*) regards only the Men of this World, who never cheriſh any but falſe Prophets and Deceivers, that abuſe the good Word of God to the mean Purpoſes above-mentioned: For it would be hard indeed that the Praiſe of good Men ſhould be a Curſe to the Miniſter who receives it: On the contrary, it is doubtleſs a Bleſſing. The Praiſe here meant, is[m] only that which is incompatible with the Service of *Chriſt*.

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[g] Heb. xii. 7.

[h] Mark x. 30.

[i] Acts v. 41.

[k] Heb xii. 6, &c.

[l] See Calvin ſur l'harmonie Evang.

XI. From the Order of the Beatitudes, as recited by St. *Matthew*, and as conſidered in the foregoing Remarks, we may obſerve two Things, which we ſhall here briefly conſider and illuſtrate. The *firſt* is, that the Grace firſt named is a general principal Grace, which is the Foundation of all the reſt. Where that is once ſeated and planted, all the reſt will more eaſily and more happily follow. Humility is the Seed-Plat of all, and from thence it is moſt proper to proceed; 1. To *Mourning* or Sorrow for Sin; for the humble Heart is a melting Heart: 2. To *Meekneſs* and Quietneſs of Spirit, becauſe Humility is the next Degree to Meekneſs: 3. To *hungring and thirſting after Righteouſneſs*; becauſe the humble Heart will moſt impatiently deſire both Pardon of Sin, and Grace to ſanctify: 4. To *Mercifulneſs*; for who will be ſo ready to give and forgive as the humble Man? 5. To *Purity of Heart*; Humility being irreconcileable with all Filthineſs *both of the Fleſh and Spirit*, but eſpecially the latter, of which Pride is a chief Particular: 6. To *Peaceableneſs*; Contention being generally the Effect of Pride: 7. To *Perſecution and reviling*; both becauſe Humility is apt to tempt the Proud to revile and perſecute, and becauſe it is ſure to *work Patience* in the Chriſtian. The *ſecond* Thing obſerveable from the Order of the Beatitudes, is the interchangeable Mixture of theſe Graces; one towards God, and another towards Man: And ſo are they interwoven, that the firſt reſpects God, the next Man; the next God again; and ſo forward till it comes to the laſt, which reſpects God again. For having already remarked, that the firſt is a general fundamental Grace, as the Head to all the reſt, it follows that the ſecond, that of Mourning, muſt be the firſt Particular, which being faſtened particularly on Sin, reſpecteth God, againſt whom we have ſinned: Next to that comes Meekneſs, which reſpecteth our Neighbour eſpecially; and then 3*dly*, Hungring and thirſting after Righteouſneſs, which, as this Righteouſneſs is all to be had from God, reſpecteth God alone. Mercifulneſs again reſpecteth Man; Purity in Heart, God; Peaceableneſs, Man; and laſtly, Perſecution for Righteouſneſs Sake, and Patience of it, as coming from a Conſideration and Belief of God's provident Diſpoſal of all Things, reſpecteth God again. So that you ſee the firſt and laſt reſpect our Duty toward God, (who is *Alpha* and *Omega*, the firſt and the laſt;) and thoſe between are divided between our Neighbour and God: Teaching us, that to God belongs the chief, and firſt, and laſt, of our Love and Obedience; yet ſo as not to exclude, but require in a ſubordinate Degree, our Care of Duty and Love toward Man alſo; one intermixing lovingly and friendly with the other, and neither being performed as it ought, if the other be neglected.

XII. After the Beatitudes, our Lord proceeds (in the four[n] next Verſes according to St. *Matthew*) to ſhew the Neceſſity that the Graces and Virtues of Diſciples, or Chriſtians, ſhould be evident and exemplary to Heathens, Sinners, and all indefinitely who may be attracted by ſuch Example. This is enforced by four Similitudes: 1*ſt*. Of Salt, which as long as it is Salt, hath a Quality of ſeaſoning all other Things, to which it is applied: 2*dly*. Of the Sun, whoſe Office it is to illuminate the World: 3*dly*. Of *a City on a Hill*, which is conſpicuous: 4*thly*. Of *a Candle ſet in a Candleſtick*, which *giveth Light to all that are in the Houſe*. By all which he expreſſes that thoſe Graces are not to be accounted Chriſtian, which either do not bring forth Fruits, and ſo remain but dull Habits, or which are not made exemplary to others.

Some have imagined that theſe Metaphors, *Salt of the Earth*, *Light of the World*, &c. are applicable only to the Apoſtles, and the Miniſters of the Goſpel their Succeſſors, and not to every private Chriſtian: But the contrary is evident; for all private Chriſtians are the Diſciples, to whom *Chriſt* here ſpeaks, as we obſerved at the beginning, (and the ſame Auditors continued to every Part of the Sermon) and ſo the Duty of exemplary Lives is in ſome Meaſure required of every one of them, who before were bound to be meek, or peaceable, or pure, that is, of all thoſe that are entered into the School of *Chriſt*.

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[m] Gal. i. 10.

[n] Matth. v. 13—16.

What is here meant by this Neceſſity that Chriſtians muſt be evident and exemplary, is this: That a Chriſtian muſt not content himſelf in doing barely what *Chriſt* expreſly commands, but muſt alſo diſpoſe his Actions ſo as may moſt tend to God's Honour, which conſiſts in bringing in many Diſciples to him, and which ought to be precious to a Chriſtian next to the Salvation of his own Soul. Moſt contrary to which are the Practices of thoſe, who profeſſing Religion, commit ſuch Things as even Nature itſelf, and ſober Reaſon abhors, (ſuch are circumventing of other Men, and many Times unclean Sins, that ought not to to be named) and ſo bring up an evil Report upon the Chriſtian Religion, and defame it in the Opinions of Men: Whereas a Chriſtian ought to labour the Converſion of others, and the extending of God's Kingdom, for which he daily puts up a Petition in our Lord's own Words.

DISSERTATION II.

Of our Saviour's fulfilling, or perfecting, the Law.

I. *The Points to be conſidered in this Diſcourſe. Meaning of the Word Law.* II. *That Chriſtianity is not contrary to the Law and the Prophets, but the Perfection of them.* III. *This confirmed from Scripture and the Fathers.* IV. *In what Senſe the Chriſtian's Burthen is lighter than the* Jews. *Whether there are equivalent Commands to thoſe of* Chriſt *in the Old-Teſtament. That theſe Precepts of* Chriſt *were not merely Counſels.* V. *Whether in the Commandments that reſpect Swearing, Murder, and Adultery, there was as much forbidden, as in our Lord's Precepts concerning the ſame Sins.* VI. *That* Chriſt *not only ſet many antient Laws higher than they were before, but added ſome new ones, both there and elſewhere.* VII. Chriſt *aboliſhed the ceremonial, and reformed the premiſſive Laws.* VIII. *Why he added ſo much to the Duties of the ſecond Table, and ſo little to that of the firſt.*

I. WE are now to enquire, Whether *Chriſt*, in his Sermon on the Mount, added to the moral Laws of the *Jews*? And, if he did, in what Particulars and Degrees? By which Means ſhall we be led into the full Senſe of the 17*th*, 18*th*, 19*th*, and 20*th*, Verſes of the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, which runs thus: *Think not that I came to deſtroy the Law or the Prophets: I am not come to deſtroy, but to fulfil. For verily I ſay unto you, Till Heaven and Earth paſs, one Jot, or one Tittle, ſhall in no wiſe paſs from the Law, until all be fulfilled. Whoſoever therefore ſhall break one of theſe leaſt Commandments, and ſhall teach Men ſo, he ſhall be called the leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven. For I ſay unto you, that except your Righteouſneſs ſhall exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, ye ſhall in no Caſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

By the Words *Law* and *Prophets*, in this Place, and wherever elſe they are joined together, we are to underſtand all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, containing the whole Syſtem of the Religion of the *Jews*, as it was gradually completed by the ſeveral Revelations of his Will, which it pleaſed God to make to that People. The ſame Thing is ſometimes expreſſed by the Word Law alone, eſpecially in the New Teſtament, where it is put in Oppoſition to the Goſpel, or the new Covenant introduced by *Jeſus Chriſt*. By them we are here to underſtand only the moral Part of that Religion; for as to the ceremonial Part, that did not eſſentially belong thereto, but was only introduced as typical of a more perfect Revelation by *Chriſt*, who, at his coming, aboliſhed all other Sacrifices by the Sacrifice of himſelf, and, being the Subſtance of all that was ſhadowed in the exterior Part of their Worſhip, of Neceſſity put an End to the Reſemblances and Symbols therein contained.

II. Agreeably to this Senſe of the Law and the Prophets, our Saviour in the Verſes above quoted atteſts two great Chriſtian Truths. 1*ſt*, That Chriſtianity is not contrary to the Laws by which Mankind had been formerly obliged, nor any Ways deſtructive of them. 2*dly*, That *Chriſt* hath perfected the Law, and carried the Obligation of it higher, in many Particulars, than it ever before was carried by any of the *Jewiſh* Doctors.

Firſt, That Chriſtianity is not contrary to, nor deſtructive of, the Laws by which Mankind had formerly been obliged. *Chriſt* now commands nothing that the natural or moral Law had forbidden, and forbids nothing which that had commanded. This is affirmed in three Forms in the Verſes above. *Firſt*, we are told, *He came not to deſtroy the Law and the Prophets*, that is, the Doctrine deſigned and taught by them; and it would be a very dangerous Error to think he did, *Think not that I came to deſtroy*, &c. *Secondly*, He affirms with an Aſſeveration, that the *leaſt Tittle of the Law* ſhall not be deſtroyed, that is, loſe its obligatory Force, *till all be fulfilled*, or, more properly, *till all Things be done*, that is till the World be at an End, or *till Heaven and Earth paſs away*, and is diſſolved. *Thirdly*, He pronounces clearly, that he who affirms any the leaſt Commandment of the Law to be now abrogated, and not only breaks them himſelf, but teaches others that they are not obliged to keep them, *He ſhall be called the leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven*, that is, ſhall not be accounted a Chriſtian; for ſo the Kingdom of Heaven frequently ſignifies in the Scripture, as we have ſeveral Times obſerved.

The *ſecond* Thing atteſted in the foregoing Verſes is, that Chriſt hath perfected the Law, and carried it higher, than the moſt ſtudied Doctor among the *Jews*, thought himſelf obliged by it formerly. And this is affirmed here alſo by two Phraſes: *Firſt*, *I came not to deſtroy the Law, but to perfect it.* The *Greek* Word which we render *fulfill*, is anſwerable to an *Hebrew* one, which ſignifies not only to perform, but to *perfect*, to *fill up*, and *complete*; and ſo is rendered ſometimes by one, ſometimes by the other. And the *Greek* itſelf is ſo uſed in lik like Manner; for when it [a] refers to a Word or a Prophecy, then it is to *perform*, to *fulfil*. In other Caſes it is to *fill up*, to *complete*, to *perfect*. And that it is ſo in this Place, may appear by the antient *Greek* Fathers, who expreſs it by the Similitudes, either of a Veſſel that had ſome Water in it before, but now is filled up to the Brim; or, of a Picture that is firſt drawn rudely, the Limbs only, and the Lineaments; but when the Hand of the Painter comes to draw it in Colours to the Life, then it is ſaid to be filled up. 2*dly*, Our Lord tells his Diſciples, that, *Except their Righteouſneſs*, that is, Chriſtian Actions and Performances, *exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees*, that is, go higher than that ſtricteſt Sect of the *Jews*, the Doctors among them, thought themſelves, or taught others that they were obliged to go; they *ſhall in no caſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, neither paſs for Chriſtians here, nor prove Saints hereafter. In which Words, ſays Dr. *Hammond*, he doth not pitch on the Name of Scribes and Phariſees peculiarly, as thoſe that were the greateſt Evacuators of the Law by their own hypocritical Practices, or falſe Gloſſes in ſome Particulars; but the Phariſees as the moſt exact [c] Sect among the *Jews*, and the Scribes, as the Doctors of the Law, and thoſe that knew better what belonged to it than other Men; and both together, as thoſe [d] *that ſate in* Moſes *Chair*, and taught there truly, though they practiſed not, the Doctrine of the *Moſaical* Law, in that Manner, as others were obliged to perform it. This ſame Truth is alſo further proved in the Remainder of this Chapter, by Induction of ſeveral Particulars of the Law, firſt barely ſet down by *Chriſt*, and then with *Chriſt*'s Improvement added to them in this Form of Speech, *but I ſay unto you*. And tho' this Truth, that *Chriſt* required more of his Diſciples, than the *Jews* by any clear Revelation had been convinced to be neceſſary before, be no new Doctrine, but affirmed diſtinctly by moſt of the antient, eſpecially the *Greek* Writers, before St. *Auſtin*'s Time; yet we have thought good to confirm it farther by two Things; namely, by a remarkable Place of Scripture, and by ſome Reaſons which the Fathers have given for the doing of it.

III. *Firſt*, We are to confirm this by a remarkable Place of Scripture: This remarkable Text is in the Beginning of the firſt Epiſtle of St. *John*; where it is prefaced and brought in with more magnificent Ceremony than any other Paſſage in the Bible. [e] *That which was from the Beginning, which we have heard, which we have ſeen with our Eyes, and our Hands have handled of the Word of Life: (For the Light was manifeſted, and we have ſeen, and bear Witneſs, and new unto you that eternal Life which was with the Father, and was manifeſted unto us:) That which we have ſeen and heard declare we unto you, that ye may have Fellowſhip with us; and truly our Fellowſhip is with the Father, and with his Son* Jeſus Chriſt. *And theſe Things write we unto you, that your Joy may be full.*——Now all theſe Expreſſious are only ſo many diſtinguiſhing Characters ſet upon that which follows; ſhewing it to be the Sum of the whole Goſpel; or Doctrine of *Chriſt*; as we find immediately. [f] *This then is the Meſſage which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, That God is Light, and in him is no Darkneſs at all:* Which Words, ſo uſhered in, have, we may eaſily believe, ſomewhat more in them, than at the firſt Sound, taken alone, they would ſeem to have; and this certainly it is: That now, under the Goſpel, *Chriſt* the Light appears without any Mixture of Darkneſs. Light is the State and Doctrine of Chriſtianity; Darkneſs, of Sin, and Imperfection, ſuch as was before among the *Jews* and Heathens, (which is referred to by the Phraſe following, [g] *Walk in Darkneſs*, that is, live like *Jews* and Heathens:) And therefore to be light, without any Mixture of Darkneſs, is to be perfect, without any Mixture of Imperfection. And this we muſt not here affirm of God, or of *Chriſt* under the Goſpel, in reſpect to himſelf, for that were to conceive, that he had not been ſo before; but in Reſpect of his Law and Commandments; namely, that they had before ſome Mixture of Imperfection, but now have none; that they had before Vacuities in them, which now are filled up by *Chriſt*.

As for the Fathers, the Reaſons which they give for this Opinion, are theſe eſpecially. 1*ſt*, Becauſe *Chriſt* under the Goſpel gives either higher, or plainer Promiſes, than he did before: The Promiſes of eternal Life are now as clear, as thoſe of a temporal *Canaan* had been before to the *Jews*. 2*dly*, Becauſe he now gives more Grace to perform his Commands than before he had done. The Law given by *Moſes* was a carnal Law; it was weak, not accompanied with Strength to perform what it requires: But the Goſpel of *Chriſt* is the *Adminiſtration of the Spirit*, that is, it is a Means to adminiſter the Spirit to our Hearts, to enable us to do what we are commanded to do. And as a Father ſaid, *Lord give me Strength to do what thou commandeſt, and command what thou liſteth*; ſo may we ſay, if *Chriſt* ſtrengthens us, we are *able to do all Things*, having that *Sufficiency from God.*

That we may not be thought precariouſly to fix this Opinion on the Fathers, we ſhall here quote a few Paſſages from them. [h] *Origen* ſaith of *Chriſt*'s Laws, that they are *better and diviner than all former Laws*; and *Juſtin Martyr*, that to *live according to Nature is the Part of one that hath not yet believed*. *Irenæus* tell us, [i] that *Chriſt did not diſſolve thoſe Parts of the Law which were from the Law of Nature, but extended them, and ſo filled them up*: (Where to fill up is more than to extend, ands in that Notion is ſet oppoſite to *Chriſt*'s Word of deſtroying the Laws:) That *Chriſt*'s Law is the *Plenitude and Ex-*

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[a] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. 1 Macc. ii. 55.
[b] Ecclus. xxxiii. 16. xxxix. 12. & 2 Chron. xxv. 10.
[c] Acts xxxvi. 5.
[d] Matth. xxiii. 2.
[e] See 1 John i. 1, 2, 3, 4.
[f] Ver. 5.
[g] Ver. 6.
[h] Orig. cont. Celſ. l. 5.
[i] Iren. de Hær. l. 4. c. vii.

tenſion of the former; that the Laws under *Chriſt are extended above what they were, and our Subjection increaſt*; *that* Chriſt fills up, extends, and dilates the Law. In a Word, this Father ſpends a whole Chapter to the ſame Purpoſe, ſhewing abundantly what *Chriſt* meant by the Word which we render *fulfil*; namely, not ſimply *fulfilling*, as that ſignifies in our ordinary Phraſe *performing* the former Laws; but *filling it up, increaſing it, adding to it*. [l] So *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath a great deal of Chriſt's *renewing the Law being grown old, and not permitting thoſe Things any longer which had been before permitted, but leading his Diſciples from that preluſory Life of Nature to thoſe higher Myſteries*. So [m] *Athenagoras* oppoſes againſt all the Precepts of the Lawyers and Philoſophers of all former Ages, this one Precept of *Chriſt*, *Love your Enemies*; challenging them all to compare with *Chriſt* in that one Piece of Chriſtianity. As the old Law ſaith, *Thou ſhall not kill, ſo,* [n] ſays St. *Baſil*, *the Lord giving more perfect Laws, ſaith,* Thou ſhall not be angry. And in like Manner ſpeaks the Author [o] of thoſe Conſtitutions which go under *Clemens Romanus*'s Name, and are acknowledged to be very antient. *Conſtantine* [p] the Emperor calls *Chriſt*'s Law, *The new Diſcipline*; *Macarius* names it [q] *a ſpiritual Law, oppoſed to the natural:* But moſt clearly St. *Chryſoſtom*, who calls the Sermon on the Mount, *The Top of Philoſophy. In the New Teſtament*, ſaith he, [r] *there are many Laws, and of many higher or greater Matters.* To which he applies that of *Chriſt*, [s] *If I had not come and ſpoken to them, they had not known Sin.* Whence 'tis clear, that it was *Chryſoſtom*'s Opinion, that ſome Things were prohibited by *Chriſt*'s coming and ſpeaking, which he that practiſed before, either had no Sin, or was not in ſo great a Meaſure guilty of it. So again, that Chriſt's *giving of Laws, was a filing up and extending of the old*; and that this was the Reaſon why *Chriſt* meddled not with all the Precepts of the Decalogue, *becauſe*, ſaith he, *he reſolved not to increaſe them all.* Again, [t] that it was now *a Seaſon of greater Precepts.* And in another Place, [v] *The Antients and we*, ſays he, *have not the ſame Goals propoſed to us.* So *Theophylact* compares [w] *Chriſt* with the Law, as the painting to Life, to the drawing in black and white, or firſt Lineaments; and adds, that Chriſt *did not deſtroy that firſt Draught, but rather fill it up.* So again, *To love Friends*, ſaith he, *is an imperfect Thing*; *but to love all is perfect, or an high Degree of Perfection.* Again, that *the Precepts of the Law are ſuch as are agreeable to Sucklings and Children, which it will be a Reproach to Men not to have exceeded.* To the ſame Purpoſe, ſpeaks *Oecumenius:* [x] *We have not now*, ſays he, *the ſame Precepts in the New, which we had in the Old Teſtament*; *but new Commands, and more philoſophical*; that is, of deeper and higher Importance for the regulating of Men's Lives: *For*, continues he, *killing was forbidden of old, Anger is alſo forbidden us.* So of ſwearing he ſays, *It was not then univerſally unlawful*; *but now after* Chriſt *it is, for* Chriſt *hath ſaid,* But I ſay unto you, ſwear not at all. The ſame is affirmed by St. *Baſil* in the fore-cited Place: *Swearing truly*, ſays he, *is permitted under the Law*, meaning ſome kind of Oaths, which are there permitted; as for Example, ſwearing by others beſides God: *But under the Goſpel it is uniuerſally forbidden.* In like Manner ſpeak both St. *Chryſoſtom* and *Theophylact*. Among the *Latins Tertullian* aſſures us, [y] that *Chriſt*'s Law is *an Addition of neceſſary Supplements to the Law of the Creator*; that [z] Chriſt *added his Rules of Patience for an Help to enlarge and fill up the Law, becauſe that had formerly been wanting to the Doctrine of Righteouſneſs: For Patience,* ſaith he, *was not as yet on Earth, becauſe Faith was not*; meaning that Chriſtianity brought that Degree of Patience into the World with it. And after a great deal more, he comforts the Law of *Moſes* for the Loſs of its Ceremonies, and tells it, that it hath found *more in* Chriſt *than it loſt*. So again, [a] pointing at *Chriſt*'s Command to love our Enemies; *This*, ſays he, *is a Goodneſs perfect and proper to us Chriſtians*; *'tis every Man's Part to love Friends, only the Chriſtian's to love Enemies.* In other [b] Places he tells us that Chriſt *preſerved and increaſed the Laws of God the Creator, by filling them up*; and that ſome Things in the New-Teſtament are prohibited by an higher Precept; as inſtead of, Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery, we *are aſſured by our Lord, that* he that looketh, *on a Woman to luſt after her, hath committed Adultery with her.* So St. *Jerome* [c] ſpeaking concerning Oaths, ſays, *This was allowed before, or permitted to the* Jews, *as to little ones*; *but the Goſpel-truth doth not permit it.* So alſo St. *Auguſtine* [d] having propoſed a double Senſe of fulfilling the Law, inſiſts only on the latter, namely, *That* Chriſt *fulfilled the Law by adding, and ſo by perfecting confirmed it: For while thoſe Things are done*, ſaith he, *which are added, thoſe Things are much more done, which were permitted for their initial State.* Then that Verſe, *Unleſs your Righteouſneſs exceed,* &c. he explains thus; *Unleſs you fulfil not only thoſe Things, which Men perform in that initial State, but alſo thoſe which are added by me, who came not to deſtroy but to fulfil, you ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* And again, on that Paſſage, He that ſhall do and teach theſe leaſt Commandments, ſhall be called great, he ſpeaks thus, *This is not to be underſtood of thoſe leaſt Things under the Law, but of the leaſt of thoſe Precepts, which* Chriſt *meant to deliver them.* Theſe few Quotations may ſuffice, to give the Senſe of Antiquity in this Point.

IV. But here it may be objected, "That if this be true, that *Chriſt* now requires more than under Nature or *Moſes* had been formerly required, at leaſt more than was fully re-

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[l] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. [m] Athenag. in Apol. [n] Baſil. in Pſal. xv. [o] Conſtit. l. 6. c. 23.
[p] Apud Zoſiim. l. 2. [q] Macar. Hom. 37. p. 44. [r] Chryſoſt. T. 3. p. 93. Ed. Savil. [s] John xv. 22.
[t] In Matth. p. 112. [v] Oper. T. 3. p. 91. [w] Theoph. p. 28. in Eu. [x] Oecumen. T. 1. p. 286.
Tertull. cont. Marcion. l. 3. c. 16. [z] L. De Patient [a] Ad Scap. p. 91. [b] Cont. Marc. l. 4. l. de pudic. &c.
[c] Hieron. in Matt. v. [d] Auguſt. T. 4. p. 1109 de Serm. in Monte l. 1.

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vealed to be required, then is the Chriſtian Burthen not lighter than the *Jews* formerly was, but in theſe Things ſeems to be heavier rather." We anſwer, It is made lighter by *Chriſt* in taking off that unprofitable Burthen of Ceremonies, that had nothing good in them, and yet were formerly laid on the *Jews*. It is lighter again in reſpect of the damning Power of every the leaſt Sin, or Breach of the firſt Covenant, which to the penitent Believer is taken away in the Second. Which two Things being ſuppoſed, the adding of theſe Perfections to the Law, (which are all of Things profitable, that were before acknowledged to be excellent, and honourable,) will not in any reaſon be counted the Increaſe of a Burthen; but the gainful Yoke will be a light one, though it be a [d] Yoke. And as long as God gives Strength, his Commandments, whatever they are, cannot be grievous.

If it be ſaid, "That it is not difficult to find in the Old Teſtament, the ſame or equivalent Commands to every one of thoſe given by *Chriſt* in this Sermon;" the Anſwer is, That ſome Glimmerings perhaps of this Light there were before, as Goſpel under the Law: But then theſe either were not univerſally commanded to all under Threat of eternal Puniſhment, but only recommended to them that would do that which is beſt, and ſo ſee good Days; or they were not ſo expreſly revealed to the *Jews* as that they might know themſelves obliged by them.

Farther, we are not to think that the Superadditions of *Chriſt* to the Moral Law are only Counſels of Perfection, which to do, is to do better; and not Commands, which not to do is a Sin: For theſe Superadditions are all poſitive Commands, and not Counſels only; *Chriſt* delivering them now in the ſame Manner, as *Moſes* did thoſe before, and adding this Phraſe, *I ſay unto you*, as a Form of Command, equivalent to that uſed by *Moſes*, *God ſpake theſe Words and ſaid*. And the Breach of theſe new Sayings is threatned with Judgment, Hell Fire, and Impriſonment irreverſible, in the enſuing Words: All which ſignify them Sins, which muſt be accounted for by a Chriſtian, and not only Failings, or falling ſhort of Perfection.

V. Though what has been ſaid in the preceding Paragraphs, be ſufficient to prove that *Chriſt*, in this Sermon, and particularly at the End of the fifth Chapter, did really add to the Moral Law of the *Jews*, in thoſe Precepts of it which he recites; yet becauſe ſome are of a contrary Opinion, it may not be amiſs to give their Reaſons, that ſo the Reader may be at Liberty to judge for himſelf in this Matter. For if the *Jews* can be brought up to us in their Morality, there will be no Danger in believing their Syſtem to be more perfect than is here repreſented. But then, on the other Hand, if we muſt deſcend to the *Jews*, and allow that no more was meant by our Saviour than was before expreſſed by *Moſes*, the Danger will be very great; ſince we ſhall be apt to think lightly of many Practices that are contrary to the Goſpel, but which the *Jews* allowed themſelves in, becauſe they thought them not forbidden in the Law. The Queſtion then is, *Whether the ſeeming Additions of our Saviour were Improvements and Extenſions of the antient Precepts, or only Corrections of thoſe falſe Gloſſes that had been put on them by the* Phariſees *and Doctors of the Law?* The former Opinion we have hitherto endeavoured to maintain; thoſe who are of the latter, give the following Reaſon for it: [e] *That according to the Rules given by Divines for the Interpretation of the Decalogue, what our Lord adds to the Letter of the Third, the Sixth, and the Seventh Commandment, muſt be contained under the genuine Import of thoſe Precepts.* Theſe Rules are, 1*ſt*, *That where any Vice is forbidden, that muſt be conſequentially forbidden, which is a natural Means, an ordinary Occaſion of, a Provocation, Inducement, or Temptation to, that Sin:* It being, ſay Civilians, the Property of a good Law, not only to deſtroy Vice, but the Occaſion of it. 2*dly*, *That when any Evil is forbidden in the Decalogue, the leaſt Degree of that Evil is forbidden:* For the Degree, according to the forecited Authors, changes not the Kind. Now from theſe two Rules are deduced the following Conſequences.

Firſt, That vain Swearing, or ſwearing in our ordinary Diſcourſe, muſt be forbidden in that Command, which requires us not to ſwear falſely, or take the Name of God in vain. For the Reaſons of the Prohibition of falſe Swearing are theſe: 1. Becauſe it is a Prophanation of the ſacred Name of God. [f] *Thou ſhalt not ſwear by my Name falſely, neither ſhalt thou prophane the Name of thy God:* Now by ſwearing in our common Diſcourſe, we make this ſacred Name common, and therefore prophane it. 2. Becauſe this Cuſtom of ſwearing in our ordinary Diſcourſe, naturally leads to the Sin of Perjury: It being the Obſervation both of a [g] Heathen and a [h] *Jew*, as well of St. *Auſtin* a Chriſtian, *That from a Cuſtom of ſwearing, Men quickly ſlide into Perjury*. And what can be expected of a common Swearer, but that he ſhould violate, as well as prophane, the Oath of God; ſince by his Practice it appears, that he looks not upon an Oath with due Reverence? Furthermore, it is not reaſonable to conceive, that God ſhould permit the *Jews* to ſwear lightly by his Name, when the Heathens, [i] by the Light of Nature, condemned this Practice; and there is no Precept in the Books of *Moſes*, in which vain Swearing is ſo likely to be forbidden, as in the Third Commandment; therefore we ought to think it is forbidden there.

Secondly, Hence it follows, according to theſe Authors, that all cauſeleſs Anger, and Rancour of Spirit againſt others, and all the Expreſſions of it, by provoking Language, and reviling Cenſures, muſt conſequently be forbidden by thoſe Words, *Thou ſhalt not kill*; becauſe ſuch Anger, and ſuch Expreſſions, diſpoſe us to thoſe Contentions

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[d] Matth. xi. 30.

[e] Whitby's Append. to Matth. v.

[f] Levit xix. 12.

[g] Hieroc. in Carm. Pythag.

[h] Phil. Jud. De Decalog.

[i] Plato de legib. lib. xi. Quintil. Inſt. Orat. lib. ix. cap. 2. Hieroc. in Carm. Pythag.

tions which often end in Blood: And ſo that Contempt of others, which makes us not to value our Lives, and that Hatred which in divine [l] Conſtruction is accounted Murder, muſt be alſo included within this Prohibition.

Thirdly, Hence it likewiſe follows, according to the ſame Writers, that all Luſtings of Heart, after the forbidden Enjoyment of a Woman, and all ſuch Uſage of the Sight, the Touch, or any other Senſe, as naturally are Incentives to any Filthineſs of the Fleſh, muſt be forbidden by thoſe Words, *Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery:* For ſince, as [m] our Saviour affirms, *Out of the Heart proceed Fornications and Adulteries*, it is plain they muſt be in the Heart, before they break out into Action; and they can be in the Heart in no other Senſe, but by the Luſtings of it after ſuch Action.

VI. Theſe three Commandments are all that *Chriſt* hath mentioned in the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*; two of them, thoſe concerning Murder and Adultery, reſpect our Duty to our Neighbour, and only one, that of Swearing, regards our Duty towards God: And this is the only Precept of the firſt Table that *Chriſt* hath recited. But then, in other Places of this Sermon, he hath gone through three other Commands of the ſecond Table: The Eighth, that againſt Stealing, he hath changed into *doing unto others as we would that they ſhould do unto us*; The Ninth, againſt bearing falſe Witneſs, into *not judging of others*; The Tenth, of not Coveting, into *taking no Thought, and not ſuffering a Deſire of Wealth to maſter us:* And if the foregoing Rules and Conſequences will hold good in the Particulars to which they are applied, they will alſo hold good in all the reſt; whence it will follow, that *Chriſt* hath, in this Sermon, added nothing to the Duties, either of the firſt or ſecond Table, but only corrected the falſe Gloſſes that were put on them. And this is affirmed in plain Words, [n] by thoſe who introduce theſe Arguments; but we think not with ſufficient Reaſon; as we truſt will appear, when the following Conſiderations are joined to thoſe offered above.

Firſt, That none of the *Iſraelites*, even of thoſe who lived neareſt to the Time of *Moſes*, and before the Law could be perverted by Miſinterpretations, ſeem to have underſtood the Precepts of the Decalogue in that high Senſe, in which our Saviour hath explained them. This will appear from the Practice of the beſt Men among that People, of Men who ſeem to have been favoured peculiarly by God, as every one will perceive who conſiders their Hiſtories.

Secondly, That if *Chriſt* had intended in this Diſcourſe, only to have corrected the falſe or imperfect Interpretations of the Scribes and Phariſees, he would have named them, and pointed out thoſe Particulars, in which they had either perverted, or miſunderſtood, or imperfectly comprehended the Senſe of, the original Text of the Law; as he did on many other Occaſions, where that was apparently his ſole, or at leaſt his principal Intention. Nor do we think it a ſatisfactory Anſwer to ſay, that *Chriſt* hath ſufficiently mentioned the Scribes and Phariſees, by telling his Diſciples, [o] That *except their Righteouſneſs exceeded the Righteouſneſs of thoſe Sects, they ſhould in no Caſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven:* For beſides that there is another Interpretation of this Paſſage, more obvious than what is here inſinuated, (as we have ſhewn above;) we believe that our Lord, who was now ſpeaking to the Underſtanding of his Hearers, would not have left them to find out the diſtant Connection between this Paſſage and all the ſucceeding Precepts, if any ſuch Connection had been intended, but would rather have repeated the Names of the Scribes and Phariſees, as often as he had Intention to correct them.——Obſerve, we do not ſay that the Scribes and Phariſees had not corrupted the Law, having [p] elſewhere proved that they had done it in an aſtoniſhing Manner; nor do we deny that *Chriſt* might glance at thoſe Corruptions in the Text of Scripture laſt quoted, as well as at the Strictneſs of their exterior Worſhip: We only deny, that the Correction of theſe Corruptions was the ſole Intent of our Saviour, in thoſe Parts of his Sermon where he explains and improves the Law of Moſes.

Thirdly, Had our Lord deſigned not to add any Thing to the moral Law, but only to expound it better than the Scribes had done, he would not, after the Recital of the Law, have added this authoritative Form of Speech, *But I ſay unto you:* It would have been ſufficient, in that Caſe, to have ſaid, Moſes *commands you farther ſo and ſo*; or to have uſed any other Expreſſion, which might have ſignified, that they did not underſtand the Precept in its full Extent. This we look upon to be an Argument worthy of Notice; nor can we think that any good Reaſon can be given for our Lord's ſpeaking ſo much in the Style of a Legiſlator, by thoſe who look upon him in this Place as no more than a Commentator on Laws already known.

Fourthly, It is univerſally acknowledged, that whatever *Chriſt* hath done in this Sermon, he hath elſewhere improved the moral Law of the *Jews*, and even the Law of Nature, not only by ſetting ſome of the antient Precepts higher than they were before, but by adding ſome Commands entirely new, about Duties that were till then unknown in the World. Now if he did this on other Occaſions, why ſhould we not ſuppoſe he did it here; ſince he appears to have delivered this Diſcourſe in a more poſitive and magiſterial Manner than almoſt any other in the Goſpels; inſomuch that when he *came down from the Mountain* (as the Evangeliſt obſerves very much to our Purpoſe) *the Multitude were aſtoniſhed at his Doctrine*; *for he taught them as one that had Authority, and not as the Scribes.*

VII. One of the new Commandments added by *Chriſt*, according to the Judgment of all, and the expreſs Words of Scripture, is that wherein he commands Chriſtians [q] *to love one another, as he hath loved them*, that is, *ſo as to lay down their Lives for their Brethren.* There was no Law of Nature, or *Moſes*, that required this; nor did the Reaſon of it, *Chriſt*'s laying down his Life for us, prevail before: And therefore this is ſtiled, by way of Excellency, [r] *his Commandment*, and in another Place, [s] *his new Commandment*.

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[l] 1 John iii. 15.

[m] Matth. xv. 19.

[n] See Whitby ubi ſupra.

[o] Matth. v. 20.

[p] In the Diſſertation on the Corruptions of the Jewiſh Church, &c.

It is moreover granted, that *Chriſt*, even in this Sermon, hath added to the permiſſive Laws of *Moſes*; or rather, reſtrained Chriſtians from acting ſuitably to thoſe Permiſſions. For Example, The Law of *Moſes* permitted a Man to divorce his Wife, [t] *if ſhe found not Favour in his Eyes, by reaſon of ſome Matter of Uncleanneſs in her*; that is, as the *Jews* interpret the Place, ſomething that rendred her diſguſted by, and offenſive to him: But *Chriſt* hath plainly forbidden all Divorces, upon any other Cauſe than that of Fornication. In like Manner hath he alſo done with Regard to the Law of Retaliation, by which the *Jews* were permitted to exact Vengeance of thoſe who had injured them, whereas the Chriſtian muſt not gratify his Diſpleaſure, or deſire the Hurt of any Man, though never ſo much his Foe. Nay, our Lord hath gone yet farther, and commanded us, not only not to *reſiſt an Evil Perſon, but to turn the other Cheek alſo, to him who hath ſmitten us on one Cheek already:* Which is a Duty founded only on the Perfection of Chriſtian Patience; there being no Shadow of a Precept for this Degree of Meekneſs and Sufferance in the Law of *Moſes*, nor any Poſſibility of deducing it from the moſt refined Syſtem of natural Obligations.

But even ſuppoſing it poſſible that all what our Saviour ſays in this Sermon, might have been diſcoverd by a cloſe Attention to the Dictates of Nature and Reaſon, (which we are far from granting;) yet ſtill it will be never the leſs manifeſt, that *Chriſt* hath added to the Moral Laws of *Moſes*, which in this State of the Caſe muſt be thought to be leſs perfect than the Laws of Nature. For certainly, whatever Nature might dictate, none of thoſe Duties could be abſolutely required by *Moſes*, for the Neglect or Breach of which he gave them expreſs Permiſſion. For Inſtance, ſuppoſing it according to the Law of Nature, That *no Man ſhould put aſunder what God hath joined together*, and conſequently that Divorces on ſlight Occaſions were Breaches of this Law; yet ſince *Moſes* allows of Divorces on ſlight Occaſions, it follows, that no Law of his was broken by ſuch Divorces, and therefore that abſolute Obedience to the ſaid Precept of Nature was not required by him. We do not deny, that Duties of the higheſt Perfection might be recommended by *Moſes* in his more general Precepts; but then they were only recommended: For to ſay that they were abſolutely commanded by him, when he gave Permiſſion for the neglect of them, would be a Contradiction in Terms. If then *Chriſt* only abrogated thoſe Permiſſions which were an Hindrance to Perfection, and improved the Moral Counſels of *Moſes* into poſitive Commands, certainly we need not ſcruple to ſay he added to the Moral Law of *Moſes*. And this is all we contend for.

In fine, We may now plainly ſee what that Law was, which *Chriſt* came not to *deſtroy*, but to *fulfil*; and alſo that the Interpretation firſt given of the Word *fulfil* is juſt. *Chriſt* came not to deſtroy the *Moral* Law, ſo far as it was hitherto revealed: But to fulfil it, by abrogating thoſe *permiſſive* Laws, which were given the *Jews becauſe of the Hardneſs of their Hearts*, to the Prejudice of perfect Morality; and thoſe *ceremonial* Laws, which were given them as Shadows, but which alſo drew away their Thoughts from the more perfect *Works of Juſtice and Mercy*; and by *filling up* the Vacancies, and *finiſhing* all the rude Sketches, that had till then remained in the Syſtem of Moral Duties. This we take to be the Sum of the whole Matter.

VIII. We ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe with the Reſolution of one or two Difficulties more, that may occur in reading the following Diſſertations. It will be obſerved, that the Precepts which *Chriſt* hath added to the Moral Law, are moſt of them concerning ſuch Duties as reſpect our Neighbour, or Duties of the Second Table: On which Occaſion it may be enquired, *Why is there nothing here added by* Chriſt *concerning the Duties of the Firſt Table, which immediately reſpect God, ſave only in the Third Commandment, about Swearing?* To which we anſwer, That beſides the Wiſdom of God, which we muſt acknowledge ſufficient in this Matter, many Reaſons might be farther rendred for this Courſe of *Chriſt*'s; eſpecially this, That the Duties of the Firſt Table were ſet high under *Moſes*; and explicated enough already; and *Chriſt* needed not to repeat, ſave only what he meant to improve, or farther to illuſtrate and explain; and therefore he repeated not theſe. Now for this, a farther Reaſon may be rendred, taken from the different Oeconomy, or Adminiſtration of Things, under the Old and New Teſtament. Under the Old Teſtament, God reſided among the *Jews* particularly himſelf, in his Divine Nature, (without taking upon him our Fleſh;) revealing himſelf to *Moſes* in the Mount, in Viſions to him, and to other of the Patriarchs in illuſtrious Apparitions, and to the People continually in the Oracle, and ſo immediately diſpoſed of all Things, that the Government of the *Jews* was by their Writers ſtyled [u] the *Government of God himſelf.* This Revelation of God himſelf, and immediate Reſidence among them, might make it fit and proper for him to give them Precepts for the Worſhip of God, and for all manner of Duties of that Kind, as diſtinct, punctual, clear, and high, as could be; and ſo indeed it was. They had an explicit elevated Law of Piety in general, To *love the Lord their God with all their Heart, with all their Soul, with all their Mind, and with all*

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[q] 1 John iii. 16.

[r] John xv. 12, 13.

[s] John xiii. 34. 1 John ii. 8.

[t] Deut. xxiv. 1.

[u] Θεοκρατεία Joseph.

their Strength: And for the Particulars of outward Performances, they had ſo many Cautions, ſo many Ceremonies, ſuch ſtrict Performances of all Kinds, that *Chriſt* did rather think fit to take off from the Weights of thoſe Burthens, than to add to them. And 'tis a common Obſervation, that the ceremonial Part of the Old Teſtament Law, and all that which was typical, and preſignificative of ſomewhat to come, was obligatory only to them, to whom 'twas given, but not to the Gentiles, no not to the very Proſelytes under the Old Teſtament, that came and lived among the *Jews*, unleſs they would be Proſelytes of Juſtice, that is, would be in their Obedience as perfect *Jews* as they; much leſs, under *Chriſt*'s Kingdom, is it obligatory to the Chriſtian World. But then the State of the Goſpel being of another Oeconomy, God the Son taking our human Fleſh and Soul upon him, and becoming very Man among us, it was reaſonable, that he ſhould heighten our Obligations of Duty to that Nature, which he had thus heightened, by aſſuming it; and by giving us in our Fleſh many ſublime and viſible Copies of Charity toward all Mankind, ſhould require us readily to tranſcribe them; eſpecially when he had taken off ſo much of the former Burthen of Ceremonies from our Shoulders, and ſo leſſened our Weight, and yet given more Grace, than before was allowed under the Law, to ſuſtain it.

This, we preſume, will paſs for a very reaſonable Account of the Matter. But then it may be demanded, *Why one of the four Precepts concerning God, is mentioned and improved by* Chriſt, *and none elſe?* Now the Reaſon of this, we think, is clear: Becauſe though that Commandment concern God, by calling him to witneſs whenſoever we ſwear, and by calling him to witneſs a Lye, if we ſwear falſely; yet ordinarily it reſpecteth Men alſo, and that more principally, becauſe they are wronged by our Perjury; the promiſſory Oath being indeed a Means of ſecuring another of any Thing which we promiſe him, and the breaking of that, the betraying of his Fortreſs, which was to have ſecured him. And therefore it is obſervable in St. *James*'s Prohibition of Swearing, that he adds to the negative Precept, this affirmative Command, [w] *Let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay Nay*; that is, let your Word be as good as an Oath; be you moſt ſtrict in making good, or performing your Promiſes. And this we conceive to be the Pitch to which *Chriſt* deſired to raiſe us in this Matter, that we ſhould be ſo punctual in performing our Promiſes to Men, that they might not need an Oath from us, to believe us in any Thing; and ſo that we ſhould never ſwear at all, or have any Excuſe or Pretence to do ſo.

To conclude this Particular, we may remark that *Chriſt*, having taken our Fleſh upon him, the Generality of all his Sermons and Precepts do chiefly reſpect our Brethren; and even of the other Sort of Precepts, that concern God, he is content they ſhould ſometimes give way to thoſe to our Fellow Chriſtians; [x] *I will have Mercy,* ſaith he, *and not Sacrifice*; intimating, that when both cannot be performed, he prefers the Work of Charity, or Mercy to our Brethren, before the other, as we have [y] elſewhere ſhewn at large.

DISSERTATION III.

Of our Saviour's Improvements of divers Precepts of the Law.

I. *Subject of this Diſſertation. Senſe of our Saviour's introductory Phraſe.* II. *The firſt Precept, Of Murder. Of the Magiſtrate's Power. Of Self-murder. Caſe of* Sampſon *and the Martyrs.* III. *The Caſe of Duels, Oppreſſion, War,* &c. IV. *Of cauſeleſs and immoderate Anger, in the Breaſt and in the Tongue. Reproachful Words, when lawful.* V. *Courts of Juſtice, and Degrees of Puniſhment among the* Jews. *Of the Valley of* Hinnom. VI. *Of Reconciliation, and the Time of it.* VII. *The ſecond Precept, of Adultery: The old Law concerning it.* VIII. *Of looking on a Woman: What the Fathers ſay of it. Of Immodeſty in Women.* IX. *Of the Eye and Hand offending.* X. *The third Precept, of Divorce. State of it under the Law.* XI. *Divorce under the Goſpel, when lawful, and when not lawful.* XII. *The fourth Precept, of Swearing and Perjury under the Law.* XIII. *Of Oaths and vain Swearing under the Goſpel.* XIV. *The fifth Precept, of Revenge, as allowed by* Moſes, *and forbidden by* Chriſt. XV. *How far our Lord's Precept extends to Magiſtrates.* XVI. *Several Caſes diſcuſſed concerning War and Self-defence, both with regard to Princes and private Men.* XVII. *Of going to Law, ſeveral Caſes concerning it ſtated.* XVIII. *The ſixth Precept, of loving others. Enemies to be hated under* Moſes. XIX. *The Law of Nature in this Caſe. The Law of* Chriſt, *To love our Enemies.* XX. *Loving, bleſſing, doing good to, and praying for, our Enemies; what thoſe Phraſes ſignify. Conſiderations to facilitate the Performance of our Duty in theſe Particulars.*

I. IN this third Diſſertation on *Chriſt*'s Sermon in the Mount, we are to conſider thoſe ſix Precepts, at the End of the fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, which our Divine Lawgiver either added to the Moral Law of the *Jews*, or explained in a higher Senſe than they had before. Or, to ſpeak more fully, we ſhall enquire into the original Senſe of thoſe antient Laws which *Chriſt* there recites; and then point out and explain the Improvements of, or Additions to, the ſaid Laws, which were delivered by *Chriſt* after the Recital of them. The antient Laws were concerning *Killing*, *Adultery*, *Divorce*, *Perjury*, *Retaliation*, and *Loving of Neighbours*; three of which, thoſe of Killing, Adultery, and Perjury, were Precepts of the Decalogue; the other three, concerning Divorce, Retaliation, and Loving of Neighbours, were collected from other Parts of the *Moſaical* Inſtitutions, and are rather Permiſions than Commands. In each of theſe *Chriſt*, as we juſt now hinted, firſt gives the Senſe of the old Law, and thereby confirms it; affording by that Means a Proof of what he had juſt before ſaid, namely, that he came not to *deſtroy*: Then he annexeth his new Law to it, and ſo confirms the other Part of his previous Declaration, which was that he came to *fulfil*, or *perfect* it. So that the Method which we propoſe to follow, is the ſame that was followed by our Lord himſelf, as well in explaining each Precept ſeparately, as in the Order of the Whole.

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[w] Jam. v. 12.

[x] Matth. ix. 13. and xii. 17.

[y] See Diſſert. on the Sabbath, Pages 356, 357, 358, & Seq.

But before we deſcend to Particulars, it is neceſſary to enquire what is meant by thoſe prefatory Forms of Speech, which our Saviour uſeth before theſe ſeveral Laws; which Forms are two: *Firſt, Ye have heard that it was ſaid by them of old Time: Secondly, Ye have heard that it hath been ſaid*, or, more conciſely, *It hath been ſaid*. Now the Phraſe, *Ye have heard*, ſignifies, *Ye have been taught*, and that out of the Word of God, or the Books of *Moſes*. This is common to all theſe ſeveral Precepts, except that of Divorce, where we have the conciſe Form juſt now mentioned. But the Words, *by them of old Time*, are found only before three of the Precepts, and are a Denotation that what follows is taken out of the Decalogue.

In theſe Words it deſerves our Notice, that *By them* is a wrong Tranſlation, and is therefore mended in the Margins of our Bibles, where the original Word is rendered [a] *To them*, as undoubtedly it ſignifies, that is, *To the Jews your Anceſtors*. And that this is a ſpecial Denotation of ſome Law of the Decalogue, there can be no Reaſon to queſtion, if we obſerve that the three Precepts to which it is prefixed, are three diſtinct Commandments thereof, namely, the Sixth, the Seventh, and the Third: *Thou ſhalt not kill*; *Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery*; *Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf*, or, *take the Name of God in vain*. As for the other three, of Divorce, of Retaliation, and of loving Neighbours and hating Enemies, which have not the ſame Form or Phraſe prefix'd, they are not properly, as we juſt now obſerved, Commands of the *Moſaical* Law, but Permiſſions or Indulgences allowed the *Jews*, but now recall'd, and denied Chriſtians. But more of this in its proper Place.

II. In the firſt of thoſe Precepts rehearſed by Chriſt, which is the ſixth of the Law, the firſt and principal Thing forbidden, is the Shedding of Man's Blood, by way of killing, or taking away his Life; God only, who gave us Life, having Power to take it away again. But then God having ſole Power over the Life of Man, may without Doubt take it away by what Means he pleaſeth; either immediately by himſelf, or by any Man, whom he appoints to execute his Will. Thus might *Abraham* kill his Son when God bid him; becauſe though *Abraham* had not Power over his Son's Life, yet God had; and his bidding *Abraham* kill him, was not any thing contrary to this Law, which only forbids Man to do it, but doth not forbid God. In the like Manner, God having [b] commanded the *Murtherer's Blood to be ſhed by Man*, and thereby eſtated the Power of the Sword on the Magiſtrate; not only permits him, and makes it lawful for him, thus to puniſh Malefactors, but alſo commands and requires him ſo to do, as his [c] *Miniſter to execute Wrath*. The Word *Thou* in the Commandment muſt therefore ſignify the Man of himſelf, without Power or Commiſſion from God; which yet he that hath it muſt exerciſe juſtly, according to the Laws of God and Man, or elſe he breaks the Commandment alſo; this Commiſſion being not given to him abſolutely and arbitrarily to uſe as he liſt, but according to defined Rules in the Scripture. And accordingly the Laws of every Nation, being made by the ſupreme Power, may afterwards be juſtly executed by ſuch ſubordinate Magiſtrates as are [d] *ſent by him for the Puniſhment of Evil-doers, and the Praiſe of them that do well.*

But hence it appears, that a Man may not in any Caſe kill himſelf; having no more Power over his own Life, than over another Man's. Therefore how gainful ſoever Death may ſeem to any one, yet is he to ſubmit to God's Providence, and to wait, though it be in the moſt miſerable, painful, weariſome Life, till God pleaſe to give him Deliverance out of it. As to particular Inſtances, ſuch as that of *Sampſon*, who killed ſo many by pulling away the Pillars, and involved himſelf in the ſame Deſtruction; we may remark, that he was a Judge in *Iſrael*; and ſuch in thoſe Days, did God ordinarily move by his Spirit to do ſome extraordinary Things: And it is to be imagined, that God incited him to do this; for if he did not, he were not to be excuſed in it. So likewiſe thoſe, who, rather than they would offer to Idols in the Primitive Church, killed themſelves, and remain ſtill upon Record for Martyrs; if the ſame could be affirmed of them which is here conceived of *Sampſon*, that God incited them to do this, they would by this be juſtified alſo. But having under the Goſpel no Authority to juſtify ſuch Pretence of divine Incitation, it will be ſafeſt to affirm, that this was a Fault in them, which their Love of God, and Fear that they ſhould be polluted by Idols, was the Cauſe of: And ſo though it might as a Frailty be pardoned by God's Mercy in *Chriſt*, yet it was not this killing themſelves that made them Martyrs, but that great Love of God, and reſolving againſt idolatrous Worſhip, which teſtified itſelf in killing themſelves for that Cauſe.

III. We ſee then that Murder, of what kind ſoever, was the principal Thing forbidden in the Law by this Commandment: But though that was the ſpecial Matter of the Precept, yet by way of Reduction, other Things which are preparatory to this, or Offences of this Nature, but of a lower Degree, are alſo forbidden. As mutilating or maiming any Man's Body; wounding him, which may poſſibly endanger his Life; entring into, or accepting, or offering of Duels; wherein, whether we may kill, or be killed, whichſoever it prove, we are guilty of Murther. Nay, if by the Equality of Fortune both come ſafely off, yet the voluntary putting one's ſelf on that Hazard, is Guilt enough for a whole Age's Repentance, and Humiliation.

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[a] τοῖς ἀρχαίοις.

[b] Gen. ix. 6.

[c] Rom. xiii. 4.

[d] 1 Pet. ii. 14.

Here it may be asked, "Whether no Injury or Affront be ſufficient to provoke me to offer a Duel?" To which we anſwer, None: For that Injury, whatever it is, if it be a real one of a conſiderable Nature, will be capable of a legal Satisfaction; and that muſt content me; private Revenge being wholly prohibited by *Chriſt*. Or if it be ſuch, that the Law allows no Satisfaction for, that is an Argument that it is light and inconſiderable; and then ſure the Life of another Man, and the Danger of my own, will be an unproportionable Satisfaction for it. Neither if another Man ſend me a Challenge, may I accept of it, though I ſhall be defamed for a Coward, if I do not. For as to that Excuſe of Honour, it is moſt unreaſonable that Obedience to God's Commands ſhould be an infamous Thing. And if ſo impious a Cuſtom hath prevailed, I muſt yet reſolve to part with Reputation, or any Thing, rather than with my Obedience to God. Beſides, we may obſerve, that there are two Sorts of Cowardice, much differing the one from the other; the firſt proceeding from fear of being beaten, or killed; the ſecond from fear of hurting, or killing another. The moſt valiant Deſpiſer of Dangers may be allowed to have a great deal of the Second of theſe, and will certainly have as much of it, as he hath either of good Nature, or Religion; and that will reſtrain Duels as much as the other. And might this but paſs for an honourable and creditable Thing, the Fear of the other kind of Diſcredit would work little upon us. For the World is now generally grown ſo wiſe, that a Man may without any Diſhonour, fear being killed or hurt; and even to run away from ſuch Dangers, being very eminent, is creditable enough. But let our Fears be of which kind ſoever they will, this ſhould always be the prevailing Argument with us, That he that for the preſerving of his Reputation ſhall venture to diſobey God, is the greateſt Coward in the World; he is more fearful of Diſgrace and Ignominy in the World, than any pious Man is of violating the Laws of natural Reaſon, of offending God, or of incurring eternal Puniſhment.

Therefore in Caſe a Challenge be ſent, or offered me, I am, in Conſcience toward God, to deny it, whatever the Conſequence may be; to offer a full Satisfaction for any Injury, real or ſuppoſed, done by me, which hath firſt provoked the Challenger; and as prudently as I can to ſignify that it is not the Fear of dying, but a Regard to Duty, which reſtrains me from this forbidden Way of ſatisfying his Deſire. But if all this will not ſatisfy him, but he will ſtill force me either to deliver up my own Life, or try the Uncertainty of a Duel; the Caſe is then altered, and the Utmoſt that in this Extreme can be lawful, may be defined by the following Example. Two Perſons of Quality meeting in a public Place, the one paſſed an Affront upon the other: The other bore it patiently for that Time, but afterwards ſent him a Challenge. He that gave the Affront ſent a meek Return of Acknowledgment of his Fault, and Readineſs to give any other Satisfaction, that ſhould be thought on to wipe off the Injury: The other would not accept of any Medium. He that firſt offended hereupon keeps his Chamber, and for a long Time uſeth all Care not to meet his Adverſay in any Place which would be ſeaſonable for fighting; and ſtill offers Satisfaction. At length it falls out that they meet in a Place where this could not be avoided: The Challenger ſets upon him; the other draws in his own Defence, and wounds him lightly. Having done ſo, he deſires again that this may end the Quarrel, or offers any other Satisfaction. The Challenger will not conſent, but aſſaults again, and is killed; and ſo the Tragedy concluded with Loſs of the chief Actor's Life. That the Survivor did any Thing unlawful in this, except giving the firſt Affront, cannot be affirmed; no Man being bound to ſpare that other Man's Life, which he cannot ſpare without parting with his own. This Caſe, taken with all the Circumſtances, is the only one wherein one of the two Duellers may be innocent. And we ſhall be apt to deceive ourſelves, if we ſeek to find out other Caſes, and think to juſtify them in like Manner.

Other Things reducible to the Prohibition of Murder are, *1ſt*, Oppreſſion of the Poor, and not giving Relief to thoſe that are in extreme Diſtreſs; according to that of the Son of *Sirach*: *The poor Man's Bread is his Life, and he that deprives him of it is a Murtherer.* *2dly*, The Beginnings of this Sin in the Heart, not yet breaking forth into Action, as Malice, Hatred, meditating of Revenge, wiſhing Miſchief, curſing, *&c.* *3dly*, War, the Conſideration of which is full of great Difficulties. For though all unjuſt War be ſimply forbidden under this ſixth Command of the Law, and it be evident enough that ſome Wars are unjuſt, (as that of Subjects ſeditiouſly raiſed againſt their Sovereign, that of one Prince or Nation invading another for the inlarging of Dominion,) and though indeed there be but few Wars but ſin againſt this Commandment, and in thoſe few that do not, yet there be many Actors in them, who have no lawful Calling to take Part in the Trade of killing Men; yet ſtill it is apparent that ſome Wars are lawful; as thoſe which have had God's expreſs Command, and thoſe which are for the repreſſing of Seditions and Rebellions, and thoſe between Nation and Nation, for the juſt Defence of themſelves, and the repelling of Violence. But this laſt Head of Wars, being that wherein the greateſt Difficulties lie, will not be ſo proper for this Place, as for another, which we ſhall meet with, when we come to ſpeak of *not reſiſting of Evil*; and therefore to that Place we ſhall refer it; as alſo that of private War, or fighting in caſe of an Aſſault.

IV. What *Chriſt* hath added to the Letter of this *Moſaic* Law thus explained, is clearly contained in theſe Words, *But I ſay unto you, that whoſoever is angry with his Brother without a Cauſe* &c. to the End of that very Verſe. Wherein there are three Things forbidden by *Chriſt*. 1*ſt*, Cauſeleſs, or immoderate Anger, going no farther than the Breaſt. 2*dly*, The breaking out of this Anger into the Tongue, but ſomewhat moderately; expreſſed by *Whoſoever ſhall ſay* Racha. 3*dly*, A more violent railing, or aſſaulting him with that Sword of the Tongue which Anger hath unſheathed; denoted in theſe Words, *Whoſoever ſhall ſay Thou Fool*.

By the firſt of theſe is meant that Anger which is either without any, or upon light Cauſe; or, being upon the juſteſt and weightieſt Cauſe, exceeds the Degree and Proportion due to it; and this again in either kind aggravated by the Duration of it. For the *Greek* Word here uſed is a Denotation of every one of theſe.

And this leads us to enquire whether any Anger be juſt or no, in reſpect of the Cauſe? and if ſo, what? Where, by way of Solution, we may obſerve, that Saint *Paul*'s Advice, of being angry and not ſinning, though it refer peculiarly to the not continuing or laſting of Wrath, doth yet imply, that ſome Wrath may be lawful in reſpect of the Cauſe; for otherwiſe the Non-continuance of it would not juſtify it from Sin. Now the moſt juſtifiable Cauſes of Anger are, 1*ſt*, When it proceeds from Sorrow that God is provoked: 2*dly*, When it is conceived for Virtue's ſake; to ſee that neglected, deſpiſed, and the Rules of it violated: 3*dly*, When for other Mens ſakes; ſtill without Reflection on our ſelves, or any Intereſt of ours; and each of theſe not in light trivial Matters neither, but in Matters of Weight. And ſo the cauſeleſs Anger is that which riſes upon ſlight, or no Cauſes, or thoſe wherein our own Intereſts are concerned; which though they may be Cauſes, are not juſtifiable Cauſes of Anger in us.

To mortify or ſubdue this cauſeleſs Anger, which is thus clearly forbidden, the following Means are neceſſary: 1*ſt*, A Conviction of the Danger and Sin of it; not flattering our ſelves that either 'tis no Sin, or ſuch as with our ordinary Frailties ſhall have its Pardon of courſe: But that it is ſuch as lieth here under a heavy Penalty, particularly denounced againſt it by Chriſt; and which is directly oppoſite to thoſe Graces of Humility, Meekneſs, Patience, Peaceableneſs, bearing with one another, and forgiving one another, which are required moſt ſtrictly by Chriſt of all Followers of him. 2*dly*, A Conſideration of the Unreaſonableneſs of that Sin; which is both very unjuſt, being cauſeleſs or immoderate, and alſo very much againſt what I would have done to me, either by my Brother, or by God himſelf, whom I ſo oft diſpleaſe. 3*dly*, The labouring againſt that bitter Root of Pride in my Heart, of which this is ſo neceſſary and infallible an Attendant. 4*thly*, The Reflection upon myſelf, if it were poſſible, in Time of that Paſſion, or elſe immediately after, when I come to myſelf again, and conſidering how hateful a Thing it is; how like a Tyger, a Bear, or any the furiouſeſt Beaſt rather than a Man, it makes me; what a deforming of me it is, putting me out of all thar Poſture of Civility, that in Time of Sobriety I chuſe rather to appear in; and what a painful Agony it occaſioned when I was under it. 5*thly*, The conſidering how at ſuch Time we are out of our own Power, and ſo apt to fall into more Oaths, Acts of Fury, Indiſcretions, revealing of Secrets, and other diſadvantageous Deeds and Expreſſions, in a few Minutes, than a whole Age of Repentance will repair again. 6*thly*, A ſober Vow or Reſolution, never to permit myſelf to fall into ſo inconvenient and dangerous a Sin; that when I find it coming upon me, I may reſtrain it, by remembring that this was that which I thought fit to vow againſt. 7*thly*, A watching over myſelf continually, that I be not taken unawares. 8*thly*, An abſtaining carefully from the leaſt Indulgence to any Beginnings of it; it being eaſier to keep from the firſt Degree of it, than yielding to that, to reſtrain the farther and higher Degrees. 9*thly*, The avoiding Temptations and Provocations as much as I can, and ſo the Company of thoſe who are ſubject to that Sin, or the Employments and Converſations which encline me to it. 10*thly*, Labouring with God in Prayer, for Grace to mortify this in me. 11*thly*, Diverting it in Time of Temptation, with ſome particular Ejaculations to God, to ſuppreſs at that Time any ſuch exorbitant Affection in me. Many other conducible Means every one will be able to ſuggeſt to himſelf. And thus much of cauſeleſs or immoderate Anger in the Breaſt.

The ſecond Thing here forbidden by our Lord, is the *ſaying to our Brother*, Racha; that is, the breaking out of Anger into reproachful Speeches; ſuch as the calling him empty, deſpicable Fellow. For the Word *Racha* is an *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies vain or empty. This, though not the higheſt Kind of Railing, is yet greater than the former, and therefore is here expreſſed by the Puniſhment apportioned to it, greater than the former, in theſe Words, *He ſhall be in Danger of the Council*, as the former Thing threatened was the *Judgment*.

The third Thing forbidden here, is the ſaying, *Thou Fool*, or the breaking out of Wrath into the moſt virulent Railings, all Sorts of which are here intimated by this one Word; and this being a greater Sin or Aggravation of cauſeleſs Anger than the former, is here denoted by a third Kind of Puniſhment; which in our Tranſlation is rendered Hell-Fire. But the Nature of theſe Puniſhments we ſhall deſcribe immediately after having removed one Scruple, which may ſeem in the Way.

It may be enquired, Whether all kind of calling Racha or Fool, that is, all Manner of reproachful Speaking, of a greater or leſſer Degree, be a Sin puniſhable in a Chriſtian? In anſwer to which we may note, that there is a Diſtinction obſervable in the Words themſelves; it is not all uſing of thoſe or the like Words, which here is ſet down under that ſad Character, but that which is the Effect and Improvement of cauſeleſs immoderate Anger; for they are here put as higher Degrees of that. And therefore thoſe Speeches that proceed from any Thing elſe, particularly when they are ſpoken by thoſe to whom the Office and Duty of chaſtiſing others belongs, as Maſters, Teachers, Superiors in any Kind, and perhaps Equals too, and by them are done to a good Purpoſe, at a ſeaſonable Time, and upon great and weighty Cauſes, without ſeeking any Thing to themſelves, either the venting of inordinate Paſſion, or the Ambition and Vanity of ſeeming ſeverer or better than thoſe whom they thus reproach; theſe all this while are not ſubject to this Cenſure or Danger. And of this Nature we may ſee in the New Teſtament ſeveral Expreſſions: As in the Epiſtle of *James*[e], we have, *O vain Man*, that is literally, *Racha*. So alſo, *Ye Fools and Blind*, was ſpoken by [f] *Chriſt*; and *O fooliſh* Galatians,— *are ye ſo fooliſh*, by the [g] Apoſtle *Paul:* Which is directly the other Expreſſion, *Thou Fool*, but here uſed out of Love, not from cauſeleſs inordinate Paſſion, and ſo not liable to the Cenſure in this Text. But then there is little doubt but that all Detraction, Cenſoriouſneſs, Back-biting, Whiſpering, (that ſo ordinary Entertainment of the World, the ſpeaking all the Evil we know, or perhaps know not, of other Men,) is a very great Sin here condemned by our Saviour, and upon his Caution timely to be turned out of our Communication; it being alſo conſtantly againſt the Rule *of doing as I would be done to*; no Man living being pleaſed to be ſo uſed, as the Detractor uſeth others.

V. We ſhould now conſider the Puniſhments hinted at by Chriſt, to repreſent the Sufferings of thoſe in another World who ſhall be guilty of the Sins here ſpoken againſt; and firſt that expreſſed in this Phraſe, *Shall be in Danger of the Judgment*. Now the Meaning of this is, that the wrathful Man in another World ſhall be ſubject to Puniſhment, as the Homicide here, that is, that Wrathfulneſs being ſo contrary to that Meekneſs, Patience, and Humility, required now by Chriſt; and being, as *Solomon* intimates,[h] an Effect of Pride and Haughtineſs, is to be counted of as an unchriſtian Sin; which, unleſs it be mortified here by the Grace of Chriſt, will coſt us dear in another World; though not ſo dear as the ſecond and third Sin mentioned in this Verſe. The Puniſhment in that Court of Judicature, which is here called the Judgment, was the Sword, or Beheading; which, though it be heavy enough, is not yet ſo great as the two other which are after named.

In the ſecond Phraſe, where he that calls his Brother *Racha*, is threaten'd with *the Council*, we are to underſtand by the Word Council, the *Sanhedrim*, or the ſupreme and great Senate, where the ordinary Puniſhment was Stoning. And ſo the Meaning is, that this is a greater Sin, and to expect a greater Puniſhment than the former.

The third Kind of Puniſhment, though it were not in any legal Court of Judicature, was yet well enough known among the *Jews*; not under the Name of Hell-Fire, (as we render it by a Miſtake, becauſe thoſe Torments in Hell are in other Places deſcribed by theſe,) but of the *Valley of Hinnom*. The Meaning of which is this. Without the City of *Jeruſalem*, in the *Valley of Hinnom*, there was a Place where the *Jews* antiently, in Imitation of the *Phœnicians*, uſed a moſt barbarous Kind of Rites, in which they burnt Children alive, putting them in hollow brazen Veſſels, and ſo by little and little ſcalding them to death: Where, becauſe the Children could not chuſe but howl hideouſly, they had Timbrels perpetually ſounding to drown that Cry; and therefore it was called *Tophet*, from a Word ſignifying Timbrel, and is deſcribed under that Name by the [i] Prophets of the Old Teſtament. This Puniſhment taking Denomination from the Place, that *Valley of Hinnom* is called here in *Greek* by a [ii] Word little differing in Sound from the *Hebrew*; and that Word in the New Teſtament, and ordinarily in ſacred Writers, *Greek* and *Latin*, is ſet to ſignify Hell-Fire: Becauſe this was the beſt Image, or Expreſſion, of thoſe Torments conceived there, that their Knowledge or Experience could repreſent to them. And ſo it is here fitly made uſe of to expreſs the greateſt Sin in this Kind, by the greateſt Puniſhment that they could underſtand. For indeed above the Sword and ſtoning, there was no Puniſhment in Uſe in the *Jewiſh* Courts of Judicature; (the Burning among them being not that of burning alive, but the thruſting of an Iron red hot into their Bowels, which made a quick Diſpatch of them:) And therefore to aſcend to the Deſcription of a third ſuperlative Degree of Sin, our Saviour thinks fit to uſe that Mention of the Puniſhments of the *Valley of Hinnom*.—— This Interpretation of our Saviour's Words may prevent a Doubt, which would have riſen otherwiſe, namely, Whether the laſt only of theſe Sins, and not the two former, make a Chriſtian liable to Hell-Fire? It is more ſafe and natural, therefore, to underſtand this laſt Puniſhment of that Torture of the *Valley of Hinnom* than any other; and that it is uſed to expreſs a third and greater Degree of Puniſhment in another World, anſwerable to that third Degree of Sin; and that nothing elſe is to be collected from it.

VI. Before our Saviour proceeds to any other Commandment, he ſeemingly buildeth ſomewhat elſe on the preceding Foundation, in the four next Verſes. *Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the Altar*, &c. Here we muſt enquire, *1ſt*, How that belongs to the preceding Matter? And *2dly*, what is the Duty there preſcribed?

For the Dependance of it on the former, we ſhall eaſily diſcern it, if we remember that old Saying, [k] *That Repentance is the only Plank to reſcue him that is caſt away in the Shipwreck.* Our Saviour had mentioned the Danger of raſh

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[e] Jam. ii. 20.
[f] Matth. xxiii. 17, 19. Luke xxiv. 25.
[g] Gal. iii. 3, and 15.
[h] Prov. xxi. 24.
[i] Iſa. xxx. 33.
[ii] γέεννα.
[k] Tertullian.

Anger and reproachful Speeches. And becauſe through human Infirmity he ſuppoſes it poſſible, that Diſciples, or Chriſtians, may thus miſcarry, he therefore adds the Neceſſity of immediate Repentance and Satisfaction after it.

As to the Duty there preſcribed, it is this; A being *reconciled with the Brother*, and an *agreeing with the Adverſary*; that is, uſing all Means to make my Peace with him whom I have injured. For the Word *be reconciled*, ſignifies not here, *to be pacified towards him*; (for he is not here ſuppoſed to have injured me; if he had, the Anger would not be cauſeleſs;) but to *pacify him*, to regain his Favour, confeſſing my raſh Anger and intemperate Language, and offering any Way of Satisfaction, that he may be moved to forgive me, and be reconciled to me; which till he do, I am his Debtor, and he has Power to attach me, as it were, and to bring *me before the Judge*, and he to *deliver me to the Bailiff or Sergeant*, and he to *caſt me into Priſon*: The Meaning of all which is, That this Sin of mine, unretracted by Repentance, will lie very heavy upon my Score; and without Satisfaction to the injured Perſon, will not be capable of Mercy or Pardon from *Chriſt*: Which Danger is ſet to enforce the Duty.—The ſecond Part of the Duty is, that the making this our Peace, is to be preferred before many other Things, which paſs for more ſpecious Works among us; as particularly before voluntary Oblations, which are here meant by the *Gift brought to the Altar*. Not that the Performance of this Duty is to be preferred, (being a Duty to my Neighbour,) before Piety, or the Duties of true Religion toward God; but before the Obſervation of outward Worſhip, ſuch as Sacrifices and Oblations; according to the Text, *Mercy before Sacrifice*. And we find that thoſe Offerings that are brought to God with a Heart full of Wrath and Hatred, will never be acceptable to him. Our Prayer, expreſt by [l] *lifting up of holy and clean Hands*, muſt be without Wrath; or elſe, like the [m] *Faſt*, and the [n] *long Prayers when the Hands were full of Blood*, 'twill be but a vain Oblation in God's Account, like *Cain*'s, when he reſolved to kill his Brother.

Other Things which we may learn from theſe Words of our Saviour, are as follow. *Firſt*, That the Time immediately before the performing of any holy Duty, ſuch as Prayer, Faſting, or receiving the Sacrament, is the fitteſt and propereſt Time to call our ſelves to Account for all the Treſpaſſes and Injuries we are guilty of toward God and Men. *If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt*; intimating that to be a proper Seaſon of remembring. 2*dly*, That though the not having made my Peace with thoſe whom I have offended, make me unfit for any ſuch Chriſtian Performance, (and ſo require me to defer this, till that be done;) yet can it not give me any Excuſe to leave the Chriſtian Performance undone, but rather haſten my Performance of the other, that I may perform this alſo. He that is not yet reconciled, muſt not carry away his Gift, but *leave it at the Altar*, and *go and be reconciled*, and then *come back and offer his Gift*. He that is not in Charity, and ſo unfit to receive the Sacrament, muſt not think it fit or lawful for him to omit that receiving, on that Pretence; for if he do, 'twill be a double Guilt; but muſt haſten to recover himſelf to ſuch a Capacity, that he may with *clean Hands* and *Heart*, come to God's Table, whenſoever he is thus called to it. 3*dly*, That a penitent reconciled Sinner may have as good Confidence in his Approaches to God, as any: *Then come and offer thy Gift*. 4*thly*, That the putting off, or deferring of ſuch Buſineſſes as theſe of Reconciliation and Satisfaction, is very dangerous, and the Danger of it paſt reverſing, when it cometh upon us. 5*thly*, That there is no Way to prevent this, but in Time of Life and Health inſtantly to do it, becauſe the next Hour may poſſibly be too late. *Agree with thine Adverſary quickly, whilſt thou art in the Way with him*. 6*thly*, That the Puniſhment that expects ſuch Sinners is endleſs and indeterminable; theſe Words, *till thou haſt paid*, being not a Limitation of Time, after which thou ſhalt come out, but a Propoſal of a ſad Payment, which will never be finiſhed, and diſcharged.

VII. Proceed we to the next Period of our Lord's Sermon, which begins in like Manner, with a Commandment of the old Law, *Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery*; and hath the ſame Introduction to it, which was to the former, *Ye have heard that it was ſaid by them of old Time*; which, by what was before noted, we may conclude ſhould be, *To them of old Time*, or to the antient *Jews*. Without propoſing any more Scruples therefore in this Matter, we come immediately to what is forbidden here in that old Commandment.

Now as in the former Precept God by *Moſes* reſtrained all the accurſed Iſſues of one Kind of Senſuality, that of Anger; ſo in this he forbids thoſe of another Kind, namely, of Luſt. And naming the chief Branch of this Kind, that of Adultery, or lying carnally with a married Woman, he forbids alſo all other Acts of Uncleanneſs which are not conjugal. Thus have ſome of the *Jews* themſelves interpreted the Word which is uſed in the Decalogue; and ſo in the Scriptures and other good Authors, and in common Uſe, Adultery and Fornication are taken promiſcuouſly to ſignify all Manner of Uncleanneſs, of what Kind ſoever, or in what Manner ſoever committed: Of which, though ſome Kinds ſeem to have been permitted the *Jews*, yet this Permiſſion is not to be conceived to extend any farther than the Benefit of legal Impunity; not that they were lawful in themſelves, or free from Filthineſs. And that ſome other Kinds of them which tended not to the multiplying of that People, as Po-

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[l] Tim. ii. 8.

[m] Iſa. lviii. 4.

[n] Iſa. i.

ligamy

lygamy did, were ſeverely puniſhed among them, we may ſee [o] in their Law. But more ſeverely were they puniſhed by [p] God himſelf. So that under the Letter of that old Commandment, are contained not only the known Sins of Adultery and Fornication, but all thoſe other Kinds of Filthineſs, mentioned by the [q] Apoſtle in four Characters, that ſeem to contain all Sorts of it under them. And elſewhere [r] the ſame Apoſtle ſpeaks of *Uncleanneſs*, *Fornication*, *Laſciviouſneſs*; and [s] again of *Adultery*, *Fornication*, *Laſciviouſneſs*, *and Idolatry*: Which laſt Word, in that and other Places, ſeems a Word meant on Purpoſe to contain all ſuch Kind of unclean Sins under it, becauſe they were ſo ordinary in the idolatrous Myſteries of the Heathens; moſt of their Rites, and the Secrets of their Religion, being the Practice of theſe filthy Sins. And beſides theſe groſſer Sins, there are many Particulars reducible to this Commandment of the Law; as all Deſires of theſe Sins conſented to, although they break not out into Act; all dwelling or inſiſting on ſuch Thoughts, and fancying of ſuch Uncleanneſs with Delight; the feeding our Luſt with luxurious Diet, inflaming Wines, or other ſuch Fuel and Accentives of it: From every one of which we ſhould abſtain.

VIII. As to what *Chriſt* hath added to this old Prohibition, we have it in theſe Words, that *Whoſoever looketh on a Woman, to luſt after her, hath committed Adultery with her already in his Heart.* The Meaning of which is, that he that ſo looks, ſignifies his Heart to be adulterous, tho' himſelf be not, through Want of Opportunity; and therefore that he ſhall by *Chriſt*'s Law be as cenſurable, as the Adulterer under the Law of *Moſes*.

The full Importance of this Phraſe, *To look on a Woman to luſt*, is not only, *To look to that End that I may luſt*, as ſome are willing to interpret it, but either To *look* ſo long till I *luſt*, or elſe To ſatisfy my Luſt, ſo far as to feed my Eye, to gaze, to dwell on the Beauty of other Women. As in the [t] Law the faſtning the Eyes on an Idol, conſidering the Beauty of it, is, ſaith *Maimonides*, forbidden, and not only the Worſhip of it. We may give this in the Language of the Fathers, who have thus interpreted it. [u] *He that ſtands and looks earneſtly:* [w] *He that makes it his Buſineſs to look earneſtly upon gallant Bodies and beautiful Faces; that hunts after them, and feeds his Mind with the Spectacle; that nails his Eyes to handſome Faces.* And again, *Not he that deſires that he may commit Folly, but looks, that he may deſire.* And again, *God hath given thee Eyes, that ſeeing the Creature, thou may'ſt glorify him and admire him: And the employing them any other Ways than thus, is an Abuſe.* An Example of this we have in [x] *the two wicked Elders*, who being denyed the farther enjoying of their Luſts, command to uncover *Suſannah*'s Face, that they may be *filled with her Beauty. Gaze not on a Maid,* ſays the Author [y] of *Eccleſiaſticus*, (where th
Greek reads it, *look not on her, as if thou wer*
a learning her,) leſt thou be inſnared by be
Complexion. So again, he mentions [z] *gazing up*
on another Man's Wife, and a *curious earneſt be*
holding his Maid; (for ſo the Word there rende-
red being *over-buſy with her* ſeems rather to ſig
nify, and is uſed by the Fathers to expreſs the ve
ry Thing we now ſpeak of). As therefore ther
was an Immoderation and Fault in Anger, ſo i
Looking. *If*, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, *thou wilt look an*
be delighted, look upon thine own Wife, and lo
her continually; *but if thou lookeſt after othe*
Beauties, thou doſt both wrong her, by letting th
Eyes rove elſewhere, and thou wrongeſt her who
thou lookeſt on by meddling with her illegally: For th
thou toucheſt her not with thy Hand, yet with th
Eyes thou doeſt. To this St. [a] *Peter* refers, whe
he ſpeaks of *Eyes full of Adultery*; there being a
adulterous Look, as well as an adulterous Em
brace; the former forbidden by *Chriſt*, as well
the latter by *Moſes*.

But then if it be a Fault thus to behold, it wi
alſo be ſo in the Woman that is thus beheld,
ſhe take a Pleaſure in it, and deck and ſet he
ſelf out to that End that ſhe may be thus looke
upon. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays that it is a Kind of A
dultery in that Woman, who thus not only ex
poſes and proſtitutes herſelf to the Eyes of Me
but ſo *dreſſes and ſets herſelf out, and calls to h*
the Eyes of all Men. If ſhe wound not others, ſa
the Father, *ſhe ſhall yet be puniſhed; for ſhe ha*
mixt the Potion, and prepared the Poiſon, thoug
ſhe hath not given to drink. Nay, ſhe hath do
that too, though none be found that will drink of i
It ſeems there is a Piece of Chriſtian Chaſtity re
quired of Women in this kind, that is not gene
rally thought of.

IX. The two other Verſes in this Period, *of t*
Eye and Hand offending, are put for the preven
ing of an Objection, after this Manner: Up
the giving of that ſevere Prohibition, Men w
be apt to object; “ O, but 'tis hard not to lo
that which is beautiful, and not to behold th
which is loved.” To this foreſeen Objection
anſwers before-hand; 'Tis hard and unpleaſ
indeed, but more unpleaſant ſure to live eterna
in Hell. 'Twere better to pluck the very
out of the Head, to cut off the Hand, even
which were moſt uſeful and honourable, tha
be *caſt into Hell.* Much more is it our Dut
obey, when we are not required to cut off, or
out thoſe Members, but only to turn away
Eye from the alluring Object, and to keep
Hand from immodeſt Touches, and Dallia
This, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, *is a moſt mild and ſoft*
cept. It would have been much more har
he had given Command to converſe with, and
curiouſly on Women, and then to abſtain from
ther Commiſſions of Uncleanneſs with them.

The Mention of the Hand, which hath no
to do with the Buſineſs of looking, is by

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[o] Deut. xxii. [p] Numb. xxv. [q] Rom. i. 24, 26, 27, 29. [r] 2 Cor. xii. 21.

[s] Gal. v. 19. See alſo Eph. iv. 19, & v. 3. Col. iii. 5, where the Word rendered *Coveteouſneſs* and *Greedineſs*, ſignifies
regular Deſire here meant.

[t] Levit. xix. 4. [u] Theophyl. [w] Chryſoſt. [x] Suſan. ver. 32. [y] Ecclus. ix. 5, 8.

[z] Ecclus. xli. 21. [a] 2 Pet. ii. 14.

nalogy, or Reduction to the former Precept,
d implies, That that former Prohibition of
oking is to be extended to all other Things of
like Nature; all *libidinous Touches*, and the
e. And whoſoever abſtains from the groſſer
t, and yet indulgeth himſelf in ſuch Pleaſures as
ſe, with any but his own Wife, ſins alſo a-
nſt this Law of *Chriſt*.

X. We now haſten to the third Precept here
ntioned; which is about *Divorce*: And *firſt*,
enquire, *What was the State of this Buſineſs
der the Law.*

The ten Commandments mention nothing of
and therefore the Proemial Form is changed;
ng not as before, *Ye have heard that it hath
ſaid to them of old*; but only, *It hath been*
; which notes that there is ſomewhat in
es's Writings about it, though not in the ten
mmandments. Now the Paſſage in *Moſes*
to this Purpoſe, That [b] *he that hath married
ife, and likes her not, for ſome Uncleanneſs
h he hath found in her, is permitted to give
a Bill of Divorce, and ſend her out of his
e; and in that Caſe ſhe may marry again;
hough her Second do ſo too, or die, yet the for-
Husband is not permitted to take her again
s Wife.* To which that *Chriſt* referr'd, and
o any Interpretation of the *Phariſees*, ap-
th from the Place where the *Phariſees* cite
for a Teſtimony to authorize their Opini-
nd *Chriſt* denies not that Authority, but
hem, that [c] *for the Hardneſs of their Hearts it
iven them*; and reduces them to the firſt In-
ion of Marriage, as that which though it
ght not with it then the Obligation of a Com-
d, yet ſhewed what was always beſt, and
acceptable to God. And this laſt and moſt
ptable Part, is what *Chriſt* by his new Law
mands diſtinctly, though it were not requir-
f the *Jews* before in that more imperfect
of Obedience, becauſe *of the Hardneſs of
Hearts*; that is, becauſe they were ſuch un-
ſtubborn People, that if they ſhould have
reſtrained from the putting away a Wife
m they liked not, they would have been
y to have killed thoſe hated Wives, that
hey might freely have married again.
ch Reaſon is intimated in that Speech
Way of Reply to *Chriſt*'s Law, where the
Diſciples of *Chriſt* expreſs their Opinion that
ere better never to marry at all, than thus
bound to a Wife; and *Chriſt* anſwers them,
by denying ſuch Inconvenience poſſibly to
w, but by aſſerting the Neceſſity of Marri-
o ſome Men, which muſt make them con-
to bear with ſome Inconveniencies. And
gh that which is ſaid by *Moſes* in Point of
rce be called a [e] Precept by *Chriſt*, yet it
a Sufferance, a Precept of Permiſſion, or
holding them up to that high Pitch of the
Inſtitution of Marriage: Not a Command-
or ſo much as adviſing them to put away their Wives, in other Caſes beſides that of Fornication; nor indeed wholly freeing the Practice from ſome Imputation. 'Twas a tolerating or not forbidding them to do ſo for ſome Time, till the Seaſon of more perfect Commands ſhould come; and withal a commanding, that when a *Jew* contrary to the firſt Inſtitution of Marriages ſhould *put away his Wife*, or refuſe to live with her, he ſhould give her then a *Bill of Divorce in her Hand.* And this State of the Matter under the Old Teſtament, for that Time of their imperfect Diſpenſation was ſome what agreeable to the Peculiarity of God's OEconomy among that People; for the multiplying of whom, it is certain that Polygamy, or the having more Wives than one, was allowed them by God, and practiſed by the holy Men of that Nation; and that Allowance ſo continued till the coming of *Chriſt*, who, it ſeems here, reduced all to the firſt Inſtitution of Marriage, that the Man and the Wife [f] *ſhall be one Fleſh*: Under which Phraſe, as it ſeems by [g] St. *Paul*, is contained and intimated the Woman's *having Power of the Huſband's Body*, as before the Man had over the Woman's. This Deſign of multiplying that People exceedingly, might therefore till then have ſome Influence on the Matter of Divorces; becauſe ſuppoſing the Husband to have ſuch a vehement Diſlike to the Wife, that he would not be brought to live conjugally with her, it would from thence follow through the Prohibition of the Woman's marrying more Huſbands, that unleſs it were lawful for the Huſband to give her a Bill of Divorce in this Caſe, the hated Wife would be kept from ever having Children by any, as long as that Huſband lived. Whereupon it is commanded, that in this Caſe, when the Husband thus vehemently diſlikes the Wife, he *ſhall give her a Bill of Divorce*: Which Law is indeed particularly in Favour of the unfortunate Wife, and gives her Power to be married, to any other except to that former [h] Husband, and to [i] the Prieſt; and ſo is promotive to that great End of multiplying that People, which would much be hindred if every hated Wife ſhould be denied this Liberty to marry again, and propogate by ſome other Man.

XI. Now *Chriſt*, in his Law, repealeth the whole Commandment concerning Divorce, and impoſeth a ſtricter Yoke on his Diſciples. For coming now to give more Grace than the Law brought with it to the *Jews*, he thinks not fit to yield ſo much to any Conſideration, particularly to the Hardneſs of Men's Hearts, as to allow Chriſtians that Liberty ſo contrary to the firſt Inſtitution of Wedlock; but raiſeth them higher, to that Pitch, which, when it was not commanded, was yet moſt excellent, and principally approved by God, and all good Men; and which now becomes neceſſary, by being commanded by *Chriſt*. And therefore he clearly affirms of all ſuch Divorces, that *whoſoever* thus *putteth away his Wife*, as the *Jews* frequently

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eut. xxiv. 1——5.

[c] Matth. xix. & Mark. x.

[d] Matth. xix. 10, 11.

[e] Mar. x. 4, 5.

tth. xix. 5.

[g] 1 Cor. vii. 2, 3,

[h] Deut. xxiv. 4.

[i] Levit. xxi. 7.

cauſeth her to commit Adultery, and he that marrieth her, committeth Adultery; and *if*, after ſuch Divorcement, *he himſelf marry again, he committeth Adultery*. The Whole of which, in brief, is this: That the Bond of Wedlock now under *Chriſt* is ſo indiſſoluble, that 'tis not the Husband's Diſlike which can excuſe him for *putting away his Wife*; nor his giving her a *Bill of Divorce*, which can make it lawful for her to marry any other, nor for any other to marry her; ſhe being, for all this Bill, ſtill indiſſolubly another Man's Wife.

Yet there is clearly one Caſe here named, in which Divorce may be now lawful under *Chriſt*; we mean, the Caſe of Fornication. If the Wife prove falſe to the Husband's Bed, and take in any other Man, 'twill then be lawful by *Chriſt*'s Law for the Husband to give her a Bill of Divorce, that is legally to ſue it out, and ſo *put her away*. The Reaſon being becauſe of the great Inconveniences, and Miſchiefs, that ſuch Falſeneſs brings into the Family; as Children of another's Body, to inherit with, or perhaps before, his own. Which Sort of Reaſon it is, that this Matter of Divorce, now under *Chriſt*, is chiefly built on; and not, as might be imagined, that of the Conjugal Contract. For that being mutual, would as well make it lawful for the Wife to put away the Husband, as the Husband the Wife; which is no where permitted either in the Old or New Teſtament. This Liberty, therefore, is peculiar to the Husband againſt the Wife, and not common to the Wife againſt her Husband, becauſe thoſe Family-Inconveniences do not follow the Falſeneſs of the Husband, as they do that of the Wife. To which may be alſo added this other Reaſon; Becauſe the Wife hath by Promiſe of Obedience made herſelf a kind of Subject, and own'd him a Lord, and ſo hath none of that Authority over him, which he, by being Lord, hath over her.

If it be asked, Whether there be no other Cauſe of Divorce now juſtifiable among Chriſtians, but that in Caſe of Fornication? The Anſwer is, in brief, that there cannot be any defined, becauſe *Chriſt* hath named no other. But then there is a Place in [k] St. *Paul*, from whence ſome have concluded the contrary of this: For when St. *Paul* ſaith that the believing Brother, *having an unbelieving Wife, if ſhe be willing to live with him, he muſt not put her away*, he prefaceth it in this Manner: *To the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord*. Whence they infer, that in St. *Paul*'s Opinion, *Chriſt* had not then ſaid that Unbelief was not a lawful Cauſe of Divorce; and conſequently that *Chriſt* had left Place for ſome other Cauſe beſide Fornication. *Therefore*, ſay they, *if there ſhould be found any other Cauſe as great as that, it might be conceived comprehended under that general Example. Now if the Wife ſhould attempt to poiſon, or otherwiſe to take away the Life of the Husband, this would be as inſupportable an Injury as Adultery, and ſo as fit a Cauſe of a Divorce as that.*

The firſt Part of this Objection, reſpecting the Believer and Unbeliever, we ſhall paſs over; becauſe the ſame Reaſon that made a Diſcuſſion of this Point neceſſary in the Apoſtle's Time, cannot prevail now, in a Chriſtian Country. Proceed we therefore to the Second, namely, *That if there ſhould be found any other Cauſe, as great as that of Adultery, (for Inſtance, the attempting to take away the Life of an Husband,) a Divorce would then be as fit, as in the Caſe of Adultery itſelf.* Now to this we anſwer, that the Inference is of no Uſe, unleſs there could be produced any Cauſe of Divorce ſo juſtifiable as Adultery is. But this cannot be; becauſe, in all Conſiderations, none can be ſo great and ſo irreparable in its Nature; nor is there any that Repentance can ſo little ſet right again. For though it be poſſible that ſome other Sins may be as great, or greater, then Adultery; yet becauſe this is not ſo contrary to, and deſtructive of, the conjugal State, therefore 'tis not thought by St. *Paul* ſufficient to cauſe Divorce, though to cauſe Damnation, which is a far greater Puniſhment than Divorce, it be abundantly ſufficient. As for the having attempted the Life of the Husband, we need make no doubt to ſay, that this is not equal to the having committed Adultery. For *firſt*, the Attempt of a Thing is not ſo puniſhable as the Act, but it may by Repentance be repaired again, and the reſt of the Life be the more happy and comfortable with ſuch a penitent Wife: And this very Poſſibility is conſiderable. And then *ſecondly*, If there were Danger of being killed ſtill, yet may the Inconvenience of living with one who hath been falſe to the Bed, be beyond that. *Love is ſtrong as Death* ſaith [l] *Solomon*; *Jealouſy cruel as the Grave; the Coals thereof are Coals of Fire, which hath a moſt vehement Flame.* And if a continual Jealouſy be thus cauſed, what a Hell is that Man's Life? This is far worſe than Death, eſpecially than the mere Danger of it. And beſides, if ſhe alſo have repented of her Fornication, and the Husband be ſatisfied that ſhe hath ſo, yet the Diſgrace of having been ſo uſed, and perhaps the continual Preſence of a baſe Brat in the Family, will yet be more inſupportable than the poſſible Danger of loſing a Life. For we ſee how common it is for Men to contemn their Lives, to endanger, nay often actually to loſe them, rather then part with Reputation, or any ſuch trifling Comfort of Life, on this Maxim of the natural Man's, *That 'tis better to die than to live miſerably or infamouſly*. And though Chriſtianity curb that Gallantry of the World, yet ſtill it commands us to contemn Life when it cometh in Competition with Obedience to *Chriſt*; which here it would do, if a Man was to divorce his Wife, contrary to *Chriſt*'s Command of not divorcing for any Cauſe but Fornication.

XII. We come now to the fourth Period of theſe Improvements, which contains a Prohibition very neceſſary to be inſtilled into all, eſpecially young Men, we mean that of *Swearing*:

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[k] 1 Cor. vii. 12.

[l] Cant. viii. 6.

In explaining which, as we have hitherto done, we ſhall follow *Chriſt*'s Method in delivering, and firſt give the Meaning of the old Commandment; which, by the Style of the Preface, *Ye have heard that it hath been ſaid to them of old Time*, appears to be taken out of the Decalogue.

The firſt Part of this Precept, *Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf*, is clearly the third Commandment; but the latter Part, *But ſhalt perform to the Lord thine Oaths*, is taken out of other Places of the Law, to explain the Meaning of the former, and to expreſs it to be, as literally it ſounds, againſt Perjury, and particularly againſt the Nonperformance of promiſſory Oaths.

That the third Commandment in *Exodus*, *Thou ſhalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain*, is no more in the primary Intention of the Phraſe, than Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf, is very evident, if either *Chriſt* may judge, who here ſaith ſo, or if the Importance of the Words in the Original be obſerved. For to *take* or *lift up the Name of God*, is an *Hebrew* Form, or Phraſe, ſignifying *to ſwear*; and the Word *vain* and *falſe* is all one, as the *Hebrew* Writers generally acknowledge, and the Context, among other Places in Scripture, manifeſtly proves: For the very Word that is rendered *vain* in the third Commandment, is uſed in the ninth Commandment, for *Falſe-witneſs*. Thus in the [m] Pſalms, the Phraſe of *lifting up the Soul unto Vanity*, is expreſſed in the next Words by that of *ſwearing deceitfully*. By all which it is clear, that *to take God's Name in vain*, is *to forſwear one's ſelf*. And conſequently that to that Sin of Perjury is appointed a moſt terrible Portion in God's future, ſlow, but ſure Retributions; as we learn from the Phraſe, *The Lord will not hold him guiltleſs*. And this in the Opinions of all Men is ſo great, that even among the Heathens the Torments of Hell were thought peculiarly to belong to perjured Perſons; and the very Word [n] which ſignifies an Oath, is by them turned into the Name of that Place which avenges the Sins of this Life. Nay, and ſuch muſt expect the remarkable Strokes of God's Hand even in this World; Ruin of their Eſtates oftentimes, but more often, ſecret Strokes of his Hand, and Blaſts of his Mouth. That this is the Importance of that peculiar Character in the Cloſe of that Commandment, *The Lord will not hold him guiltleſs*, appears from a [o] parallel Place of Scripture: 'Tis expreſſed by the Emblem of a *flying Roll, that entereth into the Houſe of the Thief, and into the Houſe of him that ſweareth falſely by God's Name*; *and it ſhall remain in the midſt of his Houſe, and ſhall conſume it, with the Timber thereof, and the Stones thereof*. This *remaining* and *conſuming* the *whole Houſe* with the *Timber and Stones*, is no ſingle Curſe, but that which extends to the Blaſting and Extirpation of whole Families; and the *flying Roll* is an Intimation of the Indiſcernibleneſs, Swiftneſs, Fierceneſs, and Unavoidableneſs of this Judgment.

This then we take to be the Senſe of the third Commandment: For perhaps ſwearing, ſimply taken, is not reducible thereto. For beſides that the expreſs Words of *Moſes* plainly permit it, [p] *Thou ſhalt ſwear by his Name*; the [q] Fathers ſay plainly, that to ſwear under *Moſes* was lawful. But without Doubt, all idle, fooliſh, wanton, Uſing of God's Name, and above all the blaſpheming and prophaning of it, was there forbidden.

XIII. But *Chriſt* ſuperadded to this old Commandment a total univerſal Prohibition of ſwearing itſelf, making that as unlawful now, as Perjury was before. And that we may diſcern this Matter the more clearly and diſtinctly, we muſt remark two Circumſtances in our Saviour's Speech: *1ſt*, That Phraſe, *but let your Communication be yea yea*; *nay nay*: From whence one univerſal Rule may be taken, namely, that to ſwear in ordinary Communication, or Diſcourſe, is utterly unlawful. *2dly*, We muſt apply our Saviour's Prohibition to the particular Matter of *Moſes*'s Law forementioned, and that was peculiarly of promiſſory, not aſſertory Oaths; and then adding to that the Importance of the Word *ſwear*, as it differs from Adjuration, or being ſworn, we ſhall have a ſecond Rule, which is, that all voluntary, but eſpecially promiſſory Oaths, are utterly unlawful now for a Chriſtian.

By voluntary Oaths we mean thoſe that have no other Impellent but ourſelves: For of theſe we may conclude, that if they be not either for the Glory of God, as St. [r] *Paul*'s Oaths, which were to ſtand upon Record to Poſterity, or for the Good of our Neighbour, or ſome ſuch public Conſideration, they are utterly unlawful. And we mention promiſſory Oaths in particular, becauſe thoſe are moſt clearly forbidden, both by the Relation theſe Words have to the Precedent, *Thou ſhalt perform thy Oaths*, and by the Precept of St. *James*, in that Matter, *Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay*[s]; that is, let your Promiſes and Performances be all one; the firſt yea referring to the Promiſe, the ſecond to the Performance. And this he there mentions as a Means to make all promiſſory Oaths unneceſſary: For he that is ſo juſt in performing his Word, there will be no need of his Oath; and he that uſeth Oaths in this unneceſſary Manner, may be in Danger to *fall into lying, or falſe ſpeaking*; which is the meaning of thoſe following Words, which we there render, *leſt you fall into Condemnation*.

As to the Particulars that follow in our Lord's Prohibition, *Neither by Heaven, for it is God's Throne*, &c. the Meaning of them is clearly this, That thoſe leſſer Oaths, taken in by ſome in Civility to God, (whom they would not invoke in ſmall Matters, but yet would uſe this Liberty of ſwearing by inferior Things) are now utterly unlawful; a Chriſtian muſt not uſe even any of thoſe. And the Reaſon given is this, Becauſe every one of theſe are Creatures of God, (whoſe whole Being conſiſts in their Reference to him;) and therefore not to be defamed by unneceſſary Oaths.

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[m] Pſal. xxiv. 4.
[n] Ὅρκος.
[o] Zach. v. 4.
[p] Deut. vi. 13. x. 20.
[q] Oecumenius. &c.
[r] Rom. i. 9. Gal. i. 28. &c.
[s] Jam. v. 12.

The poſitive Precept in the Cloſe, *But let your Communication be yea yea, nay nay*, ſignifies that in common Diſcourſe we may uſe an Affirmation, or one *Yea*, and if the Occaſion require an Aſſeveration, we may add another *Yea*; and ſo in a Negation we may uſe a Phraſe of ſome Vehemence to confirm it when needful, ſuch as *Nay Nay*. And this will ſerve as a good Means to prevent the Uſe of ſwearing, by aſſigning to that Purpoſe ſome ſuch Aſſeveration as may anſwer the Purpoſe as well; and therefore *Chriſt* not only forbids any more than this, but in a Manner directs to the Uſe of this, as that which will help us to perform his Precept.

All this is back'd by our Lord with a Reaſon: *For whatſoever*, ſays he, *is more than this, cometh of evil.* Meaning, no Doubt, either that it cometh from the evil One *Satan*, who makes Men unapt to believe without Oaths, that ſo he maymake the free Uſe of them the more neceſſary; or from that great Kind of Evil among Men, the breaking of Promiſes, from whence this Cuſtom of adding Oaths proceeds. By which is alſo intimated, that Oaths are here by *Chriſt* forbidden, not as Things in themſelves evil, but as Things which are not to be uſed but in Affairs of ſpecial Moment; a Reverence being due to them, on Account of which they are not to be made too cheap by us.

XIV. The Foundation of the next Period, as of all the preceding, is laid in the Words of the Law, *An Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth.* But we ſee again by the Variation of the Preface from that which was prefixed to the Commands of the Decalogue, that it is not of that Number; and yet is the Phraſe alſo varied from that which was prefixed to the Precept of Divorce: There it was only, *It hath been ſaid*; but here, *Ye have heard that it hath been ſaid.* Let us gueſs at the Reaſon of this Variation.

Perhaps it may ſignify, that as this Precept is leſs than a Commandment of the Law, there being no poſitive Command that every one ſhould thus require an Eye of him who had put out his; ſo it is more than a bare Immunity from earthly Puniſhment to him that ſhould ſo require, which was all that was allowed in that of Divorce. The Truth is, it was by the Law of Nature and *Moſes* freely permittted, that he who had loſt any Member of his Body, might, by Way of Revenge, or Retaliation, legally or judicially require the like Member [t] to be taken from him, who had thus injured him: Though among the *Jews*, and perhaps among the *Gentiles* alſo, private Men were not to do this of their own Heads; but might by legal Proceſs, go to the Judges, and require this Due from them.

What *Chriſt* hath appointed in this Matter, is ſet down in theſe Words, *But I ſay unto you, that you reſiſt not Evil.* Where the Word which we render *Evil*, ſignifies not a *Thing* but a *Perſon*; the injurious Man, or him that hath done the Injury: And the Word rendered *reſiſt* denotes not that which our *Engliſh* commonly ſignifies, but peculiarly to retaliate, *to return Evil for Evil*; by which Interpretation it is directly anſwerable to what went before, *An Eye for an Eye*, and ſo is a denying to Chriſtians that Liberty which before was allowed the *Jews*, namely of Revenge, Retaliation, or returning thoſe Miſchiefs to others, which we have received from them. And that this is the true Interpretation, appears from another plain [u] Text of Scripture, which ſeems to be a direct Commentary of this, *Recompence to no Man Evil for Evil.—Avenge not yourſelves, but rather give Place unto Wrath*; *for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay it ſaith the Lord.*

XV. But it may be demanded, *How far this Precept of not revenging extends? Whether to public Magiſtrates, or only to private Perſons one toward another?* To which we ſhall anſwer by theſe ſeveral Degrees.

Firſt, It doth not interpoſe in the Magiſtrate's Office, ſo as to forbid him to puniſh by Way of Retaliation, if the Laws of the Land ſo direct him; for his Office being to preſerve the Kingdom in Peace, *Chriſt* forbids not the Uſe of any lawful Means to that End, not particularly of this, but rather by the Apoſtle confirms it in his Hand, by ſaying, [w] *He beareth not the Sword in vain*, and adding, *He is God's Miniſter, an Avenger for Wrath to him that doth ill.* By which is intimated that the Sword for Vengeance, or Puniſhment of Offenders, which naturally belongs to God only, is, as far as reſpects this Life, put into the Hands of the lawful Magiſtrate, with Commiſſion to uſe it, as the Conſtitution of the Kingdom ſhall beſt direct, either by Way of Retaliation, or otherwiſe: And what is done thus by him, is to be counted God's Vengeance executed by him; and ſo no more contrary to the Prohibition of private Revenge, than God's own Retributions would be; which yet are mentioned by the Apoſtle as an Argument to prove the Unlawfulneſs of our's: *Avenge not yourſelves, but rather give Place to Wrath*; leave all Puniſhment to God, *For it is written Vengeance is mine.* By which Connection we may note by the Way, that the Motive why we ſhould not avenge ourſelves, is, not becauſe by our Patience our Enemies ſhall be damned the deeper, as ſome would raſhly collect from theſe Words [x] *For in ſo doing, thou ſhalt heap Coals of Fire on his Head*; but becauſe the Priviledge of puniſhing Offenders, belongs peculiarly to God, and to none but thoſe, to whom, for Things of this Life, he is pleaſed to communicate it.

Secondly, The Caſe being thus ſtated, it will follow, That *Chriſt*'s Prohibition belongs only to thoſe who have received Injuries conſidered under the Notion of private Sufferers; and theſe are forbid two Things; 1*ſt*, Taking into their own Hands the avenging of themſelves; and 2*dly*, Deſiring and ſeeking even that Revenge which the Law of Man affords, merely for the Satisfying of their vindictive Humour. This might *Chriſt* very reaſonably prohibit; it being before not commanded, but only permitted by *Moſes*'s Law; though forbid the Magiſtrates thus to puniſh Offenders he could not, without deſtroying the Law, and giving the worſt of Men Advantage over the Beſt. It is not therefore made utterly unlawful by *Chriſt* to proſecute any one who hath wronged me, and bring him to legal Puniſhment; for that the Law of Man, authoriſed and not contradicted by *Chriſt*, may, and often doth, require of me; and there is great Difference between Revenge and Puniſhment. Nor is it unlawful to require Reparations for an Injury done me, when the Matter is capable of it. But that which our Saviour interpoſeth, is, that to require this for the ſatisfying of my own revengeful Humour, beſides, or without, the Reparation of the Damage received by me, is wholly unlawful. And generally this muſt be the Caſe, were we to require *an Eye for an Eye*; for in that Caſe the pulling out of Another's would contribute nothing toward the helping me to mine again. Likewiſe, to require Revenge in Contemplation of the further Inconvenience that may poſſibly befal me another time, if this paſs unpuuiſhed, is here interdicted us Chriſtians; who are bound, by Gratitude for what *Chriſt* hath done to us in pardoning of Injuries, to *go and do likewiſe*; and by the Law of Faith, to vanquiſh ſuch Fears, and depend on God's Providence, to defend us for the future.

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[t] Deut. xix. 21.

[u] Rom. xii. 17. 19.

[w] Rom. xiii. 4.

[x] Rom. xix. 20.

XVI. Now from theſe two Particulars thus ſtated, it will appear, *thirdly*, what is to be ſaid of Wars between one Kingdom and another: For as theſe are of a middle Nature between the Revenge of the Magiſtrate upon the Offender within his Juriſdiction, and the Revenge of one private Man upon another; they conſequently will be only ſo far lawful, as they agree with the firſt; and ſo far unlawful, as they agree with the ſecond.

That War is not abſolutely unlawful, appears, by the [y] Baptiſt's Anſwer to the Soldiers, when they came to his Baptiſm, where he forbids them not that calling as unlawful, by *Chriſt*'s commending [z] the Centurion's Faith who was then a Soldier; by St. *Paul* [a] uſing a Band of Soldiers againſt the Treachery of the *Jews*; and by [b] *Peter*'s baptizing of *Cornelius*, without his giving over his military Employment. Now in what Reſpect War may be lawful, will appear, if we obſerve the Cauſes of it.

Firſt, If it be for the ſuppreſſing of a Sedition or Rebellion at Home; it being lawful for the Magiſtrate to preſerve the Peace of the Land, and to puniſh and ſuppreſs the Diſturbers of it. In which Caſe it is impoſſible any ſuch War ſhould be lawful on both Sides; there being but one ſupreme Power in any Kingdom, and to that belonging the Power of the Sword. *Secondly*, Betwixt one Kingdom and another, a War may be lawful, in Caſe one Kingdom doth attempt the doing any eminent Injury to another, which by War may poſſibly be averted from thoſe, whom the Magiſtrate's Office binds him to protect. But this muſt be an eminent Injury, and that which is more hurtful than War, or taking up of Arms; and that again, when there is no Arbitration, or other Means of debating ſuch Controverſies, or averting ſuch Injuries, to be had. And even then to be proceeded on with theſe Cautions; *To hurt no peaceable Man, as near as may be; To ſhed as little Blood as is poſſible; Not to protract it, out of Deſire of Revenge, or Gain; Not to uſe Cruelty on Captives, or thoſe that yield themſelves and deſire Quarter, nor on Women, Children, and Huſbandmen; To give over War when any reaſonable Terms of Peace may be had; To take away nothing from the Conquered, but the Power of hurting.* In theſe Caſes, and with theſe Cautions, as it is lawful to the higher Powers to uſe Arms, ſo is it alſo to their Subjects that have Commiſſion from them; it being not imaginable that any Magiſtrate ſhould by his own perſonal Strength protect his Subjects, without the Aſſiſtance of others.

But is it lawful for a private Man, for the repelling of any Injury from himſelf, to kill another? Or if it be not, how can War againſt thoſe who are out of our Power, and over whom we have no Juriſdiction, be accounted lawful, ſince it is certainly more ſinful to kill many than one?

To the firſt Part of this Queſtion we anſwer, That a private Man may not, by the Law of *Chriſt*, take away another's Life, for the ſaving his own Goods, or the repelling any ſuch Kind of Injury from himſelf; becauſe Life is more than Goods. But if a Man's own Life be attempted alſo, and there be no probable Means to ſave it, but by taking away the Life of the Attempter, it may then be lawful to do it; *Chriſt* having interpoſed nothing to the contrary. Tho', perhaps he who to ſave another's Life, or who rather than take it away, ſhould venture and loſe his own, might be thought to do better, and more honourably, in imitating Chriſt, who *laid down his Life for his Enemies.* This being granted, we ſay in Anſwer to the ſecond Part of the Queſtion, That the ſame Rule cannot be extended to the making of War unlawful. *1ſt*, Becauſe the ſupreme Power, who is ſuppoſed to manage the War, hath the Sword put into his Hand by God, which the private Man hath not, and that not only to puniſh Subjects, but alſo to protect them. *2dly*, Becauſe it is Duty ſo to do, which he may not, without Sin againſt them, and Failure in the Diſcharge of his Truſt, by any Means neglect: Whereas the private Man having Power of his own Goods, may recede from that natural Right of his, and *deny himſelf, to follow* Chriſt; and for his Life itſelf, may better thus part with it, by leaving it to God's Tuition, than the Magiſtrate can another Man's, being entruſted by God to defend it, and by Oath bound to perform that Pat of his Duty. And for the Number of thoſe, whom a War endangers to kill, that will be countervailed with the Number of thoſe whom it is intended to preſerve; whoſe Peace and quiet Living, if it may be gotten, is more valuable to them, than Life itſelf deprived of that.

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[y] Luke iii. 14.

[z] Matth. viii. Luke vii.

[a] Acts xxiii. 23.

[b] Acts x.

Without enquiring whether any other kinds of War than the two above mentioned may be lawful, (ſuppoſing that if there be any ſuch, they may be reduced to one of thoſe general Heads,) we proceed to the Conſideration of unlawful Wars, of which we ſhall alſo mention two Sorts, as follows.

Firſt, When one Nation fighteth with another for no other Reaſon, but becauſe that other is not of the ſame Religion, this is certainly unlawful. For God hath not given any Nation this Juriſdiction over another; and 'tis againſt the Nature of Religion to be planted by Violence, or conſequently by the Sword. The true Religion is, indeed, the moſt precious Thing in the World, and to be promoted and preſerved by all lawful, proper, proportionable Means. But then War being of all Things moſt improper either to defend or plant it, and it being acknowledged unlawful for *Peter* to uſe the Sword for the Defence of *Chriſt* himſelf; 'tis plain that to fight merely for Religion, muſt needs be very unlawful. Religion hath ſtill been ſpread and propagated by ſuffering, and not by reſiſting: And indeed as it is not in the Power of Force to conſtrain my Conſcience, or change my Judgment, or keep me from the Profeſſion of what I believe, certainly Arms, or Reſiſtance, muſt be very improper for that Purpoſe.

The other kind of unlawful Wars, which we ſhall mention, is, all manner of invaſive War, for the inlarging of Territories, for the revenging of an Affront, for the weakening of thoſe whom we ſee proſperous, or for any other Cauſe, unleſs to get Reparation for ſome eminent Injury done to our Nation, which the Nation cannot reaſonably bear, nor yet hope to have repaired any other Way.

As to any private Man, probably no more may be required to make it lawful for him to bear Arms, than a Commiſſion from the ſupreme Power under which he lives. And therefore as in Obedience to ſuch, it is poſſible for a private Man lawfully to take Arms, even when the Governors do it unlawfully; ſo he that takes up Arms only for Hire, or Hope of Honour, under one who is not his Magiſtrate, may, though the Cauſe be juſt for which the General fights, commit Sin in fighting under him.

☞ Thus much of War. As for what farther may be collected, it will be beſt ſeen by obſerving what *Chriſt* adds on the Back of this Prohibition. *But whoſoever ſhall ſmite thee on thy Right Cheek, turn the other alſo; and if any Man ſhall ſue thee at Law, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloke alſo: And if any Man ſhall compel thee go a Mile, go with him twain.* From which Additions we may obſerve two Things in common. 1*ſt*, The Occaſion of them; 2*dly*, The general Nature of them, wherein they all agree.

The Occaſion of them was *Chriſt*'s Fore-ſight of an Objection, which upon Account of the preceding Prohibition, Men would be apt to make, thus: "If when one doth me an Injury, I may not revenge it on him myſelf, or require a legal Revenge upon him, then by this Eaſineſs he will be taught to multiply thoſe Injuries. He will venture *To ſmite me on the other Cheek*, when he ſees me take that ſo patiently; *To take away my Cloke alſo*, if I am ſo tame as to let him carry away my Coat without any Payment; To make me *go a Stage of two Miles* with him next Time, if I take the firſt Oppreſſion ſo patiently." To this foreſeen Objection, our Saviour anſwers by commanding us to perform the former Duty, and put this dreaded Hazard to the Venture; intimating that this is not ſure to be the Reward and Conſequence of ſuch Patience; or, to ſuppoſe the utmoſt, if it ſhould be certainly ſo, yet we Chriſtians muſt rather ſubmit to this alſo, than give the Reins to our Revenge on that Conſideration. We muſt venture that Conſequence with *Chriſt*, who hath commanded us this Patience, and be armed for the worſt that can befal us in his Service. From whence we may ſee, what an Obligation lies upon us to the performing of thoſe Acts which are accounted ſo ridiculous among Men. Not that we are preſently *to turn our Left Cheek to him that ſtrikes us on the Right*; *to give the Cloke to him that takes the Coat*; but to perform the Precept of not revenging, and not to be tempted from it by any foreſeen Inconvenience. And if we cannot perform our Obedience without it, we are rather to let *him take the Cloke alſo*, than to ſeek Revenge for ſuch former Treſpaſſes. Which will be nothing unreaſonable, if we conſider, that *Chriſt* can preſerve us from farther Injuries, if he think good, as well without, as with our Aſſiſtance; and indeed that Patience is often made by him a more proſperous Means of Security, than Self-revenge would be; it being *Chriſt*'s tried Rule *to overcome Evil with Good.* And at worſt, if we ſhould chance to ſuffer any Thing by obeying him, we know he will be able to repair it in another World.

The general Nature of theſe appendant Precepts, wherein they all agree, is this; That they regard tolerable and ſupportable Injuries, both in reſpect of what is done already, and what may be conſequent to our bearing them. For thus the Loſs *of the Coat*, or *Cloke* alſo, is a moderate Injury; the *ſmiting on the Cheek*, or *Cheeks*, a very inconſiderable Pain, and only valued for the Diſgrace annex'd to it; and the *going a Mile*, or *two Miles*, a very tolerable Injury to the Body, and a very eaſy [c] Poſt, being compared with the ordinary Stages. And from thence appears, 1*ſt*, The Reaſonableneſs of *Chriſt*'s Commands, and their Agreeableneſs to our Strength; in that he provides us ſuch *eaſy Yoaks and light Burthens*, even when we think he uſeth us moſt hardly: *2dly*, The Indulgence which he allows us in Matters of greater Concernment; where the Damage or Treſpaſs is not ſo ſupportable. He there intimates a Liberty to uſe ſome Means to ſave or redreſs ourſelves; though not to work Revenge on the Enemy for what is paſt, by exacting any Puniſhment on his Perſon.

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[c] The Perſian Poſt or Stage, from which the Jews took theirs, was a Paraſange, or thirty Furlongs, of which the μίλιον, or Mile here, was but a little above a fourth Part, that is, ſeven or eight Furlongs at moſt. Agathias lib. ii. p. 55. 'Twas the Cuſtom of the Perſian Tyrants to preſs Men, as among us Teems of Horſes, and force them to carry their Burthens for a Stage, or Paraſange, and then to reſt, others ſucceeding them in Turns; and from them the Jews had the ſame Cuſtom. See Mat. xxvii. 13. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26.

From the firſt of theſe Remarks, we may infer, that for light Injuries done to our Bodies, which leave no Wound behind them, nor bring any conſiderable Pain with them, we are not to ſeek any Way of private, no nor ſo much as of legal Revenge, even though the Injury were of ſuch a Kind, that the putting it up, would be a Reproach in the Account of the World, and withal a poſſible Means to bring more upon us of the ſame Nature. This is our Chriſtian Duty, which we cannot omit without Sin; and which for us to perform, or for *Chriſt* to command, is ſo far from unreaſonable, that the Contrary, if we obſerve the Experience of it, is much more unreaſonable; the ſeeking of Revenge commonly ſubjecting us to greater Inconveniencies; either to more dangerous Blows, if we become our own Champions, and avenge ourſelves; or to more conſiderable Trouble and Charges, if we ſeek it from a Court of Judicature.

The ſecond Remark, which regards the Indulgence of *Chriſt* in greater Matters, offers us a fair Occaſion to ſay ſomewhat of that great Queſtion, *Whether a Chriſtian may go to Law? and for what Reaſons?* Which we ſhall anſwer at large.

XVII. *Going to Law* is not ſimply unlawful, becauſe Chriſt, finding Courts of Judicature, for Matter of *Mine* and *Thine*, in the World, did not take that Power into his own Hands, or out of thoſe Hands where he found it. *Who made me a Judge?* ſaid he. In this whole Sermon of ſtrict Precepts upon the Mount, he gives no Command in this Matter any farther than what is contained in theſe Words, *He that would implead thee, and take away thy Coat, let him have thy Cloak alſo.* The Utmoſt of which can amount no farther againſt going to Law than this. *1ſt*, That it is ſuch a Thing that it may be abuſed to the moſt unjuſt Oppreſſion, ſuch as taking away the Coat from one's Back; and when ſo uſed, 'tis ſurely unlawful. *2dly*, That we muſt not go to Law with any by Way of Retaliation: For the Precept of *Let him have thy Coat alſo*, cannot juſtly be extended any farther than the Context will authorize the extending it, and that is only thus far; That *rather than retribute to him Evil for Evil, or retaliate, I muſt even let him take my Coat, and not go to Law with him.* I muſt thus be quiet, rather than bear him any Malice, or do any thing that ſhall inflame me, or raiſe in me a Deſire of Revenge againſt him. For any of theſe will make that unlawful to me which in itſelf was not ſo. *3dly*, That we muſt not go to Law only out of a Foreſight, that the bearing of one Injury patiently may poſſibly or probably bring a greater upon us; but truſt God with the preſerving us for the future, who will be more likely to bleſs and reward our Patience and Meekneſs with Tranquility and Proſperity in this Life, than any contrary Vice of Contentiouſneſs or Impatience. *4thly*, That we muſt not go to Law to recover a Coat, when we have a Cloke left; that is, for a ſmall inconſiderable Poſſeſſion, which is not neceſſary to us, and the recovering of which will not be proportionably gainful to the Charge or Trouble of going to Law for it.

The foregoing Particulars contain the utmoſt that the Words of *Chriſt* can be juſtly extended to: All which notwithſtanding, theſe other Caſes ſtill remain, which come not under that Interdict in its largeſt Extent. *1ſt*, That he who cannot by any Arbitration get his own, nor yet conveniently live without it, may make uſe of the ſettled Judicature of the Land where God hath placed him; ſuppoſing that he fall not into any of the Faults before ſpecified, and which poſſibly may be incident to the managing of the juſteſt Action. *2dly*, That he who being tenderly affected in Conſcience, deſires Aſſurance that he enjoys nothing but what is juſt for him to enjoy, may lawfully, in Matter of any Doubt concerning Property, uſe the Law to make that Deciſion for him; ſuppoſing again that this be ſincerely his Intention, and that he reſolve quietly to ſtand to what the Law ſhall adjudge. *3dly*, That he who by this Means defends a Widow or Orphan, or any other injured Perſon, may very chriſtianly uſe it. *4thly*, That he who may thus preſerve himſelf in a Sufficiency to provide for his Family, and without it probably cannot, unleſs he either crave other Men's Alms, or expect Relief from God by extraordinary Means, may uſe this Means to do ſo. *5thly*, That he who by this Means may be enabled to relieve the Poor, which otherwiſe he could not do ſo liberally, and doth it ſincerely in order to that End; and when he obtains his own, evidences that Sincerity by his Performances, is ſtill free from any Reſtraint ariſing from that Precept of *Chriſt*. Whereas, on the other Side, he that contends for Trifles, goes to Law only that he may loſe nothing of his Right, or not only to get legal Reparations for his Loſſes, but alſo to give Satisfaction to his revengeful Appetite, can no Way be juſtified or excuſed in ſuch a Suit. So alſo the ſuing of him who is not able to pay, the puniſhing of him by Priſon, or the like Reſtraint on him, that brings in no Advantage to us, is unlawful and unchriſtian.

But there ſeems to be an Objection againſt going to Law in any Caſe, producible from a Paſſage in St. [d] *Paul*'s firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; for the anſwering of which, we ſhould obſerve, that the Apoſtle's Scope there is only to reprehend going to Law before [e] Heathen Tribunals, which when any Men are guilty of it, muſt ſignify either that there is no Chriſtian among them fit to be a Judge betwixt Contenders, or elſe that they would rather chuſe an Heathen's Arbitration, than that Chriſtian's; either of which being culpable, that which ariſeth from them muſt needs be ſo too, but nothing elſe upon thoſe Grounds. This is agreeable to what *Chriſt* had before ſaid: [f] *If thy Brother treſpaſs againſt thee*, and will not make thee Amends on thy repeated Admonitions, thou ſhall *tell it to the Church:* And if he will not ſtand to the Judgemnt of the Church, *Chriſt* then goes farther, *Let him be to thee as a Heathen Man, and a Publican*; meaning not only that he is fit for Excommunication, mentioned in the next Verſe, but alſo that thou haſt Liberty to implead him in any Gentile Tribunal, as thou would'ſt and may'ſt a Heathen or Publican, which are here taken for equivalent Terms.

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[d] 1 Cor. vi. 1—8.

[e] See Ver. 5, 6.

But the Apoſtle, it will be ſaid, ſpeaks without Reſerve, when he ſays to the *Corinthians*, [g] *There is utterly a Fault among you, becauſe you go to Law one with another?* To which we anſwer, That the Utmoſt which thoſe Words infer is only this, That thoſe particular Suits at Law, that were then among the *Corinthians*, were all unlawful, (which we may gather from the Apoſtle's telling them, that they [h] *did injure and defraud one another?* but 'tis not concluſible from thence, that all other Men's Suits are ſo, becauſe poſſibly not of the ſame Nature as theirs were. And for this Aſſertion there is good Ground in the Original, where the Word which we render *Fault* is not any of thoſe uſual Words which are without Doubt Denotations of Sin, but another which ſignifies a *doing leſs than we might*, and ſo may perhaps only conclude the Thing which he ſpeaks of to be no more than comparatively evil; that is, not ſo good as patient bearing of Injuries and Loſſes ought to be eſteemed. And this ſeems to be enforced by the Words immediately following in the End of the ſame Verſe, *Why do you not rather ſuffer yourſelves to be defrauded?* Which will infer, that Patience of Injuries is a greater Virtue, a more heroical Excellence, and a higher Pitch of Chriſtian Philoſophy and Contempt of the World, than going to Law implies, and eſpecially than that particular Kind of going to Law, of which he accuſeth them: But it doth not follow that going to Law is from that Place made in all Caſes utterly unlawful. Juſt as loſing my own Life when I am aſſaulted by another, rather than I will take away his, is, as we before ſhewed, a high Piece of Imitation of *Chriſt*, who *laid down his Life for his Enemies:* But notwithſtanding this, the killing of the Invader in that Caſe, when I cannot otherwiſe ſave my own Life, is acknowledged to be no Sin, becauſe not forbidden by Nature or *Chriſt*, whoſe Prohibition it is, that makes any Thing a Sin: *For where there is no Law*, ſays [k] the Apoſtle, *there is no Tranſgreſſion.*

☞ Having diſcourſed thus largely on *War* and *going to Law*, we may the more briefly conſider what is to be learnt from the third Particular, which *Chriſt* thought fit to ſuperadd to the Matter of retaliating, in theſe Words, *Whoſoever ſhall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain.* The Senſe of which is, That the ſame Rule holds for my Liberty, that did for my Body and Eſtate, and that therefore every Diminution of it muſt not enrage me either to a private or legal Revenge on the Invader.

In a Word, the Sum of all theſe Additions, is, That ſmall ſupportable Injuries of any Kind, we Chriſtians muſt bear, without hurting again, or ſo much as proſecuting the Injurious. And that in weightier and more conſiderable Matters, though we may uſe Means to defend ourſelves, and to get legal Reparations for our Loſſes; yet even in thoſe the giving any Way to revengeful Deſires, or wiſhing to give another any Pain, or to work him any Damage, that brings no real Gain, or Eaſe, or Advantage to us, is ſtill utterly unlawful.

†† As to what follows in the Cloſe of this Period, *Give to him that aſketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away?* The Subſtance of it is a Command of univerſal, unlimited Liberality, according to our Power, to all that are in need; and a Direction to one ſpecial Kind of Mercy, the lending without Exaction of Uſe, to thoſe that are in preſent Want, and may, by ſuch preſent Supplies, be taught a Way of thriving in the World, and getting out of thoſe Difficulties of Fortune. In which Caſe the lending for a Time, and after that Time the requiring our own again, may do ſome Men perhaps more good, by obliging them to Induſtry, and Providence, and Fidelity, than the giving to ſome others might have done.

What Connection there is betwixt this Precept of Liberality, and that of Non-revenge immediately preceding, we ſhall eaſily ſee, if we conſider, That *forgiving* and *giving*, the two ſpecial Works of our Charity toward Men, ſhould always go together; one never doing ſo well, as when the other is joined with it. Revenge will blaſt our Liberality; and the covetous illiberal Heart will defame the moſt perfect Patience. Beſides, the Practice of Liberality will help us to think it reaſonable not to meditate Revenge, and withal demonſtrate our Patience of Injuries, to be no puſillanimous cowardly Act, but only an Act of Obedience unto *Chriſt*, in doing as he hath done; for both Patience and Liberality, are Chriſtian Duties; our Charity obliging us to the one, as well as to the other.

XVIII. The Ground-work of the next and laſt Period of theſe Improvements, is the Repetition of an old Law concerning *loving Neighbours and hating Enemies*. For the Neighbour, or Fellow *Jew*, the Law of *Moſes* hath commanded to [l] *love him as one's ſelf*, and not to avenge, or bear any Grudge againſt him: From which, though in Fact it were no Excluſion of the like to Men of other Countries, yet it is very true that the *Jews* took Occaſion to deny all Kindneſs, and all Exerciſe of the common Offices of Humanity to all others, unleſs they became Proſelytes to them. This they did without any real Authority of their Law; which therefore *Chriſt*, by the Parable of the good *Samaritan*, ſhews to belong to the loving of others beſide their own Countrymen, and the extending the Word Neighbour to all thoſe who are of the ſame common Stock with us, and are Men as well as ourſelves. Though the Truth is, that God by preſcribing the *Jews* peculiar Meats, and forbidding others that were familiarly uſed by the Nations, did conſequently interdict them any ſpecial Familiarity of Converſe with the Nations, by Way of Caution, leſt they ſhould be corrupted by them, who were at that Time ſo extremely idolatrous and filthy in their Practices: Which Rule conſequently was to be accounted temporary, and to laſt no longer then the Reaſon of it. But then for the hating of Enemies, it is not to be thought that there was any Precept given them, of hating either all but their own Countrymen, or even all their very Enemies. Thus much only towards it we find in the Law, that though the *Jews* were commanded to do Courteſies to their Enemies of their own Country, as to [m] *reſcue the Enemy's Ox out of the Ditch*, and the like; yet they were forbid to enter into any [n] Friendſhip, Affinity, or League, with the ſeven Nations who poſſeſſed the Land of *Canaan*, or to ſhew any mercy to them. But this muſt not be extended to the commanding all manner of mortal Hatred againſt them; it is to be underſtood only within certain Limits: They were to offer them [o] Conditions of Peace, and to permit them to redeem their Lives, if they deſired it by Servitude: And though upon not accepting theſe Conditions of Peace, they were to have no pity on them [p], but to deſtroy them utterly, every one that breathed; yet this belonged only to thoſe ſeven Nations, leſt, if any of them were preſerved, [q] they ſhould ſeduce them to their abominable Filthineſſes; whereas the Proceeding was not ſo ſevere againſt other Enemy-cities farther off, from whom there was not the like Danger. And farther, It doth not appear, that this belonged to any but of that Age, in Conſideration of the Danger of Seduction to their Sins; for *Solomon* doth not ſo, but only [r] *levies Tribute of Bond-ſervice* upon them. After the ſame Manner were they to deal with the *Amalekites*, namely, [ſ] *to have War with them for ever*; and with ſome Difference, with the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*. In all which, conſidering who commanded it, nothing can be obſerved contrary to the Law of Nature or Humanity: For if Magiſtrates on Earth have Power over Malefactors, the ſame ſure muſt be yielded to God over Nations and Governors of them, and he may put them to Death by what Means he pleaſe. This Execution he was pleaſed to commit to the People of the *Jews*, after a long Time of Patience, when *thoſe Nations had filled up the Meaſure of their Rebellion*. So that this Permiſſion of *hating Enemies*, cannot be accounted of as a common general Command, (for it held not againſt any but theſe forenamed Nations;) but as a ſpecial, particular Sentence of God's, to be at that Time executed on them. And tho' the *Jews*, by miſtaking theſe Texts, did generally ſuppoſe it lawful to kill or ſpoil any that were Strangers from the Religion of the true God; yet by the Limitation of God's Command for ſuch Execution to theſe forenamed, and that with this Reaſon, becauſe they had *fill'd up the Meaſure of their Iniquities*, (which none but God could judge of,) 'tis evident that this was an Error in the *Jews*; and that the rather, becauſe at this Time when *Chriſt* ſpake, they were ſubject to the *Romans*, and had no Power of the Sword in their Hands: In which Caſe, thoſe former Commands of War with the idolatrous Nations became utterly uſeleſs, and the Law of Nature was to prevail, which commands Love and Charity to all Men.

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[f] Matth xviii. 15, 16, 17.

[g] Ver. 7.

[h] Ver. 9.

[k] Rom v. 15.

[l] Levit. xix. 18.

XIX. But we have no better way now to judge what the Law of Nature had done in this Matter, than by the Writings and Sayings of the wiſeſt natural Men; the Sum of which is this: [t] *That all Men are to be loved and obliged by us*; *That no Man is to be hurt or diſobliged, but he who hath firſt injured us*; in which Caſe the great [u] Philoſopher thinks it as *reproveable a Thing to love an Enemy*, as to *hate a Friend*. But withal, the moderateſt, and wiſeſt, and moſt elevated Minds, though they would not command or oblige all Men to love Enemies, do yet commend it as moſt honourable ſo to do, and give many excellent Reaſons for it, and conclude, that the *wiſe and good Man hath no Enemy*. So that from all this, the whole Matter is, that the *Jews* taking ſome Advantage of theſe fore-mentioned Commands of *Moſes*, and miſtaking them, did think it lawful to hate others of different Religions, which included all other Nations; but in this they did both againſt the Law of *Moſes*, as hath been ſhewed, and againſt the Law of Nature; by which hating or hurting is avowed only in Caſe of Injuries done, and even then alſo the contrary is commended. And ſo that which *Chriſt* hath here to do, is partly to recal the *Jews* to the Law of Nature, and to command that which that Law commended, and partly to advance and ſet it higher than the Law of the *Jews* had required of them before.

The Law of *Chriſt* in this Matter is ſet down in the five laſt Verſes of the Chapter; *But I ſay unto you, Love your Enemies*, &c. to the End. The Sum of which is, that other Men's Faults or Sins againſt us, nay againſt God himſelf, give not us any Diſpenſation for the Non-payment of that great Debt of our Nature, *Love to all our Kind*. 'Tis true indeed, the Paſſions and

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[m] Exod. xxiii. 45.

[n] Deut. vii. 1, 2, 3.

[o] Deut. xx. 10, 11.

[p] Ver. 16, 17.

[q] Ver. 18.

[r] 1 Kings ix. 20, 21.

[ſ] Exod. xvii. 16. Deut. xxv. 19.

[t] Cic. Offic.

[u] Ariſt. Top. Eſchyl. Prom. Sophoc. in Ant. & Oed. Eurip. Ion. Thucyd. Lib. i. Homer. Odyſſ. Lib. xxiv. Heſiod. Lib. i.

Affections that our Nature is ſubject to, do encline us to Revenge againſt our Enemies; or if we can conquer that, yet we cannot chuſe but make a Diſtinction between Friends and Foes, and at leaſt have a great Coldneſs and Indifference to thoſe who have deſerved ill at our Hands. But *Chriſt* is come to mortify thoſe Affections of Rage and Revenge; and to lead us higher than Nature would bring us, even to Words and Actions of Kindneſs and Benignity, to thoſe that have expreſt the contrary of theſe towards us.

XX. Suppoſing then that our Affections and Behaviour toward our Enemies be not like theirs to us, unkind and injurious; it appears from what has been ſaid, that even this is not ſufficient for a Chriſtian, who is to tranſcribe that Copy, which *Chriſt*, by his own dealing with us when we were Enemies, did ſet us. We muſt not only negatively, not hate, or curſe, or purſue with Injuries; but poſitively love, and bleſs, and do good to, and pray for, our greateſt Enemies.

Loving an Enemy denotes an Affection of Charity, and Kindneſs, and Benignity towards him: The wiſhing him all the Good in the World, but that eſpecially which he moſt wanteth, the Good of his Soul; the pitying and compaſſionating him; and that the more for being mine Enemy; becauſe that implies a Sin in him, which is of all Things the moſt proper Matter of Compaſſion.

Bleſſing him ſignifies Kindneſs and Friendlineſs of Language; giving them all friendly and courteous Words, who have nothing but Railing and evil Speaking for us; commending in them whatever is capable of our Praiſes, though they do nothing but defame and backbite us.

By *doing good to* them we muſt underſtand all outward Actions of Charity. Such are Alms, if they be in want; Food, Drink, and Clothes, when they are hungry, thirſty, and naked; Comfort, if in Diſtreſſes; Counſel, if in any Difficulty; reſcuing their Goods, if we ſee them in Danger; admoniſhing them in a friendly Manner, and ſuch as may be moſt likely to prevail with them, when we ſee them falling into any Sin; reproving and correcting fatherly, when we ſee them fallen: In a Word, contributing our utmoſt to the Good of their Bodies, Eſtates, Families, Reputations, but eſpecially their Souls; and all this without any Tincture of Revenge, or Rage, mixing with it.

Praying for them means a deſiring of God for them whatſoever they want; as, Grace, for Amendment of Life; Pardon of Sin, with an Expreſſion of my free pardoning of them; and, in a Word, all other Bleſſings, temporal and ſpiritual, which they ſtand in need of.

To do all this is indeed a Matter of ſome Difficulty; but many Conſiderations there are, which tend to facilitate the Performance of it. Three of them we ſhall here name, as we find them in our Saviour's Words.

The *Firſt* is the Example of God, who ſheweth Mercy to Sinners, who are his Enemies; and in the outward Diſpenſation of temporal Bleſſings, giveth as liberal a Portion many times to the Wicked as to the Good; and for the common Advantages of Life, Sun and Rain, diſpenſeth them generally in an Equality to all. And then for us to do the like, is a godlike Thing; the greateſt Dignity that our Nature is capable of.

The *ſecond* Help is the Conſideration of that Reward which God hath decreed for ſuch who do this; a Reward proportioned to our Actions; Retribution of Good to us, tho' we are Evil, and of Mercy and Happineſs, tho' we are Sinners and Enemies. Whoſoever doth but think of that, and how much the Joys of Heaven for Eternity are beyond the Pleaſure of a little Revenge for the preſent, will never think fit to make ſuch an unequal Exchange, and to loſe ſo rich a Reward for ſo poor a Pleaſure.

The *third* Help is the Conſideration of what is done by all others, even the vileſt and wickedeſt Men in the World. For ſuch were the *Publicans* accounted; and yet they could think themſelves obliged to love their Friends, and they ſatisfied that Obligation; they could uſe Civilities, and courteous Salutations, to their Neighbours. And if we, who are bound to exceed the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, the ſtricteſt Sect among the *Jews*, ſhall be but in the ſame Rank with *Publicans*, the vileſt and moſt abominable of all Men, this will certainly be a great Reproach to us Chriſtians.

Other Motives to this Duty we ſhall find, if we conſider, That by this Means we ſhall conquer our unruly Paſſions, which is a moſt glorious Piece of Victory: That by this we ſhall preſerve ourſelves in a great Calmneſs and Quiet of Mind; which Thoughts of Revenge wholly deprive us of: That this is of all others the moſt probable Way of overcoming our Enemies; Revenge being a Means of exaſperating and enflaming them, Charity of melting them; which whoſoever does, firſt gets a Friend for an Enemy, and ſecondly hath the Honour of Claim to that Reward which is due to them, *who convert Sinners from the Error of their Ways*: That this is a way of excelling all other Men in the World; none but Chriſtians thinking themſelves obliged to do this: That this is a ſpecial Way to Chriſtian Perfection, and is ſo called in the Cloſe of this Chapter: *Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.* Inſtead of which, St. *Luke* [w] reads, *Be ye merciful, as your Father is merciful*; intimating this Mercy, or Benignity to Enemies, to be the higheſt Degree of Chriſtian Perfection.

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[w] Luke vi. 36.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of Almſgiving, Prayer, and Faſting.

I. *General Deſign of this Part of our Lord's Sermon. Almſgiving, what, and how to be performed.* II. *Proportion of it to our Income. What the* Jews *did in this Matter. The higher Duty of a Chriſtian.* III. *That Liberality to the Poor ſhall be rewarded in this Life. Proofs of it from the Old and New Teſtament,* &c. IV. *Our Lord's Caution againſt Vainglory. Difference between letting our Light ſhine before Men, and doing good Works that Men may ſee them.* V. *The great Sin of the latter. Means to prevent it.* VI. *Of Prayer. The Kinds of it. The Parts of it.* VII. *How often to be performed.* VIII. *Of ſet Forms: Whether any be lawful, and whether thoſe may be varied.* X. *Qualifications neceſſary; in the Perſon who prays, in the Prayer itſelf, after the Prayer.* IX. *Cautions againſt Deſire of Praiſe, and vain Repetitions.* XI. *The Lord's Prayer; a general Remark on it. The Invocation.* XII. *The Petitions.* Firſt, *thoſe which regard God.* XIII. *The Petitions which regard ourſelves.* XIV. *The Doxology, and Appendix.* XV. *Of Faſting. What Kind of it is here recommended.* XVI. *Of Sobriety in Eating and Drinking. The Kinds of Exceſs that are condemned. Conſiderations to promote Temperance. Of Feaſting.* XVII. *Faſting, how proved a Duty. The Ends and Uſes of it. What Faſting is not acceptable with God.* XVIII. *Objection, ſtated and conſidered.* XIX. *Times of Faſting. Our Lord's Caution. The Concluſion.*

I. THE general Aim or Deſign of the next Part of our Saviour's Sermon, which begins the ſixth Chapter of St. *Matthew*, is the regulating of three Chriſtian Duties, *Almſ-giving*, *Prayer*, and *Faſting:* Three ſo neceſſary and ſo conſiderable Offices of a Chriſtian; that learned Divines have concluded them to be the three ſpecial Chriſtian Sacrifices, or Acts of divine Worſhip; the firſt out of our Eſtates; the ſecond of our Souls; the third from our Bodies; which being the three principal Parts of a Man, every one of them is obliged to its Tribute of Acknowledgment to the Creator. For this Reaſon, we may preſume theſe Duties worthy of our diſtinct Survey; and to this Purpoſe we pitch upon that firſt, which we ſee firſt placed, that of *Almſ-giving*, which we ſhall reduce to theſe two Heads. *1ſt*, A Duty ſuppoſed. *2dly*, A Caution interpoſed for the Regulation of this Duty. And the ſame Method we ſhall obſerve in ſpeaking of Prayer and Faſting.

By the Duty ſuppoſed, we mean that the Duty of *Almſ-giving* here mentioned, is not ſo much here commanded, as preſumed to be a Duty which both the Law of Nature, and of *Moſes*, required of all Men, Heathens and *Jews*, before; and therefore that needed not to be commanded by *Chriſt*, but only to be thus honourably mentioned by him, as a Duty that he meant not to evacuate, but confirm; ſo far that he that would not obſerve it ſhould be unworthy the Title of a Chriſtian, nay of a *Jew* or an Heathen; all Laws ſo ſtrictly exacting it of him.

This ſo neceſſary Duty, which is only touched on or named here, is the ſame Thing, and expreſſed by the ſame Word, that Mercifulneſs is in the fifth Beatitude; but then it ſeems here reſtrained to that one Kind of Mercifulneſs which conſiſts in giving; and that peculiarly of corporeal Relief to them that want it: And therefore it will not be pertinent in this Place to ſpeak of any Branch of Mercifulneſs, but of that which we ordinary call *Giving of Alms*. Now of that we may obſerve two Things, as proper for our Direction therein; the firſt for the Subſtance of the Duty, the ſecond for the moſt convenient Manner of performing it,

For the *Subſtance* of the Duty we may obſerve, that we are bound by all Laws of Nature, of *Moſes*, and of *Chriſt*, as God hath enabled us, to relieve thoſe that are in Want; the Hungry, the Naked, the Fatherleſs, the Widow, and others deſtitute of worldly Succour; the doing of which is called by St. *James*,[a] *pure Religion and undefiled.*

For the moſt convenient Manner of performing this Duty, we may obſerve from St.[b] *Paul*, that *every rich*, or thriving Man, every one that either hath a conſtant Revenue, or a profitable Trade, ſhould *lay by him in Store as God proſpereth him*, for the Uſe of the Poor; dedicating yearly, or monthly, or weekly, ſuch or ſuch a Proportion for this Purpoſe, and ſeparating it from the Reſt of the Heap, that it may be ready for ſuch Uſes, as the Providence of God ſhall offer to us. This Way of ſetting apart before-hand, will be very uſeful both for the reſiſting of covetous Thoughts, which will be apt ſtill to interfere, when Objects of Charity offer themſelves; and alſo for the having Proviſion ready at Hand, to give when we would be willing to give, which otherwiſe perhaps would ſometimes be wanting. And the doing it thus periodically, will make the Sum parted with ſo inſenſible, that we ſhall not miſs out of our Eſtates, which is thus conſecrated.

II. The exact Proportion, or Quotum, cannot indeed be preſcribed, the Scripture having defined nothing in it. On the contrary, by commending Liberality and voluntary Giving, is rather intimated that there is no ſet Proportion to be defined, but that it is to be left to every Man's own Breaſt, how to proportion his Free-will-offering. For tho' the Place laſt quoted, according to the Original, ſeems to require all to be ſet apart for this Purpoſe that comes in by Way of Gain from God's proſpering Hand, (the Words importing, that *every one ſhould treaſure up whatſoever he hath gained*, *or been proſpered*;

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[a] Jam. i. 27.

[b] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

not as we render it, *as God hath proſpered him*; yet it appears that that was in a peculiar Caſe at that Time, for the relieving the poor Chriſtians at *Jeruſalem*; who were ſo many, and had ſo few to relieve them then, that all that could be ſpared was little enough for the Turn. And therefore that can no more make a Rule for all other Times, unleſs when there is the like Occaſion and Conjuncture of Circumſtances, than the having all Things common then, and bringing them all to the Apoſtles Feet, will be exemplary to us. But for our better Direction in this Matter, we may obſerve theſe following Gradations.

Firſt, That the *Jews*, the People of God, were bound by the Law to ſet apart [c] *a Tenth of all their Encreaſe every third Year for the Uſe of the Poor.* Every Year the Tithe was paid to the Prieſt; but that being done, every third Year they were to tithe again, for the Poor: Which was in Effect a thirtieth Part yearly of their Encreaſe; for to that Proportion, a tenth Part every third Year, being diſtributed into three Parts, and each of thoſe three aſſigned to each Year, will amount.

Secondly, That there were other Commands given to thoſe *Jews*, concerning the Poor; as of permitting them to leaſe in the Field; lending them without Uſe; reſtoring the Pledge before Night; and other the like. And all this a *Jew* was bound to: He ſinned againſt the Law, if he did it not. This was his [d] *Righteouſneſs*, that Degree of Mercy which the Law required of him; inſtead of which the *Greek* Tranſlators uſe a Word [e] ſignifying *Alms* or *Piety*, the ſame which is in this Place of *Chriſt*'s Sermon. And it is farther obſervable, that in this Place ſome very antient Copies inſtead of this Word, which ſignifies *Alms*, have another Word ſignifying *Righteouſneſs*. All which informs us, that ſome Degrees of Alms-giving were required by the Law, without Performance of which a *Jew* could not be accounted righteous: And ſuch were thoſe *third Years Tithings*, and the reſt before-mentioned.

Thirdly, Beſides this Righteouſneſs of the *Jew*, or that Proportion required to his being a righteous *Jew*, there was another higher Degree among them, called *Mercy*, or *Goodneſs*, or *Bounty*, or *Charity*; which, ſay their [f] Interpreters, is more than ſimple Righteouſneſs; it is an *Exceſs, or abundance of Righteouſneſs.* Thus ſhall you ſee thoſe two Words many Times put together, not as equivalent, but one as a higher Degree than the other. [g] *Break off thy Sins by Righteouſneſs, and thine Iniquities by ſhewing Mercy to the Poor*; where the Mercy is ſet laſt, as being higheſt. So in another Place, [h] *What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do Juſtice, and love Mercy*? And when the Compariſon is made by the Apoſtle [i], between a *righteous Man* and a *good Man*; the *good Man*, is this merciful-minded Perſon, who far exceedeth the other. By which we ſee, that he that would be a good, a pious, a merciful *Jew*, was obliged to exceed thoſe Terms which by the Law the *Jew* was bound to, and muſt allow to pious Uſes much more than the thirtieth Part of his Increaſe every Year. And this Law and Direction, being by God himſelf given to his People the *Jews*, may deſerve ſo far to be conſidered by us, as it is an Evidence of God's Opinion, or Judgment then to that his own People.

But then *Fourthly*, though this be not a Law now binding us, as not given to us; yet being a Law of Charity and Mercy to our poor Neighbour, which, for the Subſtance of it, is an eternal Law of Nature, there will be ſmall Reaſon for a Chriſtian to think himſelf diſengaged from that Quotum, or Portion, which even the *Jews*, who were conſidered as in a State of Imperfection, were obliged to; ſave only that this is now left to our own Freedom which was before commanded: And 'twere Shame that a Chriſtian, thus left to his own Freedom, ſhould come ſhort of what a *Jew* was brought to by Conſtraint.

Fifthly, On the contrary Side, the more perfect Law of *Chriſt*, and the greater Degrees of Grace and Light brought into the World by him, requiring higher Perfection now, than before by the Law was required, may very juſtly be deemed to require a greater Proportion of us now in Works of Mercy, than of them was then expected.

From whence it will be conſequent, *Sixthly*, that, as our *Righteouſneſs muſt exceed their Righteouſneſs*, ſo our Mercy ſhould exceed their Mercy. To be a righteous Chriſtian, therefore, 'tis neceſſary to ſet apart much more then a yearly Thirtieth of ones Revenue, or Increaſe: And to be a merciful or pious Chriſtian, much more again than that, is neceſſary.

Seventhly, and *laſtly*, The Chriſtian Law in this Matter, doth not ſo conſiſt in an indiviſible Point, as that any ſet Proportion can be defined, lower than which would be the Sin of Avarice, and higher than which the Sin of Prodigality; but is allowed its Latitude, within which it may move higher, or lower, without Sin: Yet ſtill ſo as it may on one Side be ſo low, that it will be an unchriſtian Love of Money; and on the other Side ſo high, that it may be an unwarrantable Prodigality: Which two Extremes being by the Help of the former Directions avoided, the Rule will be, That the more liberal we are to them that want, the more acceptable we ſhall be in the Sight of God; and the more liberally rewarded: According to that of the Apoſtle, [k] *He that ſoweth bountifully, ſhall reap bountifully*; by which is meant not only God's abundant Retributions of Glory in another World, but even his Payments of temporal Plenty here, to thoſe who have made this Chriſtian Uſe of the Talent committed to their Truſt.

III. It would certainly be a prevailing Motive to all, even the moſt worldly-minded Men, to

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[c] Deut. xiv. 28, 29.
[d] Deut. xxiv. 13.
[e] ἐλεημοσύνη.
[f] See R. Kimcoi.
[g] Dan. iv. 27.
[h] Mich. vi. 8.
[i] Rom. v. 7.
[k] 2 Cor. ix. 6.

caſt their Bread thus *upon the Waters,* if it would return to them again in this Life with Increaſe; Liberality being a Thing pleaſant and delightful to Fleſh and Blood, even in the moſt covetous-minded Man; and there being nothing imaginable to deter any from the Practice *of ſo lovely a Duty*, but the Fear of diminiſhing their Store, or bringing themſelves to Want by that Means. For this Cauſe we ſhall purſue the laſt Aſſertion a little farther, and prove, that there is no Reaſon to doubt of this Truth, that Mercifulneſs, and Chriſtian Liberality, is the ſureſt Way to Plenty and Contentment in this Life. So far is it from being a Means of impoveriſhing any, that it is conſtantly, when exerciſed as it ought, a Means of enriching them. And that this may not ſeem a Fancy, or mere Speculation, we ſhould take notice, that there is not any one temporal Thing, for which there are ſo many evident Promiſes in the Scripture as this. Of which for a Ground of Faith we ſhall name ſome.

When God preſcribed a Form of Prayer to be uſed by him that [l] *hath made an End tything all the Tythe of his Encreaſe the third Year,* that is, who had paid the Poor their Patrimony, he gave the Man that had ſo done, Liberty and Priviledge of Claim to all Kind of earthly Bleſſings: [m] *Then thou ſhalt ſay before the Lord thy God, I have given to the Stranger, to the Fatherleſs, to the Widow,* &c. And thereupon, [n] *Look down from Heaven and bleſs thy People* Iſrael, *and the Land which thou haſt given us, a Land flowing with Milk and Honey.* The Mention of the Milk and Honey, and Affluence, is an Interpretation what that Bleſſing is, which is there prayed for ſo confidently; namely, temporal Plenty here: And God's preſcribing this Form of Prayer, is Argument enough that God will grant it to every one that having performed this Condition, doth humbly in Prayer require the Performance of ſuch Promiſe. Only by the Way, theſe two Things muſt go together inſeparably, Performance of the Condition, and then Prayer to God. According to that of the blind Man in the Goſpel, that whoſoever is a *Worſhipper of God, and doth his Will, him he heareth.*

Other Places fit to be joined with this of the Law, we may take as follows. In the Pſalms of *David* we have, [o] *Bleſſed is he that conſidereth the Poor and Needy:* And what kind of Bleſſing is this, appears by the Context, *The Lord will deliver him, preſerve him, keep him alive, bleſs him on the Earth,* &c. But above others, one very remarkable Place that Book affords: [p] *I have been young,* ſays the Royal Prophet, *and now am old, yet ſaw I never the Righteous forſaken, nor his Seed begging Bread.* What is meant by the Righteous there, will be evident, if we conſult two other Verſes of the ſame Pſalm. [q] *The Righteous ſheweth Mercy, and giveth;* and [r] *The Righteous is ever merciful, and lendeth.* His Liberality is ſuppoſed ſuch, and ſo continual, that one would think it enough to exhauſt his Patrimony, and bring him, at leaſt his Poſterity, to Want and Beggary; and yet in all *David*'s Obſervation, he hath found by Experience, ſo far as to make an Aphoriſm of it, that none were ever brought to Want by that Means; but, as it follows for Confirmation of this Truth, [s] *His Seed is bleſſed:* His Poſterity are proſperous, as if their Father had digged through the Mine into Hell, where the Poets thought Riches dwelt, to fetch out Treaſure for them. Indeed the Rule does not neceſſarily hold ſo far, that no other Means can make a merciful Man poor; for perhaps Negligence, Suretiſhip, or ſome other Sin lived in, and bringing a Curſe upon him, may do it, and Mercifulneſs may not prove an Antidote ſufficient to ſecure him againſt all other Poiſons: But thus far it doth in *David*'s Obſervation hold; That Mercifulneſs itſelf never brings any Man to Want, what ever elſe may; but, on the contrary, that it is an ordinary Means to help to more Wealth, to enrich the Poſterity, and to beſtow temporal Bleſſings on them: A favourable Influence this hath upon all that belongs to him. And this, which *David* mentions as an Aphoriſm of his own Obſervation, we might extend to all Ages, and challenge any Hiſtorian of paſt, or Obſervator of preſent Times, to give one Inſtance, out of his own Knowledge, of any Chriſtian Alms-giver that ever brought himſelf or his Poſterity to Want by that Means.

To theſe Quotations from the Pſalms, we ſhall add a few Places of Teſtimony alſo out of the Proverbs of *Solomon.* [t] *There is that ſcattereth,* ſaith he, *and yet encreaſeth.* Meaning, that one Sort of Scatterers there is, who encreaſe by ſcattering; and there is no Cauſe of Doubt but that the merciful Man is this Kind of Scatterer; which farther appears by the Oppoſition in the reſt of the Verſe: *There is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to Poverty.* It is indeed a ſtrange Thing, that Scattering ſhould be a Means of increaſing; and withholding of Poverty: But when 'tis conſidered how all temporal Plenty is of God's diſpoſing; how by his Bleſſing, and the *opening of his Hand, all Things are filled with Pleneiouſneſs*; and by the withdrawing of his auſpicious Influence, all Things become unproſperous; there will be ſmall Difficulty in believing God's Promiſe for ſuch Matters as theſe. Beſides, the following Verſes make this farther clear. [u] *The liberal Soul ſhall be made fat; and he that watereth ſhall be watered himſelf alſo.* And ſelling of Corn being an Act of Liberality, it is ſaid of him that [w] *ſelleth it,* in Oppoſition to him that *withholdeth it,* that *Bleſſing ſhall be upon his Head.* Again, [x] *The Righteous,* (that is, the Liberal again, as oppoſite to him *that truſteth in Riches) ſhall flouriſh as a Branch;* he ſhall be very proſperous. And though it follow [y] *that the Righteous ſhall be recompenſed on Earth;* (meaning, that they ſhall meet with Afflictions and Puniſhments here,) yet is that common State of good Men reconcileable with temporal Bleſſings here. And this we learn from our Lord himſelf, [z] who when he promiſes his Followers *an hundred Fold more in this Life*, joins Perſecutions, the Chriſtian's Portion, along with it.

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[l] Deut. xxvi. 11.

[m] Ver. 13.

[n] Ver. 15.

[o] Pſalm xli. 1.

[p] Pſalm xxxvii. 25.

[q] Ver. 21.

[r] Ver. 26.

[s] Ibid.

[t] Prov. xi. 24.

[u] Ver. 25.

[w] Ver. 26.

[x] Ver. 28.

[y] Ver. 31.

Again, [a] *A good Man*, ſays *Solomon*, *leaveth his Inheritance to his Children's Children.* Where if the good Man be the ſame that is meant by that Phraſe, in the [b] Epiſtle to the *Romans*, it will be diſtinctly pertinent to this Matter: And if it be only a more general Word, yet even then the merciful Man will be contained under it. In another Place, [c] *He that hath Mercy on the Poor, happy is he.* And again, [d] *He that hath Pity on the Poor, lendeth to the Lord; and that which he hath given, will he pay him again;* That is, he will pay him with Intereſt, it being lent upon Uſe, as the Original imports.

On Occaſion of this latter Place it may not be amiſs to rehearſe an antient Story in *Cedrenus.* It is of a *Jew*, as antient, ſaith the Author, as King *Hezekiah*'s Time, who having read this Place and weighed it, reſolved to try whether God would be as good as his Word. He gave all that he had, except two Pieces of Silver, to the Poor; and then waited and expected to ſee it come again. But being not preſently anſwered in that Expectation, he grew angry, and went up to *Jeruſalem*, to expoſtulate with God for cheating him by this unperformed Promiſe. The Story goes on, that being on his Way, he found two Men ſtriving, about a Stone, that both, walking together, had found in the Way, and ſo had both equal Right to it. To make them Friends, he having two Pieces of Silver left, as we before obſerved, upon Contract divides them betwixt the Pretenders, and hath the Stone in Exchange from them. Having it, he goes on his Journey, and coming to *Jeruſalem* ſhews it the Goldſmith, who tells him that it was a Jewel of great Value, being a Stone loſt out of the High-Prieſt's *Ephod*, to whom if he carried it, he ſhould certainly receive a great Reward. He did ſo, and accordingly it proved; the High-Prieſt took it of him, gave him a great Reward, but withal a Box on the Ear, bidding him, *truſt God the next Time.* This Story, if true, is an Inſtance of the Matter in Hand; if not true, yet it is an excellent Emblem of it.

To proceed: [e] *He that hath a bountiful Eye*, ſaith the wiſe Man, *ſhall be bleſſed, for he giveth of his Bread to the Poor.* Where the affirmative Promiſe is moſt punctual, and the Reaſon to confirm it moſt remarkable; being but the Repetition of the Thing itſelf: *The bountiful minded Man ſhall be bleſſed.* Why? *Becauſe he is bountiful.* No other Argument is needful to prove it but this; the infallible Promiſe belonging peculiarly to ſuch. And in another Place, [f] *He that giveth to the Poor ſhall not lack.* This is a moſt definitive Promiſe, from whence no Exception is imaginable, if we had but Faith to depend upon it.

And leſt we ſhould think that theſe Texts referred only to the State of the *Jews* under the Old Teſtament, and belonged not at all to us Chriſtians, we may obſerve that theſe Proverbs of *Solomon* are not Truths peculiar to that State, but extenſive even to us Chriſtians; and more peculiarly to faithful Chriſtians, than to them, many of them. Farther, there is in the Goſpel one Place that repeats in Senſe one of theſe Paſſages. [g] *In as much as ye did it to one of theſe*, ſaith our Lord, *you did it unto me.* Which is in Effect, a Repetition of *Solomon*'s Words, *He that giveth to the Poor lendeth to the Lord.* We have alſo a plain Promiſe of temporal Things in the Goſpel to thoſe that part with any of their Goods for *Chriſt*'s Sake, and that in a general unlimited Style, excluding all Exception, [h] *There is no Man that hath left Houſe, or Brethren, or Lands, for my Sake, but he ſhall receive an hundred Fold in this Time, and in the World to come everlaſting Life.*—Only this muſt be with a Mixture of Perſecutions, as we juſt now obſerved, in comparing this Text with another in the *Proverbs.*

By all theſe Teſtimonies from the Word of God, both in the New and Old Teſtament, we may conclude this Doctrine to be as clear as any in the Scripture; and that the Promiſe of temporal Plenty to the Liberal is ſo diſtinct and infallible, that it can be no leſs than very groſs Ignorance of plain Scripture not to obſerve it, and arrant Infidelity not to believe it. And this perhaps is the Meaning of thoſe Words of our Saviour, [i] *Love your Enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again*; or as the *Greek* ſignifies, *diſtruſting nothing*; that is, making no Doubt, but that God will repay thee, though he to whom thou giveſt, do not; at leaſt never fearing that God will ſuffer thee to be the poorer for Want of that, which in Obedience to him, and Dependance on his Promiſes, is thus liberally laid out by thee. Agreeable to which is that apoſtolical Saying of *Barnabas* in his Epiſtle; *Make no Doubt to give, neither murmur when thou haſt given; give to every one that aſketh thee;* Where *not doubting* before *giving*, and *not murmurring* after it, is a Paraphraſe of the Paſſage in St. *Luke*, which we render, *not diſtruſting.* Indeed it is an unreaſonable as well as an unchriſtian Sin, not to practiſe a Duty, which is in it's own Nature ſo amiable, and ſo agreeable to our Humour and Diſpoſition, as we are Men. To him that believes, and ſo reſts ſecure of this one Particular, *that he ſhall not be the poorer, for what he parts with on theſe Terms*, there is not the leaſt Objection or Temptation imaginable againſt it, though even the covetous Man himſelf were allowed to be the Objector.

IV. We come now to the ſecond Particular mentioned in our Diviſion of this Doctrine of

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[z] Mark. x. 30.
[a] Prov. xiii. 22.
[b] Rom. v. 7.
[c] Prov. xiv. 21.
[d] Prov. xix. 17.
[e] Prov. xxii. 9.
[f] Prov xxviii. 27.
[g] Matth. xxv. 43.
[h] Mark x. 30.
[i] Luke vi. 35.

Alms; namely, the *Caution interpoſed*, that *we do not our Alms to be ſeen of Men*; nor uſe any Means in the doing of them, to *have Glory of Men*, and to be praiſed or commended by them. This is an Infirmity very ordinarily inſinuating itſelf in our beſt Actions, to blaſt and defame them in the Eyes of God; every Man being apt to deſire to be better thought of by Man for the Performance of this Duty, eſpecially if he exceed others in it.

Obj. *But were we not commanded before, that our* Light ſhould ſhine before Men? *Now what is that but to do our good Works ſo, that Men may ſee them?*

To this we anſwer, *1ſt*, By obſerving that the Performance of Duties to God may be either public or private; the one in the Congregation, the other in the Cloſet. The former ought to be as public as it may, that ſo it may be more exemplary, and tend more to the glorifying of God; and to that the ſhining of our Light belongs: The Second, as *private* as it may, to approve ourſelves the more to God, and to demonſtrate that it is only our Love and Obedience to him, and not our Deſire of the Praiſe of Men, that moves us to do what we do. And to this ſecond Sort of Performances this Caution here appertains. And though this be more illuſtriouſly obſervable in the two following Duties of Prayer and Faſting, yet will it hold in ſome Meaſure here alſo; the Church being deſigned for giving, as well as for thoſe other Duties, and every Chriſtian antiently being wont to bring ſomewhat to the *Corban* every Time he came to Church; a Remainder of which Cuſtom we have ſtill, in the Offertory at the Sacrament.

Secondly, There is great Difference betwixt *doing our good Works ſo, that Men may ſee them*; and *doing them to be ſeen of Men*: And again, between *doing them ſo before Men, that they may ſee, and glorify our Father in Heaven*; and *that we may have Glory of Men*. The former, if it have not the latter to blaſt it, is only a charitable Care, that my good Actions may be exemplary to others; the Second, that they may be matter of Reputation to myſelf: The former reſpects only God's Glory, and not mine own; the Second my own vain Credit here, and not the Praiſe, or Glory of God. The Firſt is a moſt Chriſtian Act, an Expreſſion of great Love to God, and Deſire to propagate his Kingdom; of great Love to my Brother, and Deſire to make all others as good as myſelf, by ſetting them ſuch Copies on purpoſe to tranſcribe: The Second is as Evidence of great Paſſion and Self-love, and Impatience of having our Reward put off to ſo long a Date, as the Reverſion in another World. And conſequently theſe two are very different, and accordingly are very differently rewarded. The Firſt, with a great Degree of Glory, for the Glory we have brought to God's Name: The Second is ſo odious in the Sight of God, that even our Alms-giving, or beſt Actions, are eaten through by this Means, and find no Reward in another World: The little Reputation gotten here, and affected by us, muſt ſerve our Turns, as the only Reward we are to hope for; which ſhews the Unhappineſs and Folly of this Sin of Vain-glory, as it robs us of all the Reward that our moſt eſteemable free-will Offerings, our higheſt Works of Mercy, can hope for from God.

V. That this Vain-glory is a Sin we have no Room to queſtion, as it is a Deflexion to the Creature. And if it be the principal Motive of our Actions, it is a grievous Sin, irreconcileable with Charity, or the Favour of God; for it proves that the Praiſe of Men rules in us, and not the Love of God. But if the Love of God be the Principle, or prime Mover of our Actions, and this other of the Deſire to be ſeen of Men, do only ſteal in, as a ſecondary Intereſt of our own; then, though it be a Sin ſtill, and ſuch an one, as may deprive us of all future Reward of that good Work to which it is adherent, yet through God's Mercy in *Chriſt*, and his equitable Interpretation of our Infirmities, it will not prevail ſo far, as to ſeparate between God and us eternally, or to caſt us out of his Favour. This may be concluded by Analogy from that hard Place of [k] St. *Paul*, where he ſpeaks of *trying Men's Works by Fire*, &c. or at leaſt it is explained by that Place, and uſed as an Example, whereby that which is there ſaid, may be illuſtrated. The Apoſtle reaſons thus: The *Foundation* being once laid, (that is, *Jeſus Chriſt* being ſet the Principle of all our Actions;) the Superſtructures on this Foundation are either of pure ſubſtantial Metal, which will bear the Teſt, or Judgment of God; or elſe of a baſer Sort, which will not hold out the Trial, but will periſh in the Fire: And ſuch are theſe Alms-givings of ours, which have this Deſire of Vain-glory mixed with them. The former of theſe Works, as Gold, abide the Trial, and are rewarded: The latter, like Wood, periſh in the Fire and are burnt. They cannot be accounted to him who does them for Reward; and ſo all thoſe good Deeds of his come to nothing, there being this Mulct or Puniſhment upon him for his Fault: But yet the Foundation remaining ſtill firm, namely the Faith and Love of God in his Heart, *He himſelf ſhall be ſaved, or eſcape*; yet ſo as by, or *through the Fire*. As one that being in the midſt of a Fire, hath his very Clothes burnt from his Back, and eſcapes only with his Life; ſo theſe tainted Works of his are loſt, but himſelf eſcapes, naked and bare, to be, as it were, one of the Door-keepers in the Houſe or Kingdom of God. But the Favour which he finds, who is thus guilty of this blaſting Sin, will give him but little Encouragement, to indulge to it, when he knows, that it is the chief in his Heart, and the Principle of his Actions; it is then an Act of Infidelity, and little Mercy is to be expected for it. And even when it comes in but as a Secondary, and appendent to his good Deeds done out of a right Principle, 'tis yet then a Means to deprive him of all the Reward or Benefit of his beſt Actions, and brings him to a very low Eſtate here, and to a comparatively mean one hereafter. All which he that will adventure for a little Praiſe of Men, that mere Blaſt of Wind, is ſurely very ill adviſed.

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[k] 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13, 14, 15.

This being ſo unhappy a Sin, and ſo hardly gotten out of us, 'tis proper we ſhould conſider what Means are neceſſary to prevent our falling into it. And here we ſhall mention, 1*ſt*, A Conſideration of the Price it coſts us; *Ye have no Reward of your Father which is in Heaven*; or, which is juſt the ſame, *Ye have your Reward* here, and ſo none behind in another World. 2*dly*, A Reſolution before-hand, never to make our good Deeds more public, than the Circumſtances, neceſſarily attending the preſent Occaſion, extort from us. If we do every good Deed in the Seaſon and Place that God repreſents the Object to us, let him alone to provide for his own Glory, that is to riſe from it: We need not in that Reſpect to uſe any Artifice to publiſh it, under Pretence of making our *Light ſhine before Men*. We muſt not *blow a Trumpet*, or uſe any Means proportionable to that, though in a lower Degree, to call Men's Eyes towards us: Nor do what we do, by Choice, in the *Market Place*, or *Street*, or any other Place of public Meeting and Concourſe. But 3*dly*, rather on the other Side, if we find that Humour of Vanity getting in upon us, we muſt labour for the greateſt Secrecy imaginable; for that is meant by the Phraſe of *not letting the Left-hand know what the Right-Hand doth*. And this by the Way gives alſo a very uſeful Advertiſement for our Direction in our diſpenſing of Alms. Not to do them ſo much to the common Beggar in the Street, (who is here by Accident literally excluded, and for the moſt Part is a diſorderly Walker, and not the fitteſt Object of ſuch Charity;) but to the poor Labourer in Secret, the Houſe-keeper who comes not abroad, and yet needs Relief, to ſupport the Burthen of a numerous Family, and who withal cannot be any Temptation to our vain-glorious Humour. 4*thly*, The fourth Means is a Contemplation of the Reward that attends our Contempt of the Praiſe of Men; a *thouſand times more*, even in Kind, than that which the vain Man attains to; being praiſed of God openly before Men and Angels; in a full Choir all looking upon us, and applauding; and not only being praiſed, but rewarded alſo.

VI. We have thus gone through the Firſt of the three Things, treated of in this Part of our Lord's Sermon; and proceed now to the Second, beginning at the Fifth, and extending to the ſixteenth Verſe of the ſixth Chapter of *Matthew*. In all which we ſhall obſerve the ſame general Parts as before; namely, A *Duty ſuppoſed*, and a double *Caution interpoſed*. The Duty ſuppoſed is *Prayer*; that great and prime Branch of the Worſhip of God, required of all who acknowledge him to be God; and moſt reaſonable for all, who acknowledge the World to be ruled by his Providence, and themſelves to have any need of his Grace or Pardon; and by all who hope for any Reward from him in another World.

As to the Kinds of Prayer, we may obſerve, *Firſt*, that there is Prayer of the Heart, and of the Tongue. Prayer of the *Heart*, when the Soul ſighs out its Deſires to God; and of the *Tongue* added to that, when we put up our Requeſts in an audible Manner, which is then *vocal Prayer*. 2*dly*, There is either public or private Prayer. *Public Prayer* is of two Sorts: Either in the Church; or in the Family.

Firſt, In the Church, or Place of meeting together, for all that will join with us. And this is very uſeful and neceſſary, for the following Reaſons. 1*ſt*, For the public Teſtimony of our Piety, 2*dly*, For the ſtiring up and inflaming of others, 3*dly*, For the making of thoſe common public Requeſts, wherein all that meet are concerned; as when we pray for all Men, for the whole Church, for the Rulers and Magiſtrates of that Community wherein we live, for Pardon of Sins, for the Gift of Grace, for Preſervation from Danger, and for any other Thing, that, as Fellow-members of a Church or State, we may equally ſtand in need of. 4*thly*, For the more effectual prevailing with God; the Union of ſo many Hears being moſt likely to ſucceed, and the Preſence of ſome Godly having Power to bring down Mercies on thoſe others, whoſe Prayers for themſelves have no Promiſe to to be heard; eſpecially if the whole be performed by a Perſon whoſe Office it is to draw nigh unto God, and to be the Ambaſſador and Meſſenger between God and Man.

2*dly*, There is public Prayer in the Family, which is a leſſer Congregation; the Maſter or Father of it being to ſupply the Place of the Prieſt, and to aſk thoſe Things which are diſcerned to be moſt needful for all there preſent. Then for private Prayer in the ſame Family, that may be of two Sorts again; either of Huſband and Wife together, who being as it were one Fleſh, have many Relations common to one another, which are yet diſtinct and peculiar from all others; or of every Man and Woman ſingly, retired from all others, in the Cloſet, or any other Place proper for that Purpoſe.

The Parts of Prayer are ſet down by St. *Paul*, in theſe Words: [1] *Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, giving of Thanks*. The *firſt* ſeemeth to refer to Confeſſion and Acknowledgment of Sin, and beſeeching Pardon: A neceſſary daily Duty both in Public and Privtae, for ourſelves and others; but in Private to be performed more diſtinctly and particularly by Way of Enumeration of the Kinds and aggravating Circumſtances of our Sins. The *ſecond* is the petitioning or requeſting of all Things neceſſary for our Bodies or Souls, in all our Capacities; either as ſingle, or as married Perſons; as Members of Families, of Kingdoms, of Chriſtendom, or of Mankind itſelf. The *third* is the interceding or mediating for others; offering up Prayers for Friends, for Enemies, for all Men, eſpecially for our lawful Governors, *Kings, and all that be in Authority*, ſpiritual and civil. The *fourth* is the returning our Acknowledgments to God for all Benefits received by us, or others; being bound by the Rule of Gratitude to be mindful of what we have received; by the Rule of Piety, to acknowledge God's Hand in beſtowing them; by the Rule of Charity, to be ſenſible of whatever Good any Part of Mankind hath been Partaker, from that great Spring of Goodneſs, as well as ourſelves; and by all theſe, to expreſs our Acknowledgment in all our Prayers and Addreſſes to Heaven.

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[1] 1 Tim ii. 1.

VII. This great Duty, conſiſting of theſe ſo many Parts, muſt be performed frequently by every Chriſtian, without ſlackening or intermitting of it; but how frequently, there is no Precept in this Place or any other Scripture; which argues, that though the Subſtance of the Duty be under particular Precept, yet the Frequency is left, after the Manner of other Free-will Offerings, to every Man's own Conſcience and Prudence, as Occaſions and Circumſtances ſhall direct. Yet from the Commands and Examples of Scripture, ſome ſpecial Directions we may take with us. As 1*ſt*, That one Day in ſeven is to be ſet apart for this Purpoſe: For though the Sabbath is not to be all ſpent in the Performance of this one Duty; yet this Duty ought on that Day to be carefully performed both in the Church, the Family, and in Private; and that with more Solemnity than ordinary. 2*dly*, That other Times taken Notice of by the Church, (either by Way of Commemoration of particular Paſſages in the Story of *Chriſt*, or by Way of Commemoration of ſome notable Benefits received, or on Occaſion of particular Urgencies,) be by us ſolemnly obſerved alſo, according to the Rule both of the antient Church, and of the preſent particular Church wherein we live in like Manner as the *Jews* obſerved their Days appointed them by Law. 3*dly*, That no Man omit to perform this Duty, at leaſt Morning and Evening, every Day; this being ſolemnly required of the People of God, who are directed by the Law of Piety to begin and cloſe all with Prayer. This the very Heathens could judge neceſſary; and ſurely it is the leaſt that can be meant by that Precept of the Apoſtle, of *praying without ceaſing*, or *continually*. But then 4*thly*, The Examples of holy Men in Scripture do add to this Number, ſome more, ſome leſs. *David* in one Place ſpecifies the Addition of a third Time of Prayer: [m] *At Morning, and at Evening, and at Noon, will I pray and cry aloud, and he ſhall hear my Voice.* Others again obſerved the *ninth Hour*, that is, three of the Clock in the Afternoon; as [n] *Peter* and *John*: And this is alſo called an *Hour of Prayer*; and by their *going up to the Temple*, it is plain that public Prayers were uſed at that Time: Which being added to the former, is a fourth Time. And there is alſo Proof that the *third Hour*, that is Nine in the Morning, was an an Hour of Prayer alſo; and then that is a fifth Time: And the Evening Prayer being anſwerable to the Morning, and ſo uſed at Six in the Evening, as the other at Six in the Morning, the Cuſtom of godly Men hath been to ſhut up the Evening with a Prayer at Nine of the Night; and ſo that is a ſixth Time. To which *David* ſeems to add a ſeventh, when he ſays, [o] *Seven Times a Day do I praiſe thee*; where *praiſing* being the fourth Part of Prayer, may be a Denotation of the whole Duty; though the Truth is, the Phraſe *ſeven Times* may poſſibly be taken not ſtrictly to ſignify that Number, but as a Form of Speech to denote Frequency.

Theſe Directions put together, and compared with the Leiſure that every Man hath from the Duties of his Calling, with the invaluable Benefits of Prayer, with the Power of Importunity, as acknowledged by *Chriſt*, and with the Reaſonableneſs of giving God a liberal Portion out of our Time, as well as our Eſtates; will be very helpful to any one that would judge diſcreetly what is to be done in this Buſineſs: And then ſtill we muſt remember this Maxim, That what is well done, and well circumſtantiated, being for the Subſtance a Duty commanded; the more of it is performed, it will be the more acceptable to God.

VIII. From the Solution of theſe Enquiries, we proceed to another, and that is, What Kind of Forms our Prayers may, or muſt, be preſented in? Now in this there are two Queſtions couched. 1*ſt*, Whether any ſet Form of Prayer be lawful to be uſed? 2*dly*, If it be, whether any other may be uſed? And then, what Directions may be had for that?

To the *firſt* we anſwer poſitively, That ſet Forms of Prayer are lawful, both as the Word *Set* ſignifies premeditate limited Forms, as oppoſed to extemporary, and as it ſignifies preſcribed, and for ſome Occaſions and Uſes commanded. That it is lawful to uſe a determinate Form of Words, either written or faſtened in our Memory, is apparent from the Example of *Chriſt*, who in St. *Luke* bids us [p] *when we pray, ſay, Our Father*, &c. That is, not only pray after this Pattern, as the Words in St. *Matthew* might be interpreted, but uſe theſe very Words, *Our Father*, &c. And to this Example of our Saviour, we may add that of his Forerunner, *John Baptiſt*, who [q] *taught his Diſciples to pray* in ſome Form, tho' we know not what it is: Alſo of the Example of the Prieſts under the Law, [r] who, by God's Appointment, uſed ſet Forms of *bleſſing the People*. Indeed, nothing is more certain, [ſ] than that the Church of the *Jews*, and the Chriſtian Churches through all Times, have had their Liturgies, as Ways and Forms of ſerving God publicly, and as Means to preſerve the true Religion from all Corruptions in

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[m] Pſal. lv. 17. See the Diſſertation on the Synagogues and Worſhip of the Jews, p. 302, 303.

[n] Acts iii. 1.

[o] Pſalm. cxix. 164.

[p] Luke xi. 2.

[q] Luke xi. 1.

[r] Numb. vi. 24.

[ſ] See the Diſſertation laſt quoted.

Doctrine. And to theſe Arguments may be added one more, of common Obſervation, that even when the Miniſter, or whoſoever is the Mouth of the reſt, prayeth, though in a Form of his own preſent extemporary Effuſion, yet at that Time all others preſent are limited to his Conceptions, and pray in as ſtinted a Form, as if what the Miniſter ſaith were read out of a Book, or dictated by his Memory. Certainly therefore, a very great Benefit accrues to any Congregation, in having diſcreet well-formed Prayers, whereby they are not ſubject to the Temerity and Impertinences of ſudden Effuſions; and in having the ſame ſtill in conſtant Uſe; not ſuch as are ſtrange or new to them, but ſuch in which they may with Underſtanding go along with the Miniſter, and by the Help of their Memory carry them away for private Uſe. And generally thoſe that want ſuch Helps are by this Means afforded them. And to this we may venture to add, that by means of preſcribed Liturgies, the Unity of Faith and Charity is much preſerved.

But, *Secondly*, ſuppoſing, what we think is manifeſt, that *Set Forms* are both lawful in themſelves, and lawful to be preſcribed; yet it doth not follow, when they are thus drawn up, and preſcribed, that no others may be uſed but ſuch as are thus eſtabliſhed. For the Church being obeyed in the Obſervance of the preſcribed Liturgy in public, gives Liberty for other Forms, even in the public Congregation, ſo they be uſed prudently, and reverently, and to general Edification. And ſo alſo in a Family, or in Viſitation of the Sick, if the particular Condition of the one or the other do require it. And in private, in the Cloſet, 'tis not ſuppoſed by our Church, but that every one may aſk his own Wants in what Form of Words he ſhall think proper; which that he may do fitly and reverently, 'twill not be amiſs for him to acquaint himſelf with the ſeveral Sorts of Addreſſes to God, which the Book of *Pſalms*, and other Parts of Holy Writ, and all other Helps of Devotion, will afford him; either to uſe them as he finds them fit for the preſent Purpoſe, or by thoſe Patterns to direct and prepare himſelf to do the like.

IX. To make our Prayers acceptable to God, or prevalent with him, three Sorts of Qualifications are neceſſary. *One* in the *Perſon that prayeth*; and that is, That *he lift up clean Hands, without Wrath or Doubting*; that he be purified from all wilful Sin, and bring not any unmortified Wickedneſs with him for God to patronize; that he have Charity to his Brethren, and Humility, the two Contraries of Wrath; that he come with Confidence to God's Throne, aſſuredly believing that if he aſk what he ought, and what God hath not decreed againſt, God will grant it him, either in kind, or by giving him that which is better for him. For a Chriſtian is bound to believe, that God is the *Hearer of Prayers*, and that they who *aſk ſhall have*; only with theſe Limitations; Unleſs God by his all-ſeeing Eye judge ſomewhat elſe better for us, or by ſome particular Decree hath determined the contrary; as when the Deſtruction of a Nation is determined, then [t] *though* Noah, Daniel, *and* Job *intercede for it, they ſhall only ſave themſelves, but not the Nation.*

The *ſecond* Qualification is in the Prayer itſelf. As, 1*ſt*, That the Matter of it be juſtifiable; that it be only for ſuch Things as God hath promiſed to give his Children; or, when it is doubtful whether it be ſuch or no, that it be with Submiſſion to his Wiſdom, as well as his Will, if he ſeeth it beſt for us, and not otherwiſe. 2*dly*, That the Things which belong to our Souls, and wherein God may moſt be honoured, and our Neighbour benefited, be moſt and primarily deſired. 3*dly*, That our Petitions be put up with Zeal and Fervency; with Attention, as it is contrary to wandering idle Thoughts; and with Conſtancy, and Perſeverance in aſking, which is commended to us by the Parable of the importunate Widow. 4*thly*, That we uſe ſuch bodily Reverence, ſuch Geſtures and Poſtures, as may both help to inflame our Zeal, and be a fit Companion of our ſpiritual Worſhip. And, 5*thly*, That we ſometimes add to our Prayers Vows of voluntary Oblations, after the Example of *Jacob*, [u] *that God ſhall be our God:* And thoſe either when we pray to receive any ſpecial Mercy from God, as *Jacob* did, or by way of Gratitude and Acknowledgment to God, when we have received them.

The *third* Sort of Qualifications are thoſe that are to follow our Prayers. As, 1*ſt*, Obſervation of God's Return to our Prayers; and in that of God's gracious Providence in denying what would have been leſs fit, and granting that which is more. 2*dly*, Returning him the Thanks and the Glory of all his Grants and Denials. 3*dly*, Conſidering and ſetting a Value on this great Dignity and Prerogative of a Chriſtian, that he may talk and converſe with God, without Difficulty of Acceſs, without Doubt of Acceptation. 4*thly*, Raiſing from his Mercies a Stock of Confidence for the future, together with a Love of him; and by his Denials, learning to make fitter Addreſſes the next Time. 5*thly*, Expreſſing our Gratitude for his Mercies by our Acts of Charity and Bounty to our Brethren that aſk of us, or that need our Aid; and in Caſe of a precedent Vow, by paying that which we have vowed.

X. Having nothing elſe to add concerning the *Duty ſuppoſed*, we proceed to the *Cautions interpoſed* concerning this Duty, and theſe are two.

The *firſt* of them is common with that in the Matter of Alms-giving; That the *Deſire to be ſeen, or praiſed of Men* for our Piety, do not interpoſe in our Devotions. And to this End, that we do not pray in the *common Aſſemblies*, (meaning thereby not the Church, as the Word Synagogues might ſeem to import, but any other Place of public View,) nor in the *Corners of Streets*, or Places choſen on purpoſe as moſt conſpicuous: But that our private Prayers, which peculiarly are here ſpoken of, be as ſecret as may be; in the Cloſet, with the *Door ſhut*; and, as near as we can, with no Eye, but that of Heaven, admitted to behold us. For if, in a Duty wherein God is ſo nearly concerned by way of Honour, and ourſelves for the obtaining our Needs, we can take in ſo poor an Acceſſion, as the Conſideration and Deſire of the Praiſe of Men, 'tis moſt juſt that That ſhould be our Reward, and no other expected from God for us.

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[t] Ezek. xiv. 14.

[u] Gen. xxviii. 20.

The ſecond Caution is, That we uſe *not vain Repetitions*. Now the Word *Vain Repetitions*, is, in [w] *Greek*, a proverbial Word, referring to a Perſon whoſe Name was *Battus*, and a Fault that he was obſerved to be guilty of; which ſince 'tis now uncertain what it was, we ſhall beſt gueſs of, by the Context here, particularly by the Reaſons that are here annexed to the Cautions. Theſe Reaſons are, Becauſe by this we ſhall be like the Heathens, *who think to be heard for their much ſpeaking*; and becauſe we ſhall be *like them, in thinking that our many Words help God to underſtand our Meaning*, which he *knows before we begin to pray*. Now from theſe Reaſons, it is plain, 1*ſt*, That all Repetition in Prayer is not forbidden, becauſe all ſuch is not againſt either of thoſe Reaſons; and withal, becauſe both [x] *David* in his *Pſalms*, and *Chriſt* in his Agony, uſed the ſame Words in Prayer many times. 2*dly*, That the Thing here forbidden is ſomewhat that the Heathens were guilty of; as before the Hypocrites were of the Vain-glory. 3*dly*, That the Thing moſt probably to be fix'd on, is this; The tumbling out of many inſignificant Words, or the ſame Words over and over again, not out of Fervency of Mind, but to lengthen out the Prayer as long as they could; counting this Length of Words a good Quality, which made the Prayer more powerful or more acceptable with God; which indeed was the peculiar Fault of the Gentiles, the *Jews* rather uſing Conciſeneſs and Brevity in their Prayers. From all which it follows, that the bare Length of Prayers, any farther than either the Neceſſity of our ſeveral Wants, or the Fervency of our Zeal, requires, or than may tend to the inflaming of our Minds, is not acceptable to God, or likely to prevail with him; but rather to irritate him, if it be affected by us: Which is farther evidenced by that Prayer which is here by *Chriſt* commended to us, as the Patern and Form of ours; that being, indeed, a very conciſe and ſhort Prayer.

XI. And now, being by our Progreſs in conſidering *Chriſt*'s Diſcourſe, fallen upon this Prayer of his, commonly called, *The Lord's Prayer*; 'tis neceſſary that we ſhould conſider every Part or Branch of it diſtinctly, agreeable to the Method all along obſerved. But before we do this, one Thing ſhould be premiſed, which is obſervable from the general Fabrick of the whole; namely, That our firſt and chief Care ought to be the Glory of God, the Advancement of his Kingdom, and Obedience to his Will; that is, the ſetting up God in that Excellence which belongs to him; which is the Sum of the three firſt Petitions: And then after that comes the Care of ourſelves, and thoſe Things wherein we are moſt concerned; which is the Sum of the three latter. To which if we annex the Doxology, which is the reflecting on God's Glory again, the Obſervation will be enlarged, and we ſhall be taught, That the Glory of God ought to be our firſt and laſt Care; and all that is good to ourſelves to be taken in only as it may beſt conſiſt with that, and be on each Side encloſed and limited by it. Juſt as we read of the Liturgy uſed by the *Jews*, that of the [y] eighteen Prayers contained in it, the three firſt and the three laſt concerned God; and the reſt between, themſelves and their own Wants. But the Truth is, the antienteſt *Greek* Copies have not thoſe Words of Doxology, and there is Reaſon to think that they came in out of the Liturgies of the *Greek* Church; where, as now in many Places, the Cuſtom was, when the Lord's Prayer had been recited by the Presbyter, for the People to anſwer by way of Doxology, *For thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever, Amen.*

In entering on the particular Survey of this Prayer, that which firſt occurs is the Title which we beſtow on God in it, as a means to raiſe up our Hearts to him, and as a Ground of Confidence that he can and will hear our Prayers. Now this Phraſe, *Our Father*, imports, 1*ſt*, That we look on God as Children on a Father, with all Reverence, and Love, and Gratitude; as on him, who is our Creator, and the Father of our Being; more particularly ſet out to us in that near Relation, than to any other Sort of Creatures: Agreeable to the Notions of *Plato*, who ſaid, God was a *Maker of other Things*, but a *Father of Men*. 2*dly*, That all the Acts of a Father on Earth are by him performed to us; but in a far higher and more excellent Degree, as far as Heaven is above Earth: Such are, *His begetting us anew to a lively Hope*, that is, his giving us his Spirit, the Principle of ſpiritual and celeſtial Life; his Continuance of aſſiſting Grace to preſerve what he hath begotten; his preventing, exciting, and illuminating Grace, as a kind of Education to our Souls; his providing an Inheritance for us in another World, by the Purchaſe of his firſt-begotten Son, to be inſtated on us at our Death. And beſides all this, wherein he is a Father to our Souls, his fatherly Care is manifeſt in many, nay in all kind of paternal Acts to our Bodies, which we owe more to him than to our earthly Parents who begat them; as alſo the feeding, preſerving, maintaining, adorning, and at laſt crowning of them. 3*dly*, By this Title, and particularly by the Particle *Our*, We ſignify our Belief of God's free Bounty, and fatherly Reſpect to all our Kind; we extend our Prayers to them, as well as ourſelves; we expreſs our Faith, and Reliance, and full Dependance on him, as ours, and without whom we can hope nothing; and finally, by the adjoining of this Title, *who art in Heaven*, we celebrate his Infinity, Immenſity, All-ſufficiency, and the reſt of his Attributes, whereby he differs from the moſt honourable of all Creatures.

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[w] βαττολογία.

[x] Pſal. cxxxvi.

[y] In the Diſſertation on Synagogues, &c. are inſerted nineteen Prayers of the Jews; the laſt of which muſt be excluded, to make the reſt agree with what is here ſaid.

XII. From the Title we deſcend to the Petitions; and *firſt* to thoſe which concern God; from whence we obſerve in general, That the Form of Wiſh rather than Prayer, retained in all thoſe three, different from the Style of the three latter, contains under it a ſilent Prayer to God, to take the Means, or Way of performing what we requeſt, into his own Hands; and by his Grace or Providence, or however he ſhall ſee fit, to take Care that by us, and all Mankind, *His Name may be hallowed, His Kingdom may come, and His Will be done.*

By the Name of God in the firſt Petition is meant himſelf; God in his Eſſence, and Attributes, and all Things that have peculiar Relation to him: It being a common *Hebraiſm*, that *Thing* and *Word*, *doing* and *ſpeaking*, *Name* and *Eſſence*, ſhould be taken promiſcuouſly the one for the other. To *hallow* ſignifies to *ſeparate from vulgar Uſe*, to uſe in a *ſeparate Manner*, with that Reverence and Reſpect that is not allowed to any thing elſe; in conformity to that Notion by which Holy is oppoſed to common or prophane. Thus is God hallowed, when he is uſed with a Reverence peculiar to him above all other Things; when ſuch Power, Majeſty, Dominion, and Goodneſs, are attributed to him, that are compatible to nothing elſe. Thus is his Name hallowed, when it is reverently uſed; his Word or Scripture, when weighed with Humility, and received with Faith. Thus is his Houſe conſecrated to his Service; his Prieſts deſigned to wait on him, and officiate; the firſt Day of the Week among us, as among the *Jews* the laſt, ſet apart for the worſhipping of God publicly and ſolemnly: And every one of theſe is hallowed, when it thus, according to the Deſign, is uſed ſeparately; when none of thoſe Mounds with which God hath encloſed them, are broken down, but all preſerved from the Inroad of ſacrilegious Prophaners.—And from this Explanation of the ſingle Terms, it appears, that in the whole Petition, we pray to God that he will be pleaſed, by his Grace poured into our Hearts, and by the Diſpenſation of his gracious Providence, to work in us ſuch a Reverence, and ſeparate Reſpect unto him, his Majeſty, his Attributes, his Works of Grace, his Name, his Word, his Day, his Miniſters, *&c.* that the Sins of Sacrilege, Prophaneneſs, and Idolatry, may be turned out of the World; and the contrary Virtues of Chriſtian Piety and Devotion, ſet up and flouriſh among us.

In the ſecond Petition, *Thy Kingdom come*, we are to underſtand by the Word *Kingdom*, the Exerciſe of *Chriſt*'s ſpiritual regal Power in the Hearts of all his Servants, or Diſciples, who give up their Names unto him: And that both here, in this imperfect Kingdom of Grace, where the mortifying of every unruly Affection is the erecting of a Throne for *Chriſt*, and hereafter in the great final Doom of all his Enemies, and the crowning of his Saints; which ſhall be attended with a *Kingdom that ſhall have no End.* By praying that this *Kingdom of God may come*, we petition therefore, that God, by his Grace inſpired into the Hearts of all Men, and by his bleſſed Diſpoſal of all Things below, will begin to ſet up his Kingdom in us immediately, and by weakening the Power of the Adverſary, and the Malice of Oppoſers, cauſe it daily to increaſe; and that all other Things which are in his Purpoſe, may be orderly completed; till at laſt this mortal Kingdom, which hath ſo much Mixture of Infirmity and Rebellion in it, be turned into a Kingdom of perfect Holineſs, and Immortality.

Proceed we to the third Petition, *Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven:* In which we obſerve the following Things, 1*ſt*, That by his *Will* is meant his Commands, whatſoever they are; but eſpecially thoſe which are delivered to us in the Goſpel by *Chriſt*. 2*dly*, That this *Will* of his is *done in Heaven* by the Angels, who are his miniſtring Spirits, and do thoſe Things in the governing of the World below, and of every one of us, which he appointeth them to do. And this which they are thus appointed, they perform willingly, chearfully, ſpeedily, and without neglecting any part of it. 3*dly*, That by the *doing of this Will on Earth*, muſt be underſtood, the Obedience of all Men here below. 4*thly*, That from theſe Particulars, thus ſtated, the Sum of the whole Petition is, That God would ſo inſpire his Grace into all our Hearts, and ſo direct us by his Providence, and aſſiſt us to Performance, that we may obey him in all his Commands here on Earth, willingly, readily, ſpeedily, chearfully, and impartially, as his Angels daily obey his Commands in Heaven.

XIII. From the Petitions that reſpect God, we may now come to thoſe that reſpect ourſelves more particularly; and theſe are three alſo. 1*ſt*, *Give us this Day our daily Bread.* 2*dly*, *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.* 3*dly*, *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil.* By *Bread*, in the firſt of theſe, is meant all the Neceſſaries of this Life. By *daily*, ſomewhat, which that Word in *Engliſh* doth not diſtinctly ſignify, yet which it well enough expreſſeth the Senſe of. The *Greek* Term may be derived from two Roots 1*ſt*, From a [h] Word which ſignifies *the Day approaching*; that is in Scripture Senſe, the *future*, the Remainder of our Lives, how long or ſhort ſoever it is. According to this Derivation, *daily Bread* denotes ſo much as ſhall be ſufficient or proportionable for the future, or Remainder of our Lives, which in our Prayers we beſeech God to take into his Care, and to diſtribute unto

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[a] ἐπὶ τὴν ȣσίαν

us *this Day*, or, as St. *Luke* interprets it, *Day by Day*. *2dly*, The other Way of deducing the Word which we render *daily*, will make it ſignify that which is [b] agreeable, or fit, for our Being or Subſiſtence; not ſo as to reſtrain it to the loweſt Proportion, with which a Man can ſubſiſt or live, but that which is agreeable to his Condition taken with all its Circumſtances; and then it will be exactly agreeable to *Solomon*'s Prayer for *Food convenient for him*. And ſo in either Manner the moſt obvious and natural Senſe of this Petition is; *Lord give us Day by Day that which ſhall be ſufficient for the Remainder of our Lives*.

There will be little Difficulty found in the ſecond Petition. To *forgive*, is to abſolve, pardon, free from Puniſhment; and the Word *Treſpaſſes*, ſignifies all Manner of Offences againſt God. The Word in *Greek* is *Debts*; which is a *Syriac* Expreſſion to ſignify Sins; and it ſeems to be thus occaſioned: Every Man is bound to perform exact Obedience to God by the Condition of the firſt Covenant, and that under an heavy Penalty, if he fail: He then who hath ſo failed, is thus God's Debtor to Puniſhment; which if it be not forgiven him, *Satan*, God's Officer, will caſt him into Priſon, and there leave him till he hath *paid the uttermoſt Farthing*. We therefore pray to God to *remit theſe Debts of ours*, the Payment of which would go ſo deep with us. And whereas we add, *as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*, that is only the Mention of a Qualification in us, made neceſſary by *Chriſt*, to make us capable of that Remiſſion of God's; and as an Argument to enforce that Grant, by profeſſing ourſelves freely to pardon all thoſe, that by any Injuries done to us are become our Debtors, and might juſtly, in ſtrict Law, be by us proſecuted to Puniſhment.

This leads us to the laſt Petition, which ſeems to be made up of two Members; *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from Evil.* We ſhall conſider them ſeparately.

By *Temptation* in the firſt Member, is meant any Allurement of Pleaſure or Profit, or any Determent of Danger or Evil, which may bring us to fall into any Sin. *To enter into ſuch Temptation*, ſignifies to be ſo [c] involved with either of theſe, that we cannot get out. To *make to enter*, to *bring*, or to *lead into it*, (which is all one,) is to occaſion our thus entering or being involved. Which God may do by leaving us, or by withdrawing his Grace. So that the Meaning of this Petition is, not that God would not permit us to be tempted; (which is the Lot of all, eſpecially the [d] moſt godly Men,) but that he will not ſo forſake us, ſo withdraw his Grace, and deliver us up to *Satan*'s Aſſaults, that we be not able to extricate ourſelves; that he will not leave us to be overcome by Temptation.

The other Member of this Petition is poſitive, for Deliverance from Temptation. The former was only negative, for not bringing us to this great Hazard, by forſaking us. By *delivering us* we mean not keeping us from falling again into it, but from being overcome by it; which God may do by either of theſe Ways. *1ſt*, By giving us a proportionate Meaſure of Strength, or Grace, to bear it, and move under it, how heavy ſoever the Preſſure be: Or, *2dly*, by tempering the Temptation to our Strength, and not permitting the Aſſault to be over heavy. And that God will do this, by which of theſe Means he pleaſes, and deliver us from the Power or Hurt of Temptation, which then only becomes Evil when we are overcome by it, is the Sum of this ſecond Part of this laſt Petition, *Deliver us from Evil*, or *out of Evil*; whether by the Word *Evil*, we mean the evil One, *Satan*, the Artificer, and Deſigner, and Improver of Temptations; or the Temptation itſelf, either that of our own Luſt, or that of the World, and the Enemies of Piety.

XIV. The *Doxology* added to theſe Petitions, (whether it were delivered by *Chriſt*, or by After-copies annexed out of the Liturgies of the antient *Greek* Church,) is a very fit Form of Acknowledgment to God to enforce the granting of the Petitions; eſpecially thoſe three which reſpect God; as thus: *Thy Kingdom come*, for *thine is the Kingdom*: *Thy Will be done*; for *thine is the Power*: *Hallowed be thy Name*; for *thine is the Glory for ever and ever*. The *firſt* of theſe is the Acknowledgment of God's Dominion over the World; and is not, nor can be, ſaid in earneſt by any, but thoſe that freely reſign up their Souls for him alone to reign in, as the ſole Prince and Monarch of them. He who retains one rebel Luſt out of God's Obedience, mocks his Creator, when he repeats thoſe Words. The *ſecond* is the Acknowledgment of God's Omnipotence, and All-ſufficiency, as the Fountain of all that Grace and Strength we beg for; and he that cannot rely on him for all that is neceſſary for this Life and another, reproacheth him when he ſaith, *Thine is the Power*. The *third* acknowledgeth the Thanks, the Honour, the Glory, of all we are, and all we have, to be due to him from whom all is received; and he that can impute any Thing to himſelf, as his own Acquiſition, can never be thought in earneſt when he ſaith, *Thine is the Glory*. The *Amen* that concludes, is but a ſolemn Expreſſion of the *Jewiſh* firſt, and then of the *Chriſtian* Church. It is uſed either as a Note of the Faith of him that prays, and his Confidence that what he here prays for, ſhall be granted; or only as a Recollection of all that is before prayed for by the Speaker, by which all that are preſent, make themſelves Partakers of the ſeveral Petitions, and expreſs their joining in them. And in this Senſe it ſignifies as much as *ſo be it*: Anſwerable to what is at Length in our Litany; *We beſeech thee to hear us good Lord*.

After the Recitation of this Prayer, there cometh in as it were a Parentheſis, before our Saviour proceeds to the next Matter; *For if ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father*

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[b] ἐπὶ τὴν ȣσίαν

[c] It is uſed in this Senſe, Matth. xxvi. 41.

[d] Jam. i. 2, 3.

will alſo forgive you: But if ye forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes, neither will your Father forgive your Treſpaſſes. Now this is a returning by way of Review, or giving a Reaſon of one Paſſage in the former Prayer; namely, why thoſe Words, *as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*, were interpoſed; and it is this: Becauſe in God's forgiving of us, he hath a peculiar Reſpect to our free Pardon and forgiving of other Men. This appears by the [e] Parable, where he that had his Debt forgiven him by the King, yet went out and challenged his Fellow-ſervant, and exacted Payment from him, had the former forgiven Debt moſt ſadly brought upon him again: Which Caſe is applied particularly by *Chriſt*, [f] to every one of us, who *from our Hearts forgive not our Brethren their Treſpaſſes.* And therefore whoſoever prayeth for Forgiveneſs in this Prayer, doth not only oblige himſelf to forgive all others, but he even curſeth and bringeth down Imprecations upon himſelf, and deſireth God in Effect never to pardon him, if he be not thus qualified by pardoning of others. 'Twill therefore be moſt abſolutely neceſſary for every Man, that takes this Prayer into his Mouth, firſt to put all Malice, Deſire of Revenge, or Grudge, out of his Heart; or elſe his Prayer ſhall be turned into a Curſe to him; for that is the only plain Import of this Paſſage.

XV. We have now paſt through the ſecond Period of this Chapter, the weighty Duty of Prayer, together with the Cautions and Directions belonging to it. Let us advance to the third concerning *Faſting*, which reacheth through the next [g] three Verſes, and is introduced with the Word *moreover*, which was not uſed in the ſecond of theſe Periods: Which Word denotes this Duty not to be ſo frequently taken notice of as the former, but that it is alſo a Duty neceſſary to be ſuperadded to the Practice of the other two, if we will be Diſciples of *Chriſt*; it being a Part of the Worſhip of God alſo, eſpecially when it cometh in Conjunction with them. And in ſpeaking of this Duty, we ſhall continue the ſame Method that we followed in the former two, by taking notice of the Duty ſuppoſed, and the Caution interpoſed.

Faſting, the Duty here ſpoken of, means not the ſolemn preſcribed Faſts of the *Jews*, ſuch as the great Day of Expiation, (called the *Sabbath which God hath choſen*,) nor thoſe three which were added to that under the Time of the ſecond *Temple*; (for thoſe were not to be concealed or diſſembled;) but Days of private Faſting, which every one preſcribed themſelves, as Free-will-offerings; ſome once, ſome twice, ſome oftner every Week; denying themſelves their ordinary Food, commonly not eating till the going down of the Sun, and then moderately alſo. Which Exerciſe as *Chriſt* diſliketh not, but rather approveth it by his Mention here, ſo he deſires to free and ſecure it from the vain-glorious Deſign of phariſaical Hypocrites in the uſing of it. But before we can be well capable of hearing, and aſſenting to our Duty in this Particular of Faſting, it will be neceſſary, by Way of Preparative, to know our Duty in Reſpect of Sobriety; or what eating and drinking, abſtracted from the Superaddition of this Duty of Faſting, is lawful for Chriſtians. For as he who is not advanced ſo far in the School of Nature as to obſerve Rules of Juſtice, will ſcarce be a fit Auditor of the Doctrine of Alms-giving premiſed; ſo certainly he that hath not ſubmitted himſelf to the Rules of Sobriety, will be hardly brought to hear of Faſting. Beſides, the unjuſt Man's Alms will avail him little; and as little the Drunkard's or Glutton's Faſts. And therefore it will not be amiſs a while, before we proceed, to take in the Conſideration of this Duty of Sobriety.

XVI. Whatſoever may be ſaid of Temperance in eating and drinking under the Old-Teſtament, among the *Jews*, (who being allured to the Service of God, with the Repreſentation of temporal Promiſes, could not ſo fitly be interdicted the liberal Uſe of Meats and Drinks, but might be allowed ſomewhat in that Matter, which is not allowable to Chriſtians;) 'tis manifeſt that this Temperance is now ſtrictly commanded Chriſtians in the New-Teſtament; and that under the Threat of Damnation, to him who frequently, willingly, and indulgently offendeth herein. Thus 'tis ſaid of Drunkards, that [h] they ſhall not *inherit the Kingdom of God*: Where the Word is not to be reſtrained to thoſe who drink to Beſtiality, to the depriving themſelves of the Uſe of their Reaſon, but belongs to all who drink Wine, or ſtrong Drink, intemperately, though through their Strength of Brain they be not at preſent intoxicated by it. So among the [k] Works of the Fleſh, *which they that do ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, there is Mention of *Revellings*, or Exceſs in eating. So in another [l] Place *Surfeiting*, or Exceſs in eating, and *Drunkenneſs*, or Exceſs in drinking, are forbidden together. And on the other Side [m] Sobriety is commanded. And it is mentioned as a ſpecial [n] Deſign and End of the appearing of *Chriſt*, that we ſhould be inſtructed to walk *ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly, in this preſent World:* The ſecond of thoſe three referring to our Duty to our Neighbour; the third to our Duty toward God; and the firſt, that of Sobriety, to our Duty towards ourſelves; nothing tending more to the Preſervation of ourſelves than Sobriety, and nothing being more hurtful, and more diſagreeable with that Charity which we owe to ourſelves, than Intemperance: And ſo in thoſe three is the whole Duty of Man comprized.

The Sorts of Exceſs in eating and drinking, to which Sobriety is oppoſed, are two. One is in the Quantity, when we eat or drink to the overcharging of the Body: And the Sobriety contrary to that, is the eating or drinking no more than agrees with the Health and good Temper of it, though we allow ourſelves Pleaſure in the

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[d] Matth vi. 14, 15.
[e] Matth. xviii. 23, &c.
[f] Ver. 35.
[g] Ver 16, 17, 18. of Matth. vi.
[h] 1 Cor. vi. 10
[i] 1 Gal. v. 21.
[k] Rom. xiii. 13. See alſo 1 Pet. iv. 3.
[l] 1 Theſ. v. 6. 8.
[m] Tit ii. 12.

Choice of Meats. The other Exceſs is in the Quality or Delicacy of Meats or Drinks, and a ſtudied Care and Purſuit of ſuch as are moſt delightful: And the Sobriety contrary to this, is when we content ourſelves with that Meat and Drink which is neceſſary or uſeful to the Health and Strength of our Bodies, and neglect or deſpiſe all other Delicacies. The former of theſe Exceſſes is ſo forbidden, that he who uſeth it, [a] is *excluded from the Kingdom of God.* And conſequently the contrary Sobriety is ſtrictly commanded under that heavy Penalty. And though the ſecond kind of Exceſs is not ſo forbidden, nor the contrary Sobriety ſo commanded, as that Excluſion from the Kingdom of Heaven ſhould be the abſolute Portion of him, who uſeth it; yet becauſe two Conſiderations there are, which make this Exceſs in the Quality or Delicacy to be diſagreeable to the Evangelical Rule of Life, we ought to conclude, that this kind of Sobriety is commanded alſo, and that the contrary Habit to it deſerves to be deemed a Sin.

Theſe two Conſiderations are, *1ſt*, The Hope of eternal Life, and the endleſs ſpiritual Joys which are propoſed to us in the New Teſtament; and which, if they be ever ſuffered to enter into our Hearts, will produce a Diſ-eſteem and mean Opinion, and in Time a Contempt and Scorn, of all carnal Delights and Pleaſures; will bring us to an *uſing* the pleaſant as well as the profitable Part of *the World, as if we uſed it not*; to a Neglect of any Choice or Superfluity; an abſtaining purpoſely from all unneceſſary Pleaſure. The ſecond Conſideration is the Duty of Charity and Liberality to our poor Brethren, required of us, and recommended to us, in the Goſpel: In which he that fares deliciouſly, and takes care, not only for the preſerving of his Health and Strength, but alſo for the pleaſing and entertaining of his Palate, will ſurely be leſs able to diſcharge his Duty; that extraordinary Pleaſure bringing a ſuperfluous Expence along with it. Theſe two Conſiderations make it very hardly ſeparable from Sin, for any Man to allow himſelf this ſecond kind of Exceſs; though no particular Sentence can be pronounced on him that is guilty of it, for the following Reaſons. Becauſe there is not in the New Teſtament any particular immediate Command againſt it: Becauſe the Virtue of Sobriety, eſpecially in this ſecond Sort, conſiſts not in any one indiviſible Point, ſo that it may poſitively be ſaid, that he who eateth this kind of Meat ſinneth not, and he who eateth any more delicious, doth ſin: Becauſe there is no Rule by which to define delicious Meats; that being moſt delicious to one, which is leſs ſo to another: And, laſtly, becauſe to a temperate healthy Man, the plaineſt and ordinarieſt Meats may be moſt delightful and pleaſing. For theſe and the like Reaſons we cannot condemn any Man in this Matter, nor tell him the abſtaining from Delicacies is by any Precept required of him: But yet, we would beg leave to mention theſe ſeven Things. *1ſt*, That 'tis a vile and unchriſtian Thing to ſet the Heart upon ſuch mean carnal Delights, as Meats and Drinks. *2dly*, That what we can conveniently ſpare from ourſelves, we ſhould reſerve for thoſe that do, or may want it. *3dly*, That there is an Exceſs in the Quality, as well as in the Quantity of Meats and Drinks, though we may not certainly tell where it lies. *4thly*, That a Chriſtian will do better to deny himſelf lawful Pleaſures, than to practice all that are not unlawful. *5thly*, That the End of eating and drinking is the Preſervation of Health and Strength, and not the delighting of the Palate. *6thly*, That though a healthy Man's Appetite commonly demands thoſe Things that are fitteſt for him, and conſequently in that Caſe the ſatisfying it may not be amiſs; yet the Appetite is oft intemperate in its Demands; or it is tempted many Times by ſome Object, either really preſent, or being repreſented by the Fancy; and in either of theſe Caſes, the Motion of the Appetite is no Argument of the Meetneſs of ſatisfying it. *7thly*, That Faſting, or Abſtinence wholly, is a plain Chriſtian Duty, and to be uſed ſometimes. By theſe Rules may any prudent and ſincere Chriſtian direct himſelf in this Matter, if in the Fear of God he be careful that he offend not againſt this neceſſary Duty of Temperance.

But it may be demanded, Whether Feaſting be at all lawful now among us Chriſtians, ſince we are forbid all kinds of Intemperance? To which we anſwer, That Feaſting, as it is an Expreſſion of Thankſgiving to God, or a Celebration of ſome Act of his Mercy; as it is an Act of Hoſpitality, for the receiving and treating of others; as it is a Means of preſerving and encreaſing mutual Love and Charity among Men; in a Word, as it anſwers any good Purpoſe, either of Piety or Humanity, it is certainly now not only lawful, but commendable. But all theſe Ends and Uſes may be provided for, without Luxury and Delicacy, and without any Man's over-charging himſelf; and therefore will never be an Excuſe for either of thoſe Exceſſes. And as for honeſt Mirth and Chearfulneſs, it will not at all be promoted by immoderate or delicious eating and drinking, but rather hindered by it: For if Mirth be raiſed tumultuouſly by that Means for the preſent, it is ſoon apt to degenerate into Scurrility, and is withal attended with Bitterneſs in the Stomach, with Satiety and Drowſineſs, which are moſt contrary to true Mirth. In brief, the true Chriſtian Feaſting is when the Poor and Rich meet at the ſame common Entertainment; and they that want partake of others Plenty in the ſame common Meal: Where for one to eat and drink exceſſively, is as great an Error, as for another to go away hungry.

XVII. Having thus paſſed through the Doctrine of Sobriety, we may be in ſome Meaſure qualified for that of *Faſting*, which occaſioned this Diſcourſe of the other. And becauſe we affirmed this to be a Duty ſuppoſed in a Chriſtian, and acceptable to God under the Goſpel; 'tis proper we ſhould firſt conſider the Grounds or Reaſons of that Affirmation: And theſe are as follow.—— *1ſt*, Becauſe it is here, in the ſame Manner, joined with the two former, Alms-giving and Prayer, which are unqueſtionably ſuch Duties. *2dly*, Becauſe it is here promiſed a Reward by *Chriſt*, if it be not blaſted by Vainglory. *3dly*, Becauſe 'tis foreſeen by *Chriſt* to be that, which we are apt to expect Praiſe for among Men. *4thly*, Becauſe *Chriſt* in other [o] Places approves, if not commands, the Uſe of it; only affirms the Seaſon for his *Diſciples to faſt*, to be then not ſo agreeable, *becauſe the Bridegroom was with them*; *but that when the Bridegroom ſhould be taken away*, that is, after the Death and Departure of *Chriſt*, *then ſhould they faſt in thoſe Days*. *5thly*, Becauſe *Chriſt* [p] bringeth in the *Phariſee* boaſting, that he *faſts twice in the Week*, and lays no manner of Cenſure on him for ſo faſting, but only for his Pride in boaſting of it: And 'tis St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Direction, that we ſhould *only avoid the* Phariſee*'s Pride, but not neglect his Performances*; as on the other Side, *forſake the* Publican's *Sins, and retain his Humility*. *6thly*, Becauſe it was [q] prevalent with God, being joined with Prayer, to the working of Miracles, and for [r] the obtaining the Preſence of the Holy-Ghoſt in a ſpecial Manner. And it was uſed by the [s] Apoſtles before the Ordination of Miniſters. *7thly*, Becauſe the Performance of this, is thought by St. *Paul* a ſufficient [t] Occaſion for a temporary parting of Man and Wife, which otherwiſe he would not adviſe; which ſignifies this to be an Employment of Weight among Chriſtians. *8thly*, Becauſe it is mentioned by St. *Luke* as a Part of the Worſhip of God, joined with Prayer, in [v] the Story of *Anna*, of whom 'tis ſaid, that *ſhe departed not from the Temple, but ſerved God with Prayers and Faſtings, Night and Day*. *9thly*, Becauſe the Viſion of *Cornelius*, which brought him to Chriſtianity, is mentioned to have been at a Time of his Faſting and Praying. *10thly*, Becauſe of the many good Ends and Uſes, to which Faſting is proper; and in reſpect of which, it looks yet more like a Chriſtian Virtue, than it doth when conſidered as a bare Abſtinence from a Meal.

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[a] 1 Cor. vi. 10. Gal. v. 21.

Thoſe Ends, or Uſes, will appear if we reflect on it in the following Lights. *1ſt*, As an Act of Self-denial; which it is, when otherwiſe we would eat, but chuſe rather to abſtain, to perform what *Chriſt* requireth of his Diſciples. *2dly*, As an Act of Revenge, which we find among [w] the Effects of godly Sorrow, and Parts of Repentance; and ſuch may Faſting be, if on Conſideration of my former Luxury, I now think fit thus to puniſh myſelf. *3dly*, As a Means of expreſſing my Humiliation for Sin, in Time of God's Wrath lying upon a Nation, or upon any particular Perſon; and for the averting of that Wrath: To which Faſting hath been always counted very agreeable, and found to be very ſucceſsful, both in the Old Teſtament, and in all Stories of the Church. *4thly*, As a Means to fit any Man the better for the performing the Duty of Prayer, as he ought: To which Purpoſe he that doth not acknowledge its Uſefulneſs, is certainly much different from the beſt Sort of Chriſtians, whoſe Experience will commend it to him. *5thly*, As a Means to enable me to the performing of Works of Mercy, by giving that to the Poor, which is ſpared from myſelf: Which therefore ſhould be always obſerved in either public or private Faſts, which we keep religiouſly; that we may never be the richer for what is thus ſpared, leſt we ſeem to faſt for Covetouſneſs, as others did [x] *for Strife*. To which Purpoſe it is that *Alms, and Prayer, and Faſting*, are here joined together by *Chriſt*, not to be divided by us. If the Meal we faſt from, bring any Thing to our Purſes, it will not be accepted. For the [y] Faſt which God hath choſen, or that which is acceptable to him, is, *when we break the Bread to the Hungry*. *6thly*, As a Means to abate the Deſires and Luxuriancies of the Fleſh, and make the Body more tractable, and patient of receiving the Dictates of Reaſon; and to ſubdue in it Inclinations towards Uncleanneſs, when they are likely to prove too ſtrong for us. To which Purpoſe that Faſting ſhould be uſeful, 'twill not be hard for any Man to gueſs, who conſiders the Cauſe of carnal Deſires in the Body, and that old Saying, *That without* Ceres *and* Bacchus, *the Belly Deities*, Venus, *or incontinent Deſires, grows cold*.

XVIII. There is one Objection againſt all which hath been here ſaid in this Matter, and it is this: *That there is not any Command or Precept of Faſting in the New Teſtament: And for the Old Teſtament, though there be a Command for the Obſervation of the great Day of Expiation every Year; yet that was only obligatory to the* Jews; *beſides that it was a publick Faſt, and not pertinent to this Place, which ſpeaks of private Faſts; and even if it ſhould be thought to concern us, yet being but once in the Year, it would not be conſiderable: From all which it may ſeem to follow, that Faſting is not now acceptable to God.*

To this whole Objection the Anſwer is, That there is no Neceſſity of a Precept of Faſting, to aſſure us that it will be acceptable to God. There was no Precept for voluntary Oblations under the Law, and yet they were accepted. And many Evidences may be produced, to prove the Uſe of Faſting to be acceptable to God, though not commanded. But farther, Though there be no explicit Command of Faſting in the New Teſtament, yet from the Nature and Conſtitution of the Goſpel it may be collected, that there are in ſome Caſes certain tacit Commands of it. As, when all Degrees of Uncleanneſs, all ſatisfying the Deſires of the Fleſh, are forbidden, ave only in lawful Matrimony; in the ſame Place, to him that finds himſelf unable thus to live in conjugal Chaſtity, the uſing of Means, which may help to it, are tacitely commanded by God; and ſo conſequently Faſting, which may be the only Means left to ſuch a Perſon. And then as to the Diſciples, who could not [z] caſt out a Devil, which would not depart but by *Prayer and Faſting*, it is accounted Infidelity by *Chriſt*, not to uſe that Means. The ſame may be ſaid, in Caſe the Magiſtrate, under whom we live, preſcribes the Obſervation of a Faſt; or whenever any Man ſeeth it neceſſary, and that he ſhall be hindred from the performing of ſome other Duty, unleſs he faſt that Day. *Laſtly*, A Man may diſcern himſelf able, without any Detriment to his Health, or Danger of ſhortning his Life, to uſe frequent Faſting, and by that Means much advance his ſpiritual Ends; and then ſurely the Commands of Praying, and Mercifulneſs, will be alſo tacite Commands of Faſting. So that though there be not any particular explicit Precept, obliging every Man whatſoever, under Pain of Sin, to faſt ſimply, thus or thus often; yet tacite Commands there may be, to them that are by any of theſe Circumſtances fitted for it. And even thoſe that for the preſent are not bound by any of theſe, it will be fit they ſhould conſider Faſting as a Duty which they may be concerned in. At leaſt, they ſhould remember, that they are Chriſtians, who aſpire to an angelical Life, and inviſible Joys; and ſhould therefore deny themſelves the ſenſual Pleaſures of eating, and drinking, ſo far as to the Preſervation of Life and Health, and to their Duty to themſelves, may be agreeable.

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[o] Matth. ix. 15.
[p] Luke xviii. 12.
[q] Matth xvii. 21.
[r] Acts ii.
[s] Acts xiv. 23.
[t] 2 Cor. vii. 5.
[u] Luke ii. 37.
[w] 2 Cor. vii. 2.
[x] Iſa. lviii. 4.
[y] Ver. 7.

XIX. By what hath been ſaid, it muſt appear unlikely that we ſhould undertake to preſcribe poſitive Rules for the Frequency of *Faſting*. The Duty muſt be left as a voluntary Oblation, for us to offer, as frequently as Prudence, joined with due Care of our Health, and as Piety, and the Spirit of God, ſhall prompt us. Only let us obſerve theſe three Things: *1ſt*, That the *Phariſees faſted twice every Week*; which was never cenſured in him as a Piece of Hypocriſy, or as a Fault of any Kind; but mentioned as commendable, if he had not boaſted of it: *2dly*, That every Chriſtian ought to have his ſolemn Days for the performing that great and weighty Duty of Humiliation, in calling himſelf to Account for all his Actions, and confeſſing his Sins to God more particularly. And thoſe Days ſhould not be too ſlow in their Returns, leſt his Soul be too deep in Arrears, and ſo unwilling to come to Account at all. Perhaps it would be reaſonable for every Man or Woman of Leiſure, to ſet apart one Day in the Week for this Turn; or if the whole Day may not thus be ſpared from the Buſineſs of their Calling, yet certainly ſome Part of it may be devoted to Abſtinence, and thus uſefully employed, without any Diſturbance to other Affairs. And he that uſeth not ſuch a conſtant Courſe, will be in great Danger to be cenſured, as a Neglecter of the Duties of a Diſciple of *Chriſt*. *3dly*, That over and above this common Duty of all Men, ſome particular Wants there are, or may be, in this or that Man, to the repairing of which Faſting may be very inſtrumental; and ſo proportionably is to be more frequently uſed by them who have this Need of it: Of which their own Conſcience, in the Fear of God, is left to be the Judge. [a] All this hath been ſaid of private Faſting, becauſe that is peculiar to this Place. For public Faſting, the Direction muſt be had from the Laws of the Country in which we live.

The Caution given by our Lord concerning this Duty, is itſelf in plain intelligible Words: *When you faſt, be not as the Hypocrites, of a ſad Countenance, for they disfigure, or cover, their Faces*, as Mourners are wont to do, *that they may appear unto Men to faſt. But thou, when thou faſteſt, anoint thy Head, and waſh thy Face*; that is, for thy outward Guiſe, appear in thy ordinary Countenance and Habit; (for the *Jews* were wont to anoint themſelves daily, unleſs in Time of Mourning.) And all this, *that thou appear not to Men to faſt, but to thy Father which is in Secret*; That thou mayeſt appear deſirous to approve thyſelf to him only, who only is able to reward thee.——We need add nothing to this ſhort Paraphraſe, which ſhews the Caution to be in Subſtance the ſame with the two preceding.

Thus have we paſſed through theſe three great Chriſtian Duties, which by their ſo near Confederacy here, and by what we have ſaid of them, appear to be ſo linked together, that it is very reaſonable we ſhould ſet apart ſome Time for the joint Practice of them all together: For though it may be fit to give Alms when we pray not, or faſt not; and to pray when we neither give Alms, nor faſt; yet certainly Faſts, wherein ſome Expence is ſaved, ſhould be joined with Almſgiving, and diſtributing to the Poor that which is thus ſpared; and alſo with Prayer. God give us Hearts thus to practiſe it!

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[z] Matth. ix. 19.

[a] The Reader may compare what is here ſaid of Faſting, with what we before ſaid of it in Pages 160 and 161 of this Work, where he will find ſeveral Remarks that are here purpoſely omitted.

DISSERTATION V.

Of the Love of Wealth, and worldly Care.

I. *Sum of this Diſcourſe. Application of our Lord's Words to the Deſire of Wealth.* II. *What Commands of God are irreconcileable with extreme Avarice, and why they are ſo.* III. *A particular Interpretation of two metaphorical Verſes, and a Proof of their Pertinence to the Matter in Hand.* IV. *Of worldly Care: How forbidden in the tenth Commandment. Our Lord's Precept in this Matter, the full Senſe of it.* V. *A Text of* St. Paul *explained, and reconciled with this Command of our Saviour.* VI. *Of Means ſubſervient to God's Providence; which are truly ſo, and which are miſtaken for ſuch. Concluſions from the Premiſes,* &c. VII. *The Caſe of abſolute Want and Extremity conſidered.* VIII. *The Duty of a Chriſtian deduced from the foregoing Particulars, and the Connexion between the two Parts of this Diſcourſe.* IX. *The Enforcements of our Duty in this Point. as added by our Lord, conſidered under ſeven Heads.*

I. THE three Duties treated of in the Diſſertation immediately preceding, take up the firſt eighteen Verſes of the ſixth Chapter of *Matthew*. The remaining ſixteen Verſes, which conclude the Chapter, are confined to two Things, the latter of which is naturally appendant to the former; and of theſe we ſhall treat in the preſent Diſcourſe. In the firſt ſix of theſe ſixteen Verſes, our Lord endeavours to mortify in us all *inordinate Deſire or Love of Wealth*; in the latter ten, he aims at moderating our *worldly Care*, or *ſecular Providence*.

The Verſes againſt an *inordinate Deſire of Wealth*, the Firſt of theſe two Particulars, are as follows: *Lay not up for yourſelves Treaſures upon Earth, where Moth and Ruſt doth corrupt, and where Thieves break through and ſteal. But lay up for yourſelves Treaſures in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Ruſt doth corrupt, and where Thieves do not break through nor ſteal. For where your Treaſure is, there will your Heart be alſo. The Light of the Body is the Eye: If therefore thine Eye be ſingle, thy whole Body ſhall be full of Light; but if thine Eye be evil, thy whole Body ſhall be full of Darkneſs. If therefore the Light that is in thee be Darkneſs, how great is that Darkneſs! No Man can ſerve two Maſters: For either he will hate the one, and love the other; or elſe he will hold to the one, and deſpiſe the other. Ye cannot ſerve God and Mammon.*

In order to come at a full Underſtanding of this Paſſage, we muſt remember that *Treaſure* is a metaphorical Word, uſed to ſignify that which Men love, and deſire moſt importunately, and ſet their Hearts upon; and ſo the Prohibition of *laying up our Treaſure on Earth*, is in Effect the forbidding to love, or deſire, or ſet the Heart upon, any earthly Riches as a Poſſeſſion; but only to uſe them ſo, as may moſt improve our future Account, by liberally diſpenſing of them, as it were to raiſe a Bank, which may enrich us forever in another World. For the enforcing of which Prohibition and Exhortation, our Lord mentions two Things.

Firſt, The Vanity and Uncertainty of worldly Riches; which evidences how unfit they are for our Hearts to be ſet upon. One Kind of them, that which conſiſts in coſtly Veſtments, the Moth, a poor deſpicable Creature, can and doth deſtroy and make uſeleſs. Another Kind, our Corn, and other the like Fruits of the Earth, (of which the [a]Fool ſo applauded himſelf, that he *had Store for many Years*,) Eating, whether of Men, or Vermin, bringeth to nought. For ſo the [b]Word, which is rendered *Ruſt* in our Bibles, properly ſignifies. And therefore if we retain the Word *Ruſt*, it muſt be taken as it belongs to Corn in the Field, for that which more commonly is called *Smut*; when by ſome Wind, or the like, the Grain is ſmitten, or blaſted, and made good for nothing. And then for Money, or any other kind of Treaſure, be it never ſo cloſely and ſafely lock'd up, Thieves can, and frequently do, *break through and ſteal it from us*. And it is obſervable, that Moths, and the like, are [c]bred in the Things themſelves which they deſtroy; and ſo thoſe kind of Poſſeſſions are ſubject to theſe Deſtroyings, when no outward Violence approaches them. And it is a weighty Evidence of the Vanity and Uncertainty of Riches, that many Times vaſt Eſtates, and Poſſeſſions, do inſenſibly, no Man knows how, crumble and moulder to nought; rich Men, without any viſible Expences, come to mere Beggary, and all the Care in the World cannot keep them from it, but rather betrays them farther; the greater their Love of Money is, the ſwifter their Ruin follows them.

Secondly, The *infatuating Power* of Riches, when we come once ſo to love them, as to reſolve to have them at all Hazards; and to that Purpoſe when we ſerve, or wait upon them, which way ſoever they lead us. Our Hearts are then ſo wholly ſet upon them, that we cannot at all ſerve God, or endeavour to approve ourſelves to him. This our Saviour proves by the Contrariety of the Commands of theſe two Maſters, God and *Mammon*: For if their Commands might be ſubordinate one to the other, they might both have their anſwerable Obedience; God in the firſt Place, and *Mammon*, or worldly Wealth, in the Subordination. But God's Commands being contrary to thoſe Courſes which are neceſſary to the getting of Riches, he that will grow rich at all Events, muſt give over all Hope and Pretenſion of being God's Servant.

II. Theſe Commands of God, that are ſo irreconcileable with the Service of Mammon, or a vehement Deſire of Wealth; are 1*ſt*, his Command of doing Juſtice, exact Juſtice, as that excludes all Violence, Fraud, Oppreſſion, and the like. 2*dly*, That Command of the Juſtice of the

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[a] Luke xii. 16—21.

[b] βρῶσις.

[c] Polyb. Hiſt. Lib. vi.

Tongue, in performing of Promiſes; though to the greateſt Hindrance and Damage in the World. 3dly, His Command of abſolute Contentment, in what State ſoever we are ſet by him. 4thly, That Command of ſelling, and giving to the Poor; by which we are bound, if we cannot relieve an indigent Brother in Diſtreſs, but by ſelling ſomewhat of our own, then to do that, tho' it be ſeemingly moſt contrary to proſpering, or thriving in the World. 5thly, That Command of Freedom and Ingenuity of Spirit; of Unconcernedneſs in theſe worldly, inferior, tranſitory Things; of Self-reſignation, and Dependance on God's Providence for our daily Bread; inſtead of all the anxious Infidelity of the Worldling. To which we may add, 6thly, That Precept of earneſt Deſire, and contending for Peace; and 7thly, Thoſe of Meekneſs, Patience, praying for Enemies, and the like; all which are Bars to an inordinate Purſuit of Riches.

But that we may ſee how all thoſe are ſo irreconcileable with *Mammon*'s Commands, let us conſider the following Particulars, by Way of Oppoſition, or Contraſt, to the former.—*Mammon* preſcribeth Violence to every Man; it puts us on oppreſſing the poor righteous Man, and indeed any one that ſtands in our Way, to our eſpouſed Gain.——*Mammon* commands not only deſpiſing of our Faith in the Performance of diſadvantageous Promiſes, but alſo falſe accuſing, blaſting, defaming, of any who are likely to keep, or get any Preferment or Poſſeſſion, that we have a Mind to: As in the [c] Example of *Jezebel* toward *Naboth* it appears, when her Huſband had a longing after *Naboth*'s Vineyard.—*Mammon* commands a perpetual Unſatisfiedneſs; a Kind of dropſical Thirſt, if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, which is infuſed ſtill more and more at the encreaſing of our Plenty.—*Mammon* will not be our Friend, but on Condition that we be more importunate in getting Wealth, more paſſionate in making Court to him, after this Increaſe, than we were before: Whence generally we may obſerve, that the more Poſſeſſions Men attain to, ſtill the more covetous they grow.—*Mammon* commands Tenacity, a moſt obſtinate keeping of what we call our own; nay, a perpetual Deſire of being a purchaſing, and of making ſome new Bargains. And if *Chriſt* require [d] to *ſell and give*, we ſee the rich Man, *Mammon*'s Servant, preſently *leaves him, and goes away very ſad*; for which this powerful Reaſon is given by the Evangeliſt, *Becauſe he was very rich.*——*Mammon* hath all Manner of ſlaviſh Tremblings, cowardly, diſingenuous Fears, for his Subject's Taſk; a diſmal Thoughtfulneſs at every Apprehenſion of Danger; a perpetual hovering over his Wealth; and a venturing on any, the moſt unlawful, unchriſtian Practice, whenever the great Law of Self-preſervation, as he falſly calls it, ſuggeſts it to him.——*Mammon* commands War, that more glorious Name of Piracy; which St. *James* ſeems to have conſidered when he ſaith, [e] *Wars come from our Luſts*, or, as the Margin more juſtly expreſſes it, *from our Pleaſures:* That is, thoſe Pleaſures which are conſequent to the *Luſt of the Eye*, or a *Deſire to have*. And nothing can be more clear, than that Coveteouſneſs puts Men upon all the moſt furious Wars, and Contentions in the World.——*Mammon* again ſets Men upon the moſt malicious Acts of Revenge. The covetous Man hath ſtill ſo may Enemies in his black Book, ſo many Quarrels to anſwer, Injuries to repay, Treſpaſſes to revenge, that his whole Life is a Kind of Hell to him: And not knowing how to be quit with every one of them, he is fain to treaſure up Quarrels many Years together, and ſtudy nothing but the Payments of ſuch Debts.

Other Contrarieties might be mentioned between the Commands of God and *Mammon*. God commands to *keep the Heart with all Diligence*, *Mammon* to keep the Wealth. God commands Sorrow for Sin; *Mammon* Sorrow for Loſſes. God commands Confeſſion of *Chriſt*; and all Chriſtian Truth; and never more than when it is moſt oppoſed, and like to bring moſt Danger to the Confeſſor. *Mammon* commands Prudence, Warineſs, a Time-ſerving: Caution never to hazard any thing for Truth's Sake. Hence we read that [f] *the Righteous is as bold as a Lion*; while the *Mammoniſt*, with his Wealth and Heaps before him, dares not ſtir, without an Aſſurance that it ſhall coſt him nothing. Theſe and an hundred more Contrareities evidence the Truth of our Saviour's general Speech, *That no Man can ſerve two Maſters*; and as it is brought home to this Concluſion, *You cannot ſerve God and* Mammon: And from hence they enforce the Prohibition of not *laying up our Treaſures upon Earth*, or ſetting our Heart on worldly Riches; which is the main Import of thoſe ſix Verſes.

But beſides this, there is a poſitive Exhortation in thoſe Verſes to Charity, and Liberality; which is meant by *laying up our Treaſure in Heaven*; that is, ſo laying out our Wealth, as that it may bring us in everlaſting Returns. For thus *Chriſt* explains the Phraſe by the like in another Place; [g] *Give to the Poor, and thou ſhalt have Treaſure in Heaven*; and, [h] *Make you Friends of the Unrighteous*, or tranſitory *Mammon, that when you fail, they may receive you into everlaſting Habitations*. And beſides other Benefits of our Liberality, this will be one, That when we thus *lay up* our Wealth, by giving it to God, and his poor Children, our Hearts, which duly follows that Treaſure, will have no Temptation to faſten on the Earth, but on Heaven, where our Treaſure dwells, where our Hopes are laid up, where our Joy is to be expected.

III. We need not inſiſt any longer on the general Senſe of our Lord in this Paſſage, it being[i] perfectly obvious and plain: But there are two Verſes in the Midſt of the reſt, that are a little obſcure, and ſeem not of a Piece with the Context. They run thus: *The Light of the Body is the Eye: If therefore thy Eye be ſingle, thy whole Body ſhall be full of Light; but if thy Eye be evil,*

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[c] 1 Kings xxi.
[d] Luke xviii. 23.
[e] Jam. iv. 1.
[f] Prov. xxviii. 1.
[g] Matth. xix. 21.
[h] Luke xvi. 9.
[i] Ver. 22, 23.

vil, thy whole Body ſhall be full of Darkneſs. If therefore the Light that is in thee be Darkneſs, how great is that Darkneſs? Theſe Words, we ſay, as they are commonly interpreted concerning the Goodneſs or Ilneſs of Intentions, are not very pertinent to the Buſineſs in Hand, which is Liberality and the Love of Money: For which Reaſon, in order to find out the natural and genuine Interpretation of them, and to ſhew that they are really pertinent to the preſent Matter, we muſt make theſe four Enquiries. *1ſt*, What is meant by a *ſingle* and an *evil Eye*; *2dly*, What by *Light* and *Darkneſs*; *3dly*, What by the Similitude here uſed; And then, *4thly*, How all belongs to the Point in Hand.

1. The Word [k] *ſingle*, ſignifieth in the New Teſtament, *Liberal*; the *ſingle Eye*, Liberality, Bounty, Diſtribution of our Wealth to the Poor. So the Apoſtle ſpeaks of him [m] *that giveth in Singleneſs*, or, as our Margin readeth, *liberally*. Again, [n] *The Riches of your Singleneſs*, or, as we read, *Liberality*. Thus we have, [o] *All Singleneſs*, in the Original, where we read *All Bountifulneſs*; and [p] *Singleneſs of Diſtribution*, where we read *Liberality of Diſtribution*, or *liberal Diſtribution*; and [q] *giveth to all Men ſingly*, where we read *liberally*. Contrary to this, the *evil Eye* ſignifies Envy, Covetouſneſs, Unſatisfiedneſs, Niggardlineſs, and all the Contraries of Liberality. So in the [r] Parable, the Lord of the Vineyard ſays to the murmuring Labourer, *Is thine Eye evil, becauſe I am good?* That is, "Art thou unſatisfied therefore, becauſe I have been more liberal to another? Thou haſt thy due, why art thou diſcontent, or unſatisfied?" In ſhort, it is obſervable, that Envy is generally ſet as the Oppoſite to all Liberality; and God by the Fathers is ſaid to be without Envy, meaning that he is moſt liberal and bountiful. And the Word which is here rendered *Evil*, is equivalent to an *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies the greateſt Degree of Illiberality or Uncharitableneſs: To which the Word Eye is added proverbially, perhaps becauſe that Part hath moſt to do in Covetouſneſs, which is called the [s] *Luſt of the Eye*.

2. By *Light* in this Place, we underſtand Chriſtianity, or the State of the Goſpel. *We are of the Light*, and therefore ſhould *walk like Children of the Light*. And *Darkneſs*, contrary to this Light, ſignifies unchriſtian Affections or Actions.

3. Now as in the Body of a Man the Eye is the Director, that ſhews it what it ſhould do; and if it be as it ought, directeth it the right Way; but if not, leadeth it into moſt dangerous Errors: So in the Man, the Heart, if it be liberally affected, having *laid up its Treaſure in Heaven*, and faſtened itſelf on it, will direct the Man to all manner of good Actions; but if it be covetous, unſatisfied, worldly, illiberal, it brings forth all manner of unchriſtian heatheniſh Actions. And then *if the Light that is in thee be Darkneſs*, (if the Heart in thee be heatheniſh and illiberal;) *how great is that Darkneſs?* What unchriſtian Condition art thou in?

4. From this Expoſition of the Metaphors and their Uſe, it is plain enough already, that theſe Verſes belong perfectly to the Buſineſs. The Sum of them is this: *1ſt*, That Liberality and Charity in the Heart is a ſpecial Part of Chri tianity, which hath a ſtrong Influence tow the Production of all Chriſtian Virtues; and it a main Argument and Evidence of a Chriſtian when a Man hath this Grace in him. *2dly* That Uncharitableneſs, Envy, or Covetouſneſ is a Sin of very evil Effect and Conſequence, th betrays a Man to many other unchriſtian Sins fills him full of Iniquity, (for the [t] *Love of Mone is the Root of all Evil*,) and is a ſad Symptom where ever we find it, of a great deal of Ill be ſides. All which comes in very pertinently o occaſion of thoſe Words, *Where the Treaſure i there will the Heart be alſo*; and is a Ground f that appendant Affirmation, *You cannot ſerve G and Mammon.*

IV. Having thus fully cleared this Difficult and paſſed through the firſt of the two Thing contained in the Remainder of this Chapte that which belongs to the mortifying *all Deſi and Love of Wealth*; we proceed to the oth Thing, *the moderating of our worldly Care a Providence*, as taught in the following Word *Take no Thought for your Life.—Therefore I unto you, take no Thought*, &c. Which Precept look upon as an Improvement of the ten Commandment of the Decalogue, and prove thus.

The negative Part of that Precept of the La is directly the Prohibition of all covetous Thoug and Deſires of other Mens Poſſeſſions; expre after the Manner of the *Hebrews*, by Enume tion of Particulars, the Houſe, the Wife, Servant, *&c.* Now this Prohibition immedi ly contains a poſitive Command of Contented with our preſent Eſtate, whatever it is, with any Deſires of Change, without any murmur repining, or diſquieting of others. And ſo much is contained in the old Commandm Which being granted, nothing can be pla than that a greater and ſuperior Degree of ſame Thing is commanded in this Precep *not taking Thought for the Morrow*: For that hibition doth not only reſtrain our App from roving to that which is other M from diſquieting and diſturbing of others, depriving, or labouring to deprive, another of that which is his Property, and may b Loſs, accrue to me; but it enjoins alſo th diſturbing, or diſquieting myſelf, the turni worldly Thoughts out of my Breaſt, thoug have no Relation to the Property of an and not only thoſe Thoughts which are nated in another's Loſs or Damage.

That we may have a perfect Idea of o viour's Intention in this Point, the treat which takes up all the Verſes from the ſth to the End of this Chapter, 'tis proper we hould enlarge on two Things. *1ſt*, The Precept ſelf, or Doctrine of worldly Thoughtfulneſs. *dly*, The Enforcements of it; ſhewing how aſonable it is to be obſerved and practiſed, hough it ſeem a ſtrange Doctrine.

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[k] ἁπλοῦς. [m] Rom. xii. 8. [n] 2 Cor. viii. 2. [o] 2 Cor. ix. 11. [p] Ver. 13.
[q] 1 Jam. i. 5. [r] Matth. xx. 15. [s] 1 John ii. 16. [t] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

To begin with the firſt, and ſhew what Care nd Solicitude it is, that is here forbidden: The haracter of it is ſet down in theſe three ſeveral hraſes: [u] *Take no Thought for your Life, what ſhall eat, or what ye ſhall drink, nor yet for ur Body, what you ſhall put on.* [w] *Take no hought, ſaying, What ſhall we eat, or what ſhall drink, or wherewithal ſhall we be clothed.* [x] *ke no Thought for the Morrow.* From all hich it appears, that the Thing here forbidden, he full Senſe of the [y] *Greek* Word, here ren- ed *taking Thought*: Which being derived by *ammarians* from a Phraſe which ſignifies in *liſh* to *divide the Mind*, ſeemeth to ſignify a *biouſneſs of Mind, or Anxiety*; and that Du- ſneſs to imply a Want, or at leaſt a Defect, aith; a not believing, as we ought, that who gives us Life and Bodies, will allow eans to ſuſtain the one, and array the other. *uke* expreſſes the ſame Thing, by a Word, h we [z] render *doubtful Mind*, or careful Suſ- ; but which properly ſignifies a *hanging be- two*, a not knowing how to reſolve whe- God will do this for us, or no. Or perhaps figurative Speech, from a Word ſignifying a *ch-Tower*, or high Place, whither Men aſ- to ſee what is coming; which is an Argu- of great Fear and Care in them. Now we may have a clear Notion of the Chriſtian ine in this Matter, from the Words thus , 'tis proper to ſet down diſtinctly theſe ropoſitions.

Firſt, That this is an infallible Truth, that ill for the future provide for every Servant Food and Raiment, a Competence of the ſſaries of Life. This Truth may appear by romiſes to this Purpoſe in the Scripture; f which the Margins of our Bibles in this refer to. [b] *Caſt thy Burthen on the Lord, ſhall ſuſtain thee.* [c] *Caſting all Care on rd, for he careth for you.* To which we dd Chriſt's own Promiſe, That if *we aſk ll have*; that is, *if we aſk not amiſs*, ſaith *mes*; which ſurely we do not, if we ask hat he taught us to aſk, *This Day our daily* , or, *Day by Day thoſe Things that are ne- for the Remainder of our Life.* And ma- er Promiſes we may obſerve to the ſame e; particularly one in this very Place, it is brought in by Way of Expoſtulation, *he not much more clothe you, O ye of little* ! Intimating ſtrongly a Promiſe that he and requiring Belief of this Promiſe at our .

ndly, That Want of Faith in this Promiſe, ecies of the Sin of Infidelity, ſo ſeverely d here upon them that believe it not.

Thirdly, That any anxious Solicitude for the future, is an Argument of this Diſtruſt, this not daring to rely on God's Providence and Promiſe; and ſo an unchriſtian Sin.

V. But it will be objected, *That every Man is commanded by the Apoſtle*, [e] To provide for his own, eſpecially thoſe of his own Houſe or Kindred? *And if he doth not*, he is, in the ſame Place, defined to have denied the Faith, and to be worſe than an Infidel? From whence it ſhould ſeem, that the *Want of Thoughtfulneſs, and ſecular Providence, will rather be Infidelity, than the Practice of it.*

To this we anſwer, That there is no Need to lay ſuch Weight upon that one Place of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, even though we had Reaſon to think it contrary to this preſent Doctrine of our Saviour: For if it were thus, it would be more reaſonable to bring St. *Paul* to our Saviour by ſome commodious Interpretation, than to evacuate the Force of all our Saviour's Diſcourſe on this Matter, by this one Place of St. *Paul.* But becauſe there is ſome Miſtake in the general Interpretation of St. *Paul's* Doctrine here, we ſhall therefore endeavour to give a clear View of this Place, in a brief Paraphraſe.

[f] *Let thoſe Widows who are Widows indeed*, (that is, who have neither Husbands nor Children to relieve them,) *be reſpected and relieved by the Church. If any Widow having no Huſband, hath yet Children, or* [g] *Grand-Children, let them*, (that is, thoſe Children or Grand-Children,) *learn firſt to ſhew Piety, or Kindneſs, to their own Houſe*, to their Parents, *and ſo repay or requite them for their paternal Care. But the Widow that is perfectly ſuch*, (that is, *who hath no Children to relieve her*,) *ſhe doth in that Solitude and Widowhood, hope on God, and continue in Supplications and Prayers Night and Day. But ſhe that lives luxuriouſly is dead, while ſhe lives. And do you give ſuch Rules as theſe, that they may be blameleſs. But if any Man or Woman do not provide for, or relieve thoſe that belong to them, eſpecially thoſe that are of their Family*, (as the widow'd Mother or Grandmother muſt undoubtedly be,) *he or ſhe hath denied the Faith, and is worſe than an Infidel. Let none be choſen to be a Widow, who is leſs than ſixty Years old, having been the Wife of one Man*, &c.

Here we ſee that this whole Diſcourſe is to ſhew what Kind of Perſon might be fit to be choſen to be a Widow in the Church, or one to be maintained out of the Church's Stock; and among the reſt of the Qualities required of her, this is one, that ſhe muſt be one who hath no Child able to maintain her, to provide for her, or, as the Word ſignifies more generally, *to take Care of her*, as a Father of a Child, or as a Child here of a forlorn deſtitute Parent. And that differs much from the Notion which worldly-minded Perſons affix to this Place, thinking themſelves obliged to provide Eſtates and Riches for their Families; whereas the Words cannot be ex-

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25. [w] Ver. 31. [x] Ver. 34. [y] μέριμνα. [z] μετεωρίζεσθε.
εὸν ὀπισκοπῆς, Eccluſ. xxxvii. 14. [b] Pſal. lv. 22. [c] 1 Pet. v. 7. [d] Matt. vi. 30.
m. v. 8. [f] 1 Tim v. 3—9. [g] For ſo the Word render'd *Nephews* properly ſignifies.

tended to command any more then this, That every Maſter or Miſtreſs of a Family, muſt take care of, and relieve their Parents, and thoſe of their Family, or who remain in their Houſe. And this hath no Relation to that Thoughtfulneſs, or ſecular Forecaſting, to which in the Objection this Text was applied. The Truth is, the Place refers to the Duty of the Rich, not to let the Church be burthened with relieving their poor Kindred, eſpecially their Parents, who have a Right to live in their Houſe, and a Propriety to be maintained by them. And ſo it belongs not in the leaſt to the ſaving of Wealth for them, but the ſpending it on them when we have it, and not laying it on the Charge of the Church to keep thoſe whom it is our proper Duty to ſupport; and that will ſufficiently weaken the objected Argument.

V. But ſuppoſing this ſecular forecaſting and providing for Neceſſaries of Life, to be the Thing here ſpoken of, (as it apparently is not;) then to take away all Scruple, and to reconcile *Chriſt*'s Prohibition with this Precept of St. *Paul*'s, it will be neceſſary to add a fourth Propoſition: *That for preſent Supplies a Chriſtian not only may, but muſt, uſe thoſe lawful and proper Means that are ordinarily in his Power to uſe, to the attaining that End.* And this is ſo far from diſtruſting of God, or not depending and believing on him, that indeed it is a ſpecial Act of this Faith; the doing of what he requires us to do, and without our doing of which he hath not promiſed to ſupply us. His Promiſes, which are the Object of our Faith, are not abſolute, but conditional Promiſes; they require and ſuppoſe a Condition to be performed on our Part, and then give us a Right to the Thing promiſed, and not before. Every Man therefore muſt do ſomewhat himſelf to *provide for his own*; and not to do ſo is Infidelity in St. *Paul*'s Style; he muſt endeavour to be inſtrumental to God's Providence, and not fly to his extraordinary Protection, when his ordinary is afforded. God doth not uſe to multiply Miracles unprofitably, nor at all, but for the begetting, or confirming of our Faith; which cannot be the Caſe when we neglect thoſe Means of making good God's Truths, which are already by him afforded us. When all lawful Means have been tried unproſperouſly, then 'twill be God's Seaſon to ſhew forth his extraordinary Power. In the mean Time 'tis ſufficient that he offer us Means to bring us to that End which he promiſeth; and if we neglect thoſe Means, and ſo fail in our Performance of the Condition required of us, we thereby diſcharge him of all Obligation to make good the Promiſe to us; which was not abſolute, for him to do without us, but conditional, for him to do if we failed not in our Parts.

That no Perſon may be at a loſs to know what are thoſe Means required on our Parts, as ſubſervient to God's Providence in feeding and clothing us, we may obſerve this general Rule; *That all Means perfectly lawful, which are proper to that End, and are no way prohibited by God, are thus required of us*, and all unlawful ones are not. But then particularly:

Firſt, Labour and Diligence in one's Calling, is a lawful Means. As in ſpiritual, ſo in temporal Things, if we labour or work, God will co-operate. In the War with *Amalek*, when *Iſrael* fights, God will fight with them. Poverty is the *Amalek*; our honeſt Labour is our fighting againſt it. And therefore the idle Perſon is called, [h] *A diſorderly Walker*; which Word being military, ſignifies one out of his Rank, one that is not in File to fight againſt the Enemy: But when we are employed againſt the Enemy, God our Captain hath ſworn that he will have War, that he will fight againſt that Enemy, with us, forever; and that with a ſecret Hand, aſſiſting him that is thus buſied, and proſpering him inſenſibly that is thus employed. *The Hand of the Diligent*, ſays the [i] Wiſe Man, *maketh rich*; and on the other Side, *He that will not labour*, ſaith the Apoſtle, [k] *let him not eat*. Which is there a Piece of Apoſtolical Diſcipline as it were to beſiege Idleneſs, and ſtarve it up: And an Image on Earth of what is done in Heaven; it being the Rule of God's ordinary Providence, that they who neglect the Means, ſhall not obtain the End. This Promiſe being conditional, as well as others, not to the idle, prophane Fiduciary; but to the faithful Labourer. The abſolute Stoical Depender on Fate, may ſtarve for want of Induſtry, die for want of Phyſick, and be damned for want of Repentance; and all this not through too much, but too little Faith; the not taking the Means along with him, which were predeſtined by God to bring him to a better End.

A *ſecond* Sort of Means required of us by God, is Prayer to him for our daily Bread; the Condition without which there is no one Thing, which we have Promiſe to receive from him. *Ask and ye ſhall have*; but not otherwiſe. The Worſhip of God is joined with the doing of his Will, to make us capable of God's hearing.

A *third* Means is *honeſt Thriſt*; the not ſpending upon our Luſts, or our Vanities, thoſe good Things of this World, that our Labour and Prayers have by God's Bleſſing brought in to us. For the Prodigal may ſtarve as well as the Sluggard; he that ſquanders away his Bread, as well as he that doth not earn it. God hath not undertaken for any Sin, that it ſhall not ruin us: His Protection is like that of the Law, for them only that travel in the Day, and in the Road; not for the diſorderly Walkers in any kind, that have any By-path, or Night-work, to exhauſt that Treaſure, which his Providence hath beſtowed, or is ready to beſtow. And the ſame that we ſay of Luxury, may be ſaid alſo of other Harpies and Vultures, which leave Men oft-times as bare as the Highway Robbers: Particularly that ſly Sin of cloſe Adultery, which eats out ſo many Eſtates: That other of Strife and Contention; the Peſtilence that walketh in Darkneſs, and devours the Wealth as well as the Soul. There are no Reparations to be expected from God for ſuch Loſſes.

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[h] 2 Theſſ. iii. 6, 7, 11.

[i] Prov. x. iv.

[k] 2 Theſſ. iii. 10.

One Means more there is, to which God's Promiſe of temporal Plenty being annexed, we may well add it to the former; and that is, *fourthly*, the Exerciſe of Acts of Juſtice and Mercy; *Bring you all the Tithes*, ſaith God by *Malachi*,[l] *into my Storehouſe, and prove me now herewith, if I will not open the Windows of Heaven, and pour you out a Bleſſing*. To which Purpoſe the *Jews* had a Proverbial Speech; *Pay Tithes on purpoſe that thou mayeſt be rich*. And there are many Places of Scripture to the ſame Purpoſe, which before were mentioned in the Diſcourſe on *Liberality*; and Threatnings on the contrary, that the *with-holding more than is meet ſhall tend to Want*.

To theſe may perhaps be added another Means, having alſo the Promiſes of long and proſperous Life annexed to it, That of Meekneſs and Obedience. Of thoſe who poſſeſs this Virtue, the Law ſaith, *Their Days ſhall be long in the Land*, flowing with Milk and Honey; and the Goſpel, that they *ſhall poſſeſs the Earth*. Thus alſo it is affirmed of Godlineſs in general, that it *hath the Promiſes of this Life*; that is, of ſo much of the Proſperity of this World, as ſhall be Matter of Contentment to them.—— Now theſe being by God deſigned as fit and proper Means to the qualifying us for the Performance of his Promiſe, and the Condition required on our Parts; it will be but the believing of a Lye for any Man to neglect theſe ſeveral Means required on his Part, and yet to claim or challenge the End promiſed on God's Part: In the ſame Manner and Degree as it is for the impenitent Sinner, remaining ſuch, to believe and challenge the Pardon of his Sins and Salvation.

But beſides theſe Means which are thus truly ſubſervient to God's Providence, there are other Things that are miſtaken for ſuch Means, but are not; and theſe are as follow. *1ſt*, Secular Wiſdom, Policy, and Contrivance: For though this may ſeem ſometimes to obtain that End, yet there is no Promiſe made to it; and it many Times not only faileth of the Deſign, but bringeth a moſt remarkable Curſe upon it. *2dly*, Hoarding up all that comes; pinching the Back and Belly to fill the Bag. *3dly*, Going to Law, and being contentious. *4thly*, Tenacity, in not giving or lending to thoſe that truly want. *5thly*, Immoderate Care and Solicitude; loving and courting of the World. *6thly*, Deceit and Injuſtice; and eſpecially Sacrilege and Perjury. *7thly*, Diſtruſt of God's Promiſe: For ſurely never any Man got any Thing of God by not truſting him. He that will not take his Word, muſt find out ſome other Pay-maſter. *8thly*, Oppreſſion, Violence, ſpoiling of others, though they may ſeem a ſure preſent Courſe to bring in Wealth: For the Threat of the Prophet belong to ſuch: [m] *Woe unto thee that ſpoileſt; when thou ceaſeth to ſpoil, thou ſhalt be ſpoiled*. Men are ſeldom ſuffered to taſte any of the Fruits of thoſe Sins, leſt they or others ſhould fall in love with them.

From this View of lawful and unlawful Means, as ſubſervient to God's Providence, we may deduce two more Propoſitions, and add them to the four already mentioned in this Diſcourſe. The *firſt* is, *That he who uſeth theſe true Means appointed by God, and diſcards the falſe ones ſuggeſted by the World, by* Satan, *or by his own irregular Appetites, is more ſure of not wanting for the future, is better provided for a comfortable old Age, and a thriving Poſterity, than he could poſſibly be by all the worldly Arts that ever were practiſed*. He that gives over all anxious Thought for himſelf, enters into God's Tuition, and then ſhall ſurely be never the poorer for not caring. *2dly*, *That the uſing of unlawful, though never ſo ſpecious or ſeemingly neceſſary Means, to the getting or preſerving of worldly Wealth, or the Neceſſities of Life, is a direct Species of Infidelity, moſt clearly forbidden in the Phraſe of* taking no Thought: This being the diſtruſting of God and his authorized Means, and flying to the Witch with *Saul*, or rather to the Devil, to help us to what we want: 'Tis the dividing our Minds, or hanging betwixt two; or rather indeed the *forſaking* of one, and *cleaving* to the other: 'Tis a diſclaiming God, and his Providence, and truſting to ourſelves and our own Artifices. And this ſurely will be granted to be the greateſt Fury, the greateſt Perturbation, and Anxiety of Mind imaginable; which thus drives us out of our Reaſon and our Chriſtianity, to thoſe Courſes which are moſt contrary to both.

The Sum, therefore, of our whole Diſcourſe on this Matter, is this: *That for the good Things of the World, God having promiſed to give them to his Servants, and his Promiſe being conditional, requiring at our Hands the Uſe of Means to obtain the Thing promiſed, It is our Duty to uſe thoſe Means, and then ſo fully to truſt God for the performing his Promiſe, as never to have an anxious or dubious Thought about it; never to fly to any unlawful Means, to provide for ourſelves.* And by this Way of ſtating the Matter, we find our Saviour's Speech here fully reconciled with St. *Paul*'s Command of Providence, whatſoever that might be thought to ſignify, and alſo with *Chriſt*'s teaching us to pray for temporal Bleſſings.

VII. But we expect to have it asked, *Whether God doth not ſometimes leave Men deſtitute of Food and Raiment? And how then it can be Infidelity to be anxious in that Point? Or how can God's Promiſe of caring for us be then ſaid to be performed?*

To this whole Objection we anſwer by the following Particulars, *1ſt*, That it is not common for Men to be left deſtitute of Food and Raiment: And though ſometimes theſe cannot be had, but by begging of them, yet God having in his Providence deſigned the rich Man to be Steward of the Poor, the wealthy Man's Barn to be the poor Man's Store-houſe; it follows that no Man is left deſtitute who is afforded this Means. 2*dly*, There being ſo many other Means required of us, to be inſtrumental to God's Providence, it will hardly be found that any Man is left thus deſtitute, who hath not firſt been wanting to himſelf; and ſo the whole Matter will be imputable to his Default, and not to God's. 3*dly*, If the Utmoſt be ſuppoſed which is imaginable, That any Perſon be left ſo far deſtitute, as to come to ſtarve; yet may the Promiſe of God remain true and firm; for that Promiſe obligeth him not to eternize the Life of any: Which being ſuppoſed, that a Man ſhould die by Famine, is as reaſonable and reconcileable with this Promiſe, as that he ſhould die by Sword, or by Peſtilence; and that Death will be as ſupportable as many other Diſeaſes and Deaths; as of the Stone, Strangury, Dyſentery, and the like. 4*thly*, Suppoſe God do thus leave us, yet our Anxiety or Solicitude, our uſing of unlawful Means, can never be able to relieve or ſecure us. Whatſoever we can in this Caſe call to our Relief, God can curſe and blaſt alſo, and make it as unable to help us, as the Reed of *Egypt:* And though ſometimes God permits unlawful Means to offer us Help, when lawful fail us, to make Trial of us, whether we will uſe them, and diſtruſt God; yet is it far more common for thoſe who have fled to all Manner of diſhoneſt Means of increaſing Wealth, to come to abſolute Beggary and Diſtreſs, than for thoſe who truſt in God to be reduced to ſuch Extremities. 5*thly*, Why may it not be thought and found true upon every Man's Self-examination, that ſuch Deſtitution, whenever it befals a Child of God, is a Puniſhment of ſome Sin, which God in Mercy ſees fit to puniſh here, and not in another World. As particularly that of Littleneſs of Faith in this Matter. Thus *Peter*'s [n] *ſinking* was a Puniſhment of his *Fear, and doubting, and little Faith*; which ſome good Men are very ſubject to. And whereſoever this Diffidence is found, it may expect to be puniſhed, as being itſelf a Sin, and containing in it many other Sins. For Inſtance, It contains the Sin of Diſobedience to *Chriſt*'s Command here, of *taking no Thought:* The Sin of Infidelity, in not truſting, and ſo denying in Actions at leaſt God's Veracity, the Attribute wherein he chiefly glories: The Sin of Worldly-mindneſs, in placing our Care and Affection on ſuch baſe and inferior Objects, bowing the immortal Soul to a Thing ſo much below it, and robbing God of his Due, that peculiar Creature of his, the Heart, ſo naturally his, and moreover ſo importunately begg'd for by him: Not to mention many other Sins, which conſtantly follow this Solicitude, where 'tis once entertained, not as a tranſient Paſſion, but a chronic Diſeaſe: Though theſe Sins are not conſtantly the ſame, but proportioned to the State of our Diſtemper; ſuch as Indevotion, Impatience, Unmercifulneſs, Cowardice, Worldly-ſorrow, ſpeaking evil, and the like.

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[l] Mal. iii. 10.

[m] Iſai. xxxiii. 1.

VIII. Having thus largely explained the Prohibition, we ſhall add in one Word, What is the contrary Chriſtian Duty that is here commanded by *Chriſt:* And this appears to be twofold, conſiſting in *praiſing God* for our preſent Wealth, and *truſting* him for the future.—The *firſt* of theſe is performed, By acknowledging the Receipt of his Favour; By uſing it and rejoicing in it; By miniſtring, or communicating to them that have not; and if any thing ſtill remain, By keeping it as inſtrumental to God's Providence for the future, and laying up what God gives us to lay up——The latter is performed, By believing his Promiſe; By obeying his Directions in the Uſe of his authorized Means, and none elſe; And by referring the Succeſs chearfully to him, and praying to him for it without doubting.

Thus we have done with the Precept or Doctrine, *of taking no Thought*; which now appears to be fitly annexed to the former Matter *of not ſerving Mammon*; 1*ſt*, As an Anſwer to the Mammoniſt's Reaſon, or the Motive to his ſerving of Mammon, *That he may not be deſtitute on the Morrow:* 2*dly*, As an Improvement of that former Exhortation; to which it may be ſeaſonably ſuperadded; but would never have entered, or have been admitted, without that Preparative. May this Doctrine ſink down in every Heart! To which End, for our farther Aſſiſtance, we proceed to the ſecond Thing propoſed from our Saviour's Words here, the *Enforcements of this Duty*, ſhewing how reaſonable it is to be obſerved by a Chriſtian.

IX. A firſt Enforcement is the Conſideration of what God hath done to us already; he hath given us Life itſelf, which is much more, and a far greater Act of Power and Mercy, than to give Food for the continuing of that Life. He hath given us the very Body we take ſuch Care of; and that is much more again, than the Raiment that muſt clothe it. And thoſe he hath given without any Aid of ours, without our Uſe of Means, direct or indirect, and therefore, no doubt, can provide ſufficiently for the ſuſtaining of both. And for his Willingneſs to do it, if we truſt and rely on him, thoſe very former Mercies of his are Pledges of it. God, ſaith a [o] Father, *by giving becomes our Debtor.* Every Mercy from ſo good a Father, comes forth Twins; a Gift and a Bond both together; a preſent Payment, and a future Pawn; a Sum paid down, and an Annuity made over; the having beſtowed Favours, being his greateſt Obligation to continue them. When we can begin with the Pſalmiſt, [p] *It is he that made us*, then we may confidently go on, *We are his People and his Sheep*; and then, *O go your Ways into his Gate, with Thankſgiving!* not only for paſt Mercies but Confidence of future alſo, *for his Mercy is everlaſting.*

A *ſecond Enforcement* is taken from the Example of God's Providence towards other Creatures:

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[n] Matth. xiv. 30.

[o] Cyprian.

[p] Pſal. c.

For *Food*, from the *Fowls of the Air*; for *Raiment*, from the *Lillies of the Field*. For *Food*, in that thoſe Birds without any Trade of Husbandry, of ſowing or reaping, are by the Providence of God ſufficiently ſuſtained; ſo that of many Bird it is obſerved, that they are fatteſt ſtill in coldeſt and ſharpeſt Weather. Nay, that ſort of Birds that St. *Luke* [q] mentions, the Raven, is a Creature, that, if [r] *Job* or the [s] *Pſalmiſt* may be believed, hath more of the Providence of God illuſtrious in it, than any other: Naturaliſts have obſerved of that Creature, that it expoſeth the young ones as ſoon as they are hatcht, leaves them meatleſs and fatherleſs to ſtruggle with Hunger as ſoon as they are gotten into the World; and yet, whether by Dew from Heaven, rained into their Mouths, when they gape, and, as the Pſalmiſt expreſſes it, *call upon God*; or whether by Flies flying into their Mouths, or by Worms bred in their Neſt, as ſome think, or by what other Means ſoever, it is certain, *That God feedeth them*. This Example ſignifies, and, being uſed by our Saviour, proves, That God can and will do the ſame to us, in a much higher Degree; and accordingly our Saviour ſhuts it up with an Expoſtulation, *Are you not much better than they?* Man is a much more conſiderable Creature than thoſe Birds; Man is the Monarch of all them: And therefore as the *Iſraelites* ſaid to *David*, [t] *The Life of my Lord the King is worth ten thouſand of ours*; ſo may we ſpeak of a Man in Compariſon of theſe Birds. Certainly then we ſhare a far greater Part of God's Providence, than they; and ſo are more ſure to be competently provided for, though no Thoughtfulneſs of ours contribute to it. But then this muſt be taken with ſome Caution along with it; not that we ſhould neither ſow, nor reap, becauſe the Fowls of the Air do neither; but that we ſhould take no anxious Thought, as they neither ſow nor reap; that it is as unreaſonable for a Chriſtian to diſtruſt God's Providence, and to bury his Soul in an anxious Care for earthly Things, though the very Neceſſaries of Life, as for the Raven to be ſet to Husbandry. Had Men acquired but as much Religion, as much Truſt and Reliance on God, by all the preaching of the Goſpel, by all the Cultivation of ſo many hundred Years, as Nature teacheth the young Ravens as ſoon as they are hatch'd, juſt to gape towards Heaven, and ſo in a plain natural, inarticulate Way, to *call on God*; the *Mammoniſt*'s Idol would then ſoon be driven out of the World, and a chearful comfortable Dependance on Heaven received inſtead of it. We ſhould then practiſe an obedient Submiſſion to God's Direction, in uſing thoſe Means that he directeth us to, and then reſign up all into his Hands to diſpoſe of, with an *If I periſh, I periſh*: We ſhould ſay, *I will wait upon the Lord, who hideth his Face, and I will look for him*; and *though he kill me, yet I will truſt in him*. Thus much for the Example concerning Food. The other Example, concerning *Raiment*, taken from the *Lillies of the Field*, lies thus: God in his forming of the World, hath beſtowed a ſtrange Proportion of natural Beauty and Ornament upon the Lillies, that grow in every Field or Garden; though theſe are of a very ſhort Duration, and being inanimate do contribute nothing to their own Beauty, but moſt evidently the whole Work is wrought by God only; and all our Care and Solicitude, all the temporal Advantages of Gold, and the like precious artificial Ornaments, cannot equal or compare with that natural Beauty which God hath endued them with. Which Conſideration, as it may well leſſen our Deſire of the Gallantry of Clothes, and mortify that Pride which they need in us; ſo may it give us a fiducial Reliance on God for all Things of this Nature; who ſurely can clothe us, as well as thoſe, and will certainly provide for us ſuch Raiment as is convenient for us, by our Uſe of ordinary Means, without our anxious Care and Solicitude for the future.

The *third* Enforcement of this Duty, is an Argument taken from our own Experience in Things of ſomewhat a like Nature: For the Stature [u] of one's Body, or the [v] Age of one's Life, every one of us knoweth and confeſſeth, that our Care and Solicitude can do nothing to make any conſiderable Addition to it. Now certainly the lengthening of the Life for a few Days or Hours, is not ſo great a Matter as Life itſelf; nor the Tallneſs or Stature of the Body, as the Body itſelf; and therefore it being ſo confeſſedly the Work of God only to diſpoſe of theſe leſſer Things, our Stature and Age, how much more reaſonable is it to believe that the ſame God, without any anxious Solicitude of ours, can and will conſerve our Life and Body, by giving us thoſe Things which are neceſſary to their Conſervation?

The *fourth* Enforcement is taken from the contrary Practice of the Gentiles. The Heathens indeed, who either acknowledge no God at all, or deny his Providence over particular Things, do uſe this Kind of Solicitude: They ſeek vehemently and importunately, for *all theſe Things*, that is, for Food, and Drink, and Clothing for the Remainder of their Lives; or for ſuch a Proportion of Wealth, as will be able thus to furniſh them till their Lives End: And this may be allowed, or pardoned them, who have no better Principles to build on; but it would be a Shame for Chriſtians to have gotten no higher, by the Acknowledgment of the true God, and his particular Providence and Care over all Creatures, eſpecially over us Men, for whoſe Uſe all other Creatures were created. The Doctrine of Chriſtianity, teacheth us Faith or Dependance on *Chriſt* for all, and ſtrives to mortify all Love of the Gains and Pleaſures of this World in us, and to work in us an Indifference and Unconcernedneſs of Mind for all outward Things; which Perfections it was hardly poſſible that any Heathen could ever arrive to, for want of ſuch Inſtructions: And ſhall we, with all theſe Advantages, continue but on a Level with thoſe Heathens?

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[q] Luke xii. 24.
[r] Job. xxxviii. 41.
[s] Pſal. cxlvii. 9.
[t] 2 Sam. xviii. 3.
[v] The ſame Word ſignifieth both; but is thought in this Place to denote the former only.

The *fifth* Enforcement is ſet down in theſe Words; *For your heavenly Father knoweth that you have Need of all theſe Things.* Thoſe Things that are neceſſary for us, (and others we ought not to ſeek after,) God knows we have Need of, as well as ourſelves: And that God is our Father, and cannot be ſo unkind to us, as not to be willing to beſtow them on us: And that Father is an heavenly Father, and conſequently is perfectly able to beſtow them.

The *ſixth* Enforcement is this; That there is a far more eaſy, more Chriſtian, and more compendious Way to all theſe Neceſſaries of Life, than our Solicitude or anxious Care; namely, the ſetting our Minds upon our higher Intereſts, the minding and intending of thoſe Joys in another Life, and that Way of Chriſtian Obedience which will lead us to them: Which if we do, God hath promiſed to give us theſe Neceſſaries of Life, as an Appendage or Addition over and above; *Piety having the Promiſe of this Life, as well as of another.*

The *ſeventh* Enforcement runs thus: *The Time to come, for which we deſire to lay in before-hand,* will, when it *cometh, be able to take care and make proviſion for itſelf:* 'Tis needleſs, therefore, to lay a double Burthen on that Part of our Life, which is preſent, to provide for itſelf, and that other alſo. The *Manna* that came down from Heaven to the *Iſraelites,* fell every Day; and therefore there was no Need of laying up in Store, and reſerving any Part of the preſent Portion; for as for the Time to come, they were ſure to be as plentifully provided, as for the preſent they were: And ſo the Providence of God, that hath brought us in a preſent Store, will be able and ready to do the like for us through the Remainder of our Lives, for every Day when it comes. Therefore all that we ſhall acquire by this Solicitude before-hand, is only to accumulate Trouble and Diſquiet upon ourſelves; for we add to that due Labour and Induſtry, which we owe to God, as ſubſervient to his Providence, ſo much more alſo, as we think ſufficient to ſecure us for the future: And what is this but to multiply Toil upon ourſelves, above the Proportion that God hath deſigned to us? Whereas the Trouble that belongs to every Day for the maintaining of itſelf, is *ſufficient for that Day,* without our Artifices to increaſe it: And indeed it neceſſarily requires too much Time of Diverſion from the Duties of Piety to vile inferior Offices.

The Duty being thus largely enforced, and our Hearts by ſo many Engines raiſed from this Earth of ours, to that principal Care of celeſtial Joys, it may now be thought reaſonable to hearken to *Chriſt* in a Prohibition which was never given to Men before, and reſolve to *take no Thought for the Morrow.* And this hard Saying will be ſoftned, this Circumciſion of the Heart, this Amputation of all thoſe ſuperflous burthenſome Cares of the Worldling, will be found ſupportable to the Chriſtian, when he has reflected on the preceding Particulars. We need add nothing to ſo plentiful a Diſcourſe on this Subject, but our Prayers, That we may all be in this the true Diſciples of *Chriſt,* Scholars and Practicers of this heavenly Leſſon.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of Judging others, Doing as we would be done to, *&c.*

I. *Sum of the Doctrines in the Seventh of* Matthew. *Of the ninth Commandment. Of Cenſures, raſh and ſevere,* &c. II. *Limitation of the Precept. Several Caſes concerning judging of others, ſtated and conſidered.* III. *Of the Power of Prayer.* IV. *Of doing as we would be done to. How that Precept is an Improvement of the eighth Commandment.* V. *Two Queſtions concerning this Precept reſolved.* VI. *Of Buying and Selling. The Injuſtice of ſelling too low. Rules to regulate Gain. A great Number of Caſes, with regard to Buyer and Seller, ſtated and reſolved.* VII. *Of Uſury. Conjecture on a Text of Scripture. In what Caſes, and with that Reſtrictions, Uſury may be lawful; and when it is not ſo. Strictneſs of Life recommended.* VIII. *Of Prudence in regard to Teachers and their Doctrine. The Sheeps-Cloathing.* IX. *Of a Profeſſion without Holineſs. The different Ends of Doers and mere Profeſſors. Concluſion.*

I. IN the ſeventh Chapter of *Matthew,* which concludes the Sermon on the Mount, we have one particular Chriſtian Precept, proper to be added to thoſe already treated of; and four general Precepts; each of which we ſhall ſay ſomething to in this Diſſertation.

The particular Precept is contained in the five firſt Verſes; to which ſome add the ſixth Verſe, as containing an appendant Caution. The Form of it is negative, That we ſhould *not judge other Men;* and that for this Reaſon, That we *be not judged.*

Our Lord's Precept here, is an Improvement of the ninth Commandment, which, under the Phraſe of *Bearing Falſe-witneſs againſt our Neighbour,* forbids all Kind of Detraction and evil-ſpeaking, all impoſing on others by falſe reaſoning, or by falſe Accounts of Facts, and, in a Word, all Abuſes of the Tongue, by which we are liable either to deceive, or defame, any Perſon whatſoever. This Interpretation of that Commandment will, we believe, be tolerably good, if we except from it only thoſe Falſhoods, which, tho' they are truly ſuch, are yet ſo far from being deſigned to the Hurt of any, that they are perhaps truly gainful to all that are concerned in them. For Inſtance, when a raging furious Perſon purſues another to kill him, and aſks a By-ſtander which Way he went; and that By-ſtander, knowing what he will do, if he either ſay nothing, or do not directly miſ-guide him, ſhall thereupon, to ſave one from the Sin of Killing, and the other from being killed, ſay that which is not true; we cannot tell how to reduce this, or the like, to the Prohibition in the ninth Commandment, becauſe this Untruth is no Way a Sin againſt our Neighbour, either the Purſuer or the Purſued, or any Way hurtful to either of them, but on Purpoſe deſigned to their greateſt Good,

Good. Whatever is amiſs in a Falſhood of this Nature, muſt be reduced to ſome other Prohibition; either as a Variation from the great Attribute of God, who is Truth itſelf; or as a Breach of that Contract, which is betwixt all Men, that our Words ſhall be agreeable to Truth. Theſe Exceptions being made, whatever elſe may be reduced to the Definition above, will be the Things forbidden in this Commandment: But when we have carried this to the higheſt, it will eaſily appear, that the Prohibition of judging our Brother, is a yet higher Pitch than what is thus forbidden in, or can readily be reduced to, this Commandment, as we ſhall grant when we ſee what this Judging is.

By *Judging*, we mean all Cenſures of other Men, either raſh or ſevere. *Raſh Cenſures* are ſuch as are not grounded in any manifeſt Evidence of the Fact, but proceed from a jealous and cenſorious Humour, a being ſtill forward to conclude and collect more Evil of other Men than appears to us. As 1*ſt*, When by ſome indifferent Action done by a Fellow-Chriſtian, we ſurmiſe ſome other evil Thing not far diſtant from that, and which may poſſibly be ſignified by it, but is not ſo neceſſarily. Or 2*dly*, When another Man's Action being capable of two Interpretations; the one faſtning Evil upon it, the other not; we take it on the evil Side, and cenſure him for that Action, for which, perhaps, God the Searcher of Hearts will never judge him. Or 3*dly*, When any other Man having done a Thing apparently evil, we from thence infer a greater Guilt in him, than to that Action neceſſarily belongs: As ſuppoſing the Action capable of Extenuation by Circumſtances, we maliciouſly deprive it of thoſe Extenuations, and paſs the Judgment, which would properly belong to it abſolutely conſidered. Or 4*thly*, When upon the Commiſſion of one or more ſingle Actions, not ſufficient to build up an Habit, we argue a Malignity in the Agent, and cenſure him as guilty of that Habit or that Malignity. This is certainly very raſh Judgment; and commonly proceedeth, whatſoever it is, from Pride, Ambition, and Vain-glory; or from Envy, Malice, Uncharitableneſs, and Self-love; and it falls under the Judgment due to the ſuſpicious Whiſperer, and Buſy-body; quite contrary to that Charity, that *hopeth all Things, believeth all Things, thinketh none evil*; to that Humility that thinketh *better of others than ourſelves*; that Peaceableneſs which *Chriſt* commendeth to us; that Kindneſs and Pitifulneſs in *bearing one another's Burthens*, and ſo leſſening them, and not making them heavier by our Cenſures.

Severe Cenſures are thoſe [a] which have no Mixture of Mercy in them. The Precept of forgiving thoſe who have wronged us, is by *Chriſt* greatly improved and extended, even to thoſe Offences which are done againſt God, ſo far as that we are obliged by it to look upon them in the moſt favourable Manner, and always remit of that Rigour and Severity which the Matter is capable of; as knowing that our own beſt Actions muſt be looked on favourably by God, and not ſtrictly weighed by him, or otherwiſe they will never be accepted by him.

Theſe are the Cenſures forbidden by *Chriſt*: And to this Prohibition is added in the reſt of this Period, 1*ſt*, a Determent from this Sin; 2*dly*, A Direction how to avoid it. The Determent is this; To conſider how fearful a Thing it were, if God ſhould judge us without Mercy; and how reaſonable it is, that he ſhould ſo do, if we be ſo unmerciful to other Men. The Direction is this; To reflect our Eyes and Cenſures every Man upon his own Sins, and there to buſy them in aggravating every one into the Size that juſtly belongs to it; by this Means to pull down our own Plumes, to abate our proud cenſorious Humour; and then thoſe will appear but Motes in another Man, which now paſs for Beams with us. For he that is truly humbled with a Senſe of his own Sins, will be willing to wink at Faults in another; at leaſt not to improve and inlarge them, not to cenſure and triumph over them.

II. The Limitation or Explication of this Precept, added in the ſixth Verſe, is to this Effect; That this Precept of not judging, is not ſo unlimited, that it ſhould be unlawful for me to cenſure or think evil of any Man: As in caſe he be an openly prophane Perſon, expreſſed here by a *Dog* or *Swine*; one of which was a Creature ſo accurſed, that the Price of him was not to be conſecrated; the other ſo unclean, that the Fleſh of it was forbidden to be eaten by the *Jewiſh* Law; and both of them Emblems [b] of an habitual impenitent Sinner. The Dog again intimates ſuch as bark and rave at all good Exhortations; contradicting and blaſpheming: The Swine thoſe, that though they blaſpheme not, yet by the Impurity of their Lives ſhew the ſecret Contempt of their Heart. This ſacred Exhortation of not judging or cenſuring, is ſuch as they are not to expect any Benefit from: This Act of Chriſtian Charity is too ſacred a Thing to be caſt away on ſuch Swine and Dogs, who are firſt uncapable of it, and then will make ſuch ill Uſe of it: For if inſtead of judging the Offender, you go about to exhort with never ſo much Mildneſs, they will contemn your Exhortations, and repay them with Reproaches inſtead of Thanks.

But may a Man never paſs Judgment on another, unleſs he be ſuch a notorious Offender? We anſwer, Yes, under theſe Reſtrictions. 1*ſt*, If that which we judge in him, be notorious, and Evidence of Fact make it ſubject to no Miſtake of ours. 2*dly*, If we extend that Cenſure no farther than that Fact, or no farther than may from that Fact be neceſſarily inferred. 3*dly*, If we expreſs our Judgment or Cenſure in Words, no farther than may agree with the Rules of Charity: Which Charity may be either To him, in telling him one's ſelf, and ſeaſonably reproving him, or telling it ſome Body elſe, to that End that they may reprove him: To others, that they may be warned and armed, not to be deceived and enſnared by him; or, To the Community, that he may not by Concealment of ſome great Faults, get into any Place where he may be armed with Power to do more Miſchief. In all which we muſt be very wary, that under this Cloke of Charity we do not carry along a malicious, or petulant Humour of our own, or even an Habit of defaming; and flatter ourſelves that Charity is the only Mover all this while.

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[a] Jam. ii. 13.

[b] 2 Pet. ii. 22.

But indeed Aſſent or Belief follows, and is proportioned to, the Motives that induce it: For as Knowledge cannot chuſe but follow demonſtrative Premiſes; ſo Belief cannot chuſe but follow thoſe that appear moſt probable: If therefore we ſee that by a Man, by which we are led to conclude him diſguiſed with Liquor, or guilty of any enormous Sin, we cannot offend in judging him; if our Concluſion be rightly inferred and offend not againſt the Rules of Diſcourſe, and if we mix Mercy with Judgment, that is take the more favourable Part in judging: For no Man is bound not to know what he ſees, or not to believe what ſeems to him ſtrongly probable. Nay if a Man expreſs his Judgment to him whom he thus judgeth, on Purpoſe to be ſatisfied of the Truth of his Judgment, or, in caſe it ſhall prove true, to offer ſeaſonable Admonition; it is ſtill not only lawful, but commendable. And even to tell it another to either of theſe Purpoſes will be commendable alſo.

'Tis true, if we tell it another, without either of theſe Purpoſes, though it be not out of any malicious Intent, or flowing from any Grudge which we have to the Man, yet it may be a defamatory Deſign: For we may have that habitual Humour of Vain-Glory, that for the illuſtrating and ſetting out ourſelves in more Grandeur, we may think fit to blaſt and defame every one elſe; and then that will be Sin enough, though we have no particular Malice to the Perſon. But if it be not from any ſuch Deſign neither, yet ſome of this may mingle with it in the Action. Or if neither of theſe, yet ſome other Evil may; as, that of whiſpering, Curioſity, meddling with other Men's Matters, a vain Deſire of tattling, and telling of News; and if any of theſe interfere, it will yet be ſo far ſinful as the Motive or Cauſe of it is.

We may carry this Point yet farther, and ſuppoſe what we ſay of our Brother to be ſeparated from any ſinful Motive or Adherent, and produced by ſomewhat neither good nor evil; upon a Preſumption that many Words of the Mouth, as well as Thoughts of the Heart, and Motions of the Body, may be neither morally, nor chriſtianly, good nor evil; and that it is not neceſſary for them to be deſigned to any particular chriſtian End, if only this general Care be had, that they be not againſt Charity or Edification. Now ſuppoſing this, we ſay, to be the Caſe, yet perhaps even then the judging another will not be of that indifferent Nature as a common Thought or Word; it being ſubject to more Defaults than moſt other Things, beſides that it is here indefinitely forbidden. And if it break forth into Words, it muſt be yet more ſubject to Evil. But if it be mentioned only as a Relation of what we ſaw, leaving the Concluſion to other's Judgments, and not interpoſing our own, or only ſo far interpoſing it, as to relate truly what Concluſion we then made of it, and what moved us to that Concluſion, abſtaining ſtill moſt ſtrictly from adding or concealing ought, or doing or ſaying any Thing, that hath any Tincture from our own Pride; in this Caſe, it may ſtill be as harmleſs and blameleſs in me, as writing of the honeſteſt Hiſtory; or if not, will yet hardly appear to be prohibited under this Precept of not judging another. But however, becauſe this is the moſt that can be lawful, and becauſe even this is very apt to fall into evil, and withal, becauſe of the Scandal that others may take, by ſeeing a godly Man take this Liberty, and, finally, becauſe it may be a Breach, though not of this, yet of another Prohibition, that *of not doing to others what I would not have others do to me*; 'twill therefore, for theſe Conſiderations, concern us to deny ourſelves that Liberty, if it be but by Way of Revenge for the unlawful Liberty, which we have doubtleſs too often taken: And though we ſhould not be too forward to judge this a Sin in others, yet ought we in this Matter to be very watchful over ourſelves, that we offend not with the Tongue.

III. We took Notice at the Beginning, that after the one particular Precept, now treated of, there followed ſome general Precepts. We proceed to the firſt of theſe, which is concerning that great Buſineſs of Prayer, and contained [c] in the five next Verſes. This offering up of the Soul is conſidered now, not as a Duty of ours towards God, or an Act of Worſhip, (as it was conſidered in the fourth Diſſertation on this Sermon,) but as an Engine or Artifice, to fetch down from Heaven the greateſt Treaſures that are there, even that of Grace itſelf, or the holy Spirit; as appeareth by the comparing this Place with another [d] in *Luke*. The Sum of it is this, That Prayer is the Key of Entrance into our heavenly Father's Houſe; that no Man ſhall ever fail of finding and receiving good Things, particularly Grace, the greateſt Good, who *aſks*, and *ſeeks*, and *knocks*; that is, who uſeth Importunity in Prayer, as a Child to a Father, depending wholly on him. And here we have the Comfort of learning, that if we are once or twice repelled, yet by returning to him again, with Humility, and Dependance, and Confidence, and never giving over petitioning, we ſhall not fail at leaſt of obtaining what is proper for us.

IV. The next general Precept is that famous one, for which the [e] Heathen Emperor is ſaid to have reverenc'd Chriſt and Chriſtianity, and which all the wiſeſt Men of the Nations have admired for the beſt and higheſt Rule of Juſtice and Charity to our Neighbours. It is contained in theſe Words. *All Things whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do unto you, do you even ſo to them*: Which, ſaith our bleſſed Lord, is the *Law and the Prophets*; that is, it is that on which all our Duty towards our Neighbour depends, and wherein the whole Law concerning him is fulfilled.

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[c] Matth. vii. 7—— 11.

[d] Luke xi. 13.

[e] Severus.

This Precept is an Improvement of the eighth Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*; which primarily forbids all Kind of Robbery, Piracy, and Stealth; in a Word, all invading of any other Man's Poſſeſſion, or Property, whatſoever ſpecious Colour or Cauſe can be pretended for ſo doing. And to this Commandment is reducible alſo the Prohibition of all Oppreſſion, and Injuſtice; of all withholding the Hire of the poor Labourer; of all borrowing, and not paying again. But the higher Pitches of this Kind are reſerved for this *higher* Precept of *Chriſt*, of *doing as we would be done to*; which we ſhall perceive as we proceed in the opening thereof

The Meaning of this Precept, is, in a Word, that I ſhould *love my Neighbour as my ſelf*; that I ſhould not ſuffer my Self-love to interpoſe, or make me partial, in judging of my Duty to others; but thus to reflect whenſoever I do any Thing to my Brother; *Would I be well pleaſed to be ſo dealt with by any other? Or, if I might have mine own Choice, would not I deſire to be otherwiſe uſed by other Men?* It goes yet farther, That whatſoever Uſage we deſire to meet with, at God's Hands, (which is certainly undeſerved Mercy, and Pardon of Treſpaſſes,) the ſame we muſt perform to others: For this Phraſe, *Whatſoever you would that Men ſhould do to you*, by an *Hebraiſm* import, *Whatſoever you would have done unto you*, that is, by God as well as by Men; which is the Style that this Precept is commonly read in. And in this Senſe it extends not only to all the Juſtice, but to all the Mercy, and all the Goodneſs, and all the Bounty in the World.

V. From this Collection and Interpretation, we may conclude that this great Rule of *doing as we would be done to*, is the Foundation of all Juſtice and Mercy toward Men. The latter of theſe we have inſiſted on already in the Beatitudes, and therefore ſhall not enter again on that Matter; but for the firſt, though that be ſuppoſed by *Chriſt*, in his Precepts of Mercifulneſs, and Alms-giving, and conſequently in our handling of thoſe Duties, yet have we not as yet ſpoken ſo diſtinctly of it, but that a more particular Account of it may be uſeful. This we ſhall endeavour to give by ſtating and reſolving a few Difficulties.

Firſt, *Whether we may make this Advantage of our Saviour's Rule, that whatever we ſhall reſolve to bear contentedly from others, we may lawfully do to them; ſo that if we would reſolve to be content with the Injuries which other Men can do us, we may then lawfully injure them?*

Anſ. No Man in his right Mind can be ſuppoſed ſimply to be willing, that an Injury ſhould be done to him; and therefore no Man is to do any Injury to another: And if any Man be of the Temper here ſuppoſed, it is then to be concluded, that it is for ſome Advantage, or Gain, which he deſigns to himſelf thereby: As for Example, That by living by Rapine and Injuſtice, he hopes to get more than he fears to loſe; and then that treacherous Contentment is but an Artifice of eluding, not of obeying this Rule; it is merely an Invention of ſinning ſecurely, and will be far from being accepted by God, or by any reaſonable Man, for an Excuſe of his Injuſtice. And therefore, *ſecondly*, the Interpretation of the Rule muſt be without any ſuch Deceit, *That I do nothing to any Man, but what I, or any honeſt minded Man, would be content to have done to him, if it were put to his Choice or Option*; Or, to ſet it in another Light, *I muſt never do that to another, which, if I were that other, I ſhould think to be Injuſtice.*

In a Word, we muſt in no Manner ſeek to advance our own Gain by another Loſs; for that is the Thing forbidden in the laſt Commandment of the Decalogue; as it is explained in the New-Teſtament ſometimes by *not defrauding*; ſometimes by *not deſiring*, or *not luſting*; ſometimes by *not coveting*; but eſpecially by *loving thy Neighbour as thyſelf*. Which Precept is by ſome thought to be put, not as the great Precept to contain all the other under it, but as the particular Import of the laſt Commandment. From whence it follows, that it is not lawful ſo much as to deſign the gaining of any thing to my ſelf by the Diminution or Loſs of another; for that is clearly to cvoet what is his contrary to the Duty of Contentment with my own; and to *love myſelf*, and to do good *to my ſelf*, by the *hurting* of him: It is that which is called in *Eccleſiaſticus*, [f] *Deceit in giving and taking*, that is, in Bargaining.

VI. This will take away all unjuſt Dealing in buying and ſelling; all Extortion, Monopolies, foreſtalling, enhancing of Merchandizes; all lying, falſifying, and the like; and it is very fit it ſhould do ſo: But for honeſt lawful Gains, ſuch as a Man may plentifully and comfortably live by, and ſuch as all Men will be content that others ſhould make by their Trades, as a proportionable Reward both for their preſent Pains and Charge, and for their Induſtry and Expences in acquiring ſuch a Skill, and for the Hazard they are ſubject to; it will not at all leſſen theſe. For it is agreed among all Men, That every Man's Art, and his Pains, and the Charges and the Hazards he is put to, are rateable, and may be ſold; and that it is profitable to each ſingle Man, and to Commonwealths, that ſome Men of Skill and Honeſty ſhould trafic, and provide thoſe Things which are commonly wanted, and make a moderate Gain by the ſelling of them; and the Rule which we are now upon, hath nothing contrary to that: For any Man would be content that he who brings Home to his Door thoſe things which he wants, and which would coſt him much more to provide for himſelf, ſhould gain one Penny in twelve, or the like Proportion, which the Maſters of every Trade know to be moderate on both ſides. But if this Moderation be not obſerved, if the Gain be any thing conſiderably, either leſſer or more than is allow'd reaſonable, then 'tis that the Rule is broken.

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[f] Ecclus xli. 19.

It ſhould ſeem, indeed, at firſt Reflection, that the gaining too little will not break this Rule; but 'tis poſſible we may be miſtaken in this Matter. We ſhould conſider, that he, who ſells too low, may offend againſt himſelf, and his own Family; (and a Man is to love himſelf, and not his Neighbour only;) but eſpecially, that a Man may by ſelling at too low a Price, get away the Cuſtom from, and conſequently injure, all others of the ſame Trade with him: As for example, if ten Men in a City may all of them live by their Merchandiſe, (ſuppoſe by the gaining of one Penny in every twelve Pence which they lay out;) it will be poſſible for one of theſe Men, by taking but one Half-penny in a Shilling, to get all the Cuſtom from the other Nine, and ſo to ſell ten times as much as would otherwiſe be his Share, and by that means to get far more by that underſelling, than otherwiſe he could do; which though it be no Injury, but an Advantage, to the Buyers, is yet the defrauding of all thoſe other Merchants in that City.

There is no doubt, however, but the moſt ordinary Way of offending is in the Exceſs. Indeed the Caſe which we have mentioned, can be looked on only as an Artifice tending to the ſame End by a different Way; as by gaining too little, to gain too much; by loſing one Penny to get nine: But what we here mean by Exceſs, is a more direct Exceſs, in the gaining too much, or exceeding the Rule of Moderation, in what we ſell, according to the uſual Rate of Profit: To prevent which, this one Rule may ſerve our Turn: *Never to enhaunce the Price of any Commodity above the real Value of it.*

Here again, a Difficulty occurs, *How we may know the real Value of any thing?* To anſwer which, there is another known Rule, That every thing is valuable for as much as it may be ſold. Which Rule we miſtake, if we imagine it gives colour to any Extortion; for unleſs he that bought the Commodity can ſell it at that Price again, which he was made to pay; or unleſs he that ſold it him, could have ſold it to other prudent Men at that Rate; or unleſs that be the Market Rate of the Commodity; the ſaid Rule is not obſerved: For the Meaning of it was not, that any thing is Valuable, according as any one ſubtil Merchant can have ſold it to any one weak or paſſionate Chapman, but according to what is the ordinary Rate of it, when it is ſold.

But tho' a Tradeſman, whoſe Calling is to furniſh thoſe that want, with ſuch and ſuch Commodities, is not to demand more than thoſe moderate Gains; and tho' if he ſhould demand more, it cannot be imagined that a Chapman will give more; yet if voluntarily the Buyer will, on his own free Motion, not only without any Art of the Seller to raiſe him to it, but even when the Seller tells him it is worth no more, and he is ready and willing to afford it thus; if he will then in Bounty, or upon any other private Conſideration, give more, it will in that Caſe be perfectly lawfull to take it.

That we may treat this Matter of Fraud in Trade in its full Extent, 'twill be proper to lay down for a Principle, That when a Tradeſman ſells to any one at a higher Rate than another Man will give the Buyer again, or than the Seller could have had of others; it was occaſioned by one or more of the following Means: *Firſt*, that the Buyer was unſkilfull and weak: Or *ſecondly*, That there was ſome undiſcover'd Fault or Weakneſs in the Commodity, which the Buyer diſcerned not: Or *thirdly*, That the Buyer had a ſpecial Liking or Fancy, a vehement Deſire to that particular thing: Or *fourthly*, that it was more convenient and beneficial to him than to any Man elſe. Every one of theſe Circumſtances will ſomewhat vary the Caſe, and perhaps it may be worth our pains to conſider them all in order.

Firſt, If the Weakneſs and Unſkilfulneſs of the Buyer be made uſe of to get from him an higher Price; it is acknowledged by all, that this is cheating, or circumventing, and very near the guilt of Robbing on the High-way, which is but the making uſe of another Man's Weakneſs, to deprive him of his Goods. Nothing can be more directly contrary to the firſt fundamental Rule; for no Man would be willing to be ſo over-reacht; it being, beſide the Injury, a moſt contemptible Thing to be out-witted, and nothing is counted more inſupportable than ſuch a Diſgrace.

Secondly, If there were in the Buyer ſome particular Deception proceeding from the Concealment of ſome Fault in the Commodity; and if that Concealment were wrought by any Falſity of the Seller, in downright and wilful denying of ſuch Fault; it appears at firſt Thought of it, that there muſt needs be a very great Sin in ſuch Concealment. But the Caſe may be ſo, that the Seller denyed a Fault in his Goods, upon an Error in himſelf, that Fault being unknown to him; and there can be no Guilt in ſuch a Deception as this. But then, though that State of the Caſe may excuſe the Seller from the firſt Guilt, that of a Lye, becauſe he ſpoke as much as he knew, and went not againſt his Conſcience; yet it is clear that by this means he hath made an immoderate Gain, and the other hath loſt, having not that for his Money which he thought he had bought, and which he might reaſonably be allowed to think he had brought, becauſe he might in prudence think the Seller knew: And therefore in ſuch a Caſe as this, ſo much of the Price ſhould be paid back again as came in through that involuntary Falſity; and he that doth not think fit to make ſuch Reſtitution, may well be preſumed to have falſified willingly; for he that hath once erred, ſhold be ſorry for his Error; and he that is ſo, will be deſirous to redeem it, even with ſome Loſs, but will never think fit to be the richer for his Sin, which yet he muſt be, if he reſtore not. And if in either of theſe two Caſes, the old Rule be objected, that the *Buyer muſt* *ſtand to Hazards,* and conſequently muſt *look to himſelf*; which would conclude that the Seller is ſafe in ſuch Caſes; we anſwer, That this is a rule of human Law, and accordingly that he may be ſafe from the Penalties of the national Law, which looks not any farther than the Outſide of the Actiou, and cannot poſſibly dive into the Secrets of Conſcience; but then he ſhall not therefore be ſafe from God, who looks to the Heart. And beſides, If all other Laws ſhould allow ſuch Liberty, and free Men, not only in the Court, but from Obligation of Conſcience, as far as concerns that Law, yet *Chriſt* may be allowed to improve Laws, even the Civil and Municipal *Engliſh* Laws, as well as thoſe of Nature and *Moſes*. And we ſhould here ſuppoſe him to have done it, by this rule of *doing as I would be done to*, which certainly comes home to theſe Caſes; no Man being ſuppoſed willing to be cheated by anothers Falſity, whether voluntaty, or involuntary; or if he be content to forgive it, when he knows 'twas involuntary, yet he will not be pleaſed that he ſhould ſuffer, or pay for the other's Error. This ſame Anſwer may alſo be given to the common, if not univerſal cuſtom of Men to do otherwiſe: For ſurely there is no preſcribing againſt *Chriſt*'s Rule. If former Laws might be heightened by *Chriſt*, and ſo former Permiſſions evacuated, then certainly former Cuſtoms, be they never ſo univerſal or popular, may well be ſuperſeded by ſo great a Lawgiver, who among other things came to redeem us from this Error, and to ſhew us that abundance was not ſo precious a Thing, but that a little well gotten, was as great, nay a far greater Wealth, a richer Matter of Content in this Life, than all the vaſteſt Treaſures, or Revenues. And tis obſervable how powerfully *Chriſt* hath delivered this, as an Aphoriſm to perſuade any prudent Man to abſtain from Covetouſneſs: [g] *The Life, ſays he, that any Man hath by his Poſſeſſions, conſiſts not in having Superfluity.* He that hath enough, (and that may be had without gaining by another Man's Loſs,) is as happy even for this World, if there were never another, as he that hath the greateſt Abundance or Superfluity; for the very Nature of thoſe Words tell us, that they ſignify ſomething needleſs, and then what is it but burthen that we gain by it?

But again, *What if by the Buyer's not making any queſtion about the Fault of the Commodity, ſuch Defects were concealed?*

We anſwer, Even then the Laws of Juſtice, as they are known to Men of common Underſtanding, would decry it as unjuſt in him that ſells, in Caſe he knew that Defect in the Commodity to be ſuch as he believed did really, or would in the Buyer's Opinion if it were known, leſſen the Value of it: For in this Caſe it would be clear, That Man meant to make advantage of that Concealment, and receive ſomewhat for that which was really nothing, and by him known to be ſo, though for Covetouſneſs he concealed it. We have a Caſe to this Purpoſe, that was put by [h] a natural Man before *Chriſt*'s Time, in the following Form. "There was a Famine, ſays he, in a City built on the Sea ſide; whereupon the Inhabitants of another City, hearing of it, provided to ſend out a Fleet laden with Corn to relieve them; which conſiſting of ten or eleven Ships, and being all prepared, one Ship gets out a Day before the Reſt, and comes to the Haven, and ſtraight ſells the Burthen of Corn, at what Rate was demanded. That being done, the whole Fleet comes in, and ſo fully furniſhes the City, that it was ſold at a common Price, perhaps but the third Part of the Rate for which the firſt Ship ſold. The Caſe being argued in behalf of the Owner of that Ship, and all the fairer Circumſtances being conſidered, (as that they of the City never asked him whether there were more Ships a coming, nor ſtayed to beat down the Price with him, but gave willingly what he demanded;) the Reſolution was at laſt, that this was an indirect Action, and that this Artifice of his was merely deſign'd to gain from the Citizens that which he had no Right to, and which they would not have given, had they known that which he knew, and which none but he could tell them. *And what*, continues our Author *did that Man get by this? Forſooth a little Money, and was counted a Knave*; *he encreaſed his* Treaſure, *and loſt his* Reputation; *and that is ſufficient to fright any one from the like Practice*." Now certainly if *Chriſt*'s Command may not prevail with us, as much as Senſe of Honour among the Heathens; or if that be counted honourable now, which was infamous and reproachful then; if now it be a creditable Thing to circumvent, and cheat our Fellow-Chriſtian, to grow rich by Tricks and Artifices, when *Socrates* an honeſt Heathen would venture a Martyrdom in *Athens* to beat down theſe, and the like vitious Cuſtoms among his Countrymen, and reſolve that ſuch a Death was better than any kind of Life; then ſurely Chriſtianity is ill beſtowed on us: We have little conſidered that Chriſt came to make us more like Doves, not more like Serpents; more juſt, not more cunning; more upright and ſincere Deſpiſers of the World, not more ſhrewd deceitful Adorers of it, than the *Jews* or *Heathens* had been before.

The *third* Caſe which we mentioned, ſuppoſes the Buyer to have a great Liking to the Commodity, a vehement Deſire to buy it; and the Queſtion is, *Whether we may not then make him pay dearer for it than otherwiſe it was worth?* In reſolving of which, we would do well to conſider, That his Fancy adds no real Worth to the Thing. 'Tis true, it may be more grateful to him, than otherwiſe it would be, and that is a Benefit to him: And if we have really the ſame Fancy to it, or ſome Degree of it, we may alſo value our own Inclination; and upon theſe two Conditions, may demand, and receive, a valuable Price for it, rating our Fancy at ſo much as we really value it; wherein we muſt be very careful that we do not deceive ourſelves, and pretend Fancy when we mean Covetouſneſs. But if we cannot truly ſay this, if it be only that the Buyer is delighted with it, then it will be worth remembring, that Chriſtian Charity, of which Chriſtian Juſtice muſt be always thought to have ſome Mixture, requires us to do that Kindneſs to any Fellow Chriſtian, which we can do without any Detriment to ourſelves, and ſo [i] *do good to all Men*, without hoping to receive any Advantage by ſo doing; which yet if the Buyer's Gratitude make him acknowledge, and repay with ſome other good Turn, the Seller may lawfully receive it.

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[g] Luke xii. 15.

[h] Cicero in his Book *De officiis.*

The *laſt* Caſe is, If it be more convenient to him that buys, than to any Man elſe, and ſo more beneficial alſo, Whether then the Seller may not then advance the Price.

Now there is no Doubt but Convenience is a valuable Thing, and that a Poſſeſſion may be far more convenient to one, than to another; nor is there any Reaſon but that he, to whom it is more convenient, ſhould value it higher than any other. And if it be rated by the Seller but according to this Proportion, ſo much dearer to him than to another as it will be more beneficial to him, and this be made clear to him, and openly profeſſed; if he upon that Reaſon of the real Benefit which the Convenience brings him, be truly content to give ſo much for it, it is lawful for the Seller ſo to charge him for it. And yet becauſe that Convenience was not the ſame to him, that it is to the Buyer, it may very well become the Seller to ſhew Kindneſs in this Matter alſo, though it cannot be ſaid he is unjuſt if he do not; there being this Difference betwixt this and the former Caſe, that there the Fancy of another was not ſo reaſonably valuable, as here the ſuppoſed Convenience is, becauſe this will bring him in ſome real Gain, that only an imaginary one.

We have only to add, That if we impoſe theſe ſtrict Rules of Indifference on the Seller, we muſt do the like on the Buyer too; and if he by any indirect Means over-reaches the Seller, he is bound to as much Reſtitution as the other would have been: For there is no Queſtion but the ſame Exactneſs is required of the one as of the other. It is therefore very neceſſary that all the Rules which have here been ſet the Seller, ſhould be Matter of Obligation alſo to the Buyer, ſo far as the Rule of *doing as we would be done to* belongs to him. For as to any farther Liberty to either Buyer or Seller, they muſt not expect it from *Chriſt*, who will think us rich enough, and happy enough, if we have good Food and Raiment, and Contentment with it. And as for the Concernments of the Commonwealth in this Matter, which ſome ſuppoſe would be damaged by this Strictneſs; it is clear that if the Practice of theſe Rules ſhould prove inconvenient to any Commonwealth, as now it ſtands, this might rather be imputed to the Generality of the contrary Cuſtom, which will not without ſome Difficulty, and perhaps preſent Incommodity, be changed: And the ſame might alſo be obſerved of moſt other *Sins*, which have had the Luck to become cuſtomary. But then for the new conſtituting of a Commonwealth, and ſo likewiſe for the prudent reforming of any Vice in the old, it would be found true, that the Rules which *Chriſt* hath ſet, if they were embraced, would be univerſally moſt gainful; or if they ſhould hinder ſome particular Advantages, either of ſome Man, or Society of Men, this would be repaired by other more valuable Benefits. Theſe Rules would certainly keep the World moſt quiet, and ſo moſt worth living in. And, on the contrary, it is the deſiring more than this, that makes the World ſuch a Stage or Theatre as it were, on which each labours to ſupplant and wound the other, till at laſt every Man undoes himſelf, and his Neighbour too, by deſiring to be richer than he. And beſides we may conſider, that the Wealth of this World being God's, it is his to diſpoſe of it, and preſerve and bleſs it to whom he pleaſe; and 'tis not likely that he will deny to them that Uſe, and depend on his Rules in acquiring it; or that he will give and continue it to thoſe that ſet themſelves againſt him, and that will be rich in ſpite of him: Or if he do the latter, this is an infallible Argument, that Riches are not the greateſt Bleſſings; for then thoſe whom God beſt loves, would have moſt of them.

But it may be ſaid, That theſe Rules are inconvenient to Common wealths, becauſe they may hinder Merchandize; for the Hazards peculiar to Merchants are ſo great, that if they have not Leave to make uſe of ſuch Advantages as have been here ſpoken againſt, they will not be able to ſubſiſt at all. To which we anſwer, That all Merchants are ſuppoſed to take into Conſideration thoſe Hazards that are univerſally annexed to their Trade; and ſo are all Men of all other Callings alſo: And therefore when we ſpeak of a lawful moderate Gain, we count that but a moderate Gain, which ſufficiently provides for Hazards, nay which takes in farther the Conſideration of all other Things which are fit to be conſidered, the Charges and Pains they are at, and the Rate they may ſet upon their Skill, and that heightened more and more according to the Difficulty of acquiring it, and the Uſefulneſs of it when it is acquired. Nay when the Skill is in ſuch Matters, or in ſuch Kind, that it brings in ſome real Commodity to others without their doing or paying any thing toward it, it will be more reaſonable for thoſe Men, in theſe Reſpects, to value their Trades or Crafts very high, and to expect great Gains by them; becauſe what comes in to them is ſuppoſed to be taken away from no Body, but withal to bring ſome Advantage to others, without any Detriment or Hazard to them. But then all this being ſuppoſed to be already provided for in the ſeveral Rules, that the honeſt intelligent Men of every Trade ſet themſelves, it will not be reaſonable that the ſame Conſideration of Hazards and Loſſes ſhould be taken in again, to heighten the Gains yet more; nor indeed may particular extraordinary Loſſes be Excuſes to any Man for ſo doing; for thoſe, whatſoever they are, were contained in the fore-mentioned Hazards, and every Man muſt reſolve to bear his Lot, be it worſe or better, with Patience; or if he be impoveriſhed by ſuch heavy Accidents, it will be fitter to ſeek a Subſiſtence of Men's Charities, than by enhancing the Price of what is left, to venture the Imputation of being unjuſt: And becauſe we have mentioned Charity, as a lawful Relief for him who cannot thrive by lawful Trading, we ſhall alſo add, That if upon helping any Man to a good Pennyworth, or ſelling upon barely moderate Gains, the Buyer think fit to reward the Seller's Juſtice and Diligence with ſome Advance above the Price he demands, there will be no Need to make Scruple of receiving what is ſo freely given; but to grow rich by that which is fetched out of another's Throat, extorted and forced from him, will never tend much to the Comfort or Reputation of any Man, nor will he have any Reaſon to hope for a Bleſſing from Heaven upon it.

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[i] Luke vi. 35.

VII. There is one Thing more which belongs directly to this Matter of juſt Dealing betwixt Man and Man, and therefore will not be unſeaſonably ſpoken of in this Place; we mean the Buſineſs of Uſury, of which there are various and diſtinct Opinions. Now in ſpeaking of this we may obſerve, *Firſt*, That the Sin of Uſury is not ſo clearly ſtated in the [k] New Teſtament, as that any ſtrict and certain Laws can be ſet to our Actions from thence: For the one only Ground of Objection againſt Uſury that we have from the New Teſtament, is from an Obſervation made in comparing the *Hebrew* with the *Septuagint* Interpretation of the Book of *Nehemiah*; in which the Phraſe which we generally render *to exact Uſury*, is rendered by the *Greek* [l] *to exact*, ſimply, without any Subſtantive added to it; and ſo the [m] *Greek* Noun for requiring, or exacting, ſignifies there *requiring of Uſe*. Thus in the Book of *Maccabees*, we have this Paſſage: [n] *As for the Money, he put it not into any good Courſe, but* Soſtratus *took the Uſe of it. For unto him belonged the managing of the Monies.* From whence it may be concluded of that Place of the [o] Goſpel, where *Chriſt*, ſpeaking of Acts of Mercy, or *giving to every one that aſketh*, addeth in our Tranſlation, *And from him that taketh away thy Goods, aſk them not again*; that the moſt proper and commodious Senſe, will be this; *From him that receiveth*, by Way of Loan, *any of thy Goods, require no Uſury*: Which Precept, being joined with *giving to them that aſk*, denoteth a Work of Mercy, as indeed lending is; for the *good Man is merciful and lendeth; and he that is merciful will lend to his Neighbour*, according to the wiſe Man. *Pomponius Atticus*, [p] a moſt excellent *Roman*, exerciſed himſelf eſpecially in this Kind of Mercy, lending, and ſtrictly requiring the Payment on the Day. And *Cornelius Nepos* ſaith, he did more Good that Way, than by giving he could have done; teaching Men to be thrifty and laborious; whereas giving, or ſuffering them not to repay, would have made them ſluggiſh and Beggars. Which being ſuppoſed, it will follow, that this *not requiring of Uſe*, being an Act of Mercy, muſt be extended no farther than the former Precept of Giving was to be extended. Now though the Words are in an unlimited Latitude, *Give to every one that aſketh*, yet ordinary Prudence will interpret them ſo, that if a covetous rich Man aſk of me, I am not bound to give to him, but only to him whoſe Wants ſet him on aſking. And ſo conſequently, in like Manner, the forbidding to exact, take, or require Uſe of him that borrows, belongs not to the poor or mean Creditor, when a rich Man borrows of him; but only to the Rich when he lends to the Poor, to whom a free Loan is a ſeaſonable Mercy. From whence as we ſhould conclude without any Demur, that when we lend to a poor Man, we muſt not require Uſe; ſo we cannot conclude it unlawful from hence to receive from a rich Man what Intereſt or Increaſe he is willing to give. All that is neceſſary to be added by Way of Caution is, *Firſt*, that we take Care, that ſuch lending to the Rich do not diſable us from aſſiſting the Poor. *Secondly*, That we are ſure, as far as morally we can be, that he who pays us this Uſe is able to do it, without eating out, or hurting himſelf; but that he makes greater Gain of it by Trading, or the like. *Thirdly*, That it be not ſo done, as that it may bring a Reproach or Cenſure of Worldly-mindneſs upon us, much more that it be not an Act of a covetous Mind, but only a Way of ſubſiſting on that ſmall Portion left us by our Friends. Farther, in caſe the Perſon to whom we thus lent upon Uſe, either by Misfortune, or by his own Neglect, loſe by our Loan, and runs the Hazard of being ruined by paying the Intereſt, we ſcruple not to ſay, That then it is the ſafeſt Courſe to forbear the Intereſt; and in Matters of this Nature, it is our Duty to take the ſafeſt Courſe; and the thinking ourſelves obliged to do ſo, will make us more circumſpect than perhaps otherwiſe we ſhould be, in examining the Condition of the Perſon, of whom we venture to take Uſe. In all this Matter, indeed, nothing can be ſaid ſo poſitively as in ſome other Things. What hath been advanced, being only ſet down as Opinion, and the Grounds on which that Opinion is built. And the Truth is, after all this which we have ſaid upon that Gronnd from the Paſſage of St. *Luke* ſo interpreted, that the Word which we render *requiring of Uſe*, may ſignify [q] *to exact*, or *require back the Loan*, when it is lent without Uſe. And then the Meaning of the Verſe in *Luke* will be, that as I muſt *give to him that asketh*, ſo of *him that borroweth of me, I muſt not exact Repayment*, when he is not, through Poverty, able to do it. And if this be the Senſe, then it will be ſtill pertinent to the Buſineſs of Liberality, or Charity in giving and lending, and ſo no farther belong to the Matter of Uſury, than by Analogy may be inferred from thence; namely, That if from a poor Man I muſt not haſten or exact the Repayment of his Debt, but continue the Loan to him as long as his Diſtreſs requires, then ſurely I muſt not ſell that Loan, by taking Uſe of him. But this ſtill muſt belong only to the rich Man lending to the Poor. As for the Caſe of the rich Man's lending to the Rich, there hath appeared nothing in either of theſe Interpretations, which will oblige to it, or if he do, which will prohibit the taking Intereſt of him. And there is as little to that Purpoſe in a third poſſible Interpretation of the Words, of *not requiring* the legal Fourfold of him that hath robbed me; which though it be not the Import of the Word *taketh*, which notes only *receiving*, not *Rapine*, yet is no very improbable rendring of the Word *require*. Nor is there any other ſo much as Colour of Text in the New Teſtament, which forbids one rich Man to take Uſe of another; nor is there indeed any Reaſon, or Analogy, either from that great Rule in Hand, of *doing as I would be done to*, or of *loving my Neighbour as myſelf*, to this Purpoſe; nor conſequently can we affirm it unlawful, ſtill ſuppoſing that the Cautions above-mentioned be obſerved uprightly.

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[k] Among the Jews, in the Old Teſtament, it is but obſcurely ſtated, and that only with Regard to a Fellow Jew.

[l] ἀπαιτεῖν.

[m] ἀπαίτησις.

[n] Macc. iv. 27.

[o] Luke vi. 30.

[p] Vide Cor. Nep. in Vit. Attici.

[q] So it ſignifies Deut. xv. 2, 3. & alibi.

This Doctrine of Chriſtian Juſtice, thus largely explained, is a fit Introduction to the Exhortation that follows of Chriſtian Strictneſs, which ſeems to be built on this, and to be but a Branch of this great Precept; and not a Particular diſtinct from it.

The Exhortation we mean, is that of a great, ſuperlative Strictneſs in the Ways of Godlineſs; not being content to walk in the broad Road that *Jews* and Heathens have contented themſelves with; but being willing to undertake any Thing of Difficulty for *Chriſt*'s Sake, *entring in at the ſtrait Gate, and narrow Way that leadeth unto Life*; that Way which theſe elevated Precepts have chalked out to us; which Precepts here are not propoſed as Counſels of Perfection, but as Commands of Duty, without which there is no entring into Life, no avoiding Deſtruction.

VIII. The *third* general Precept is a Precept of Warineſs and Prudence, to *beware* of *Errors*, and thoſe whoſe Trade it is to ſeduce us to them. It is contained in ſix [r] Verſes, and belongs not to all Deceivers of any Kind, but particularly to ſuch as profeſs to follow *Chriſt*, and yet teach falſe and damnable Doctrines; which, that they may put off to their Auditors or Followers the better, they pretend a great deal of Holineſs in ſome other Particulars. And the Sum of that which he here ſaith to this Purpoſe, may be reduced to this: Whenſoever any falſe Teacher comes to diſſeminate his Doctrine, the ſureſt Way to detect him will be, to obſerve the Effects and Actions diſcernible in him, or which are the Fruits of his Doctrine. If all his Actions, and all the Deſigns and Conſequents of his Doctrine, be the advancing of Piety and Charity of all Kinds, then you may conclude that he is no falſe, at leaſt no dangerous Teacher. For *firſt*, The Devil will never aſſiſt him, or put him upon falſe Doctrines, to ſuch an End, that he may bring more Holineſs and Chriſtian Practice into the World. *Secondly*, Such holy Chriſtian Practice is not eaſily built upon any falſe Doctrine. *Thirdly*, If the Doctrine ſhould chance to be falſe, that bringeth forth ſuch wholeſome Effects, than to him that receiveth it for thoſe Effects Sake, and otherwiſe diſcerneth not the Doctrine to be falſe, it may be hoped, through God's Mercy in *Chriſt* to our Infirmities, that it ſhall not prove dangerous, or deſtructive. But if the Conſequents or Effects that flow naturally from the Doctrines which he brings, be either againſt the Rules of Piety, or Chriſtian Virtue, we are then to *beware* of him. As if they tend to the leſſening of our Love of God, or to the alienating our Hearts from him, by giving us mean or unworthy Notions of him; if they tend to the begetting of Preſumption and Security in our Hearts, by giving us any Ground of Hope without amending our wicked Lives, and by leaving no Place for Fear, whatſoever we do, and by making us conceit highly of ourſelves, and boaſt of our own Merits; if they lead us to Idolatry, to the Worſhip of ſomewhat elſe beſide the only true God, or to a bare formal out-ſide Worſhip of him; if they open the Door to falſe or needleſs Swearing, or to Prophaneneſs, and Neglect of God's Service; if they tend to Injuſtice or Uncharitableneſs toward Men, or to Diſobedience, Sedition, Rebellion, and ſpeaking Evil of Dignities, if they tend to the favouring or authorizing of any Kind of Luſt, of Divorces forbidden by *Chriſt*; to the nouriſhing of raſh Anger, uncharitable cenſuring, Envy, Emulation, Variance, Strife, Malice, Revenge, Whiſpering, Backbiting; to the excuſing or juſtifying of Piracy, Rapine, Oppreſſion, Fraud, Violence, or any Kind of Injuſtice; to the ſpreading of Lies, Slanders, Defamations; to Covetouſneſs, and Uncontentedneſs in our preſent Condition, Deſire of Change, Caſting the Croſs on other Men's Shoulders, that we may free our own from it; to Dealing with others, as we would not be well pleaſed to be dealt with ourſelves; or, in a Word, if they tend to the diſcouraging or diſcountenancing any Chriſtian Virtue ſet down in this or any other Sermon of *Chriſt*, or by his Apoſtles, or to the granting any Diſpenſation or Liberty from that Chriſtian Strictneſs in theſe Duties, or in thoſe other of Repentance, Self-denial, Meekneſs, Mercifulneſs, Peaceableneſs, *&c.* then by theſe Marks and Characters we may know this to be a falſe Teacher. Yet muſt not this be extended ſo far as that whoſoever is guilty himſelf of any of theſe Sins, ſhall be, if he be a Teacher, a falſe one; for it is poſſible his Doctrine and Actions may be contrary; but that, if theſe be the Fruits and natural Effects of his Doctrine, then ſhall his Doctrine be thus condemned: Otherwiſe an ill Man he may be, and yet a Teacher of Truth; a wicked Perſon, but not a falſe Prophet.

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[r] Matth. vii. 15——20

But it is ſaid of theſe falſe Prophets, that they come in *Sheeps Clothing*, which ſeems to ſignify their outward Actions to be innocent? How then, may ſome Perſon ſay, can they be diſcerned by their Fruits? We anſwer, *Firſt*, That the Fruits of their Doctrine may be diſcerned, though their own evil Actions be diſguiſed, and varniſhed over. *Secondly*, That though their Actions moſt conſpicuous and apparent be good, yet their cloſer Actions, which may alſo be diſcerned by a ſtrict Obſerver, are of the Nature of the Wolf, ravenous and evil. *Thirdly*, That though they begin with ſome good Shews to get Authority, though they enter as Sheep, and do ſome ſpecious Acts of Piety at firſt; yet they continue not conſtant in ſo doing, but within a while put off the Diſguiſe, and are diſcernible.

IX. The Sum of the *fourth* or *laſt* general Precept contained in this Chapter, is this, That it is not the outward Profeſſion of Chriſtianity or Diſcipleſhip, though ſet off by Prophecying, and doing Miracles in *Chriſt*'s Name, which will avail any Man towards his Account at the great Day, without the real, faithful, ſincere, univerſal, and impartial performing of Obedience to the Laws of *Chriſt*.

And from hence it appears, that God doth ſometimes permit wicked Men to do Miracles, and deliver important Truths: For the end of Miracles and Preaching being to convince Men of the Truth of the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, that may well enough be done by thoſe who only acknowledge that Truth, though they live not accordingly; The Miracles done by them, being not deſigned by God to the Commendation of the Inſtruments, but to the Perſuading of the Spectators.

There now remains only the Concluſion of the whole Sermon to be diſcharged, and that is this, That the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and lending a patient Ear to its Doctrines, will, if it be depended on to render us acceptable to *Chriſt*, prove a very fallacious and deceitful Hope. Whenſoever any Storm comes, any ſhaking Diſeaſe or Affliction, which gives us Occaſion to awake thoroughly, and examine ourſelves to the Bottom; we are not then able to retain any Hope or comfortable Opinion of ourſelves; though in Time of Quiet and Tranquility, before we were thus ſhaken, we could entertain our ſelves with ſuch flattering Appearances. Hearing of Sermons, and profeſſing of Love to, and Zeal for, *Chriſt*, may paſs for Piety a while; but in the End it will not be ſo. 'Tis true Chriſtian Practice, that will hold out in Time of Trial; and that Hope of ours which is thus grounded, will ſtand firm and ſtable in Time of Affliction and Temptation, at the Hour of Death, and at the Day of Judgment. This Doctrine of Chriſtian Duty and Obedience, is ſuch that can never deceive any Man, who is content to build upon it. Nor Infirmity, nor Sin repented of, nor Devil, ſhall ever ſhake any Man's hold, who is thus built, ſhall ever endanger any Man's Salvation, who lives according to the Rule of this Sermon; nor ſhall all the flattering deceitful Comforters of the World, bring in any true Gain or Advantage, or ſubſtantial Ground of Hope, to any other.'

Thus have we gone thro' the ſeveral Parts of this important Sermon; having treated ſome of them largely, others more briefly, according as the Matter required: In judging of which we depended chiefly on the learned Doctor Hammond, *from whoſe Works the greateſt Part of what is deliver'd in theſe ſix Diſſertations, has been extracted.*

CHAP. II.

I. *Jeſus* deſcends from the Mountain, followed by the Multitude, and enters *Capernaum*. A Centurion ſends to him. II. *Jeſus* conſents to go. The Centurion's ſecond Meſſage. III. *Jeſus* applauds the Officer's Faith, and heals his Servant with a Word. IV. *Jeſus* raiſes the Son of a Widow at *Naim*. V. *John Baptiſt* ſends his Diſciples to *Jeſus*. VI. *Jeſus*'s Anſwer to them. VII, VIII, IX. His Diſcourſe to the People concerning *John*. X. He upbraids the Cities of *Chorazin*, *Bethſaida*, and *Capernaum*. XI. He prays, and addreſſes the People.

I. [a] WHEN *Jeſus had finiſhed his Sermon, he came down from the Mountain, and great Multitudes of People followed him, both on account of his Doctrine, and of the Miracles which he wrought. And he went into* Capernaum, *the uſual Place of his Reſidence; where he was no ſooner arrived than there came to him the Heads of the Inhabitants, as Meſſengers from a certain* [b] *Centurion, whoſe favourite Servant lay at the point of Death. Theſe Men* [c] *beſought him, in the moſt preſſing Manner, to go with them to the Centurion's Houſe, and cure his Servant; urging, that this Officer was a very good Man, who ſince he had reſided among them, had*

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[a] Matth. viii. 1, 5, 6. Luke vii. 1,-5.

[b] A Captain of a hundred Men. He was a Roman Officer, and probably in Garriſon here with his Company.

[c] There is a Difference between Matthew and Luke, in the ſetting down of this Relation; the former of whom ſpeaks as if the Centurion came to Jeſus himſelf: But this Difficulty will be removed by conſidering what we have before ſaid, *That thoſe things which a Man employs another to do, he may be ſaid to do himſelf.* See page 148, where this Place is particularly conſidered.

done very peculiar Favours to their Nation, particularly that he had built them a Synagogue at Capernaum *at his own proper Coſt; and that therefore he deſerv'd to have all Favour ſhewn him by the* Jews, *and every one of them in particular.*

II. [d] Jeſus *being prevail'd upon by theſe Reaſons, went together with them directly towards the Houſe of the Centurion; and being not far from it, he was accoſted by ſome other of that Officer's Friends, with this Meſſage from him: "That he did not think it in the leaſt neceſſary for him to take the Trouble upon him to come in Perſon to his Houſe, as knowing very well that he was able with one Word's ſpeaking, in what Place ſoever he were, to heal his Servant, tho' at ſo never a great a Diſtance from him: That he look'd upon himſelf as unworthy to entertain ſo great a Prophet; for which reaſon he did not wait upon him in Perſon, but had recourſe to the Mediation of his* Jewiſh *Friends for the obtaining this Favour from him: That he conſidered, that as he himſelf, who was under the Command of ſuperior Officers, had yet Soldiers of his Company, and domeſtick Servants, whom he might ſend on what Errands, and whitherſoever he pleas'd; ſo* Jeſus, *who was ſupreme Governor of the Univerſe, had Angels at his Command, any of whom diſpatched by his Authority would be able to cure his Servant."*

III. [e] Jeſus *having receiv'd this Meſſage from the Centurion, admir'd the ſingular Confidence which this Man had conceiv'd of the Power he was inveſted with; and turning himſelf to the Multitude, declared before 'em all, That he had not met with any one among the* Jews, *who entertain'd ſuch elevated Notions concerning the Divine Power. He added farther, That like as the Faith of this* Roman *Centurion, which entitled him to a Participation of the Benefits of the Kingdom of Heaven, exceeded that of any of the* Jews; *ſo alſo it ſhould come to paſs, that many Heathens from the remoteſt Parts of the Earth ſhould believe on him, and ſhare the Felicity of the Kingdom of Heaven with* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *thoſe Founders of the* Jewiſh *Nation, while many of the* Jews, *who had the Advantages and Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven propounded to them in the firſt Place by the peculiar Bounty of God, ſhall be wholly excluded from them.* Jeſus *then diſmiſs'd the Friends of the Centurion, bidding them tell him, that in Conſideration of his Faith, his Servant ſhould be cur'd. They therefore return'd, and found the Servant had recover'd exactly at the ſame Time that* Jeſus *told them he ſhould be cured.*

IV. [f] *The next Day he went to* [g] Naim, *another City of* Galilee, *being attended by a great many of his Diſciples, and a Multitude of other People. At his Entrance into the Town they met a Funeral: The Deceaſed was the only Son of a Widow of that Place, and the Corps was follow'd by a great many of the Citizens.* Jeſus *taking notice of the Widow's Tears, and compaſſionating her Miſery, bid her be of good Comfort; and immediately approaching the Bier, he took hold of it; upon which they that carried it ſtop'd. Then* Jeſus *with a loud Voice bid the Youth ariſe; who immediately obeyed the Divine Summons, rais'd himſelf, and began to ſpeak. Thus* Jeſus *reſcued this dead Perſon from the Grave, and reſtor'd him to his Mother. All that ſaw the Miracle were ſtruck with a religious Terror, and gave thanks to God for having ſent ſo great a Prophet to them, and for manifeſting his Care and Protection of the People whom he had choſen, by this and many other Miracles that* Jeſus *wrought among them. The Fame of this Miracle, by which was fulfill'd that Prophecy of* Jeſus, *that the Dead ſhould ſhortly hear his Voice, was ſpread throughout* Judea *and all the neighbouring Country.*

V. [h] *The Diſciples of* John the Baptiſt, *who, as we have related, was impriſon'd at* Macherus, *acquainted him with the Miracles* Jeſus *wrought, and the Doctrine he deliver'd.* John, *who knew him to be the* Meſſiah *by a Revelation from Heaven, wonder'd there had not been a greater Change in the Affairs of the* Jewiſh *Nation, ſince* Jeſus *had been then entered upon his Miniſtry a very conſiderable Time. He called therefore two of his Diſciples to him, and ſent them to* Jeſus, [i] *to enquire of him, in his Name, Whether he was not that Perſon that was to come, (not daring publickly to call him* Meſſiah *or King, leſt by expreſſing himſelf too plainly he might irritate the* Romans, *as alſo the unbelieving* Jews;) *or whether they were to expect another? They immediately obey'd, and repair'd to* Jeſus *according to the Inſtructions they receiv'd from* John.

VI. [k] *It happen'd that when theſe Diſciples came to* Jeſus, *he was employ'd in publiſhing his Goſpel, reſtoring Health to the Sick troubled with divers Infirmities, caſting the evil Spirits out of many human Bodies, and reſtoring Sight to the Blind:* Jeſus *anſwered them therefore to this purpoſe:* Return to your Maſter, and tell him, I have given you no direct Anſwer to his Queſtion, but have ordered you to relate to him what you have ſeen me do, and heard me teach. Now the Blind, as you perceive, thro' my Means recover their Sight, the Lame are cur'd of their Infirmity, the Lepers are cleanſed, the Deaf hear, the Dead are reſtor'd to Life, and the Poor have the Laws and Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven publiſh'd to them; and bleſſed ſhall all they be that are not alienated from me by reaſon of my external Appearance. *By which Words he inſinuated, that* John *ought*

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[d] Matth. viii. 7, 8. 9. Luke vii. 6, 7, 8.

[e] Matth. viii. 10—13. Luke vii. 9, 10.

[f] Luke vii. 11-17.

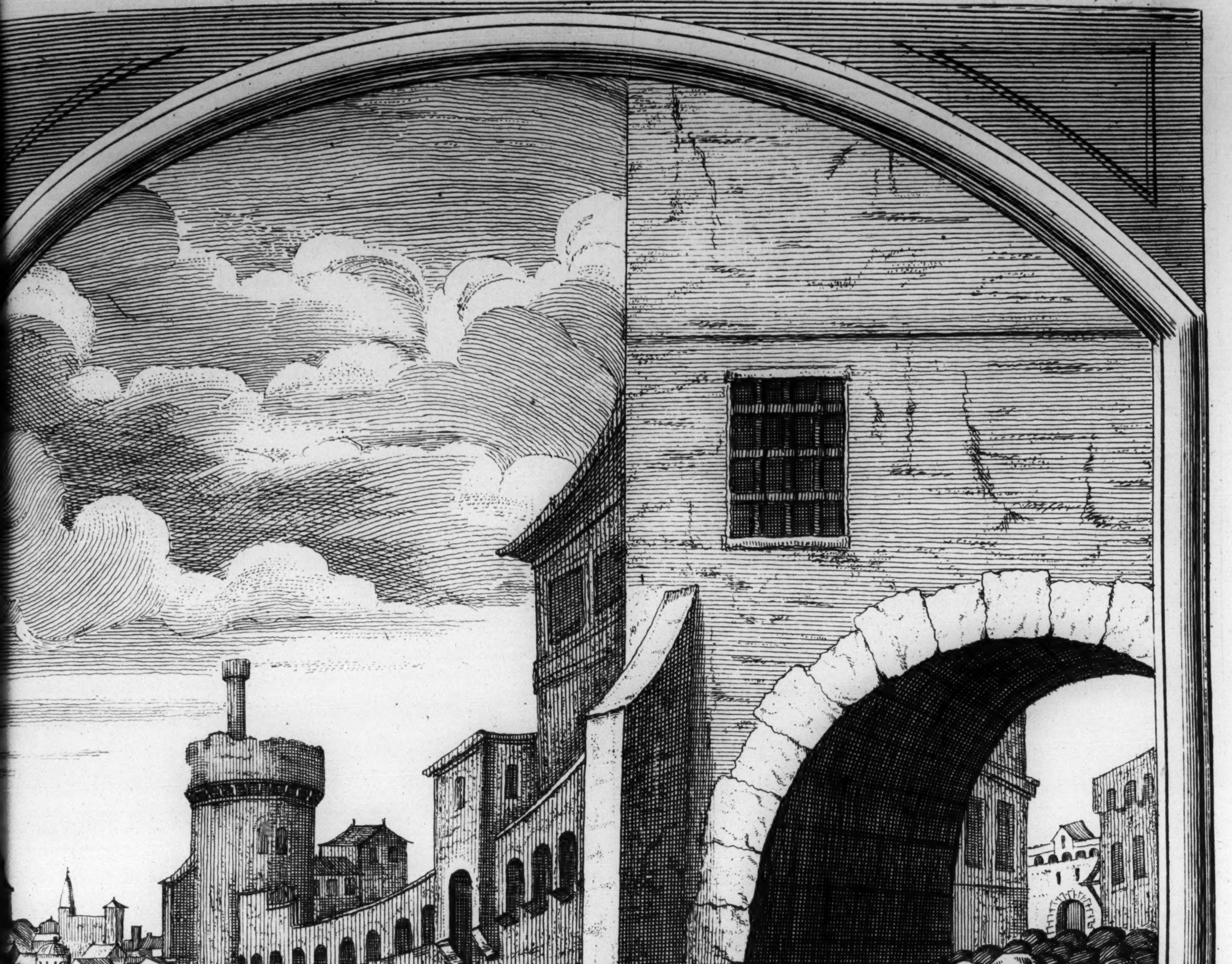
[g] Naim, or Nain, was a City in the extreme Borders of Iſſachar, towards Samaria, two leagues from Nazareth, and not much more from Mount Tabor. It had its Name from the Pleaſantneſs of the Place. If Joſephus ſpeaks of the ſame Place, he twice calls it a Village, and ſaith it was walled about in the Time of the Jewiſh wars: But St. Luke aſſures us that it had Gates in our Saviour's Time.

[h] Matth. xi. 2, 3. Luke vii. 18, 19, 20.

[i] Probably this Enquiry of John's was only to ſatisfy his Diſciples, who might be uneaſy to ſee that the Perſon, of whom he had ſo often ſpoken to them, did not yet aſſume the Character in which they expected their Meſſiah to appear.

[k] Matth. xi. 4, 5, 6. Luke vii. 21—24.

p. 440.



he Widow of Naim's son rais'd from y^{e} dead.

Luke VII.

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not to have a leſs Opinion of him for his not performing thoſe Exploits which the Jews *generally expected from the* Meſſiah. *This was all the Reply that* Jesus *made them, as thinking it not convenient to make a public Declaration of his being the* Meſſiah, *leaving that Truth to be collected from his Doctrine and Miracles, to which Argument he referred* John: *For ſuch an open Profeſſion would have added no Weight to it, and might have cauſed an Inſurrection among the* Jews, *who were very much galled with the* Roman *Yoke, and therefore deſirous of a Revolution; beſides that they expected their Meſſiah ſhould reign over them like a glorious Conqueror, after having freed them from the Tyranny of the* Romans.

VII. [l] *The Diſciples of* John *having left* Jesus, *he began to diſcourſe to the People concerning* John. What was the Reaſon, *ſaid he,* you went into the Deſart, where *John* lived before he was caſt into Priſon? Did you go to ſee Reeds ſhaken with the Wind, or *John?* Him without Doubt. But what was there ſo remarkable in *John?* Did you expect to find a Courtier, and one conſpicuous for his rich Apparel? His Raiment you know was as mean as poſſible, and ſuch gaudy Perſons were to be ſeen daily in the Courts of *Herod* and *Philip. In which Words* Jesus *intimated, tho' obſcurely, that the Reign of the* Meſſiah *ſhould be no ways like any terreſtrial Reign, ſince* John, *who was the Forerunner of him, did not in the leaſt reſemble any of the Courtiers of the Tetrarch of* Gallilee *or* Trachonitis. But, *continued he,* what was it you were thus earneſt to ſee in the Deſarts where *John* lived? You expected, no Doubt, to find a Prophet; and truly I eſteem him greater than a Prophet, ſince it is concerning this Perſon that God ſays in *Malachi,* [m] *Behold, I will ſend my Meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare the Way before me.* Now take notice that there never was a greater Prophet than *John the Baptiſt*: For he has had clearer Revelations concerning the Meſſiah than all of them; and he it is who was emlpoyed in promulging the Laws of the approaching Reign of the Meſſiah, which were almoſt wholly unknown before; and yet the meaneſt Perſon that ſhall become a Member of my Church, ſhall excel him in this Particular. From the Time that *John the Baptiſt* began to exhort you to Repentance, the Kingdom of the Meſſiah has as it were been ſeized on by Men, whom you look upon as unjuſt and violent; the Tax-gatherers, for Inſtance, and others of that Stamp, who have chearfully ſubmitted to mine and *John*'s Baptiſm.

VIII. [n] The Law and the Prophets continued in Force till the Time that *John* entred upon his Office; nor were there any Rules known, but what were contained in the Precepts of the one, and the Prophecies of the other: But after that *John* began to preach unto you, the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven have been more fully opened, and the Rewards that attend the Obedience to them have been manifeſted to you. This Perſonage, if you will believe me, is that *Elias*, who, according to the Prophecy of [o] *Malachi*, was to appear *before the Coming of the great and dreadful Day of the Lord.* Whoever has a ſerious Concern for his own Salvation, and is convinced it is his Duty to examine into the Means propoſed for the obtaining of it, let him ponder my Words, and infer from them what it is not neceſſary for me at preſent to expreſs more plainly to him. A great Multitude of the common People, and the very Publicans, out of a due Senſe of the Greatneſs of their Crimes, which had ſtirred up God's Juſtice againſt them, have embraced the Baptiſm of *John*, and are become truly penitent; but the Phariſees, and almoſt all the Doctors of the Law, thoſe eminently learned and holy Perſons, as they would fain be thought, have rejected the Counſel of God exhorting them to Repentance, thro' Pride and Contumacy, and refuſed to be baptized by *John*, that they might not be obliged to make an open Confeſſion of their Vices.

IX. [p] Which Behaviuor of theirs I can liken to nothing more properly than to the proverbial Saying among Children at their Play: *We have piped, and you have not danced; we have lamented among you, and no Body has been concerned at it.* Thus theſe Men have not been perſuaded to comply with God's Meſſages to them, inviting them to a Reformation, and the Advantages that attend it in the Kingdom of Heaven. *John the Baptiſt,* who was firſt ſent to them, led a moſt auſtere Life in the Deſarts, ſuſtaining himſelf without either Bread or Wine; by which Severity of Life they might have concluded him to be one, who laying aſide all Care after the Conveniencies of this Life, made it his great Buſineſs to put in Execution the Commands he received from God: Him they calumniated as one poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, which hurried him into the Deſart, and made him neglect the ſacerdotal Duties, and the Benefits annexed to them. Whereas I, on the contrary, who have conformed, in all outward Reſpects, to the general Cuſtoms of Men, who have made no Difference in the Uſe of Meats and Drinks, who have not avoided the Converſation of the Vulgar, that I might make the more Proſeltyes to my Religion, am traduc'd by them as a Glutton, a Lover of Wine, and a Friend to Publicans and Sinners. But whoever has a true Reliſh of heavenly Things, will eaſily perceive the divine Wiſdom in theſe ſo different Ways of Living, and with how much Reaſon they both tend to one and the ſame End.

X. [q] *Then began* Jeſus *to upbraid the Inhabitants of thoſe Cities, in which, and in whoſe Country, he had wrought his Miracles, for their not being prevailed on to amend their Lives.* O how great Puniſhments, *ſaid he,* remain for you, ye Inhabitants of [r] *Chorazin* and *Bethſaida!* If the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians,* a People the moſt abandoned to Idolatry, had ſeen thoſe Miracles that have been ſhewn to you, they would long ago have repented, and implor'd the Divine Mercy in Sackcloth and Aſhes. Whereas you, who are *Jews,* who have the true God for the Object of your Worſhip, have not been ſo affected with them as to amend your Lives. They therefore, tho' Idolaters, ſhall not be ſo ſeverely puniſh'd as you in the Day of Judgment. And you, O Inhabitants of *Capernaum,* who have been hitherto judg'd happy by my Reſidence, and the Miracles I have perform'd among you, your Obſtinacy hereafter ſhall be puniſh'd with the greateſt Severity of all: For if the Citizens of *Sodom* had ſeen the Miracles of which you have been Eye-witneſſes, their City would not have been deſtroyed: Thoſe Men, tho' ſo wicked and impure, by a timely Reformation would have appeaſed the Wrath of God, and ſhall therefore ſuffer leſs Puniſhment than you.

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[l] Matth. xi. 7——12. Luke vii. 24—28.
[m] Mal. iii. 1.
[n] Matth. xi. 13, 14, 15. Luke vii. 29, 30.
[o] Mal. iv. 5.
[p] Matth. xi. 16.——19. Luke viii. 31——35.
[q] Matth. xi. 20.——24.
[r] *Chorazin* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the Sea of Galiee, about two Miles diſtant from Capernaum: It is no where ſaid that our Lord was ever there, but his Exclamation here proves it. *Bethſaida* has been mentioned before: It was the native Place of three Apoſtles, Peter, Andrew, and Philip; and ſtood likewiſe on the Sea of Galilee.

XI. [f] *After theſe Exclamations,* Jeſus *addreſſing himſelf to the Father,* I thank thee, *ſaid he,* and acknowledge the Wiſdom of thy Providence, in that thy Goſpel has been receiv'd by the unlearned and undeſigning Part of Mankind, while the Men of Repute for Learning and Policy reject it. Thus it has pleas'd thee to order for thy own wiſe Purpoſes, which it is impoſſible for Men to penetrate. *Then turning himſelf to the Auditory,* Whatſoever I teach you, *ſaid he,* I have receiv'd from my heavenly Father, and there is no one knows what I am to do and ſuffer, inaſmuch as no Mortal is acquainted with his ſecret Determination but the Son only, and they to whom the Son ſhall reveal it. O all ye that deſire Eaſe, ye who have been wearied out by the many Journies the Law obliges you to make to *Jeruſalem,* and who groan under the Burden of many and grievous Rites, embrace my Diſcipline, and you ſhall find Relief. Obſerve my Precepts, and you will ſee how much I differ from the Pride and Haughtineſs of your Rabbies; thoſe of the meaneſt Condition ſhall be receiv'd by me as well as others, and all that I expect from you is a ſound Morality, and an unaffected Piety. 'Tis in theſe Commands of mine, that your Souls may reſt ſatisfied, and not in your *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, the Obſervance of which is required with ſo much Rigour. When you have been a while inur'd to my Diſcipline, you will acknowledge I have impos'd nothing on you but for your own Profit, and that the Tasks I have enjoined you contain nothing in them grievous or hard to be performed.

DISSERTATION.

In defence of thoſe Miracles of our Saviour by which he reſtored the Dead to Life, and particularly of his raiſing the Widow of *Naim*'s Son.

I. *Whether* Jeſus *raiſed more Perſons than the three mentioned in the Goſpels. That thoſe three Miracles were equally great,* &c. II. *Objection againſt the Order of Time when thoſe Miracles are related, conſidered. Omiſſions made deſignedly by the Evangeliſts.* III. *The Omiſſion of* Lazarus's *Reſurrection accounted for. It was not peculiar to his Caſe.* Euſebius, *&c. confirms ſeveral Omiſſions.* IV. *Reaſons for the Omiſſion of* Lazarus's *Story from Dr.* Mill, Grotius, *&c. Silence of the other Evangeliſts not ſufficient to balance what St.* John *affirms.* V. *The firſt Writers of a Perſon's Life do not always mention all the Occurrences of it. Several Inſtances to the contrary.* VI. *Remarks on the Order of the Reſurrections mention'd by the Evangeliſts.* VII. *A ſecond Objection againſt theſe Reſurrections conſidered. Why the Perſons ſaid to be raiſed by* Jeſus *are not mentioned afterwards.* VIII. *A third Objection. Proof that the Perſons raiſed by* Jeſus *were worthy of that Honour.* IX. *A fourth Objection. Proof that the Perſons ſaid to be raiſed, had been long enough dead.* X. *A fifth Objection, from the Silence of the Perſons raiſed concerning the other World, conſidered.* XI. *The Story of the Widow of* Naim's *Son, particularly defended.*

I. THOSE who take upon them to oppoſe the Authority of the New Teſtament Revelation, well know, that if it can be prov'd that the Author of that Revelation did actually, by his Word only, reſtore to Life Perſons who were perfectly dead, there would be no need of any Thing farther to prove that all which is deliver'd in that Revelation ought to be received and embrac'd by us, and that *Jeſus Chriſt* ought to be own'd in that Character, which he aſſumed to himſelf, and which has ever been attributed to him by thoſe who have profeſſed to be Followers of his Doctrine. For which Reaſon it was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to the introducing and eſtabliſhing a Syſtem of Infidelity, that thoſe Parts of the Hiſtory of *Jeſus,* in which he is ſaid to have raiſed the Dead, ſhould, above all others, be called in Queſtion by them. This has been done by the Author of the *Diſcourſe on the Miracles of our Saviour,* who pretends to ſhew [a] that the three Reſurrection-Stories, concerning the Widow of *Naim*'s Son, the Daughter of *Jairus* Ruler of the Synagogue, and *Lazarus* the Friend of *Jeſus,* do, in their literal Senſe, conſiſt of Abſurdities, Improbabilities, and Incredibilities; all which is done, as he would have us believe, in order to the myſtical Interpretation of thoſe Paſſages. As to this myſtical Interpretation of our Saviour's Miracles, it hath, we believe, been ſufficiently expoſed in the preceding Diſcourſes on ſuch of theſe Miracles as have already occurred in this Work; and therefore we ſhall neither here, nor in any future Diſcourſe, take much notice of it: But the literal Senſe we are all along bound, by the Nature of the Work, and our repeated Promiſes, to defend, as the ſeveral Miracles objected againſt fall in our Way: And to do this, in the preſent Caſe, will be no very difficult Task.

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[f] Matth. xi. 25—30

[a] Diſc. v.

The Author, before he meddles with any one of theſe Miracles in particular, [b] propoſes ſome preliminary Prejudices againſt all theſe three Reſurrections, which either ariſe from a Compariſon of them together, or from ſome common Circumſtances of them; though, according to the true Rules of Method, theſe complicated or circumſtantial Conſiderations ought to have been poſtponed to the Examination of what is more plain and ſimple, as well as more eſſential; namely, the Accounts given in the Goſpels of *Jeſus*'s raiſing to Life the three Perſons there ſpecified. Yet, that we may not loſe all Sight of theſe Objections ſo wrong diſtributed, we ſhall purſue them in the Order we find them.

He begins with an Enquiry foreign enough to his Objections againſt the Truth of theſe three Reſurrections, namely, "Whether *Jeſus* raiſed any more from the Dead beſides the foreſaid three Perſons?" Now it may be eaſily ſhewn, that it is not uncertain, from the evangelical Hiſtory, whether *Jeſus* did ſo or not. For that *Jeſus* raiſed more Perſons from the Dead than are recorded, appears both from [c] St. *Matthew* and St. [d] *Luke.* Both of theſe, when they mention *Jeſus*'s Anſwer to the Meſſage of *John the Baptiſt*, who ſent to be reſolved whether he was the *Chriſt*, give us as Part of this Anſwer, that among the Works of *Jeſus*, which the Diſciples of *John* are ſaid *to hear and ſee, the Dead are affirmed to be raiſed up.* An Expreſſion, which being in the [e] plural Number, unavoidably ſuppoſes more Perſons than one to have been then raiſed to Life by *Jeſus:* And therefore, though *Matthew* no where mentions any other particular Inſtance of that Nature, beſides the reſtoring Life to the Ruler's Daughter, (to which *Luke* only adds the Widow of *Naim*'s Son, the Story we are now upon; and the laſt Evangeliſt St. *John*, only ſuperadds one more, namely that of *Lazarus*, which was long after the other two;) yet in Juſtification of the Propriety, and indeed of the Truth of that Anſwer, it is neceſſary to acknowledge that *Jeſus* raiſed more from the Dead beſides thoſe three Perſons, and that this is certain from the evangelical Hiſtory.

St. *Auſtin* acknowledges, that without Controverſy *Jeſus* raiſed many others beſides the three Perſons recorded in the Goſpels, tho' he moralizes thoſe three Facts. And even *Euſebius Gallicanus* owns that our Lord raiſed up more than three. That Writer acknowledged the Truth of the three literal Reſurrections, tho' he afterwards moralized them with *Auſtin*, and that too almoſt in *Auſtin*'s Words, when he ſays, [f] It is not without its myſtical Signification, that whereas our Lord raiſed up more Perſons, the Evangeliſts have given us an Account of his raiſing three only. For he raiſed up the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter, continuing as yet in her Father's Houſe, and lying in an inner Room. He raiſed up alſo the Widow's Son, now carried out of the Gates of the City, but not as yet buried. He likewiſe raiſed up *Lazarus*, who was not only buried, but had lain in the Grave four Days, and ſtank. Therefore theſe three dead Perſons ſignify three different Sorts of Death." On which three Degrees of the ſpiritual Death of Sinners, tho' he on to enlarge, yet he there plainly confeſſes the literal Senſe not only of theſe three Reſurrections, but of others that are not related, to be true. Which is a Conceſſion far from evincing the [g] pretended Neceſſity of eſpouſing the myſtical Senſe of theſe Miracles, in Derogation from any literal Reſurrection of the Dead by *Jeſus* at all.

The next Obſervation is, that [h] "theſe three Miracles are not equally great, but differ in Degree;" and the Author accordingly enlarges on a Compariſon of them. He then adds, that "the Fathers have taken notice of ſuch a Difference." But not to anticipate what ſhall be farther ſaid on this Subject, we may here only take notice, that on Suppoſition all the three Perſons ſaid to be raiſed were really dead, there is no other Difference in their reſpective Reſurrections but what is circumſtantial, and has a Regard to outward Appearances; nor do the Fathers, as is pretended, patronize any ſuch Diſtinction. *Peter Chryſologus*, after he has acknowledged the three Reſurrections in their literal Senſe, adds indeed by Way of Explication, with Regard to the Death of *Lazarus*, that [i] "the whole Power of Death was accompliſhed upon him;" and with Regard to his Reſurrection, that "the outward Appearance or Manner of his Reſurrection ſhone in all its Glory." But that is no more, in plain Words, than that his Death differed from that of the other two, as he had been actually buried for four Days and ſtank; and his Reſurrection differed from that of the reſt, as it was more ſolemn in its Manner and all its Circumſtances. And St. *Auſtin* ſays only on this Occaſion, that [k] "of all the Miracles of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* is chiefly celebrated." Which is ſtill on the ſame Account, the more ſolemn Circumſtances that are related of his Reſurrection after ſo long a Burial, as compared with thoſe of the other two. And conſequently the other Differences that are precariouſly aſſigned as to the Inequality of the three Reſurrections, are by no Means patronized by the Fathers; an Inequality, ſo far from being eſſential, that as the three Perſons were equally dead, ſo were they equally raiſed to Life again, tho' with different external Circumſtances.

"But I am apt to believe with the Fathers, (ſays the [l] Author of the Diſcourſes,) that *Jeſus* actually did raiſe the Dead; but then as theſe Miracles are only recorded for the Sake of the Myſtery, I affirm that none of them, as to the

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[b] See Vind. Vol. ii. p. 257, &c.

[c] Matth. xi. 5.

[d] Luke vii. 22.

[e] Νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται, Matth. xi. 5.

[f] Vide Euſeb. Gallic. Serm. feriæ 5. poſt 4tam. Dominicam. apud Tom. 6. Biblioth. Patr. Max. p. 737.

[g] Diſc. v. p. 3

[h] P. 4.

[i] Vide Pet. Chryſolog. Homil. 63. ſc. de Lazaro. p. 57, 58, &c. Par. 1639.

[k] Vide Auguſtin. in loc. Johan.

[l] Diſc. v. p. 5

Letter, will abide the Teſt of a critical Examination, nor ſtand its Ground againſt ſuch Exceptions as may be made to it." Obſerve how inconſiſtent with itſelf is all this *Bravado. The Fathers*, to whom our Author appeals for the contrary, *believed that Jeſus actually did raiſe the Dead: Our Author himſelf is apt to believe ſo with the Fathers, tho' he profeſſedly ridicules all the Inſtances of* Jeſus's *doing ſo as Impoſtures*. Again, *None of theſe Miracles, as to the Letter, can ſtand the Teſt, tho' he is apt to believe them:* And once more, *Tho' theſe Miracles cannot ſtand the Teſt, they are recorded, and that only for the Sake of the* Myſtery; that is, in other Words, our Author adheres to a Myſtery as true, which is entirely founded on a falſe Miracle. Whether theſe are not Contradictions that argue a diſordered Head, we refer to the competent Reader.

II. The *firſt* Remark after theſe prefatory Cavils, on the three recorded Reſurrections, as compared together, [m] is on "the Order of Time in which theſe Miracles are related, which is ſaid to be unnatural and prepoſterous; and that the Omiſſion of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, ſaid to be the greateſt of all of them, by the three former Evangeliſts, is ſo very unaccountable a Thing, as to render ſuſpected St. *John*'s Hiſtory of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection." This is the whole Force of Mr. *Wolſton*'s firſt, and indeed his principal Objection; in anſwer to which, we ſhall endeavour to ſhew, What could be the Reaſon that *Matthew, Mark*, and *Luke*, who all wrote their Goſpels before *John*, and many Years nearer to the Death of our Saviour, ſhould omit to record this remarkable and moſt illuſtrious Miracle of *Lazarus*. And afterwards we ſhall add ſomewhat about the Order of Time in which theſe Miracles are related.

Now on this Occaſion we premiſe, *Firſt*, that this and other Omiſſions of the three former Evangeliſts were made deſignedly, and not thro' Lapſe of Memory or Inattention. For it is not conſiſtent with the Suppoſition of any Divine Inſpiration, to aſſert that this and other Omiſſions of them were made by Inadvertency and Forgetfulneſs; ſince the Holy Spirit, which was promiſed by [n] *Jeſus* to *teach* his Diſciples, and *bring all things to their Remembrance*, when they preached the Goſpel to the Age they lived in, muſt be much more neceſſarily ſuppoſed to direct and influence them when they committed it to Writing, for the Uſe of all ſucceeding Ages of the Church. And indeed there can be no doubt but that they wrote what they preached.

Secondly, That tho' the Writers of the three former Goſpels were under the Direction of the Holy Spirit, with regard to the Truth of what they recorded, yet they were left in a great meaſure to their own natural Abilities and Judgment, as to their Style and Method, and the Choice of ſome Miracles out of a vaſt Variety of them, in compoſing their reſpective Hiſtories of *Jeſus:* Or, as the judicious *Iſaac Caſaubon* [o] ſpeaks from St. *Auſtin* himſelf, "They wrote down what their *Memory* ſuggeſted to them; and tho' the Spirit of God directed their Memory and Underſtanding, yet it did ſo in a Manner ſuitable to the Simplicity of illiterate Men, which it by no means altered." So that the Inſpiration that attended them in writing the Hiſtorical Matters relating to *Jeſus Chriſt*, which they knew well themſelves, or had from other credible Perſons that did ſo know them, was ſuch as did not exclude the Operation of their own Minds in Writing thoſe Narratives; tho' no doubt it was ſuch as influenced them ſo far as to write nothing but Truth. And from ſo great an Inſtance as that of St. *Paul*, we are aſſured how very conſiſtent a Thing the Knowledge of Facts from Eye-witneſſes is with a particular Revelation of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſince he certainly enjoyed both of them after his Converſion. That the Language of the Evangeliſts was their own, appears not only from the Simplicity of it, but from a due Conſideration of that of the old Prophets themſelves; ſome of whom uſed a courtly and ſublime Style, and others that of Shepherds, ſuitably to their reſpective Educations and Employments of Life. And as for the Method uſed in writing the Goſpel, that it was their own, moſt clearly appears from their Occaſional Connexions of Stories with one another, Anticipations in point of Time, and other ſeeming Unaccuracies in Chronology, Omiſſions of many Stories, and apparent Variations of the ſmaller Circumſtances of others recorded by them. And indeed all this appears from the ſupplemental Gpſpel of St. *John*, for which there would have been no Occaſion, if the preceding Goſpels had been entirely perfect and complete.

III. Now theſe Things being previouſly ſuppoſed, we ſhall endeavour gradually to account for the Omiſſion of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrecton by the three former Evangeliſts. And *Firſt*, It is evident in Fact, that the particular Period of Time, in which *Jeſus* is ſaid by St. *John* to have performed that great Work, is wholly omitted by the three former Evangeliſts. For the ſecond Retreat of *Jeſus* beyond *Jordan*, from which *Jeſus* came to raiſe up *Lazarus*, is not within the Compaſs of the three former Evangeliſts, and is wholly omitted by them. This ſecond Retreat was immediately occaſion'd by *Jeſus*'s [p] Conference with the *Jews* in *Solomon's Porch*, at the Feaſt of Dedication, in which he aſſerted that *he was the Son of God*, and that *he and his Father are one*; which the *Jews* underſtood as equivalent to his *making himſelf God:* Upon which they *took up Stones to ſtone him*; and, after his Expoſtulation with them, *they ſought again to take him, but he eſcaped out of their Hand, and went away* again *beyond* Jordan, *unto the Place where* John *at firſt baptized, and there he abode.* And that it was from this ſecond Retreat beyond *Jordan* that he made an Excurſion to revive *Lazarus*, [q] is moſt apparent.

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[m] p. 6, 7.
[n] John xiv. 26.
[o] Vid. Iſ. Caſaubon. Exercit. c. Baron. c. 120. Lond. 1614.
[p] John x. 22—40.
[q] John xi. 1, 7, &c.

Secondly, Tho' the Omiſſion of the foreſaid Period of Time, and conſequently of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* that was wrought in it, may at firſt View ſeem ſomewhat ſurprizing; yet that Omiſſion will appear upon farther Reflection to be no ſingular Caſe, nor peculiar to the Reſurrection of *Lazarus.* For it appears from almoſt all the other Miracles ſupplementally recorded by St. *John,* that they were omitted by the three former Evangeliſts, as they omitted the Periods of Time in which they were performed. Thus thoſe Miracles were omitted by them which were wrought before the Impriſonment of *John the Baptiſt,* with which they, in Effect, began their Goſpels. Such, for Inſtance, were the Change of Water into Wine at *Cana,* and the firſt Reformation of the Temple. And this Obſervtiaon holds true till that Evangeliſt falls in with the Period of Time within the Compaſs of the three former Evangeliſts, after which he records the Miracle [r] of the five thouſand Men being fed with five Loaves and two ſmall Fiſhes; not merely in Confirmation of that great Miracle as mentioned in common by the three other Evangeliſts, but for the Sake of the Circumſtances of it which were omitted by them, and ſupplied by him; namely, that [s] *thoſe Men, when they had ſeen the Miracle that* Jeſus *did, ſaid, This is of a Truth that Prophet that ſhould come into the World:* And that, [t] *when* Jeſus *therefore perceived that they would come and take him by Force, to make him a King, he departed again into a Mountain himſelf alone.* The juſt Inference that was then drawn by ſo great a Number of Men on whom this Miracle was wrought, and the Caution and Care of *Jeſus* to avoid Popularity and ſecular Grandeur, were of ſuch Weight and Conſequence as to deſerve to be taken Notice of by a ſupplemental Writer. As indeed does the immediately following Miracle of [u] *Jeſus*'s walking on the Sea, though mentioned by *Matthew* and *Mark,* as it is connected with his long myſterious Diſcourſe to the *Capernaites,* which is inſerted by St. *John,* becauſe omitted by the three former Evangeliſts. Theſe Inſtances may ſerve inſtead of a greater Number.

Thirdly, That ſeveral Periods of Time in the Hiſtory of our Lord, and among them that which relates to the Reſurrection of *Lazarus,* were omitted by the three former Evangeliſts, is aſſerted by the beſt and moſt ancient eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, as well as moſt artful Harmonizer of the Goſpels, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea;* who informs us, that [w] "It is evident that the three former Evangeliſts give only an Account of our Saviour's Actions after the Impriſonment of *John the Baptiſt,* and that too during one Year of his Miniſtry; which Limitation is clearly ſignified in the beginning of their reſpective Hiſtories." The ſame Thing is likewiſe aſſerted by the late great Chronologer, Mr. *Dodwell,* [x] who aſſures us, "that the three former Evangeliſts record only what was tranſacted by *Jeſus* in the firſt Year of his preaching: And, that St. *John* is the only Evangeliſt who has preſerved the Memory of all the other Years and Paſſovers of *Chriſt*:" That is, of all but the firſt Year of *Chriſt*'s preaching and public Miniſtry. It may be doubted, indeed, whether this Reſtriction of *Jeſus*'s Actions in the three former Evangeliſts by theſe eminent Perſons, and indeed by others, to a ſingle Year of *Jeſus*'s Miniſtry, be nicely and rigidly exact, we having elſewhere ſignified the contrary. All we would prove by theſe Quotations, is, That it muſt be allowed that there were ſeveral Periods of Time in our Saviour's Life, that were omitted by the three former Evangeliſts, and therefore the Miracles performed during thoſe Periods were likewiſe omitted by them: From whence it is a juſt Inference, that their Omiſſion of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection is no ſingular Caſe.

IV. The Matter of Fact being thus eſtabliſhed, namely, that there were Omiſſions made by the three firſt Evangeliſts of ſeveral Periods of Time, and, conſequently, of the Miracles performed in them; we now proceed to offer ſome Reaſons for the ſaid Omiſſions of theſe Periods, and more particularly of the Period of *Lazarus,* on which the Omiſſion of his Reſurrection has been ſhewn to depend.

The moſt comprehenſive Hypotheſis is that of an Accommodation uſed by the Writers of the three former Goſpels to the Method and Order of thoſe more early Narratives of the Life of *Chriſt,* which very probably they had in their immediate View, when they wrote with a Deſign to correct what was imperfect, or uncertain, or erroneous in them, not only for the Uſe of the Age they lived in, but to give a more exact Account of *Jeſus*'s Actions and Doctrine for the Uſe of the Church for ever. So that the three firſt Evangeliſts may, very conſiſtently, be conſidered as occaſional Writers, and yet as Writers for Perpetuity. Now it appears from Dr. *Mill*'s *Prolegomena,* [y] that as the chief of the Narratives of *Jeſus,* were the *Goſpels according to the* Hebrews *and the* Egyptians, ſo the three firſt Goſpels were wrote on Occaſion of them, as Part of the Narratives of the many Writers of which [z] *Luke* ſpeaks; namely, for correcting their Errors, and ſupplying their Defects. And accordingly St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, in particular, was wrote in Oppoſition to the *Goſpel according to the Hebrews,* for the immediate Uſe of the converted *Jews,* who had uſed the ſaid imperfect Narrative of *Jeſus.* On which Occaſion Dr. *Mill* writes thus: "[a] For how neceſſary ſoever it was to the Church that ſome good Memoirs of the Life and Actions of our Lord ſhould be wrote by the Apoſtles themſelves, or, which is the ſame Thing, their conſtant Attendants; yet it was ſo ordered by the divine Providence, that thoſe Authors did actually ſet about writing the ſame on occaſion of the fore-mention'd Narratives, becauſe the Affairs of *Chriſt* was unaccurately and unworthily delivered in them." And as for St. *Mark*, Dr. *Mill* firſt premiſes that he made a Diſpoſition of his Narrations for the moſt Part agreeably to the Method and Order of St. *Matthew*; and then he adds, [b] "That tho' he wrote his Goſpel at the Requeſt of the *Romans*, agreeably to the Teſtimonies of the Antients, that they might have by them the Sermons of *Peter* in Writing for their conſtant Peruſal; yet theſe Memoirs of *Mark*, as well as the other Goſpels, ſeem to have been wrote for correcting the Errors, and ſupplying the Defects, of ſome little Narrative of *Jeſus*'s Life and Actions, which probably was then received among the *Romans*." And as for St. *Luke*, the ſame Author tells us to this Effect; "[c] that he wrote his Goſpel with Deſign to correct thoſe imperfect and erroneous Narratives that had been then wrote, by many Perſons, of the Life and Affairs of *Chriſt*; and particularly for correcting what was amiſs in the *Goſpel according to the Egyptians*, and for ſupplying its Defects: That he wrote his Goſpel at *Alexandria*; and that it is probable that he ſubſtituted his accurate Hiſtory of our Lord in the Room of that imperfect Goſpel, which had before prevailed chiefly in the Churches of *Egypt*, and left it to be recurred to and publicly read by them." And as for St. *John*, he aſſures us from *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*, and others, [d] "that he wrote his Goſpel at the Requeſts of the Biſhops of *Aſia*, and as a Supplement (eſpecially before the Impriſonment of *John)* of the other three, the Truth of which he confirmed." He likewiſe wrote occaſionally, as he oppoſed his Account of *Jeſus*'s Divinity to the Hereſies of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who aſſerted two Gods, and diſtinguiſhed between the Maker of the World and the Father of our Lord.

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[r] John vi.
[s] Ver. 14.
[t] Ver. 15.
[u] Ver. 16, &c.
[w] Vide Euſebii Hiſtor. Eccl. l. 3. c. 23. Vide etiam Euſebii Canon. de Evang. Harmon. & Epiſt. ad Carpian.
[x] Vide H. Dodwelli Diſſetrat. in Irenæum, P. 69. Oxon.
[y] V. Millii Prolegom. P. 5. Edit. Oxon.
[z] Luke i. 1.
[a] Page 8. ibid.

And as to the Deſign of *Luke*'s writing his Goſpel, [e] Dr. *Grabe* agrees with Dr. *Mill*, that it was to correct the Errors, and to ſupply the uncertain Accounts, not only of ſeveral Narratives, but chiefly of the *Goſpel according to the Egyptians*. And indeed it is probable that this laſt Goſpel was wrote early by the Chriſtian *Eſſens* [f] that had been converted by *Mark* before *Luke* came into *Egypt*, who, as it is well known from *Philo*, affected a myſtical Turn in all their Writings. And accordingly *Epiphanius* [g] tells us, that "many Things are mentioned in the *Goſpel to the Egyptians* in a diſguiſed and myſtical Manner, in the Perſon of our Saviour." On which Occaſion Dr. *Grabe* immediately adds; "and the Truth of what *Epiphanius* ſays, clearly appears from the Remains of that Goſpel which are now extant." And therefore, tho' it may be ſaid in general of *Matthew*, that he accommodated his Goſpel to that *according to the Hebrews*; and of *Mark*, that he conformed his Goſpel very much to that of *Matthew*, tho' he was not entirely an Abridger of him; yet, this their Accommodation may be beſt illuſtrated by that which was uſed by St. *Luke* to the *Goſpel according to the Egyptians*; namely, by that greater Number of Parables which are recorded by St. *Luke* than by the other Evangeliſts. For theſe Parables anſwer more properly to the diſguiſed and myſtical Way of the *Egyptian* Goſpel, which has juſt now been intimated; and are a Proof that St. *Luke* was ſuch an occaſional Writer as is here ſuppoſed.

To make an Application of this *Hypotheſis* to the preſent Subject, we may now naturally conclude, that as the three former Evangeliſts wrote on Occaſion of correcting ſeveral Narratives, it was natural for them in ſome Meaſure to adapt and accommodate their Method of Writing to that of thoſe Narratives which they corrected. And therefore if it be ſuppoſed that the Hiſtory of *Lazarus* was omitted in thoſe Narratives, as it was natural for thoſe three Writers to imitate the Order of thoſe Narratives, thoſe three Writers likewiſe omitted an Account of *Lazarus*. And ſuch an Omiſſion is fairly accountable from the uſual Practice of Authors who write occaſionally, and correct other Writers on the ſame Subject.

Before we diſmiſs this plauſible *Hypotheſis*, we would draw an Inference or two of ſome Moment from it. One is, that the ſeeming Diſorders of, at leaſt, the two former Evangeliſts, are very eaſily and juſtly accounted for from their being occaſional Writers. The other Inference is, that if the three former Goſpels are occaſional Writings, (and the Fourth confeſſedly is ſo,) there is an End effectually put to that pretended Inferiority of the Epiſtles in the New Teſtament to the Goſpels, which is often inſinuated by Way of Derogation from the Authority of the Doctrines more fully explain'd in the Epiſtles, as they are contemptuouſly ſtiled occaſional Writings. For it hence appears that all the four Goſpels were no leſs occaſional Writings than the Epiſtles themſelves: And conſequently the Authority of the Doctrines of the Epiſtles is hereby in ſome Meaſure vindicated from any ſuppoſed Diminution.

Secondly, This or any other Omiſſion might well be permitted by the Holy Spirit, under whoſe Direction the three former Goſpels, however occaſional they might be, were wrote, upon the Suppoſition of his Fore-knowledge of another contemporary Writer, that ſhould at a more proper Seaſon give a minute and exact Account of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, and ſeveral other Matters then omitted, for the perpetual Benefit of the Church. This is a very reaſonable, and indeed a neceſſary, Suppoſition, ſince ſuch a divine Preſcience cannot poſſibly be called in Queſtion by any Perſon who allows that the Evangeliſts wrote their reſpective Hiſtories of *Jeſus* under the Direction of the Holy Spirit, tho' in an occaſional Manner; and more eſpecially, ſince the Benefit of that Age, as well as of all future Ages of the Church, would have been hereby conſulted: Which muſt be granted to have been a Deſign worthy both of the Holy Spirit, and of the Compilers of the three firſt Goſpels, and that it might *ſeem good to the Holy-Ghoſt* and to *them* at once.

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[b] Page 13, Ibid.

[c] P. 13, 14. Ibid.

[d] P. 22. Ibid.

[e] Vide Grabii Specileg. Patr. Tom. i. p. 32, 33.

[f] Vide Millii Prolegom. p. 6. & Euſeb. H. E. lib. ii. cap. 16, 17.

[g] Vide Epiphan. Hæreſ. 62.

Thirdly, The Story of *Lazarus* might be omitted by the three former Evangeliſts for ſuch a temporary Reaſon as that which is aſſigned by *Grotius.* "[h] It is uſually asked, ſays that learned Author, why the former Writers of the Goſpel did not inſert ſo remarkable a Fact as this of *Lazarus.* The Reaſon of it that occurs to me is this: When they wrote, *Lazarus,* who was raiſed, was then living; and he would have run great Hazard from the *Jews,* if they had then publiſhed what had happened to him. For it is ſoon [i] after mentioned, that on that very Account there was a ſecret Deſign to put him to Death. Wherefore it ſeemed proper to them to be ſilent at that Juncture, and to omit an Account of him; and more eſpecially ſince they recorded other Inſtances of Perſons raiſed again to Life. But when *Lazarus* was dead, and no Hazard was incurred by any one on Account of a Narrative of his Reſurrection, it was added by *John* in his Supplement of what was omitted by the other Evangeliſts." To which *Grotius* immediately, and likewiſe very pertinently, adds, that "*Lazarus* lived after his Reſurrection, if any Credit is due to the Tradition related by *Epiphanius,* [k] the Space of thirty Years; within which Period the other three Evangeliſts wrote their Goſpels." This Obſervation from *Epiphanius,* that *within the Compaſs of thirty Years the three other Goſpels were wrote,* is very much to the Purpoſe, as illuſtrating the Reaſon here aſſigned by *Grotius.* And that Reaſon is much confirmed by *Grotius*'s ſaying, that "it ſeemed proper to the three former Evangeliſts to be ſilent at that Juncture, ſince they recorded other Inſtances of Perſons raiſed again to Life." The Meaning of which is plainly this; That ſince the three former Evangeliſts recorded two Reſurrections of other Perſons, they thought them ſufficient on that Occaſion, in Concurrence with the Reaſon for omitting the Hiſtory of *Lazarus,* as now given from *Grotius.* And that thoſe Inſtances were ſufficient to ſhew *Jeſus*'s Power to raiſe the Dead, on Suppoſition they were real, Mr. *Woolſton* himſelf acknowledges, when he ſays, that "[l] the reſtoring a Perſon indiſputably dead to Life again is a ſtupenduous Miracle, and that two or three ſuch Miracles, well circumſtanced, and credibly reported, are enough to conciliate the Belief of Mankind, that the Author of them was a divine Agent, and inveſted with the Power of God."

This Solution of *Grotius* is preferable to that of Dr. *Whitby,* who ſays, [m] that "it was needleſs for the three firſt Evangeliſts to mention a Miracle concerning a Perſon living ſo near *Jeruſalem,* where there was ſo great a Fame thereof, and ſo many living Witneſſes." For if this Reaſon be good, it would hold more ſtrongly againſt the recording any great Miracles performed not merely near, but at *Jeruſalem*; as they have certainly done. However the Conſideration of the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* to *Bethany,* where *Lazarus* lived after his Reſurrection, adds great Weight to the Reaſon aſſigned by *Grotius*; for he was on that very Account the more expoſed to the Malice of the Rulers among the *Jews*; and therefore it was judged proper by the three former Evangeliſts to paſs over in Silence the Hiſtory of his Reſurrection, that they might not ſo far provoke them by reviving that Story, as to take away the Life of one who was ſo near them, and in their Power.

Laſtly, Tho' we ſhould not be able, after all that has been now offered, to aſſign ſatisfactorily, at this Diſtance of Time, the particular Reaſon why the three former Evangeliſts omitted the Hiſtory of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection; yet their Silence is by no Means ſufficient to balance the poſitive Evidence of St. *John* the Evangeliſt on that Occaſion. For his Teſtimony carries with it an irreſiſtible Authority, as there is the greateſt Reaſon to believe that he was perſonally preſent at *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection with the reſt of the Diſciples, who are [n] ſpoke of in that Narrative in the moſt general and comprehenſive Terms. And St. *John*'s Authority, without taking in the concurrent Teſtimony of the other Diſciples, is fully eſtabliſhed by thoſe Reaſons on which the Authority of all the other Books of the New Teſtament is really founded; that is, on the Atteſtation of the Primitive Church, and indeed of the univerſal Church in all Ages. All the other ſingular Things that are recorded by St. *John,* ſome of which are of the laſt Importance, have been always received by the Church with an equal Degree of Aſſent as the other Things that are recorded by the three former Evangeliſts. For Inſtance, there is no concurrent Teſtimony to eſtabliſh ſo momentous a Point as that of *Chriſt's ſhedding his Blood on the Croſs* by the Wound given in his Side by a Soldier. St. *John* alone, of all the Apoſtles, is mentioned as having been perſonally preſent at the Crucifixion and Death of his Maſter, and on whoſe Atteſtation, as he was an Eye-witneſs, [o] the *ſhedding of his Blood,* as he was *a Sacrifice for the Sins of the World,* does chiefly, if not entirely, depend. To this we may add one eminent Inſtance more, that of [p] *Thomas*'s Incredulity about *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, and the ſubſequent Satisfaction given him by our Lord's permitting him to examine by the Touch the Reality of his Body, and the Marks which the Nails and Spear left in it. And therefore by Parity of Reaſon it muſt be here acknowledged, that as the Reſurrection of *Jeſus* is the greateſt Proof of his divine Authority, and the Examination made by *Thomas* of the Reality of *Jeſus*'s

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[h] Vide Grot. in loc. Johan.

[i] John xii. 10.

[k] Vide Epiphan. in Manich. Hæreſ. l. 2. tom. 2 P. 652. edit. Par.

[l] Diſc. v. p. 3.

[m] In his Note on the Place.

[n] John xi. 7, 8, 12. 16.

[o] See John xix. 25, 34, 35, 36, &c.

[p] John xx. 27, &c.

Body is one of the ſtrongeſt Proofs of his Reſurrection; ſo it is no more ſurprizing, that the three other Evangeliſts omitted the Story of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, than that they omitted ſo convincing a Proof of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*.

V. But it is pretended, "[q] That the firſt Writer of the Life of an Hero makes mention of all the grand Occurrences of it, and leaves no Room for Biographers afterwards, but to enlarge and paraphraſe upon what he has written, *&c.* —If a third or a fourth Biographer after him ſhall preſume to add a more illuſtrious Tranſaction of the Hero's Life, it will be rejected as Fable and Romance, tho' for no other Reaſon than this, that the firſt Writer muſt have been appriſed of it, and would have inſerted its Story if there had been any Truth in it." This is a Criticiſm applied to the Caſe of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*. Now that this Objection is impertinent, and the Allegation in it falſe, will appear very clearly when 'tis reduced into a narrower Compaſs. *That every Thing which is diſtinguiſhing and eminent in the Life of a great Man, muſt neceſſarily be recorded by the firſt Writer of his Life; and that whatever extraordinary Performance is delivered of him by any ſubſequent Writer, muſt therefore be falſe.* For if by any Biographer afterwards be meant any ſubſequent Hiſtorian who was not contemporary, the Criticiſm is not to the Purpoſe: And if one be meant that was contemporary, but wrote ſubſequently in order of Time, the Aſſertion is falſe.

But as we would rather recur to Fact in this Particular, Inſtances ſhall be here produced, that are ſufficient to confute this Criticiſm, both in heroical and philoſophical Hiſtory. In the heroical Way there is a memorable Inſtance in the Life of *Alexander the Great*, as it is recorded by a ſubſequent Hiſtorian, *Joſephus*, but was omitted by all the earlier Hiſtorians, either *Greek* or *Latin*. It is the great Encouragement that was given to *Alexander*, by a Viſion from God, to paſs over into *Aſia* and ſubdue the *Perſian Empire*; as likewiſe the Confirmation of that Deſign by a View of the Prophecy of *Daniel*, which was given him by *Jaddus*, the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt, in which he was aſſured that the *Perſians* were to be conquered by the *Grecian* Arms. And this *Jaddus* was the Perſon whom he had before ſeen in his Viſion, as dreſſed in the ſame Pontifical Habit in which he met him when he came to *Jeruſalem*. So remarkable a Piece of Hiſtory as this has been preſerved only by [r] *Joſephus*. Tho' it was the great Original Incentive of the *Aſiatick* Victories of *Alexander*, it was omitted by all the moſt antient Hiſtorians of *Alexander* that were tranſcribed by *Plutarch* [ſ] on all Occaſions, who, agreeably to *Plutarch*'s Silence about this Matter in his Collection out of them, muſt be preſumed to have been all of them ſilent with Regard to ſo important a Fact, tho' ſome of them recorded Facts of a like Nature, tho' of an inferior Kind. This animating Fact has indeed been doubted of by ſome bold Criticks; but the Truth of it has been eſtabliſhed by [t] *Origen* antiently, and by the moſt learned Biſhop [u] *Lloyd* lately.

In the philoſophical Way, we ſhall mention *Pythagoras* and *Socrates*. With regard to the former, nothing is more diſtinguiſhing in his Hiſtory than that he abſtained from Beans and the Fleſh of Animals, and taught his Followers to do ſo; as fully appears from [w] *Diogenes Laertius*, and [x] *Porphyry*, and [y] *Jamblichus*, in their Lives of that Philoſopher. Whereas it is evident from the Quotations of *Ariſtoxenus*, an early *Pythagorean*, made by [z] *Aulus Gellius*, that this Diſtinction of *Pythagoras* was omitted by that moſt antient Writer of his Life, and moſt diligent Enquirer into Antiquity. Indeed *Ariſtoxenus* affirmed the contrary, that *Pythagoras* eat Beans as often as any other Pulſe or Herbs. And *Ariſtotle* himſelf is cited by *Plutarch*, as affirming that the *Pythagoreans* did not abſtain from the Fleſh of moſt ſorts of Animals. So that here was a great Omiſſion in the firſt Writer of his Life, in not aſſigning what has been the moſt remarkable Diſtinction of *Pythagoras* among the Moderns. The ſame might be ſaid of the Omiſſion of the more antient Writers, and particularly *Tully*, to acquaint us that *Pythagoras* left any Writings behind him; whereas *Diogenes Laertius*, *Jamblicus*, and other later Writers, have informed the World that he did ſo.

As to *Socrates*, *Xenophon* [a], one of his moſt eminent Diſciples, has omitted to tell us that he did ever diſcourſe about phyſical Matters; whereas [a] *Plato*, a contemporary Writer, introduces *Socrates* as diſcourſing about Phyſicks, and Geometry, and Muſick, and not mere Morality. And *Diogenes Laertius*, [b] who lived ſo many Ages after *Plato*, agrees with him, and ſays, that ſome phyſical Treatiſes were aſcribed to *Socrates*.

Other Inſtances about the Omiſſion of any Thing very remarkable and diſtinguiſhing in the firſt Hiſtorian, may be taken from the ſacred Hiſtory. It is obvious that the Books of *Chronicles* were deſigned to be a Supplement to thoſe of *Samuel* and *Kings*, in ſome very material Points; as likewiſe that the Book of *Deuteronomy* was wrote to ſupply the Deficiencies of the other Books of the Law of *Moſes*. The prior Author, or Authors, of the Books of *Kings*, have not recorded the Pride of *Hezekiah* in conſequence of the miraculous Sign he was favour'd with by God, and his ſubſequent Humiliation, that are recorded in the ſupplemental [c] *Chronicles*. This muſt be acknowledged to be a very memorable Incident in the Life of ſo good and pious a King as *Hezekiah*; and conſequently, it is a very remarkable Addition made by a ſubſequent Writer, which was wholly omitted by the earlier Writer of his Life.

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[q] Diſc. v. p. 7, &c. [r] Vide Joſephi Antiquitat. lib. xi. p. 503, 504. Vol. I. Edit. Oxon. [ſ] Vide Plutarch. in Vit. Alexandri.

[t] Vide Origen. Con. Celſ. lib. v. p. 265. [u] See his Letter to Dr. Sherlock, about Jaddus.

[w] Vide Diogen. Laert. in Vitâ Pythagoræ, cum Menagii, &c. Annotat. p. 361, 364, &c. Tom. 2. Amſtel.

[x] Vide Porphyr. in vit. Pythag. p. 200, 201. Edit. Cantab.

[y] Vide Jamblichum in vit. Pythag. p. 107. & in Protrept. p. 159. Ed. Commelin.

[z] Vide Auli Gellii Noct. Atticas. lib. iv. cap. 11. [b] Ibid. Lib. xiv. cap. 3.

[b] Vide Diog. Laert. in vit. Socratis. [c] 2 Chron. xxxii. 25, 26.

As this Inſtance is taken from a good King, ſo another ſhall be now produced from a very bad one. In the Prophecy of [d] *Jeremiah*, we find recorded a moſt extraordinary Interview of that Prophet with King *Zedekiah*, in which is mentioned an Aſſurance given from God by that Prophet to the King, when in the utmoſt Diſtreſs, that *if* Zedekiah *would go forth to the King of* Babylon*'s Princes*, then engaged in the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, *he ſhould live, and the City ſhould not be burnt with Fire; but if he would not ſo go forth, he ſhould not eſcape, and the City ſhould be burnt with Fire.* Now it is certain that this great oracular Deciſion of the Fate of that King and of *Jeruſalem* is not taken the leaſt Notice of in the profeſſed Hiſtory of that Tranſaction, as it is recorded in the ſecond Book of *Kings* and the ſecond Book of *Chronicles*; but is only preſerved in that Part of the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, which gives an hiſtorical Account of the taking and Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by the King of *Babylon*'s Army. Whence it clearly appears, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing and critical Part of the Hiſtory of a great Perſon's Life may be omitted, not only by the firſt but the ſecond Writer of it, and yet it may be very true.

We ſhall now ſubjoin a very remarkable Inſtance out of the New Teſtament, and that more eſpecially proper, as it relates to the preſent Subject of the Reſurrection. It is the Omiſſion not only of the three former Evangeliſts, but of St. *John* himſelf, the ſupplemental Writer, to record that illuſtrious Teſtimony of the Truth of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, which is mentioned by St. *Paul*; namely, that *Jeſus*, [e] after his Reſurrection, *was ſeen of above five hundred Brethren at once; of whom*, the Apoſtle adds, *the greater Part remain unto this preſent, but ſome are fallen aſleep.* As this is a noble Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, conſidered as additional to that of the other Apoſtles, the Force of it ſhall be obſerved in its proper Place. But what it is here cited for, is to give an unanſwerable Inſtance of the Omiſſion made by all the Evangeliſts, of ſo material a Teſtimony as that of a Majority of above five hundred Perſons, who ſaw our Saviour after his Reſurrection; and theſe Perſons that were then living, and therefore were appealed to by St. *Paul* when he wrote that Epiſtle; which, according to the beſt Accounts, was near twenty four Years after *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection. In this Caſe might it not as well be objected, that this Matter of Fact cannot be true; becauſe, if it were ſo, it would not have been omitted by all the Evangeliſts, as being an uncontroulable Teſtimony? But notwithſtanding this Omiſſion of them all, St. *Paul* here cites the Teſtimony of ſo great a Number of Perſons then living: Which he could not poſſibly have done with any Degree of Modeſty as to himſelf, or without the Examination and open Contradiction of others at that Time, if the Fact relating to ſuch a Multitude of living Witneſſes had not been very certain. Here is then as great an Omiſſion as well can be imagined, of a moſt important Teſtimony, in a moſt important Affair, made by all the Evangeliſts, not excepting St. *John*, who wrote a Supplement of their Goſpels. And conſequently St. *Paul* muſt be allowed to have wrote a Supplement about the Reſurrection of *Jeſus* to all the Evangeliſts, even *John* as well as the reſt. This Omiſſion of *John* is indeed more unaccountable than the Omiſſion of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection by the three former Evangeliſts, ſince tho' they were occaſional Writers, he was profeſſedly ſo in ſupplying their Omiſſions. And conſequently, the Omiſſion of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection by the three former Evangeliſts is not at all ſurprizing, when we make a juſt Compariſon of theſe Omiſſions and the Perſons that made them. With regard to St. *John*'s Account of *Lazarus*, tho' our Author in one Place makes him an artful Writer, yet in the very next Page he treats him as one in his Dotage, and above an hundred. But that St. *John* was a very competent Witneſs of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, notwithſtanding his Omiſſion of the Teſtimony of five hundred Perſons given to that of *Jeſus*, is not only evident from his having been preſent at it, but from his giving all poſſible Marks, in his Goſpel and Epiſtles, of a ſound Underſtanding and a faithful Memory, as well as of the divine Aſſiſtance. And of this Aſſertion, not only his ſupplemental Accounts of the Miracles and Diſcourſes of *Jeſus*, omitted by the other Evangeliſts, as well as the Excellency of the Beginning of his Goſpel, are Arguments not to be evaded. And therefore the Reaſon why St. *John*, as well as the other Evangeliſts, omitted the Account of theſe five hundred Witneſſes ſeems to be this, That they thought it unneceſſary to produce it; ſince the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles, as [f] Witneſſes of his Reſurrection choſen by God, was a ſufficient Proof of the Reality of it to all impartial Perſons. And if St. *Paul* ſuperadded that Teſtimony, it was thought proper by him to preſerve the Memory of it, in Order to extort the Aſſent of thoſe incredulous Perſons, who pretended to doubt of the Veracity of the Apoſtles themſelves in their Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection.

And indeed the ſame Reaſon ought to ſatisfy any rational Perſon in his Enquiry, why *Matthew* and *Mark* omitted the Revival of the Widow of *Naim*'s Son, which was ſuperadded by St. *Luke*. For if the Reſurrection of any one Perſon is granted to be ſufficient, there was no Neceſſity for their recording any other Inſtance; ſince the ſame divine Power which raiſed one Perſon from the Dead, is capable of raiſing as many others as it pleaſes to exert itſelf upon.

VI. Having thus, at large, aſſigned ſome Reaſons to ſhew why the three former Evangeliſts omitted that Account of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* which was ſupplied by St. *John*; we ſhall add a Word or two about the Order of the three Reſurrection-Narratives in the ſeveral Goſpels; " [g] which, 'tis pretended, is ſo very unnatural as to create Suſpicions of the Veracity of the Writers of them." Now upon ſuppoſition of the Reality of the Death of theſe Perſons ſaid to be raiſed again, this pretended Order of recording them is merely imaginary and fantaſtical; for if *Jairus*'s Daughter and the Widow of *Naim*'s Son were really dead, they were equally dead with *Lazarus*; and if they were really raiſed, they were equally raiſed with him. How then does it appear that there is ſuch a Difference between them as gives a Precedence in Order to one above another? If there is any Difference at all in theſe Caſes, it is only, as we before obſerved, in the outward Circumſtances of their reſpective Reſurrections; which are not of that Conſequence, but that they may reaſonably be preſumed to be left to the arbitrary Pleaſure of the ſeveral Evangeliſts in reciting and ranging them in Order, as a Thing indifferent. There indeed accidentally occurs leſs Solemnity in the Circumſtances of the one than of the other; but does it follow from hence, that the Reſurrection of each is not equally miraculous? However, ſince it is ſo much inſiſted on, we cannot but obſerve, that if we ſhould allow of a myſtical Gradation in the Circumſtances of theſe ſeveral Reſurrections, from the leſs to the greater Solemnities of them, it would be founded on ſuch a Reality of their Deaths and Reſurections, as is inconſiſtent with our Author's figurative or infidel Scheme. Such a Gradation indeed is very agreeable to the Method uſed by the Evangeliſts, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, on other Occaſions. The former Evangeliſts ſpeak of *Jeſus* chiefly as a Man; St. *John* ſpeaks of him as a God. All the Evangeliſts ſpeak only of the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles, and a few Women that attended *Jeſus* with regard to his own Reſurrection: St. *Paul* aſſures us, as has been obſerved, of the *Teſtimony* of *five hundred Brethren at once.* The Evangeliſts tell us of *Chriſt*'s being preached only to the *Jews*; but St. *Paul* of his being preached likewiſe to the *Gentiles*, and of their being incorporated into the Chriſtian Church, as a *Myſtery hid from Ages and Generations.* It were eaſy to add ſeveral other Inſtances of a gradual Progreſs in Doctrines, as well as Alteration in the Sentiments of the Perſons enlightned by them; but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew that a Gradation from leſs to greater Diſcoveries has been the Order uſed in the Revelation of the Goſpel, and indeed in that of the Law and the Prophets. Therefore tho' any myſtical Interpreter were gratified with ſuch a Gradation in the Circumſtances of the Deaths and Reſurrections of the Perſons recorded in the Goſpels, as is conformable to the Order of the Chriſtian Oeconomy in other Reſpects, yet it would be a Gradation of mere Circumſtances of real Facts; and conſequently would give no manner of Advantage to the Allegory over the Letter, but would indeed both preſuppoſe and eſtabliſh the Deaths and Reſurrections of thoſe three Perſons in the literal Senſe.

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[d] Chap. xxxviii. 17, 18.

[e] 1 Cor xv. 6.

[f] Acts x. 41.

[g] Diſc. v. p. 10, &c

VII. But we now go on to a *ſecond* Objection; "[h] That ſince we hear nothing more of the three Perſons *after* their Reſurrection, there were no ſuch Perſons at all raiſed from the Dead." But that this is too trifling a Suſpicion to be dwelt upon, is evident to any one who conſiders that in prophane Hiſtory many Inſtances occur of Perſons that only appear once, on ſome particular Occaſion, on the public Stage; and having ſerved that Purpoſe, diſappear for ever: So that it can by no means be drawn, as a Conſequence of their appearing no more, that therefore they never appeared at all. And tho' we do not preciſely know how and where *Lazarus* ſpent the reſt of his Life after the Goſpel ceaſes to mention him, yet we have Reaſon to believe that it was to the Honour of *Jeſus*, and the ſpreading of his Religion, of the Truth of which his reſtored Life was an unanſwerable Argument, and indeed a ſtanding Monument. We only know in general, as has been ſhewn from *Epiphanius*, that he lived thirty Years after he had been raiſed by *Jeſus*, according to the antient Tradition of the Church. But do we know more of the future Lives of moſt of the Apoſtles after the Scripture-Accounts of them? For tho' it is certain that they ſpent their Lives in the Propagation of the Goſpel, yet there are extant very few authentic Memorials of their pious Labours; as is well known to all Perſons converſant in the Antiquities of the Church. Did *Lazarus* therefore not propagate the Goſpel at all, becauſe we know not the particular Manner of his doing it? This is no more credible, than that, becauſe many Legendary Stories were made, in the darker Ages, of St. *Patrick* or St. *David*, there were no ſuch Perſons as they who performed great Works of Piety. And if *Lazarus* at firſt abſconded to avoid the Rage of the *Jews*, and probably afterwards went abroad in the Perſecution upon *Stephen*'s Death, is this any Imputation on him, when he thereby ſaved a Life, the Continuance of which was a Demonſtration of *Jeſus*'s divine Authority, and was deſigned to be ſpent in ſpreading his Goſpel?

VIII. With regard to the *third* Objection of Mr. *Woolſton*, againſt thoſe Perſons whom *Jeſus* is ſaid to have raiſed to Life, as [i] "comparatively improper and unworthy of that Favour, and that therefore he raiſed none, or ſhould have raiſed more proper Objects;" it may be replied, That if this Author be conſidered as a Chriſtian, which he pretended to be, he muſt acknowledge, not only that *Jeſus* was a free Agent, and might chuſe whom he thought fit to raiſe; but that he acted agreeably to the Character of a moſt compaſſionate Perſon in raiſing, in particular, the Ruler of a Synagogue's favourite, if not only, Daughter; a Widow's only Son; and his own particular Friend, *Lazarus*. And ſince two or three Inſtances of *Jeſus*'s Almighty Power of this kind will be allowed to be ſufficient, it unavoidably follows, that the Miracle conſiſts in raiſing a dead Perſon to Life, without any regard to the Quality of the Perſon that is ſo raiſed; ſince the Exertion of Almighty Power is the very ſame in raiſing a Perſon of a low, and of a high, Rank and Quality. And again, if our Author is conſidered in the Capacity of a *Jew*, whom he ſometimes perſonates, and whoſe Objections he always applauds, it would have been proper for him to have aſſigned ſome Reaſon, why *Jeſus* might not as juſtly raiſe the Widow of *Naim*'s only Son, as *Elijah* [k] did the Widow of *Zarephath*'s only Son; and to have recollected what greater Abſurdity there is in *Jeſus*'s raiſing the Ruler of the Synagogue's little Daughter, than in *Eliſhah*'s [l] reſtoring to Life the *Shunamite*'s little Son; and again, to conſider the Caſe of *Eliſhah*'s [m] curing *Naaman* the *Syrian* of his Leproſy, when we find nothing recorded of his curing any of his Countrymen, the *Jews*, of that Diſtemper, which prevailed ſo much in *Paleſtine*. And ſince nothing can be more emphatical than what our Saviour himſelf ſaid to the People of *Nazareth* on this Occaſion, we cannot do better than to repeat his own Words [n]. *Many Widows*, ſays he, *were in* Iſrael *in the Days of* Elias, *when the Heaven was ſhut up three Years and ſix Months; when a great Famine was throughout all the Land: But unto none of them was* Elias *ſent, ſave unto* Sarepta, *a City of* Sidon, *unto a Woman that was a Widow. And many Lepers were in* Iſrael *in the Time of* Eliſeus *the Prophet; and none of them was cleanſed, ſaving* Naaman *the* Syrian. Whence it evidently follows, that *Jeſus*, conſidered as a Prophet, was under no greater Reſtraints in the Exerciſe of his Authority, as to his Choice of proper Objects, than *Elias* or *Eliſeus*, the Prophets, were; that is, they were equally free, and acted occaſionally, or as they thought proper themſelves. And ſurely the Friendſhip of *Jeſus* with *Lazarus*, by whom he was hoſpitably received, was at leaſt as juſt an Inducement to raiſe him again to Life, as the hoſpitable Reception of *Eliſha* by the *Shunamite* was to reſtore to Life her little Son.

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[h] Page 15.

[i] Page 19.

To this Head we ſhall only add, that the Perſon choſe by our Author as the moſt proper to have been raiſed by *Jeſus*, was really the moſt improper of any; namely, *John the Baptiſt*. For his peculiar Buſineſs was to be the Fore-runner of *Jeſus*; an Office which he performed, and died. What Reaſon then can be aſſigned for the Revival of one whoſe Duty was diſcharged, and whoſe Office was extinct, as he was the Harbinger of *Chriſt*? But if any one inſiſts on *John*'s great Character, as given by *Jeſus* himſelf, he may gratify his Curioſity in an Enquiry, Whether it is not probable that *John* was one of thoſe many Saints that *had ſlept*, and *aroſe* with *Jeſus*, to adorn the Triumphs of his Reſurrection. And indeed it is very natural to ſuppoſe that ſo eminent a Prophet and Saint, who had the Honour to prepare the Way for him on Earth, might be one of thoſe that were choſe to attend him in his Return to Heaven.

IX. We go on to conſider our Author's *fourth* Objection, namely, that [o] "none of the three "raiſed Perſons had been long enough dead to "amputate (as he politely calls it) all Doubt "of *Jeſus*'s miraculous Power in their Reſurrec-"tion." And to his ſubſequent Argument on this Subject, it may be replied as follows.

Firſt, That tho' it be granted that ſome Perſons have actually revived after they had been thought by unaccurate Obſervers to have been really dead, which they were not; yet this Conceſſion neither favours this Author's Cauſe, nor prejudices the Suppoſition of the Reality of the Death of the three Perſons raiſed by *Jeſus*. For how does it follow, that becauſe ſome unaccurate Obſervations have been made of Perſons falſely ſuppoſed to have been dead, but who were only fallen into long Fits, therefore there are no juſt *Criteria* for accurate Obſervers to make uſe of in determining the Reailty of Death in any Perſon whatſoever?

2dly, That from the [p] Hiſtories of Perſons who have been ſaid to revive, when falſly ſuppoſed to have been dead, it appears that they had revived at very different Periods of Time, ſome ſhort, and ſome long, after they were ſuppoſed to have been dead: And conſequently, an Objection againſt the three Inſtances of Perſons raiſed in the Goſpels, as not after Time long enough, is weak and groundleſs. For Inſtance, the Demand of *ſome Days*, or *two or three Weeks*, for the Widow's Son and *Jairus*'s Daughter, is wholly precarious and unſatisfactory, ſince *Lazarus* really roſe after ſome Days without convincing theſe Objectors, and others are ſaid [q] to have revived after many more Days, or ſome Weeks, who were wrongly ſuppoſed to have been dead; and therefore no fixed Time can be aſſigned in either reſpect.

3dly, That there are juſt and proper *Criteria* of the Reality of the Death of any Perſon, we need not recur for a Proof to the Judgment of learned Phyſicians, ſince it is evident from common Experience. The fallen Jaw, the Stiffneſs and Coldneſs of all the Parts, the altered Face, the natural Purgations, and ſeveral other *Criteria*, are united Demonſtrations of Death to any diligent Obſerver of this great Change of Nature. And when we ſuperadd, to an actual Experience of theſe more obvious *Criteria* of Death, the ſtricteſt Enquiries of a tender Father, ſo ſolicitous for preſerving the Life of his favourite young Daughter as to recur to *Jeſus* at ſome Diſtance with the moſt preſſing Entreaties; when he, in concurrence with the later Account of his attending Servants, abſolutely concluded ſhe was truly Dead, and therefore ceaſed to ſolicite her Recovery; ſurely other Perſons unconcerned and diſintereſted, had then, and now have, juſt Reaſon to acknowledge the Reality of her Death. And thus again, When the ſorrowful Widow, who muſt be ſuppoſed to have tried in vain all proper Methods of ſaving the Life of an only Son, was at laſt obliged, though with great Reluctancy, to part with ſo invaluable a Bleſſing, and to lament her irreparable Loſs; when ſhe acknowledged and atteſted his Death, the Reality of which ſhe cannot but be preſumed to have critically examined, and when ſhe herſelf aſſiſted at the carrying out of her beloved Son to his Funeral; certainly it was upon ſo firm a Conviction of the Reality of his Death, as ought to be ſatisfactory to all others. And as for any Suſpicion [r] of a Colluſion practiſed in the caſual meeting of the Corps of this young Man, as if it was a deſigned and concerted Scheme; it is ſo very weak as to confute itſelf by its Inconſiſtency; as likewiſe does the other ridiculous Suppoſition of *Jeſus*'s chafing his Corps, when we are expreſly [s] told that he only touched the Outſide of his Bier. And once more, [t] If the affectionate Siſters of *Lazarus* were not only convinced of the Reality of the Death of ſo intimate a Friend of *Jeſus*, but actually buried him on that Conviction; and if *Jeſus* himſelf, then at a conſiderable Diſtance from *Bethany*, declared with a prophetical Spirit, and in a poſitive Manner, that he was Dead; if, when he came to *Bethany*, he found that *Lazarus* had been four Days in his Grave by the Account of his neareſt Relations, and that therefore, according to the Notions, and indeed Experience of Perſons in that hot Country, he muſt be preſumed to be offenſive and ſtink; and if ſuch an offenſive Smell muſt be allowed to be the cleareſt Demonſtration [v] of a real and actual Death; all unprejudiced Perſons have juſt Reaſon to acknowledge the Reality of the Death of *Lazarus*, which was confirmed by ſo many ſtrong Probabilities in the Circumſtances of it, as to make the whole amount to a very high degree of Moral Certainty.

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[k] 1 Kings xvii. 17, 22.

[l] 2 Kings iv. 20, 34, 35.

[m] 2 Kings v. 10, 13.

[n] Luke iv. 27, 26, 27.

[o] P. 26, 27, &c.

[p] Vid. Platon. de Republ. l. 10. ſub finem. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 26. c. 3. l. 7. c. 52. & Valer Max. l. 1. c. 8.

[q] Vide Garmannum M. D. de Miraculis Mortuorum: In Diſſertat. Prælim. p. 11, &c. & in lib. p. 1230. &c. Dreſd. & Lipſ. 1709.

But our Author is [w] indecently facetious on the three Days *Jeſus* was in his Grave, and pretends that *Lazarus*'s Stay in his Sepulchre may be reduced into ſuch a narrow Compaſs by the ſame Arithmetick, that he might continue alive there during that ſpace of Time, and act the Part of a Riſing Perſon. Which impious Jeſt might have been fairly ſpared, if he had reflected on the true Meaning of the [x] Word, which we render *four Days*, as applied to *Lazarus*: For it ſignifies no more, in general, than a Perſon or Thing *of four Days*; and therefore the particular Meaning of it muſt be determined from the Circumſtances of the Caſe propoſed. So that tho' *Lazarus* is ſaid to have lain in the Grave *four Days* when *Jeſus* came to *Bethany*, yet he is no where ſaid to have been then *dead* but *four Days*, however the Word *dead* may have been inſerted in our Tranſlation. For no ſuch Conſequence can be drawn, unleſs it can be proved that *Lazarus* was buried the very ſame Day on which he died. Now there are ſeveral Circumſtances in this Hiſtory that favour the contrary Suppoſition. For beſides that *Jeſus*'s Declaration of *Lazarus*'s Death before his Journey to *Bethany*, does not neceſſarily imply that *Lazarus* died that very Moment, or that he had not died ſome Time before, it is certain that *Jeſus* ſtay'd in the ſame Place, in *Peræa*, *two Days* after he had made that Declaration. And ſurely the Diſtance of that Place from *Bethany* required ſome Days for a Journey thither on Foot, as *Jeſus* uſed to travel, even though we conſider *Bethabara* as the Place where he reſided; which Place, if ſomewhat beyond *Jordan*, was probably about twenty ſeven Miles from *Bethany*. This indeed is the loweſt Computation that can be aſſigned; for it is not credible that *Jeſus* retired to, or abſconded in, ſo publick and well-known a Place as [y] *Bethabara* was. For ſuch a Place could by no means be proper for his Concealment.

If it be farther pretended, that the *Jews* buried their Dead immediately, and that therefore *Lazarus* was buried almoſt as ſoon as dead; and that, conſequently, he had been but four Days dead; we anſwer, that there is juſt Ground to doubt of the Univerſality of that Practice amongſt the *Jews*, both from the Reaſon of the Thing and proper Authorities. From the Reaſon of the Thing it appears, that as ſome kinds of Death are of a dubious Nature, and only apparent, it would be ſuch a Want of Humanity to bury any Perſon immediately in ſuch Caſes, as is not to be ſuppoſed practicable by any civilized People. Thus, for Inſtance, the *Greeks* always allow'd of waiting three Days for the Recovery of any that might be only dead in Appearance, and that too in a warm Country. And in point of Authority *Sarah* ſupplies us with a proper Inſtance, as ſhe was not buried till ſome Time after her Death; namely, [z] till *Abraham* had made an Harangue on that Occaſion to the People of the Land, and carried on a Treaty about her Burying-place, and indeed had executed an actual Bargain both for the Cave and Field of *Machpelah* near *Mamre*, and paid the Money due for it. After which *Series* of Actions, that required ſome conſiderable Time, it is expreſly ſaid, that *Abraham buried Sarah his Wife*. And again, we are informed from [a] *Rhaſis*, the famous *Eaſtern* Phyſician, of a Law, that apoplectical Perſons ſhould not be buried for three Days after they were apparently dead. And if this Caution be uſed in one dubious Caſe, the Reaſon of it extends to all others of the like Nature. And though *Maimonides* himſelf acquaints us, that the *Jews* uſually buried their Dead ſoon after they had expired, yet he adds ſeveral Exceptions to that Rule; and we are informed[b] by him (very agreeably to the peculiar Structure of their Sepulchres) that they viſited their Dead for the firſt three Days, in Order to be farther aſſured whether they would revive; after which Space of Time their Face is ſaid to be changed, and more eſpecially in the warmer Climates, to that Degree that the Friends of the Dead deſpaired of their Recovery: So that, if they were buried early, they were attended, and in Effect watched, for ſo long a Time in their Sepulchres; and conſequently, their Rule for not removing the Stone could hold only after thoſe three Days. And from this and the former Conſideration it appears, that the forementiond'd Suſpicion of Artifice in the Caſe of *Lazarus*, is weak and trifling.

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[r] Diſc. V. p. 28.

[s] Luke vii. 14.

[t] John xi.

[v] Vide Garmanni Diſſertat. Prælim. de Cadavere. p. 54.

[w] Page 30.

[x] τεταρταῖος.

[y] It was a Place of Paſſage over the River *Jordan*.

[z] Gen. xxxii. 2—19.

[a] Vid. Queſtorpii (Prof. Roſtoch.) Annotat. in Johan. c. 11 v. 39. apud Bald. Walæi Comment. in Libros Hiſtoric. N. T. Vid. Golii Not. in *Alfragan*. p. 213.—— This Law is here referred to as what prevailed in Arabia and other hot Countries, and therefore by Parity of Reaſon is applicable to the neighbouring Country of *Judea*.

As for any other Suppoſitions, ſuch as that *Lazarus*[c] was capable of "entring into Meaſures with his Lord for propagating his Fame, and that he either faſted ſo long in the Sepulchre, or did privately eat there;" theſe are all deſtroyed at once by a due Reflection on the Circumſtances that are recorded of *Lazarus*'s Burial and Reſurrection. For as *Lazarus* had been buried for four Days; ſo likewiſe, according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*, he is deſcribed as *bound Hand and Foot with Grave Clothes*, and it is ſaid that *his Face was bound about with a Napkin*: In which Condition we are aſſured *he came forth* out of his Grave, at the Command of *Jeſus*; and when he was ſo come forth, that is, being *bound* in all theſe Reſpects, he was ſo far from being able to help himſelf, that *Jeſus* commanded thoſe that were about him to *looſe him, and let him go*. Now, what poſſible Ground remains for the leaſt Suſpicion of Fraud, either in *Lazarus*'s faſting, or eating, or even living in his Sepulchre, when his Face was ſo *ſo bound about with a Napkin* that he could not ſo much as breathe, and his Hands and Feet were ſo bound with his *Grave-clothes*, that he cannot but be conſidered as unable to help himſelf, or ſo much as to ſtir. And that the Hands, and Feet, and Body of a dead Perſon, were, among the *Jews*, tied cloſely and firmly by thoſe Bandages, here called *Grave-clothes*, we refer, for Brevity Sake, to two[d] learned Collectors of the *Jewiſh* Antiquities upon this very Subject. So that the firſt Part of the Miracle conſiſted in this bound and fettered Perſon's being enabled, by the powerful Word of *Jeſus*, to walk and come forth. *Jeſus* could no Doubt have ſtripped him at once of all his *Grave-clothes*; but to prevent all Suſpicion of Fraud, he commanded him to *come forth bound Hand and Foot*, as he was buried; in order to convince all unprejudiced Spectators, and others of that Character by their Teſtimony, that there was no tampering or practiſing with him, either in or out of the Sepulchre.

Moſt ridiculous, therefore, is the next Suggeſtion, namely, "[e] That it would have been ſatisfactory to have ſeen the gradual Alteration of *Lazarus*'s Face at his Reſurrection;" ſince, on the very Reverſe, the taking off the Napkin from his Face before he appeared, would have occaſioned ſome Suſpicion of Artifice. And as to a viſible and gradual Alteration of his Face, the Suppoſition is altogether trifling; ſince, if there were a Miracle performed in this Caſe, it muſt neceſſarily be granted to have been inſtantaneous, and not gradual, as it was produced by almighty Power, which exerted itſelf effectually in a Moment. Theſe monſtrous Suſpicions therefore are confuted by the Fact itſelf; ſince it is evident that he could not live in the Sepulchre without breathing, nor help himſelf when bound and fettered, nor ſtay for a gradual Revival by a new ſucceſſive Commotion of the Blood and Spirits.

X. As the laſt Objection related to this World, ſo our Author proceeds to advance another from[f] "the Silence of thoſe that were raiſed from the Dead by *Jeſus* with regard to the other World." But this Objection is certainly one of the weakeſt that ever was made. For could not thoſe Perſons have been raiſed in Fact, unleſs their Hiſtorians had given an Account of what they reported with Relation to the State of the other World, which was nothing really to the Purpoſe of their Reſurrection? How does any one know whether the Evangeliſts were permitted by the Holy Spirit to drop any Thing relating to the particular State of the inviſible World? St. *Paul* himſelf aſſerts that he had[g] *heard unſpeakable Words in the third*, or the higheſt, *Heaven, which is not lawful for a Man to utter*; or, if not forbid, *could not* be uttered; ſince *Eye has not ſeen, nor Ear heard, neither can it now enter into the Heart of Man, what God has prepared for them that love him?* And, conſequently, they that were raiſed muſt be ſuppoſed to want Ideas for deſcribing the State of the ſpiritual World. Again, How does any one know, whether their Ideas of that State might not have been providentially eraſed, in order to prevent ſuch a Communication of it, as is ill-ſuited to the preſent probational State? Or, again, whether ſuch an Account was not deſignedly omitted by the Evangeliſts; ſince if Men[h] *hear not* Moſes *and the Prophets*, nor *Jeſus* and his *Apoſtles*, *neither will they be perſuaded, tho' one roſe from the Dead*, and revealed the Secrets of the inviſible World. Any one of theſe Suppoſitions, none of which are improbable, is ſufficient to overthrow this imaginary Connection, between a Diſcovery of the ſeparate State, and the Reality of the Death of thoſe Perſons that were raiſed by *Jeſus*. But there was not only no Occaſion for the Evangeliſts to mention any Thing of that Kind, in order to confirm *Jeſus*'s Diſcoveries of another World, becauſe it was beſides their Buſineſs in their Narratives of the three Reſurrections;

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[b] Vid. Lightfoot. in loc. Johan. & Chorograph. e Maimonide & Talmudic. Script.

[c] P. 30, &c.

[d] Vid. Nicolaum de Sepulchris Hebræorum, c. 11, 12. Lugd Bat. 1706. nec non Chiffletium de linteis ſepulchralibus Chriſti, c. 7, 8, [illegible]. Antverp. 1624.

[e] P. 30.

[f] P. 32.

[g] 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3, 4.

[h] Luke xvi. 31.

tions; but becauſe ſuch a Diſcovery was made of the ſeparate State by *Jeſus*'s Doctrine and his own Reſurrection, (which have ſufficiently *brought Life and Immortality to Light*,) that the Addition of any Relations of the ſeparate State, by the three Perſons raiſed to Life again, would have been ſuperfluous, and therefore would have been ſuſpected: Which is the very Caſe of *Plato*[i], in conſequence of his introducing *Erus*, the *Pamphilian*, as revived on the Funeral Pile after a ſuppoſed Death of twelve Days, and giving an Account of the ſeparate State: For this has been thought by *Juſtin Martyr*,[k] and others, to be a mere Fable, contrived in the popular Way, in order to diſguiſe his having borrow'd the Doctrine of a future Judgment from the *Jewiſh* Prophets, as not agreeable to the *Greeks*, and to deter Men from Sin by the horrible Fear of that inviſible State which was deſcribed by *Erus*.

XI. After theſe general Objections, the Author of the *Diſcourſes*[l] acknowledges that he has nothing farther to object to the Letter of the Account of the Reſurrection of the Widow of *Naim*'s Son, but the Shortneſs of the Time in which he lay dead, and the Unfitneſs of his Perſon to be raiſed before others, who he fancies better deſerved ſuch a Reſurrection. But as theſe Objections, unreaſonable as they are, have been already conſider'd, a few additional Reflections will be ſufficient. And the firſt is, How does any one know how long the Widow's Son had been dead? He might, for any Thing our Author has been informed of to the contrary, have lain unburied, or attended, for three Days, as the utmoſt Time, that, as has been ſhewn before, was allow'd among the *Jews* for a Revival in a dubious Caſe. But from what Part of the Story does it appear to him that this was a dubious Caſe? Or, what Probability is there that the young Man's ſorrowful Mother had not carefully conſider'd whether her only Child was in a Fit or not, before ſhe laid him out, and aſſiſted herſelf in carrying him out of Town to his Funeral, according to the Cuſtom of Burying in the *Eaſt*? And indeed the Suppoſition that he might be in a Fit, and in that critical Minute might be brought again to his Senſes by ſome Artifice or Application of *Jeſus*, and not by his mere Word of Command upon his accidentally meeting the Corpſe, is ſo remote a Poſſibility, that whoever can ſwallow it is abſolutely incapable of any Conviction.

In order to palliate ſuch a Poſſibility as this, which is, in effect, equivalent to none at all, more eſpecially when no mechanical Operation was uſed, and the Meeting was caſual, Mr. *Woolſton* found himſelf obliged to fortify his imaginary Poſſibility of Fraud by inſinuating a Detection of Fraud in other Caſes. For theſe are his own remarkable Words; “ eſpecially where the Juggler has been detected in ſome of his other Tricks:” A Detection this, in which he plainly begs the Queſtion; and which neither he, nor any of his Brethren in Infidelity, either antient or modern, have been able to make in any one Inſtance. But conſcious of the Weakneſs of this Suppoſition, he endeavours to buttreſs it up with another moſt unreaſonable Demand; namely, “ that if *Jeſus* had a Mind to raiſe the Widow's Son, in Teſtimony of his divine Power, he ſhould have ſuffer'd him to have been buried two or three Weeks firſt.” But when *Jeſus* by mere Chance, as far as appears, met upon the Road a Corpſe carrying out to its Funeral by the Friends and Relations of the Deceaſed, and was moved with great Compaſſion at the Widow's Tears for the Loſs of her beloved Son, and was therefore willing, even without any Application, to reſtore his Life; is it not very chimerical in our Author to pretend, in theſe Circumſtances, that the Execution of *Jeſus*'s good Intention ought to have been deferred for a Fortnight or three Weeks, and that the Company ſhould have been put to the Trouble of burying him for ſo long a Time, merely to gratify the vain Curioſity of any ſceptical Perſon, who may be ſuppoſed to have doubted whether the young Man on the Bier was dead or not, when none of the Company there could entertain any ſuch Doubt, but were convinced he was really dead?

But as we willingly leave the Unreaſonableneſs of ſuch a Demand to be determined by the common Senſe of Mankind; ſo we ſhall add nothing farther about the pretended Unfitneſs of the Perſon that was raiſed, as having already expatiated upon the melancholy Circumſtances of the Caſe, as well as aſſerted the Freedom of *Jeſus*'s Choice of the particular Objects of his Compaſſion.

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[i] Vid. Platon. de Republic. l. 10.

[k] Vid. Juſtin. Mart. ad Græcos cohortat. p. 101. Ed. Oxon. & Santorell. poſt. Prax. c. 40.

[l] Diſc. v. p. 38.

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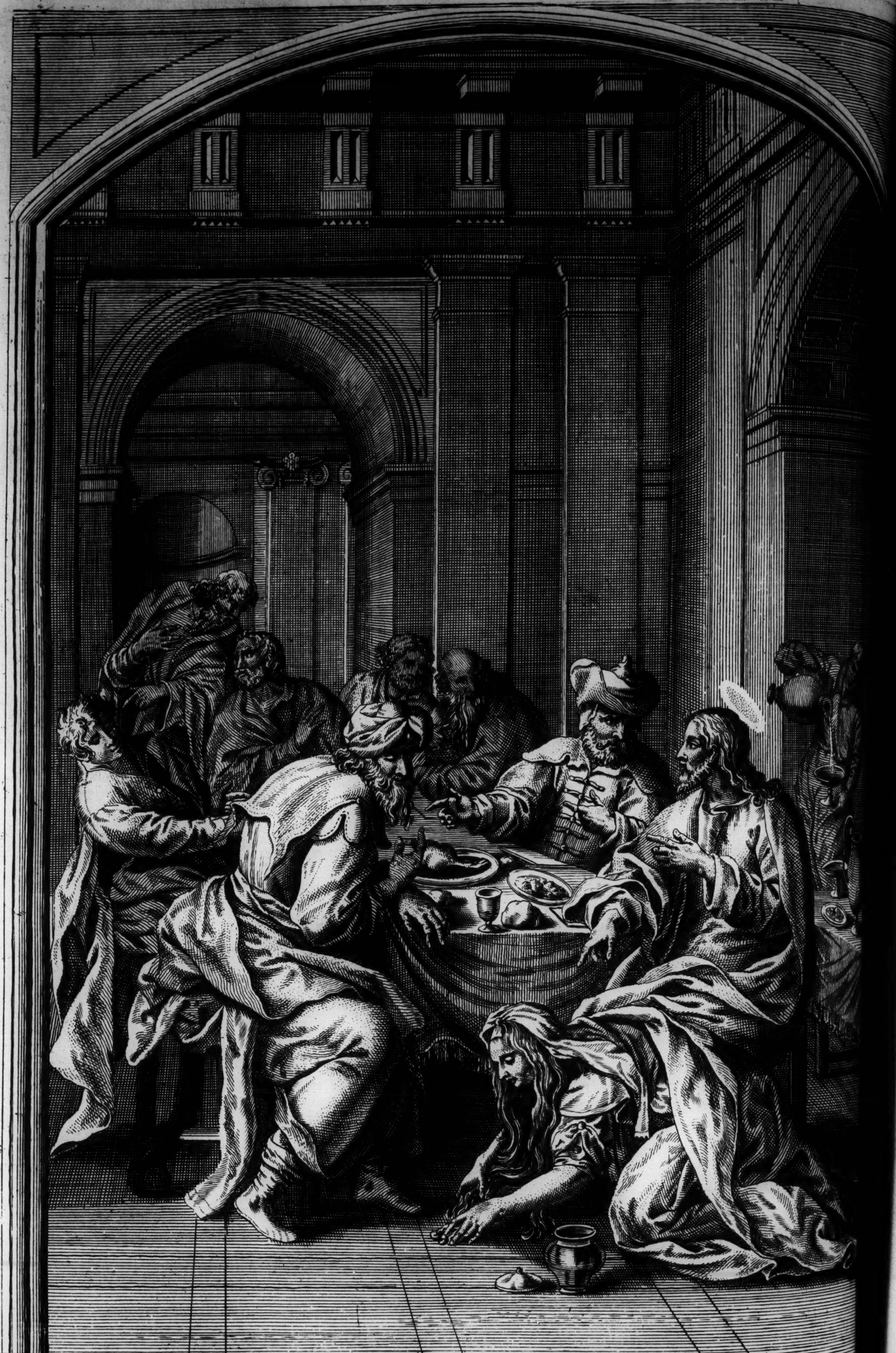

Christ's Feet anointed by a repentant Wom

Luke VII.

CHAP. III.

I. *Jeſus* is invited to the Houſe of a *Phariſee*. A Woman waſhes and anoints his Feet. II. The *Phariſee* doubts. *Jeſus* puts a Queſtion, and is anſwered by him. III. *Jeſus* applies the *Phariſee*'s Anſwer to the Caſe of the Women. IV. He forgives the Woman her Sins, *&c.* V. He continues his Progreſs, accompanied by the twelve Apoſtles, and certain Woman. VI. He diſpoſſeſſeth an Evil Spirit. The *Scribes* and *Phariſees* calumniate him. VII. VIII. By Way of Anſwer to the *Phariſees*, *Jeſus* delivers certain Similitudes, and reaſons on them. IX. He condemns them for their falſe Judgment, *&c.* X. He denies to ſhew them a Miracle, and threatens them for their Obſtinancy. XI. His Mother, *&c.* come to him. Who are his Relations in a ſpiritual Senſe.

I. THOUGH[a] *moſt of the* Phariſees *were Enemies to* Jeſus, *yet ſome of them had a greater Senſe of Humanity, and were more obliging to him: Among theſe was one* Simon, *who at a certain Time invited him to Dinner; which* Jeſus *accepted of. While he was at this Entertainment, there fell out a very remarkable Accident: For having placed himſelf at the Table with the other Gueſts, a certain Woman of that Town, who had led a looſe Life, but had lately been converted by the Preaching of* Jeſus, *hearing that he was invited to the Banquet, took a Box of Ointment, and went with it to the* Phariſee's *Houſe; and entering the Room where the Feaſt was ſerv'd up, ſhe ſtood at* Jeſus's *Back, and wept ſo violently, that her Tears run down upon his Feet, which ſhe wip'd with the Hair of her Head, and kiſſed, and anointed with the Ointment ſhe had brought with her.*

II. [b] *The* Phariſee *obſerving this, thought within himſelf, that if* Jeſus *were a Prophet, he would have known the Quality of the Woman, and therefore would not have permitted her ſo much as to touch him, leſt any might take Occaſion from thence to defame him. But* Jeſus, *not unacquainted with the* Phariſee's *Reflection, thus addreſſed himſelf to him:* I have one Queſtion, *ſaid he,* to put to thee. Simon *told him he was ready to hear and anſwer it. Then ſaid* Jeſus, A certain Man had two Debtors, to one of whom he had lent five hundred Pieces of Money, to the other fifty. Neither of them being in a Condition to diſcharge their ſeveral Debts, he frankly forgave them both. Now the Queſtion that I aſk thee is, Which of the two, thinkeſt thou, will have the greateſt Senſe of the Favour beſtowed on them? Simon *told him, that in all likelihood he who was diſcharged from the greateſt Debt, would make the moſt grateful Acknowledgment of the Kindneſs of his Benefactor; at leaſt the Difference between the Benefits ſeems to ſuppoſe a proportionable Return of Gratitude.*

III. [c] Jeſus *approv'd of his Anſwer, and turning himſelf towards the Woman,* Do you ſee this Woman, *ſaid he?* Now behold an Inſtance of the very Caſe I propounded to thee. You, who do not think yourſelf under any great Obligation to me, have received me no otherwiſe than Men generally receive a common Acquaintance, or one to whom they think themſelves not much, if any thing at all indebted; but this Woman, who looks upon herſelf as under an extraordinary Obligation to me for having been converted by my Means, hath given this extraordinary Demonſtration of her Gratitude. When I came into your Houſe, I had not that common Civility ſhewn me as the Offer of Water to waſh my Feet with; but ſhe hath bath'd them with her Tears, and wip'd them with the Hair of her Head. Thou ſcarce ſaluted'ſt me when I came into thy Houſe; but ſhe hath not ceaſed to kiſs my Feet. Thou gaveſt me not ſo much as common Oil to anoint my Head with, and ſhe hath anointed my Feet with coſtly Ointment. The Height of her Gratitude ariſes from the Forgiveneſs of her repeated Sins; but he who has receiv'd Pardon but of a few or leſſer Faults, is ſeldom found to be ſo zealous in his Acknowledgment.

IV. [d] *Theſe were the Reaſons that prevail'd with* Jeſus *to ſuffer her to waſh and anoint his Feet; and for a Reward and Encouragement of her Piety,* Jeſus *further told her, Her Sins were pardon'd. Which when the Gueſts heard, they wonder'd by what Authority* Jeſus *pardon'd Sins; which ſeem'd to belong to God only.* Jeſus, *though he knew the Reflections they made upon it, turning himſelf to the Woman, diſmiſs'd her in theſe Words:* The Truſt thou hadſt in me, as one ſent by God, has been ſalutary to thee; go thy Way, and be aſſur'd of thy Felicity.

V. [e] Jeſus *afterwards continued his Progreſs through* Judea, *and, according to his uſual Cuſtom, publiſh'd his Goſpel in every Town and Village, being conſtantly attended by the twelve Apoſtles whom he had lately made choice of. Moreover, he was accompanied by ſeveral Women, on whom he had wrought Miracles, by curing them of their Diſtempers, and caſting the Evil Spirit out of them. The moſt eminent among theſe were* Mary, *ſurnam'd* Magdalene, *out of whom* Jeſus *had caſt ſeven* Dæmons; Joanna, *the Wife of* Chuz, *an Officer of* Herod Antipas *Tetrarch of* Galilee; Suſanna; *and divers others whoſe Names I omit. Theſe ſupplied* Jeſus *and his Diſciples with all Things neceſſary, and aſſiſted them in the publiſhing of the Goſpel.*

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[a] Luke vii. 36, 37, 38.

[b] Ver. 39—43.

[c] Ver. 43—47.

[d] Ver. 48, 49, 50.

[e] Luke viii. 1, 2, 3.

VI. [f] *While*

VI. [f] *While he was thus employ'd in promulgating his Goſpel, there was brought unto him a certain Man, ſo grievouſly tormented with an evil Spirit, that he was thereby deprived of the Uſe both of his Eyes and Tongue; whom* Jeſus *cur'd immediately, and perfectly reſtor'd to his Sight and Speech. The whole Multitude that had been Eye-witneſſes of the Miracle, ſtood amaz'd at it, and for this Reaſon ſuſpected him to be that King that was to be deſcended of the Family of* David, *and whom the* Jews *were now in Expectation of: But ſome of the* Phariſees *and Doctors of the Law, who were arrived from* Jeruſalem, *told them that* Jeſus *did not caſt out the evil Spirits by the divine Power, but by the Aſſiſtance of* Beelzebub, *Chief of thoſe evil Spirits; that he was himſelf poſſeſs'd by that Demon, and acted by his Authority.*

VII. [g] *When* Jeſus *underſtood that this Calumny had been divulged by them, though he himſelf had not heard them, he confuted it with theſe Similitudes.* If, *ſaid he*, a Kingdom, a City, or a Family, be diſtracted by Factions and Parties, 'tis impoſſible that Kingdom, City, or Family, ſhould continue long in Safety. In like Manner, if theſe evil Spirits be thus at Variance one with another, their Empire muſt quickly fall, and they ceaſe being formidable to Man; which is a Point you will not allow. You ſay it is by the Authority of *Beelzebub* that I caſt out the evil Spirits, and offer no Reaſon for your Calumny. If a Man ſhould retort it upon your Diſciples, who pretend to have the like Authority over the *Demons*, without producing any Ground for ſuch a Calumny, Would you think he had any Right thus to detract from them? What Defence ſoever they are able to make for themſelves, conſider I ſhall have an equal Right to it; and take notice, that this Injurious Calumny of yours will be condemned by whatever Anſwer they can make upon ſuch an Occaſion. But if I baniſh the *Demons* from the Bodies of Men by the Power of God, and it is not to be denied by you; all muſt then conclude that I have been ſent by God to Men, with the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of God.

VIII. [h] Can a Man rob another, a valiant Perſon, and deſpoil him of his Goods before his Face, and while he is able to defend them? He can only expect to do it with Impunity after having bound him, or otherways ſecured him from making any Oppoſition. Thus it is that I lay waſte and deſtroy the Empire of the *Demons* by caſting them out of the Bodies of Men. Know you not that proverbial Saying? *He that is not with me is againſt me; he that gathereth not with me ſcattereth abroad:* Which ſignifies that Neuters are often looked upon as Enemies. How can you then poſſibly ſuſpect me to be a Favourer of thoſe evil Spirits, who am ſo far from being a mere Spectator of the Miſfortunes they afflict Men with, that I oppoſe them in every Thing I do and ſay? It being then thus manifeſt, that my Deſign is by the Ruin of the Devil's Empire to enlarge the Kingdom of God, you may take notice that in thus calumniating my Miracles, as proceeding from the Aſſiſtance of the evil Spirit, you have incurred the Guilt of the moſt heinous of all Crimes, and are become obnoxious to the moſt dreadful of all Puniſhments: For any Sin whatſoever, any impious Act or Saying, ſhall be forgiven Men upon their ſincere Repentance; but this Calumny againſt the Miracles I have performed by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt ſhall never be forgiven thoſe that have been Eye-witneſſes of them, becauſe ſuch Men are ſo degenerated, that it would be next to an Impoſſibility to reclaim them. Whoever ſhall detract from me, not having known me, nor the Reaſons which manifeſt my Authority; if this Man, when he comes to be acquainted with them, retract his Error, and repent of ſuch his Detraction, he may obtain Forgiveneſs. But whoever having ſeen the Miracles I have wrought by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall obſtinately continue to calumniate them, can by no other Argument be induced to repent, and conſequently cannot expect any Mercy from God. *Theſe Things were ſaid by* Jeſus, *becauſe the Phariſees and Doctors of the Law had declared his Miracles were performed by a Power derived from the evil Spirits.*

IX. [i] *He then continued to ſpeak unto them to this Effect:* Either pronounce the Tree good, by reaſon of the good Fruit it bears; or if you condemn it, ſhew us the bad Fruit it has produced; for the Tree is known by its Fruit: If I exhort Men only to the Purſuit of Virtue, you ought to infer that my Exhortation proceeds from a Diſpoſition inflam'd with a Zeal for Virtue; or if you cenſure my Actions as proceeding from an evil Temper, you ought to warrant this Cenſure, by producing an Inſtance of ſomething evil in my Doctrine. But O you degenerated Race of Men, ſo truly like envenom'd Serpents, 'twill be impoſſible for you to be more candid in your Judgments, while you continue thus debas'd by Wickedneſs: For being plung'd in Vice, the Diſcourſe muſt ſavour of the general Corruption: Whereas there is a beauteous Harmony in every thing a good Man ſays and does; and the different Expreſſions of theſe Men diſcover the different Notions they are both ſtock'd with. But I forewarn you, that Men ſhall be ſeverely puniſh'd hereafter for every Word that ſhall be pronounced with a Deſign to draw Men off from the Purſuit of Virtue: For were there no ill Conſequence attending it, your Words are the Demonſtration of the inward Frame and Temper of your Mind.

X. [k] *After* Jeſus *had ſaid this, ſeveral of the Lawyers and* Phariſees, *not out of any Love of Truth, but merely to tempt him, deſired him to perform ſome Miracle before them. But* Jeſus, *who was not wont to refuſe this Favour to ſuch as really ſtood in need of this Conviction, and deſir'd it out of a Principle of Piety, thus replied:* This depraved and vicious Age, whatever Pretences they make to the true Worſhip of God, require a Miracle from me, as if I had not hitherto perform'd any; but they ſhall receive no other from me to induce them to believe on me, than a Miracle like to that of the Prophet *Jonas:* For as that Prophet continued three Days in the Belly of the Whale that had ſwallowed him up, out of which he was deliver'd alive and unhurt, in like manner ſhall I riſe again after I have been buried three Days in the Sepulchre. In the Day of Judgment the Example of the *Ninevites* ſhall be objected to the Men of this Age, and ſhall be one Argument for their Condemnation: For the Inhabitants of that City repented at the Preaching of the Prophet; but the preſent *Jews* are not in the leaſt affected with the Words and Miracles of a Perſon much greater than *Jonas.* They ſhall alſo be reproached with, and condemned by, the Example of the Queen of the *Sabœans,* who came from the remoteſt Part of *Arabia* to be a Witneſs of the Wiſdom of *Solomon,* and return'd into her Country after ſhe had heard his Diſcourſes with Admiration; whereas there is among the *Jews* of this Age one infinitely ſnperior to *Solomon,* and yet they lightly eſteem his Doctrine: But let them take notice of the Puniſhment that attends their Obſtinacy. When the evil Spirit hath been diſpoſſeſſed of the Body of any Perſon, and is prohibited from re-entring for ſome Time, he wanders about in Solitudes in queſt of ſome Place to reſt in; but finding none, he bethinks himſelf at laſt of the Habitation from which he had been of late expelled. If the Perſon in whoſe Behalf Providence hath ſo graciouſly concerned itſelf, do not prove the better for ſo great a Benefit, the *Demon* at his Return will find a free Admiſſion, and the Place like to a Houſe cleanſed, and ſet in Order to receive a long expected Friend. The evil Spirit finds Room, even enough for many others worſe than himſelf, which comes to paſs by the juſt Judgment of God upon the Impenitency of that Man, who ſlighted ſo great a Mercy; and this latter Condition of the Man will be much worſe than when he was before poſſeſſed with the evil Spirit. The like Afflictions ſhall happen to the *Jews* of this Age, if after all the Wonders I have wrought among them, and the Means I have uſed to ſet them free from their Crimes and Vices, they take no Notice of my preaching and Miracles, and continue in a Courſe of Wickedneſs; God will give them up to themſelves, and in this deplorable Condition they ſhall grow worſe, and draw down God's ſevereſt Judgment upon them.

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[f] Matth. xii. 22, 23, 24. Mark iii. 22. [g] Matth. xii. 25—28 Mark iii. 23—26. [h] Matth. xii. 29—32. Mark iii. 27—30.
[i] Matth. xii. 33—37. [k] Matth. xii. 38—45.

XI. [1] *While* Jeſus *was thus diſcourſing to the Multitude round about him, his Mother and ſome of his Relations came thither, and were deſirous to ſpeak with him; of which he was informed by ſome of the Auditory, they not having been able to preſs through the Crowd.* Jeſus *then ſtretching his Hand out, and looking round upon his Diſciples and Hearers;* All theſe, *ſaid he,* are of my Family, who have diligently heard my Doctrine, who embrace the Goſpel with Sincerity, and are reſolved to live in Obedience to the Laws of it: Theſe are to me inſtead of a Mother, and the neareſt Relations; whom I am commanded to take care of, and not only of thoſe that are allied unto me by Conſanguinity.

DISSERTATION.

Illuſtrating ſeveral Paſſages in the preceding Chapter.

I. *Of* Simon *the Phariſee. Of the Woman who anointed our Saviour's Feet. Why ſhe was called a Sinner.* II. *Of the Women who miniſtred to* Jeſus. *Whether* Mary Magdalene *were ſhe who had before anointed his Feet.* III. *What is meant by miniſtring to him. This could give no Ground for any ill Suſpicion.* IV. *Of* Beelzebub, *and caſting out Devils by him.* V. *Proofs that the* Jews, *in the Time of our Saviour, practiſed exorciſing of* Demons. VI. *Whom our Saviour meant by the Sons of the Phariſees. That the Caſting out of Devils was looked upon by the* Jews *as a ſupernatural Thing.* VII. *That ſuppoſing the* Jews *could caſt out Devils independently of our Saviour's Authority, this was no Derogation from that Authority as practiſed by himſelf.* VIII. *Of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. Whether the Phariſees who abuſed our Saviour were guilty of it.* IX. *Some Phraſes in our Saviour's Diſcourſe on this Subject explained.* X. XI. XII. *Dr.* Whitby's *Opinion of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and of its Difference from all other Blaſphemies, and of the Reaſons why it cannot be forgiuen.*

I. THE Deſign of this Diſſertation being to clear up ſeveral Particulars of the preceding Chapter, ſome of which have no Connexion with one another, we ſhall follow the Order of the Facts therein related, and produce our Obſervations juſt as they ſtart from the Subject, as we have done in ſeveral other miſcellaneous Diſcourſes that may be found in this Work. And here the firſt Thing that offers itſelf, is an Enquiry who the Perſons were that are mentioned above, as preſent at ſome of the Tranſactions there related.

The firſt of theſe Perſons is *Simon* the Phariſee, who invited our Lord to an Entertainment, in order, as may be ſuppoſed, to obſerve the private Converſation of one who had made ſo much Noiſe in his Country. We have before ſhewn what the Phariſees were, and how little apt they ſeemed, on every Occaſion, to favour either *Jeſus* or his Doctrine: And therefore we might juſtly wonder that a Perſon of that Denomination ſhould ſo far diſtinguiſh *Jeſus,* who was an Object either of the Contempt or Hatred of all that Sect, were it not for ſome ſuch Reaſon as we have now aſſign'd; for we do not find that *Simon*, any more than his Brethren in general, believed *Jeſus* to be the Meſſiah. As to any other Circumſtance of this Phariſee's Life or Character, that diſtinguiſhed him from the reſt of his Sect, we have no ground to offer ſo much as at any Conjecture, more than this; That we may ſuppoſe from this Action of his to our Lord, that he was a Man of more Politeneſs and Generoſity than moſt of his Brethren, who were generally remarkable for the Stiffneſs of their Behaviour, and their unſufferable Pride towards Perſons of a different Denomination.

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[1] Matth. xii. 46——50. Mark iii. 31——35. Luke viii. 19, 20, 21.

Whilſt *Jeſus* was at the Houſe of this Phariſee, there came to him a Woman, who, we are told, *was a Sinner*. The word *Sinner* here, according to ſome, ſignifies no more than *Gentile*, or *Heathen*: According to others, it intimates that ſhe was a Harlot, or Woman of the Town; one of a lewd and ſcandalous Life. The Apoſtle *Paul* ſpeaks of [a] *Sinners of the Gentiles*: And our Lord mentions Sinners in the ſame Senſe, [b] when he tells us that *Sinners love thoſe that love them*, and *Sinners lend to Sinners*. In like manner we find Publicans joined with Sinners in ſeveral Places, to intimate that a Publican, tho' by birth a *Jew*, was as hateful and ſcandalous as a *Heathen*, which is what we are in thoſe Places to underſtand by Sinner. This is manifeſt from that Paſſage, in which our Lord commands concerning a Perſon who would not liſten to wholeſome Admonition, that he ſhould be eſteemed [c] as an *Heathen Man and a Publican*. All theſe Places favour the firſt Interpretation. But then it is alſo true that [d] *Publicans* and *Harlots* are put together, by way of reference to the Infamy of their Callings; and ſo *Sinner*, as applied to this penitent Woman, may ſignify one that had been a Whore; which Interpretation is likewiſe very reconcileable with the former; the Trade of Proſtitution being ſo very common among the *Gentiles*, that the Word [e] *Sinner*, by which a *Gentile* was generally underſtood, might probably be put for one who was notorious for that *Gentile Sin*, as we frequently call Man remarkable for any Vice, by the Name of ſome Country, or Town, in which that Vice is reputed to be moſt predominant. Thus much concerning the Title of *Sinner*, applied to this Woman. Who this *Sinner* was, is what we are next to enquire.

II. In the [f] next Chapter after that in which the Entertainment at *Simon*'s Houſe is related, the Evangeliſt mentions *certain Women*, who accompanied *Jeſus* in his Travels, and *miniſtred to him of their Subſtance*, having before *been healed by him of evil Spirits and Infirmities*. Of theſe Women he Names three; the firſt of which Number is *Mary Magdalen*, [g] *out of whom*, ſays the ſacred Author, *went ſeven Devils*. Some imagine that as theſe Stories ſo immediately follow one another, this *Mary Magdalen* was the *Sinner* beforementioned; and that the ſeven Devils which are ſaid to be caſt out of her, are not to be taken literally, but as an Expreſſion to ſignify the great Change that was wrought in her Converſion, when of one of the moſt wicked, ſhe became one of the moſt pious of her Sex. But this Conjecture is grounded at leaſt on very uncertain Circumſtances; whereas Dr. *Hammond* thinks it demonſtrative that *Magdalen* and the ſaid *Sinner* were different Perſons. Thoſe who are curious may conſult his Note on this Hiſtory; for we will not be prolix on a Matter of ſo little Importance.

What is certain concerning *Mary Magdalen*, is, that after her Converſion, ſhe was one of the moſt conſtant Followers of *Jeſus*; that ſhe attended him in his laſt Journey from *Galilee* to *Jeruſalem*, and was [h] at the Foot of the Croſs with the holy Virgin; that ſhe continued upon Mount *Calvary* till the Saviour of the World gave up the Ghoſt, and after that ſaw his Body put into the Tomb; that then ſhe returned to *Jeruſalem*, to buy and prepare Perfumes, in order to embalm him when the Sabbath was over; and that going early [i] on the firſt Day of the Week, with *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Salome*, to the Sepulchre, ſhe was made a Witneſs of the Reſurrection, the News of which ſhe carried to the Apoſtles. Thus the Scripture gives an Account of her. After this, we are [k] told, ſhe went to *Epheſus* upon the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, and abode always with St. *John* 'till ſhe ended her Days by Martyrdom. As to her Condition of Life, ſome affirm ſhe was a Widow; others ſay ſhe always liv'd in Virginity. If this latter be true, 'tis intirely inconſiſtent with her being the great *Sinner* who waſhed the Feet of *Jeſus* with her Tears.

Her Surname of *Magdalen*, is thought by many to come from her being of *Magdala*, a Town of *Galilee* beyond *Jordan*; or of *Magdalos*, a Town on this ſide *Jordan*, at the foot of Mount *Carmel*. But the *Rabbies* mention a *Mary Magdalen*, who was ſo called, not from the Place of her Nativity, but becauſe ſhe was a Seamſtreſs by Profeſſion; the Word *Magdala*, which properly ſignifies a *Tower*, bearing an Alluſion to the high Head-dreſſes, which were worn by the Women of that Time, and which it was her Buſineſs to prepare.

Joanna the Wife of *Chuza*, and *Suſanna*, the other two Women mentioned by St. *Luke*, as miniſtring to our Lord in his Travels, are not taken notice of on any other Occaſion throughout the Goſpels. We learn, however, from the Context, that they were Perſons who had been delivered by him either from evil Spirits or bodily Infirmities; and we may conclude from this Act of their Piety, that they were ſtedfaſt Believers, and conſequently Women of unſpotted Virtue and ſtrict Holineſs, at leaſt after their adhering to *Jeſus*. As to the legendary Stories that have been invented of them, as well as of almoſt all other Perſons that happen to be once mentioned in the New Teſtament, we think them not worth our Notice: And indeed the wiſeſt Part of the *Romaniſts* have given up a Multitude of theſe Fables.

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[a] Gal. ii. 15. [b] Luke vi. 32, 33, 34, [c] Matth. xviii. 17. [d] Matth. xxi. 31. [e] ἁμαρτωλὸς
[f] Luke viii. [g] Ver. 2. [h] John xix. 25. [i] Mark xvi. 1, 2, &c. Luke xxiv. 1, 2, &c.
[k] Vide Modeſt. ap. Photium.

III. Theſe Women are ſaid to have *miniſtred to* Jeſus *of their Subſtance:* To come at the true Notion of which Phraſe, we muſt enquire in what Senſe the Word [l] *miniſter* is uſed in other Places of Scripture where it is found. Now this Word, in the common Senſe, is well known to be taken for any kind of Service or Miniſtry. Such was that of the Diſciples, who waited upon the Prophets, and did their ſervile Offices: And ſo in the [m] New Teſtament, a [n] *Deacon*, or *Miniſter*, means ſuch a Diſciple. But omitting this common Notion of the Verb *miniſter*, we ſhall find it beſt interpreted to the preſent Purpoſe by conſidering it only as it refers to one particular Office of Servants, that of waiting at Feaſts. For we find among the antient Cuſtoms at Feaſts [o], that the Waiters or Miniſters diſtributed the Portions, firſt to the Maſter of the Feaſt, and then to the Gueſts, each of them in Order, according to the Directions they had received, or according to the Rule of Equality when they were not directed. Agreeable to this Cuſtom are thoſe Words of our Saviour, when ſpeaking of a Maſter that entertains his Servants, he ſays, [p] *That he ſhall gird himſelf, and make them to ſit down to meat, and will come forth and ſerve them.* This Office of diſtributing Proviſions belonged primarily to the [q] *Governor of the Feaſt.* And thus we read of *Chriſt*, that when he entertained the Multitudes, he acted the Part of the *Governor*, and [r] *when he had given Thanks gave to his Diſciples, and they to the People*, to every Man ſingly his Portion. From which Feſtival Cuſtom, ſet down in all its Parts, we may learn the Office of the firſt Deacons in the Church, who were to diſtribute to the Poor, as every one had need, under the Apoſtles as chief Diſpenſers, from whom they thus took off the greateſt Part of the Toil: And ſo in like Manner at the Adminiſtration of the Euchariſt, they diſtributed the Wine and Bread which the Biſhop or Prefect had conſecrated. But to the former of theſe Offices, that of diſtributing to the Poor, the Word *Miniſtring* in Scripture peculiarly belongs, which makes good the Senſe in which we take it. This might be proved from [ſ] a great many Paſſages in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the epiſtolary Writings. Hence the Emperor *Julian*, ſpeaking of the *Galilæans*, as he ſtiles the Chriſtians, mentions [t] *their Feaſts of Love and Entertainments, and Diſtribution at Tables, by which*, ſays he, *they allured many to their Religion.* To all this Authority we need only add, that what ſome diſpenſed as Officers and Miniſters of others Liberality, that alſo others did out of their own Eſtates: And ſuch Diſpenſers as theſe latter, were the Women here ſaid to have followed *Jeſus*, and to have miniſtred to him of their Subſtance. Such alſo were [u] *Oneſiphorus* and [w] *Phœbe*, which latter the Apoſtle calls the *Servant or Miniſter of the Church in* Cenchrea.

Dr. *Whitby* obſerves [x] from St. *Jerome*, that the Practice was very frequent among the *Jews*, for the Women, eſpecially Widows, to wait upon, and adminiſter Neceſſaries to their Teachers. Therefore what was done in this kind for our Lord, by Perſons who owed to him the Health of their Bodies, and perhaps Life itſelf, as well as the Salvation of their Souls, could not give Ground to any ill Suſpicion in the moſt prying and malicious of his Enemies at that Time. To which we may add, that what was done for him, was, we may ſuppoſe, done in common alſo for his Diſciples, who, thro' their Attendance on him, were rendered incapable of providing for themſelves in the ordinary Way of their ſeveral Callings.

IV. The next Thing that falls under Conſideration, is the Calumny of the *Phariſees* againſt our bleſſed Lord, upon his caſting a Devil out of one that was blind and dumb, [y] *ſo that the Blind and Dumb both ſpake and ſaw.* For *when all the People ſaw* this Miracle, *and were amazed, and ſaid, Is not this the Son of* David; the *Phariſees* replied, *This Fellow doth not caſt out Devils, but by* Beelzebub *the Prince of the Devils.* It hath been a Queſtion, which is the true Reading in this Place; whether *Beelzebul*, as the *Greek* Copies have it, which ſignifies the *God of Ordure*; or *Beelzebub*, as the Vulgate renders it, and as it is rendered in our *Engliſh* Bibles, ſignifying *the God Fly*, or *the God of a Fly:* But of theſe two moſt Criticks prefer the latter, and the *Hebrew* of the Old Teſtament favours them herein. *Beelzebub*, or *Baalzebub*, was a *Philiſtine* Idol, called in Scripture [z] *the God of* Ekron. His Worſhippers conceived him to have Power over all hurtful Flies, which they imagined he drove out of their Region. 'Tis not improbable that by this Name was ſignified the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who is ſometimes called *the God that caught, and drove away Flies.* *Pliny* calls this God of *Paleſtine* by almoſt the [a] ſame Name he is called by in the Old Teſtament, and reports, [b] that the *Cyrenæans*, when any Plague of Flies came on them, ſacrificed and prayed to him, on which the Flies immediately died. Thoſe who are for reading his Name *Beelzebul*, ſuppoſe him to be ſo called by the *Jews* in Deriſion; that Word ſignifying, as we before obſerved, *the God of Ordure.*

It appears from the Words of the *Phariſees'* Charge on our Saviour, that this Idol was in high Repute at that Time amongſt the Heathens: For, in all likelihood, it was from their calling him the *Prince*, or *Chief of Gods*, that the *Jews*, by way of Oppoſition to the Idolatry of their Neighbours, named him *the Prince of Devils.* And this

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[l] διακονεῖν.

[m] John xii. 26. comp. with Luke vi. 40. Matth. x. 25.

[n] διάκονος.

[o] There are ſeveral Inſtances of this Cuſtom in Lucian.

[p] Luke xii. 37.

[q] ἀρχιτρίκλινος.

[r] Matth. xv. 36.

[ſ] See Dr. Hammond's Note on Luke viii. 3.

[t] Fragment. p. 558.

[u] 2 Tim. i. 16.

[w] Rom. xvi. i.

[x] See his Note on Luke viii. 2, 3.

[y] Matth. viii. 22, &c.

[z] 2 Kings i. 2, 6.

[a] Achor Deus.

[b] Hiſt. Nat. lib. x. cap. 28.

Name is agreeable to the Notion which they here give of him; it being ſeemingly ſuppoſed by them, that as he was Prince of Devils, ſo he was able to caſt them out of thoſe that were poſſeſſed by them. But our Saviour, in his Anſwer, ſhews the Improbability of his ſo doing, becauſe it would be deſtroying his own Intereſt. And here we may trace ſome Connexion between the two Notions of *Beelzebub*, as God of Flies, and God of Devils: For the *Jews* imagined the Demons, like Swarms of Flies, to hover in the upper and middle Regions of the Air; from whence they came down, whole Legions of them together, to take Poſſeſſion of human Bodies. We do not find, however, that the *Jews* themſelves, in their Exorciſms, ever applied to *Beelzebub* for his Aſſiſtance in Caſes of Poſſeſſion; and if they had, it is not likely they would have been the better for ſuch Application: This Reproach, therefore, was invented by the Phariſees, purely for the ſake of *Jeſus*, in order to render him hateful to the common People for thoſe very Works which manifeſted his Divine Authority.

V. But [c] *if I by* Beelzebub *caſt out Devils*, ſays our bleſſed Lord, *by whom do your Children caſt them out? Therefore they ſhall be your Judges.* Here the Taunt is immediately turned upon themſelves, as many of them as pretended to the Power of ejecting Devils, who might be ſuſpected of doing what they did of this kind by the Power of *Beelzebub*, at leaſt as much as he. But we ſhall ſay more of this by-and-by, after having taken a little Review of the Exorciſms of the *Jews*, concerning which our Saviour here ſpeaks.

That it was the Cuſtom of the *Jews* to caſt out Devils by Invocation of the Name of the *Moſt High*, or of the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, is what we [d] have elſewhere ſhewn from the Fathers, (who ſeem to make little Doubt of the Reality of thoſe Diſpoſſeſſions. *Juſtin Martyr*, ſpeaking to *Trypho* a *Jew*, ſays, [e] *If any of you do exorciſe Devils by the Name of the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac, *and the God of* Jacob, *perhaps they will obey you.* *Irenæus* obſerves, that as [f] *all Things are ſubject to the Moſt High, ſo by Invocation of his Name, even before the Advent of our Lord, Men were ſaved from evil Spirits and all kinds of Demons.* *Joſephus* alſo informs us, [g] that *God gave this Art to* Solomon *againſt Devils, that he ſhould teach it for the Profit and Healing of Men*; and that Solomon *left behind him thoſe Ways of Exorciſing, by which Devils were ſo effectually caſt out as never to return again.* Theſe Authorities, with others of the like Nature, are thought of ſo much Force by Dr. *Whitby*, [h] that he brings it as a Proof that *Epiſcopius* had not read theſe Authors, becauſe that Author thinks it not certain that the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time made uſe of theſe Exorciſms. And Dr. [i] *Hammond* thinks we have yet farther Certainty of the Uſe of theſe Incantations, from the antient Forms of renouncing *Judaiſm*, which are to be found in the Liturgies of the *Greek* Church; where, after the Mention of the ſeveral *Jewiſh* Feaſts and Sabbaths, it is added, *I renounce all Charms, and Incantations, and Defenſatives.* The Reader may look back to more of this in the Diſſertation above referred to.

VI. We ſhould not have taken any farther Notice of theſe Incantations of the *Jews*, after having once mentioned them in a [k] proper Place, were it not neceſſary to remove an Objection of the Author of the *Diſcourſes on the Miracles of our Saviour*, that did not then occur to our Memory. He pretends, that *ſince the* Jews, *by their Arts, did caſt out Devils as well as our Saviour, therefore the caſting out of Devils could be no Proof of our Saviour's Divine Authority.* In anſwer to which we ſhall produce the Arguments of the ſame Right Reverend Author, whoſe Works we have all along uſed againſt Objections of this kind. Theſe Arguments, 'tis true, will ſomewhat invalidate what we now two or three Times mentioned of the Force of the *Jewiſh* Exorciſms: But they can have no Effect upon what was more largely ſaid, concerning the Diſpoſſeſſions that were wrought by the primitive Chriſtians; theſe being [l] more public and frequent, and much better atteſted than the former.

“ [m] As to the Practice of Exorciſing evil Spirits by the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, ſays the learned Author, it is indeed ſomewhat dubious; I mean, by thoſe *Jews* that derived not any Authority from him, nor acted in his Name. For when our Lord ſays, [n] *By whom do your Sons, or Children caſt them out? Therefore they ſhall be your Judges:* The Sons, or Children, here ſpoken of, (as St. *Auſtin* and other Fathers interpret the Place,) may refer to thoſe Sons of theirs that were his Diſciples, and particularly the Seventy, who [o] received a Commiſſion from *Jeſus to caſt out Devils*; from whom the ſceptical *Jews* might every where receive that Satisfaction which they refuſed to receive from himſelf; as not only caſting out Devils himſelf, but delegating that Power to others, even their own Sons and Children: As likewiſe he might refer them to that Perſon, (and poſſibly to others that might do the ſame,) who [p] caſt out Devils *in the Name of Jeſus*, though he did not follow and attend on *Jeſus*.

And this Solution of the Caſe receives ſome Confirmation from the Accounts, given by the ſeveral Evangeliſts, of the extreme Surprize and Wonder of the *Jews*, that were Eye-witneſſes of the ſeveral Diſpoſſeſſions of evil Spirits by our Lord; which Aſtoniſhment of them is not capable of any natural Explication, on Suppoſition that the Diſpoſſeſſion of Devils was an uſual Practice among the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, independently of his Authority. St. *Matthew* tells us, that [q] *when the Devil was caſt out, the Dumb ſpake; and the Multitudes marvelled, ſaying, it was never ſo ſeen in* Iſrael. And again, the ſame Evangeliſt ſays, that in Conſequence [r] of *Jeſus*'s *healing one that was poſſeſſed with a Devil, blind and dumb, all the People were amazed, and ſaid, Is not this the Son of* David? St. *Mark* too acquaint us, that when *Jeſus* had [s] *caſt an unclean Spirit out* of another Perſon, who acknowledged him to be *the Holy One of God, they,* the Spectators in the Synagogue, *were all amazed, inſomuch that they queſtioned among themſelves, ſaying, What Thing is this? What new Doctrine is this? For with Authority commandeth he even the unclean Spirits, and they do obey him. And immediately his Fame ſpread abroad throughout all the Region round about* Galilee. The very ſame Account of the great Amazement of the *Jews* is likewiſe given by St. *Luke*, on [t] ſeveral like Occaſions. And he adds, that *the ſeventy Diſciples returned with Joy, ſaying, Lord, even the Devils are ſubject to us through thy Name.* St. *John* indeed mentions no Diſpoſſeſſions of evil Spirits by *Jeſus*, they having been ſo minutely recorded by the three other Evangeliſts, to whom his Goſpel is chiefly a Supplement of Things omitted by them.

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[c] Math. xii. 24.

[d] In the Diſſertation concerning Demons, and Poſſeſſion by them.

[e] Juſt. M. Dial. cum Tryph.

[f] De Hær. l. 2 c. 5.

[g] Ant. l. 8. c. 2.

[h] See his Note on the Place.

[i] Note on the Place.

[k] In the Diſſertation above-mentioned.

[l] See ibid.

[m] Vind. Vol. I. chap. 4.

[n] Matth. xii. 27.

[o] Luke ix. 1. x. 17, 19.

[p] Luke xi. 49.

What I would obſerve from theſe Authorities of the Goſpels is, that ſince it was acknowledged by the *Jews* that *it was never ſo ſeen before in* Iſrael, that this *Subjection of the Devils* was a *New Doctrine*, that this *Authority of Jeſus in commanding effectually the unclean Spirits* was an unknown Thing in *Judæa*; and again, that ſince whole Multitudes were ſo aſtoniſhed at it as to confeſs it to be a diſtinguiſhing Character of the *Meſſiah*, and to be convinced by it (among other Reaſons) that *Jeſus* was the *Meſſiah*; on theſe Conſiderations, it is not eaſy for any one, that pays a due Veneration to the Divine Authority of the Goſpels, to perſwade himſelf that the caſting out of Devils was before cuſtomary among the *Jews*, or was then practiſed by any of their Artiſts.

It is farther clear too, that not merely the People conſidered our Lord's Diſpoſſeſſion of Devils as a new Thing, but the Phariſees themſelves, as malicious and learned as they were, are not found to derogate from thoſe Facts, as if they were Things uſually practiſed among them, and that conſequently gave *Jeſus* no peculiar Authority. Whence it was, that having no other Way left to evade the Force of the Argument, drawn in favour of *Jeſus* from his authoritative Diſpoſſeſſion of evil Spirits, they vainly pretend that *he caſt out Devils by* Beelzebub *the Prince of the Devils.* The blaſphemous Abſurdity of which Suppoſition was unanſwerably expoſed by our Lord, as neceſſarily inferring that *Beelzebub* would engage in a Confederacy againſt himſelf, and oppoſe the moſt important Intereſts of his own Kingdom of Darkneſs.

VII. But though it ſhould be allowed, that ſome Diſpoſſeſſions of evil Spirits were wrought by the *Jews* before our Lord exerted that Power among them, yet Mr. *Woolſton*'s Conſequence would be far from being of any force, namely, [v] *That thoſe Diſpoſſeſſions of evil Spirits that were wrought by him could be no Proof of his Divine Authority.* For thoſe Diſpoſſeſſions that are ſuppoſed to have been performed by the *Jews*, before thoſe that were done by our Lord, were not performed by ſuch as this Author diſtinguiſhes by the Title of [w] *ſome Artiſts among the* Jews, as if they were owing to ſome Skill in Magic; but if they were wrought at all by the *Jews*, they were ſo by the religious Invocation of the God of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*. And it is only of ſuch Invocations of the true God that [x] *Juſtin Martyr* and *Irenæus* ſpeak on this Occaſion. For as for *Joſephus*'s Account of their Exorciſms, as derived from *Solomon*, it is too full of ludicrous Ceremonies to be regarded. But as *Juſtin* in particular ſpeaks very dubiouſly on this Head, when he ſays, "*If any of you do exorciſe Devils in the Name of the God of* Abraham, *and the God of* Iſaac, *and the God* Jacob, perhaps *they will obey you*;" ſo, if the Fact, though rarely wrought, were granted to be true, and that in order to keep up ſome Senſe of the Government of the inviſible as well as viſible World by the ſupreme God, yet the Conſequence would not be, that the Diſpoſſeſſions of evil Spirits by our Saviour, were no Proof of his Divine Authority. The *Jewiſh* Exorciſms, if real Facts, were rather Confirmations and Proofs of our Saviour's Authority as derived from God. For if ſuch Diſpoſſeſſions were really made among the *Jews* by the Invocation of the Name of the true God, they were likewiſe very conſiſtently made by *Jeſus*, who confeſſed that his Power in performing theſe Diſpoſſeſſions and other miraculous Works was originally derived from God his Father. And therefore ſince *his Father and he are one*, all his miraculous Works were founded on Divine Authority. And this is the more convincing, when we recollect that the Diſpoſſeſſions of evil Spirits performed by our Lord, were not only the immediate Effects of one commanding Word, by which he extorted the plaineſt Acknowledgments of his Divinity from all manner of evil Spirits; but he likewiſe communicated the ſame Power to others of caſting out Devils in his own Name, and thereby evinced that he was that *Meſſiah* whom he profeſſed himſelf to be. For ſuch Diſpoſſeſſions were not only made perſonally by himſelf, but by others in his Name, as they are ſuppoſed to have been before performed in the Name of the true God. And conſequently the Pretenſions of *Jeſus* to the Meſſiahſhip and Divine Authority were not only otherwiſe well-ſupported, but received ſome ſort of Confirmation from the ſaid Suppoſition.

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[q] Matth. ix. 33.
[r] Matth. xii. 23.
[s] Mark. i. 27, 28.
[t] Luke iv. 36. ix 43. x. 17.
[u] Diſc. I. p. 31.
[w] Ibid.
[x] See the Quotations of them above.

And indeed, even upon this latter Suppoſition, it is moſt evident that our Lord did not *caſt out Devils by* Beelzebub *the Prince of the Devils*, as the Phariſees ſuggeſted, when they granted that he did actually caſt out Devils. For beſides that our Lord expoſed with great Advantage the fore-mentioned Abſurdity of ſuppoſing the Prince of the Devils to divide and deſtroy his own Kingdom, he farther ſhewed the Weakneſs of that Calumny, by appealing to the *Jews* themſelves in theſe Words; *If I by* Beelzebub *caſt out Devils, by whom do your Children caſt them out? Therefore they ſhall be your Judges.* That is, *Uſe the ſame Equity in my Caſe, as you do in that of*[y] *your own Sons, who are ſaid to exorciſe Devils in the Name of the God of* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *and whom therefore you do not believe to act by the Power of* Beelzebub. *You ought therefore to believe that I act by the Power of the true God, and not in Confederacy with evil Spirits, or with their Prince, whoſe Kingdom is directly oppoſite to that of God. The Kingdom of God therefore, and not that of* Beelzebub, *is erected by me among you. And the Finger of God is ſignally diſplayed, not only by my Doctrines, as inconſiſtent with the Intereſts of* Beelzebub, *but by my Diſpoſſeſſions of all Manner of evil Spirits, in the Name and by the Authority of the true God. This is the Kingdom of the Meſſiah that I am now introducing, which was foretold by* Daniel *and the other antient Prophets, and is founded on the Ruins of the Kingdom of* Beelzebub, *whoſe Works I came to deſtroy.*——Thus we ſee upon either Suppoſition, that is, whether the *Jews* did or did not exorciſe evil Spirits effectually before our Lord exerted that Power, his divine Authority is ſtill equally vindicated.

VIII. After having confuted the Calumny of the Phariſees, our Saviour proceeds immediately to diſcourſe on the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, in theſe Words: [z] *Wherefore I ſay unto you, All Manner of Sin and Blaſphemy ſhall be forgiven unto Men: But the Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt ſhall not be forgiven unto Men. And whoſoever ſpeaketh a Word againſt the Son of Man, it ſhall be forgiven him: But whoſoever ſpeaketh againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, neither in the World to come.* There is not, perhaps, a more difficult Paſſage than this, and which has been more variouſly interpreted, in all the New Teſtament. We ſhall rehearſe the Opinions of ſeveral Fathers and Interpreters concerning this Sin, and then explain ſome Phraſes in our Saviour's Words.

[a] *Athanaſius*, who wrote expreſly upon this Matter, relates the Opinions of *Origen* and of *Theognoſtes*, who made the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to conſiſt in Crimes committed after Baptiſm. But *Athanaſius* obſerves that the Phariſees, whom our Saviour here ſeems to upbraid with this Crime, had not received Baptiſm, and conſequently could not be capable of it in this Senſe: It is therefore his own Opinion, that this Sin, as to the Phariſees, conſiſted in their maliciouſly imputing the Works of *Jeſus Chriſt* to the Power of the Devil, though they could not but be convinced in their own Minds, that he acted by a good Spirit, and alſo in denying the Divinity of the Son, which was ſo clearly proved to them by his Works. St. [b] *Hilary* and [c] *Theophilus* of *Antioch* follow the Opinion of *Athanaſius*.

St. *Auſtin* ſays in [d] one Place, that the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt conſiſts in ſubverting brotherly Charity, by Motives of Envy and Malice; and in [e] another, that to render this Sin really irremiſſible, the Sinner muſt perſevere in it to the End. He adds in other [f] Places, that tho' there are ſeveral Sins that may be committed againſt the Holy Ghoſt, yet none of them are utterly unpardonable but final Impenitence and Deſpair. St. [g] *Chryſoſtom* and others, who, with *Athanaſius*, make this Sin to conſiſt in aſcribing the Works of *Jeſus* to a diabolical Power, ſuppoſe the Irremiſſibleneſs of it not to be abſolute and real, but only relative, becauſe it is very difficnlt to obtain the Pardon of it.

St. *Ambroſe* is not altogether conſiſtent with himſelf, in what he ſays concerning this Crime. In one [h] Place he makes it conſiſt in denying the Deity of the Son; in [i] another, in denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and imputing his Works to the Power of the Devil; and in a third [k] Place, he extends it to Hereſy and Schiſm, as does the [l] Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*. In a Word, ſome make it a blaſpheming of God; others, a renouncing of God; and others again, among whom we may reckon [m] *Grotius*, will have it to be only the Sin of a hardened impenitent Sinner; ſuch for Example as *Korah* and his Accomplices, *Pharoah*, *Simon Magus*, and *Ananias* and *Sapphira*. This Opinion, which places it in final Impenitence, ſeems to have the ſtrongeſt Party of any: And next to it is the Opinion of thoſe who place it in wilful Malice, in withſtanding the Conviction of Conſcience, in imputing to a diabolical Power what carries with the moſt evident Marks of a divine Authority.

That the Phariſees were guilty of this malicious withſtanding the Evidence of Truth, is moſt apparent; and if it were as clear that *Jeſus* applied this Diſcourſe directly to them, thoſe who believe the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to conſiſt in this Malice, could have no Room to doubt of theſe Phariſees having been guilty of it. Thoſe alſo, in all Ages of Chriſtianity, according to the Opinion of *Chryſoſtom* and *Jerom*, muſt become guilty of the ſame Crime, who oppoſe a known and manifeſt Truth, and who impute either to Vanity or Hypocriſy, or, what is ſtill worſe, to Magic and diabolical Confederacy, ſuch

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[y] The Sons of the Phariſees are here ſuppoſed different from thoſe that were our Lord's Diſciples, and were as ſuch ſpoken of before.

[z] Matth. xii. 31, 32. See alſo Mark iii. 28. Luke xii. 10.

[a] Athanaſ. Ep. iv. ad Serapion. n. 8, 9, 10.

[b] Hilar. in Matth. xii.

[c] Theophil. Antioch. Comment. in Evang. l. 1.

[d] Aug. l. i. Serm Dom. in monte.

[e] Retract. l. i. c. 19.

[f] Expoſit. in ep. ad Rom. n. 14. & 22. & Serm. 71. & epiſt. 85.

[g] Homil. 42. in Matth.

[h] Ambroſ. in Luc. l. x. n. 94.

[i] Lib. i. de ſpiritu ſancto. c. 3.

[k] Lib. de Pænit. l. ii. c. 4.

[l] Conſt. Apol. l. 6. c. 18.

[m] Grot. in Matth. xii. 31.

Actions as they ſee performed by good Men influenced by the Holy Ghoſt. But there are ſome Authors who will not have the Phariſees to be at all concerned in this Part of our Saviour's Diſcourſe, and who make the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to conſiſt in ſomewhat different from any Thing yet mentioned. We ſhall conſider this Hypotheſis by-and-by, after having a little explained our Saviour's Words according to the Notions already introduced.

IX. The Phraſe, *Son of Man*, in the thirty ſecond Verſe, belongs, ſays [n] Dr. *Hammond*, to *Chriſt* as he appeared in the Weakneſs of human State, the Son of *Mary*, without any ſuch Light ſhining in him to convince all Men that he was the Meſſiah; it belongs to *Chriſt* abſtracted from the great Power of his Doctrine and Miracles, which when they did appear, convinced the Auditors and Spectators to an Acknowledgment, that *never Man ſpake as this Man*, and that *ſurely he was the Meſſiah*. ——And this Diſtinction ſhews the Ground of Difference betwixt theſe two Sins, of *ſpeaking againſt the Son of Man*, and *ſpeaking againſt the Holy Ghoſt:* The *firſt* was the not believing him to be the Meſſiah, when tho' he affirmed himſelf to be ſo, yet there was not that convincing Light and Manifeſtation thereof; but the *ſecond* was reſiſting this Light thus brightly ſhining in him, and aſcribing his Miracles, which were too evident to be denied, to the Power of the Devil, rather than to the Operation of God; which being their only poſſible Evaſion, *Chriſt* tells them, after having confuted it by [o] three ſeveral Arguments, that if they continue in it, they muſt needs be guilty of a wilful Blindneſs, and therefore could not plead that Excuſe of Ignorance or blind Zeal, which in the former Caſe they had ſome Right to.

As to the Phraſes of *being forgiven*, and *not being forgiven*, here joined to theſe two Sins, they have an Alluſion to the Sacrifices under the Law. The former Sin is ſuppoſed to be of that Kind for which the Law allowed of Sacrifice, and conſequently of Forgiveneſs. It did not incur the Sanction of Death, or Exciſion from the People; and proportionably, in a Goſpel-ſenſe, it is, in the Number of thoſe Sins by which the Sinner, if before living ſpiritually, doth not incur preſent Obligation to Death eternal, but by *Chriſt*'s Sacrifice is preſerved from it. Such a Sin as this ſeems to that of *Nathanael*, when doubting of what was told him concerning *Jeſus*, he cried out, *Can any good Thing come out of* Nazareth? This was *ſpeaking a Word againſt the Son of Man*, but yet eaſily pardonable. But the *Sin* againſt the Holy Ghoſt, which *ſhall not be forgiven*, is of a far higher Nature, and parallel to thoſe for which no Sacrifice was accepted under the Law. Thoſe that ſin thus are [p] *the Souls that do ought preſumptuouſly*, or with a high Hand, and therefore under the Law were to be *be cut off from the People*; proportionable to which, under the Goſpel, is *the not being forgiven*. The Offender in this Kind, if he were before ſpiritually living, now becomes ſpiritually dead, and ſo is cut off from God's true *Iſrael*. The Sacrifice of *Chriſt*'s Death does not obtain any Thing for him, without a particular and ſpecial Repentance, which it is in the Hand of God alone to beſtow.

The Iſſue of this whole Matter therefore, ſo far as it concerned the Phariſees, ſeems to be this; That unleſs their Sin were particularly retracted by a ſpecial Repentance, and *Chriſt* received and acknowledged, either upon the Miracles which he wrought, or upon the future Conviction of the Holy Ghoſt after his Crucifixion, they ſhould never have Pardon or Remiſſion: Not that they who were here guilty, ſhould never afterwards repent, or upon Repentance be accepted; for this is not ſaid, either here or in any other Place of Scripture, but rather the contrary every where affirmed. Thus we ſee *Chriſt* praying afterwards for his Accuſers, ſaying, *Father forgive them*; and the Apoſtle teaching that [q] Chriſt *was exalted at the Right-hand of God, to give Repentance unto* Iſrael, *and Forgiveneſs of Sins*. Theſe Things are ſpoken to all *Iſrael*, and particularly to thoſe crucifying Rulers; whoſe Ignorance is urged, both by *Chriſt* and the Apoſtles, to make their Caſe the more hopeful. We do not infer from hence, that what the Phariſees did here was not moſt notoriouſly criminal; but only that as they had not yet received all the Means of the Holy Ghoſt for their Converſion, there remained to them ſome Ground of Excuſe. For the greateſt of all the Evidences of the Meſſiahſhip of *Jeſus*, his Reſurrection from the Dead, was yet behind: This was the Sign like to that of the Prophet *Jonas*, which *Jeſus* told them was the only one they ſhould receive farther from him; and when this was paſt, and witneſſed by the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles, and the Preaching and Miracles which followed that Deſcent, then they who came not into *Chriſt* were never to be forgiven: There was no farther Means of working Repentance in them, and conſequently they could not hope for that Mercy which is ſhewn to the Repentant only.

And whereas *Chriſt*, when he ſays theſe Perſons *ſhall never be forgiven*, adds theſe Words, *neither in this World, nor in the World to come*; we may here obſerve a Reference to a Perſwaſion which prevailed among the *Jews*, that ſome Sins which could not be forgiven upon their Sacrifices, and ſo were irremiſſible *in this Age*, might yet be remitted and pardoned *in the Age to come*; by which Phraſe they ſometimes meant the Age of the Meſſiah, and ſometimes the State after Death. But to this Sin, unrepented of, *Chriſt* gives them to underſtand that there is no Place for any ſuch Hope, and that their Opinion of every *Jew*'s having a Place in the Reign of the Meſſiah ſhould ſtand them in no ſtead; and farther, that in the State after Death, when their Sentence was once paſt, there remained no Poſſibility of Relief.

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[n] See his Note on the Place. The Reader may compare what is here ſaid with the Expoſition of two remarkable Texts in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, from Page 266 to 269 of this Work, that Expoſition being taken from the ſame Author, and belonging nearly to the ſame Subject, tho' not exactly.

[o] The firſt in Ver. 26, the ſecond in Ver. 27, 28, the third in Ver. 29, 30.

[p] Numb. xv. 30.

[q] Acts v. 31, and elſewhere.

X. Having thus explained the Terms in this Part of our Saviour's Diſcourſe according to their Hypotheſis who believe it regarded the Phariſees to whom he delivered it, we come now to conſider the ſame Paſſage in another Light, that ſo every Reader may chuſe his particular Opinion, in a Point on which it is not to be expected that Interpreters ſhould ever agree. But, by the Way, 'tis proper to obſerve that [r] our Paraphraſe above correſponds, in moſt Particulars, though not in all, with what is already ſaid, rather than with what we are now going to ſay. To which we muſt add, that when in the ſaid Paraphraſe, according to our uſual Conciſeneſs in the Chapters, we make our Lord fix the Sentence, *ſhall never be forgiven*, on thoſe who being Spectators of his Miracles, were not converted by them, we include his Reſurrection in the Number of thoſe Miracles, of which, in a proper Senſe, it was not only one, but the greateſt, as may be elſewhere ſhewn.

To proceed, Dr. *Whitby*, [ſ] from whom we ſhall extract what may be farther ſaid on this Subject, thinks it not proper with *Grotius* to mollify the Severity of our Lord's Sentence, by ſaying that what is here abſolutely ſpoken, ſhould be comparatively underſtood, as intimating merely that *it is only very difficult to obtain the Pardon of this Sin, not that it admits of no Forgiveneſs.* Our Saviour ſays negatively, that *it ſhall never be forgiven*, and affirmatively, that the Perſon [t] guilty of it ſhall be obnoxious *to eternal Judgment*; all which he confirms with an Aſſeveration, *Verily I ſay unto you.* For thoſe Reaſons alſo Dr. *Whitby* concludes, that Dr. *Hammond*'s Deſcant on our Lord's Words, [u] that this *Sin ſhall not be forgiven but upon a particular Repentance*, is much leſs to be admitted: Which Interpretation, he ſays, makes no Diſcrimination of this from any other wilful Sin, though ſuch a Diſcrimination was plainly deſigned by our Saviour in theſe Words.—The Doctor then proceeds to find out the Nature of this Sin, by making the following Obſervations and Diſtinctions.

Firſt, That from our Lord's Words it ſeems to follow, that this Sin is completed, not in our Thoughts, or in our Works, but in our Words: For it is he that *ſpeaketh Blaſphemy* againſt the Holy Ghoſt, that ſhall not be forgiven. *Simon Magus* [w] conceived as vilely of the Holy Ghoſt as we can well imagine, when he thought he might be purchaſed with Money; (for this was to conceive that the Holy Ghoſt was given by ſome higher Art of Magic than he had ever attained to;) and yet St. *Peter* exhorts him to pray, [x] *that the Thoughts of his Heart might be forgiven him.* So alſo they who by Uncleanneſs, Fornication, and Adultery, deſpiſed the Command, [y] *to poſſeſs their Veſſels in Sanctification and Honour*, are ſaid to *have deſpiſed not only Man, but God who alſo had given them the Holy Ghoſt*; and yet St. *Paul* ſaith, ſuch Perſons might [z] *repent of the Uncleanneſs, Fornication, and Laſciviouſneſs, which they had committed.* This Sin muſt therefore be committed, not merely by evil Thoughts, or evil Works, but by blaſphemous Words againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

Secondly, That 'tis not any Blaſphemy againſt the Spirit in his miraculous Operations, ſuch as were caſting out of Devils, and healing of Diſeaſes, which is here ſtiled Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt. This was here done by the Phariſees againſt the Son of Man, who declareth, that *he caſt out Devils by the Spirit of God*: They, therefore, muſt blaſpheme that Spirit by which our Saviour did this, in ſaying, *he caſt out Devils by* Beelzebub *Prince of Devils*; and yet our Saviour ſaith, that even this Blaſphemy againſt the Son of Man ſhould be forgiven. And therefore,

Thirdly, That there is a plain Difference in Scripture, [a] between the Operations of the Spirit and the Gifts or Diſtributions of the Holy Ghoſt. All the Miracles that were wrought upon others, were the extraordinary Operations of the Spirit: But all the inward Gifts, by which the Underſtanding was enlighten'd, and enabled to perform Things which by Nature it could not do, are called the Gifts *or Diſtributions of the Holy Ghoſt.* The Ground of this Diſtinction is made out by theſe Conſiderations. *Firſt*, Becauſe our Saviour, whilſt he was upon Earth, gave to his Apoſtles and the ſeventy Diſciples [b] *Power to heal the Sick, cleanſe the Lepers, caſt out Devils, and raiſe the Dead:* And yet St. *John* informs us, [c] that *the Holy Ghoſt was not yet come, becauſe that* Jeſus *was not glorified.* And *Chriſt* himſelf told his Diſciples, that [d] *if he did not go away, the Comforter*, that is the Holy Ghoſt, *would not come to them:* And St. *Peter* writes to the *Jews*, that [e] *our Lord being exalted at the Right-hand of God, received the Promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt, and ſent him down upon his Diſciples.* From all which it appears, that the Holy Ghoſt ſignifies ſomething diſtinct from the Power of working Miracles. *2dly*, Becauſe the Apoſtle *John*, producing his Witneſſes to prove that *Jeſus* is the Son of God, ſaith thus; [f] *There are three that bear Record upon Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood; and there are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt*; in which Words he clearly diſtinguiſhes the Witneſs of the Holy Ghoſt from the Teſtimony of the Spirit. *3dly*, Becauſe throughout the Hiſtory of the Acts of the Apoſtles, where St. *Luke* hath Occaſion to mention the Miracles which the Apoſtles and other Chriſtians did, he always uſeth the Words [g] *Wonders, Signs,* and *Powers*; but where he ſpeaks of Perſons propheſying, or *ſpeaking with Tongues,* he as conſtantly aſcribes this to the Holy Ghoſt's deſcending on them. And *laſtly,* Becauſe where the Scripture mentions theſe Things together, it puts a manifeſt Diſtinction between *Signs and Wonders,* and the *Gifts or Diſtributions of the Holy Ghoſt.* Thus the Apoſtlle *Paul* ſpeaks of the Things God had wrought by him, [h] *in the Power of Signs and Wonders, and in the Power of the Spirit of God,* or of the *Holy Ghoſt,* as ſome Copies read it. And the ſame Apoſtle ſaith, that [i] *God bare Witneſs to the Doctrine which the Apoſtles preached, by Signs and Wonders, and divers Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.* Hence it apears,

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[r] See the preceeding Chapter, No. viii. P. 456. Which might have created ſome Difficulty without theſe Illuſtrations.

[ſ] See his Appendix to the twelfth Chapter of Matthew.

[t] See Mark iii. 29.

[u] See above.

[w] Acts viii. 18, 19.

[x] Ver. 22.

[y] 1 Theſſ. iv. 8.

[z] 2 Cor. xii. 21.

[a] This Diſtinction ſeems pretty extraordinary.

[b] Matth. x. 8. Luke x. 9.

[c] John vii. 39.

[d] John. xvi. 17.

[e] Acts ii. 33.

[f] 1 John v. 7, 8.

Fourthly, That this *Blaſphemy of the Holy Ghoſt,* neither was, nor could be, then committed when our Saviour ſpake theſe Words, for this plain Reaſon, *becauſe the Holy Ghoſt was not yet come.* Wherefore our Lord, after his Reſurrection, [k] *breathes on his Apoſtles,* and ſays, *Receive ye the Power of the Holy Ghoſt*; which Promiſe was [m] accordingly made good. Tho' therefore our Saviour entered upon this Diſcourſe on Occaſion of that Saying of the Phariſees, *He caſts out Devils by* Beelzebub *the Prince of Devils,* yet his Deſign ſeems chiefly to be this; To terrify them from going on from blaſpheming the Son of Man, and of that Spirit by which he wrought his Miracles, to the blaſpheming of the enſuing Diſpenſation of the Holy Ghoſt, which was the laſt he would ever vouchſafe, to call them to that Repentance which would procure the Remiſſion of Sins. Theſe Words may therefore be thus paraphraſed: [n] *You have repreſented me as a Wine-Bibber, as a Friend of Publicans and Sinners, and as one who caſts out Devils by* Beelzebub; *and you will ſtill go on, after all the Miracles which I have done among you, to repreſent me as a falſe Prophet, and a Deceiver of the People: But notwithſtanding, all theſe grievous Sins ſhall be forgiven you, if that laſt Diſpenſation of the Holy Ghoſt, which I ſhall after my Aſcenſion ſend among you, ſhall prevail with you to believe in me. But if when I have ſent the Holy Ghoſt to teſtify the Truth of my Miſſion and of my Reſurrection, you ſhall continue in your Unbelief, and ſhall blaſpheme the Holy Ghoſt, and repreſent him alſo as an evil Spirit, your Sin ſhall never be forgiven, nor ſhall there any Thing be farther done to call you to Repentance.*——— Dr. *Whitby* thinks it plain that this it the true Import of the Words, and he gives theſe Reaſons for his Opinion.

1ſt, Becauſe they ſtill run in the future Tenſe; reſpecting not what had been done already by the Phariſees, or others, but only what ſhould hereafter be done: [o] *Whoſoever* ſhall *blaſpheme.*

2dly, Becauſe the Blaſphemy in theſe Words, *He caſteth out Devils by* Beelzebub, was certainly a Blaſphemy againſt the Son of Man, and therefore ſuch to which the Promiſe of Forgiveneſs was made.

3dly, Becauſe when the Phariſees and Rulers had moved *Pilate* to crucify him, *Jeſus* ſtill prayed for them, ſaying, [p] *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do:* And in the ſame Chapter he promiſed one farther Sign for their Conviction; his Death, and Reſurrection on the third Day. St. *Peter* alſo aſcribes the Fault of the Rulers [q] *to their Ignorance*; and [r] St. *Paul* offers *Remiſſion of Sins to as many of them as would believe.*

XI. Having thus conſidered the Nature of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, Dr. *Whitby* proceeds to ſhew the Difference between that and all the Blaſphemies which the *Jews* vented againſt our bleſſed Lord whilſt he was upon Earth; and why theſe latter were all pardonable, or that might be forgiven; whereas the Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt is ſuch as can never be forgiven. He begins with the firſt of theſe, namely the Difference between this and other Sins, and reaſons in the following Manner.

'Tis to be obſerved, ſays he, that tho' the *Jews* ſtill repreſented the bleſſed *Jeſus* as a Wine-Bibber and a Glutton, becauſe he uſed not that Abſtinence which *John* and his Diſciples did; though they ſtiled him a Friend of Publicans and Sinners, becauſe he converſed with ſuch for their Good; though they ſtiled him a Blaſphemer, becauſe he called himſelf the Son of God; though, laſtly, they pronounced him worthy of Death, and crucified him, as a falſe Prophet and Deceiver of the People; yet our Saviour not only promiſes Pardon of theſe Things to them who ſhould believe after his Reſurrection, but even prays for them on the Croſs. Now this he might be ſuppoſed to do upon theſe Conſiderations.

Firſt, Becauſe the Meanneſs of his Birth and Education, and of his State and Condition upon Earth, cauſed many to be offended at him, and indiſpoſed them to believe ſuch high Things of him, as that he was the Son of God, and was to be the King of *Iſrael.* Thus when they were amazed at the divine Doctrine which he taught, and the mighty Miracles by which he confirmed it, and thereupon enquired, [s] *Whence this Wiſdom was given him, and theſe mighty Works done by him?* the Thought that he was the Son of a Carpenter, and of a poor Woman called *Mary,* cauſed them to be offended at him. And thus when he [t] repreſents himſelf as a Perſon coming down from Heaven, they do not believe him on the ſame Account, but ſay, *Is not this* Jeſus *the Son of* Joſeph? *Know we not his Father and his Mother? How then ſaith he, that I came down from Heaven?* This therefore being ſo ſpecious a Pretence for their rejecting of, and not believing on him, our Saviour promiſeth the Pardon of their Infidelity, till by his Reſurrection, and the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, he had quite taken off the Force of the Objection, and ſhewn that he was indeed the Son of God. Hence is he ſaid to be [u] *declared the Son of God with Power by the Reſurrection from the Dead*; [w] *of which*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *we are Witneſſes, and ſo is alſo the Holy Ghoſt, which he hath given to them that believe.* And *Chriſt* himſelf declares, that when this Holy Ghoſt was by him ſent from Heaven, [x] *he ſhould convince the World of* their *Sin, who believed not in him, and of* his own *Righteouſneſs, becauſe he went to the Father.*

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[g] τέρατα, σημεῖα, δυνάμεις.

[h] Rom. xv. 19.

[i] Heb. ii. 4.

[k] John xx. 22

[l] Acts i. 4, 5.

[m] Acts ii

[n] The Reader may compare this Paraphraſe with that in the Chapter, and prefer which he pleaſes.

[o] Mark. iii 28. Luke xii. 10.

[p] Lnke xxiii. 34.

[q] Acts iii. 17. 19.

[r] Acts xiii. 32, 39, 46.

[s] Matth. xiii. 54, 55.

[t] John vi. 42.

Secondly, Becauſe *Chriſt* thought their Caſe more worthy of Pity, till after his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion, and till this Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, by Reaſon of the many Prejudices which their whole Nation had entertained againſt his Perſon and Doctrine, and which could not be entirely removed till he had thus aſcended. Some of theſe Prejudices, beſides that againſt the Meanneſs of his Condition, were as follow. *1ſt*, They had a Tradition, [y] that *when* Chriſt *came, no Man ſhould know whence he was*; whereas they were acquainted with the Birth and Parentage of *Jeſus*. *2dly*, They believed that [z] *Elias* muſt firſt appear in Perſon, according to the Letter of [a] *Malachi*'s Prophecy, which was objected to *Jeſus* by his Diſciples themſelves. *3dly*, They had gotten a general Opinion, that [b] *their Meſſiah was to abide for ever*; whereas *Chriſt* ſtill declared that he was to be lifted up, and to die an ignominious Death; a Doctrine ſo diſtaſteful to his own Followers, that *Peter*, after confeſſing him to be the *Chriſt*, rebukes him for it, ſaying, [c] *Far be it from thee, this ſhall not happen to thee.* And though he very frequently and plainly told them that he was to ſuffer, yet St. *Luke* frankly informs us that [d] *they underſtood not this Saying, and it was hid from them*; and in another [e] Place, *that they underſtood not thoſe Things, nor knew they what was ſaid. Chriſt*'s Words, indeed, were plain enough, but they could not reconcile them with their Tradition; and there lay the Difficulty. *4thly*, The whole Nation of the *Jews* laboured under this great Prejudice, That their Meſſiah was to come in a triumphant Manner, to ſubdue the Nations under them, and make them to lord it over their Enemies, and to continue this his Kingdom for ever; their Prophets having ſtill repreſented him as a great King over all the Nations. His own Diſciples were ſo fully poſſeſſed with this Opinion, that after his Reſurrection they preſently enquire, [f] *Lord, wilt thou at this Time reſtore the Kingdom to* Iſrael? It is not therefore to be wondered at, that this ſo pleaſing an Apprehenſion ſhould prejudice the Minds of other People againſt a Perſon ſo ſeemingly mean and deſpicable, who ſpake ſo often of his Sufferings, who declared that *his Kingdom was not of this World*, and that *he came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter.*

But by our Saviour's Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, all thoſe Objections were fully ſolved, and all theſe Prejudices were removed. For when he was thus *declared to be the Son of God with Power*, they muſt then be convinced, that beſides that human Nature which he received from *Mary*, he had another Nature, according to which they *knew not whence he was*, and [g] *neither knew him nor his Father.* When at his Aſcenſion *all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him*, then might they eaſily perceive how *this Meſſiah was to abide for ever*, and to [h] *reign over the Houſe of* Jacob *for ever, till all his Enemies were made his Footſtool.* Hence, from this Exhaltation to the Right-hand of Power, St. *Peter* makes this Inference, [i] *Therefore let all the Houſe of* Iſrael *know aſſuredly, that God hath made this* Jeſus *whom you crucified both Lord and* Chriſt. They from his Reſurrection were well aſſured, that his former Sufferings were well conſiſtent with his Kingdom, and from his Aſcenſion into Heaven, that his Kingdom was not to be a temporal Kingdom upon Earth, but a ſpiritual and heavenly Kingdom, not over Men's Bodies, but over their Souls and Conſciences: And when they ſaw this Kingdom ſo powerfully erected by the Holy Ghoſt, aſſiſting the Apoſtles in preaching the Goſpel, and making numerous Converts in the heathen World, they could not but diſcern in what Senſe it was foretold by the Prophets, that *he ſhould reign over all Nations*, and what St. *John Baptiſt* meant, when he declared that this *Lamb of God ſhould baptize them with the Holy Ghoſt*, and alſo how St. *John* was the *Elias* who was to be the Meſſiah's Forerunner.—Thus we ſee why our Saviour puts a Diſtinction between the Blaſphemies committed againſt him in his State of Humiliation, and thoſe committed againſt the Holy Ghoſt after his Exaltation to the Right-hand of Majeſty in the Heavens.

IX. It remains to ſhew how the Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt becomes unpardonable, and why it was ſo, rather than any Sin committed againſt *Chriſt* whilſt in his State of Humiliation. Now this it was upon the following Accounts, according to [k] our Author.

Firſt, Becauſe this was the laſt Evidence that God deſigned to make uſe of, to cure the Infidelity of that ſtubborn Generation, and to prevail on them and other Nations to believe in *Chriſt*. In all the other Evidences which came before to win Men to *Chriſt*, God had ſtill a Reſerve, and reſolved upon ſome other Means when they had proved ineffectual. If the Teſtimony of *John the Baptiſt* that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*, if the Innocency of our Saviour's Life and the Wiſdom of his Words, if the heavenly Nature of his Doctrine, and of the Miracles by which it was confirmed, proved ineffectual to perſuade that perverſe People to own him as their promiſed Meſſiah; God ſtill reſolveth, and accordingly [l] promiſeth, to ſend this Holy Ghoſt, as a more powerful Evidence to convince the World: Which Evidence, in Conſequence of the Promiſe, was powerfully urged by *Peter* in his firſt Sermon on the *Day of Pentecoſt.* But when the Apoſtles, being endued with the Power of the Holy Ghoſt, had been *Chriſt's Witneſſes throughout* Judea, *and* Samaria, *and to the End of the Earth*; God had then done all that he deſigned, to bring Men to the Faith of *Chriſt:* So that when many would not be perſwaded by it, but inſtead of being convinced and reclaimed, proceeded to ſlight, deſpiſe, revile, and blaſpheme it; God was unalterably reſolved to ſtrive no more with them, but to let them die in their Sins. And therefore 'tis obſervable, that when the *Jews* had thus reſiſted the Holy Ghoſt, and contradicted the holy Spirit by which they preached unto them, *Paul* and *Barnabas* [m] gave them over as deſperate, and Perſons in whom that of the Prophet was fulfilled, [n] *Behold ye Deſpiſers, and periſh!* for which Reaſon they *turned to the Gentiles.* And St. *Paul* elſewhere repreſents them as Perſons [o] *given up to a Spirit of Slumber,* and judicial Blindneſs, and ſo rejected from being any more God's Church and People.

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[u] Rom. i. 4.
[w] Acts v. 32.
[x] John xvi. 8, 9.
[y] John vii. 27.
[z] Matth. xvii. 10.
[a] Mal. iv. 5.
[b] John xii. 34.
[c] Matth. xvi. 22.
[d] Luke ix. 45.
[e] Luke xviii. 34.
[f] Acts i. 6.
[g] John viii. 14. 19.
[h] Luke i. 33.
[i] Acts ii. 36.
[k] Whitby ubi ſupra.

And as this was the laſt, ſo it was the moſt powerful Evidence. As for the Power of Working Miracles, the heathen Prieſts and Exorciſts, and many of the *Jews,* pretended at leaſt to it; and our Lord, and his Apoſtles, foretold of the falſe *Chriſts* and falſe Prophets, [p] *that they ſhould work Signs and Miracles, ſufficient to ſeduce, if poſſible, even the very Elect.* But no Impoſtor ever did, or could, pretend to theſe inward Gifts and Operations of the Holy Ghoſt, ſuch as enabled the Illiterate to ſpeak with all Kind of unknown Tongues, and to interpret the Tongues of others, and to diſcern the Secrets of Men's Hearts, and to *underſtand all Myſteries,* and even to confer theſe Gifts on others by the Impoſition of Hands, as the Apoſtles did. When therefore Chriſtians ſaw theſe Gifts exerciſed continually in their Aſſemblies, and daily conferred on Perſons at their Baptiſm, they could never have a ſtronger Evidence of the Truth of their Religion; nor could they ever blaſpheme the Power by which their Faith was ſo wonderfully confirmed, without the utmoſt Degree of Infidelity.

This Sin is therefore repreſented as unpardonable, becauſe the Faith of ſuch perverſe and ſtubborn Perſons is impoſſible, they having rejected all the Evidence that can be offered for their Conviction, and all the Motives that can be tender'd to provoke them to repent of their Infidelity. Thus St. *Paul,* ſpeaking of thoſe who though they lived under the Diſpenſation of the Holy Ghoſt, did yet apoſtatize from Chriſtianity to Judaiſm or Heatheniſm, declares [q] againſt *laying again the Foundations of Repentance and Faith towards God,* which were the Doctrines that were firſt preached to both *Jew* and *Gentile*; *becauſe,* ſays he, *it is impoſſible for them who have been once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly Gift,* —— *if they fall away, to renew them again to Repentance.* They could not be incited to be true to their Profeſſion by any other Engagements than thoſe which they had made in Baptiſm, nor could they receive any higher Evidence of Chriſtianity than that of their Participation of the Holy Ghoſt; there was nothing therefore to be done for them, which had not already been ineffectually performed, and the Succeſs of which might not be deſpaired of in any future Trial.

Having been thus copious in giving the Sentiments of others concerning the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, we ſhall not add any thing of our own, either by Way of Reflection or otherwiſe, except this one general Obſervation, namely, That there ſeems to be no Reaſon now-a-days for any one to think himſelf guilty of this Sin, becauſe that extraordinary Evidence of the Holy Ghoſt, againſt which it was committed, is now wanting in the Church, or at moſt is preſerved only in the Writings of the New Teſtament, where it cannot be ſo ſtrong as it was in its immediate and viſible Appearance. Other Remarks we leave the Reader to make.

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[l] By the Prophet Joel. Chap. ii. 28. See Acts ii. 16, 17, &c.

[m] Acts xiii. 41. 45, 46. See alſo Chap. xxviii. 28.

[n] Hab. i. 5.

[o] Rom. xi. 8, 9.

[p] Matth. xxiv. 24. comp. with 2 Theſſ. ii. 8, 9, 10.

[q] Heb. vii. 2——7. See the Expoſition of this Paſſage as taken from Hammond.

CHAP. IV.

I. *Jeſus* goes into a Boat on the Lake of *Genneſareth.* He compares his preaching the Goſpel to a Sower ſowing of Seed. II. He tells his Diſciples the Reaſon of his uſing Similitudes. III. He explains the Parable of the Sower. IV. He illuſtrates what he has ſaid, and gives them a Caution. V. He delivers ſeveral other Parables concerning the Goſpel. VI. Why *Jeſus* ſpoke in this Manner. VII. He explains the Parable of the Tares. VIII. He delivers more of the ſame Kind. IX. He enquires if his Diſciples underſtood him, and then leaves the Country.

I. [a] THE *ſame Day* Jeſus *went out to the Lake of* Genneſareth, *and began to inſtruct the People upon the Shore. But the Multitude increaſing, in order to avoid the Preſs, and that many might hear him, he went into a ſmall Boat, and putting off a little from the Shore, he from thence preached unto them, deſcribing in Similitudes the various Tempers of his Hearers, and the different Effects his publiſhing of the Goſpel had among them.* Hearken, *ſaid he*, attentively to what I am about to ſpeak unto you; for it concerns you very much to be acquainted with it. A Sower went forth to ſow, and being thus buſied, Part of his Seed fell upon the Highway, which was not ſeparated from his Field by any Hedge or Ditch; by which it came to paſs that this Seed was loſt, partly by being trodden under Foot, and partly by the Birds who picked it up, as not having been covered with any Earth. Other of his Seed fell upon ſtony Places, and ſhortly after ſprung up, not having been buried deep enough in the Ground: This was quickly burnt up by the vehement Heat of the Sun, as not having taken Root deep enough, and being deſtitute of Moiſture. Some of it fell upon a Place overgrown with Briars and Thorns, which growing up, choked the Seed, and hindered it from bringing forth any Fruit in thoſe Parts. Laſtly, ſome of it fell on a good and fertile Soil, and brought forth great Plenty of Corn, inſomuch as for one Grain ſowed, they reaped thirty, ſixty, and even a hundred Grains. *When* Jeſus *had delivered this Parable, he cried out with aloud Voice:* Let every one take Notice of this, who thinks it his Duty to uſe his utmoſt Endeavour to acquaint himſelf thoroughly with my Doctrine.

II. [b] *When the Multitude were diſperſed, and the Diſciples left alone with* Jeſus, *they aſked him why he made uſe ſo frequently of obſcure Similitudes before the People, and what was the Meaning of this laſt about the Sower.* Jeſus *anſwered them:* God has been pleaſed to diſcover to you thoſe Things which concern the heavenly Kingdom of the Meſſiah, though he hath not made ſo clear a Revelation of his Purpoſes to others: For whoever like you ſhall have made a right Uſe of the Gifts God hath formerly beſtowed upon them, ſhall receive other and greater Benefits from him; but thoſe that have abuſed his former Bounty, have forfeited all Title to future Favours. This now is the Caſe of many among the *Jews*, and this is the Reaſon why I expreſs myſelf ſo often in obſcure Similitudes: For, whereas God had endued them with Abilities ſufficient to make them acquainted with the Truth of my Doctrine; yet, though they have heard my Diſcourſes, and ſeen my Miracles, they ſeem no more to have attended to them than if they had been deſtitute of the Uſe both of their Eyes and Ears. Therefore I ſpeak obſcurely to them, becauſe having Faculties given them by God, they make no Uſe of them, and are as if they were totally deprived of them. Thus it happens to the *Jews* of this Age what the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith concerning thoſe of his Time; [c] *Hear ye indeed, but underſtand not; and ſee ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the Heart of this People fat, and make their Ears heavy, and ſhut their Eyes; leſt they ſee with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and underſtand with their Heart, and convert, and be healed.* But bleſſed are ye, in that having made a right Uſe Uſe of the Gifts of God, you have Reaſon to hope for the Increaſe of his Favours towards you: For I tell you that many Prophets and holy Perſons have deſired to be Witneſſes of thoſe Things which you ſee and hear, and it hath not been granted to them. But know you not the Meaning of the laſt Parable, which is not really obſcure? How then will you be able to come to the Underſtanding of thoſe that are?

III. [d] Now the Meaning of it is this: The Corn ſowed is the Revelation of God's Will: The Sower of it is he that publiſhes this Revelation: The Hearers are the Ground on which the Seed falls: The high Road is an Image of thoſe who liſten to the Goſpel when it is preached, but growing quickly negligent and careleſs, lay themſelves open to the Frauds of evil Spirits, which quite efface the Memory of it, and thereby hinder them from making a right Judgment concerning it; and ſo deprive them of the Means of obtaining Salvation: The ſtony Ground repreſents thoſe who willingly embrace the Goſpel at the firſt Offer of it, but are not deeply affected with it, and ſo in Time of Per-

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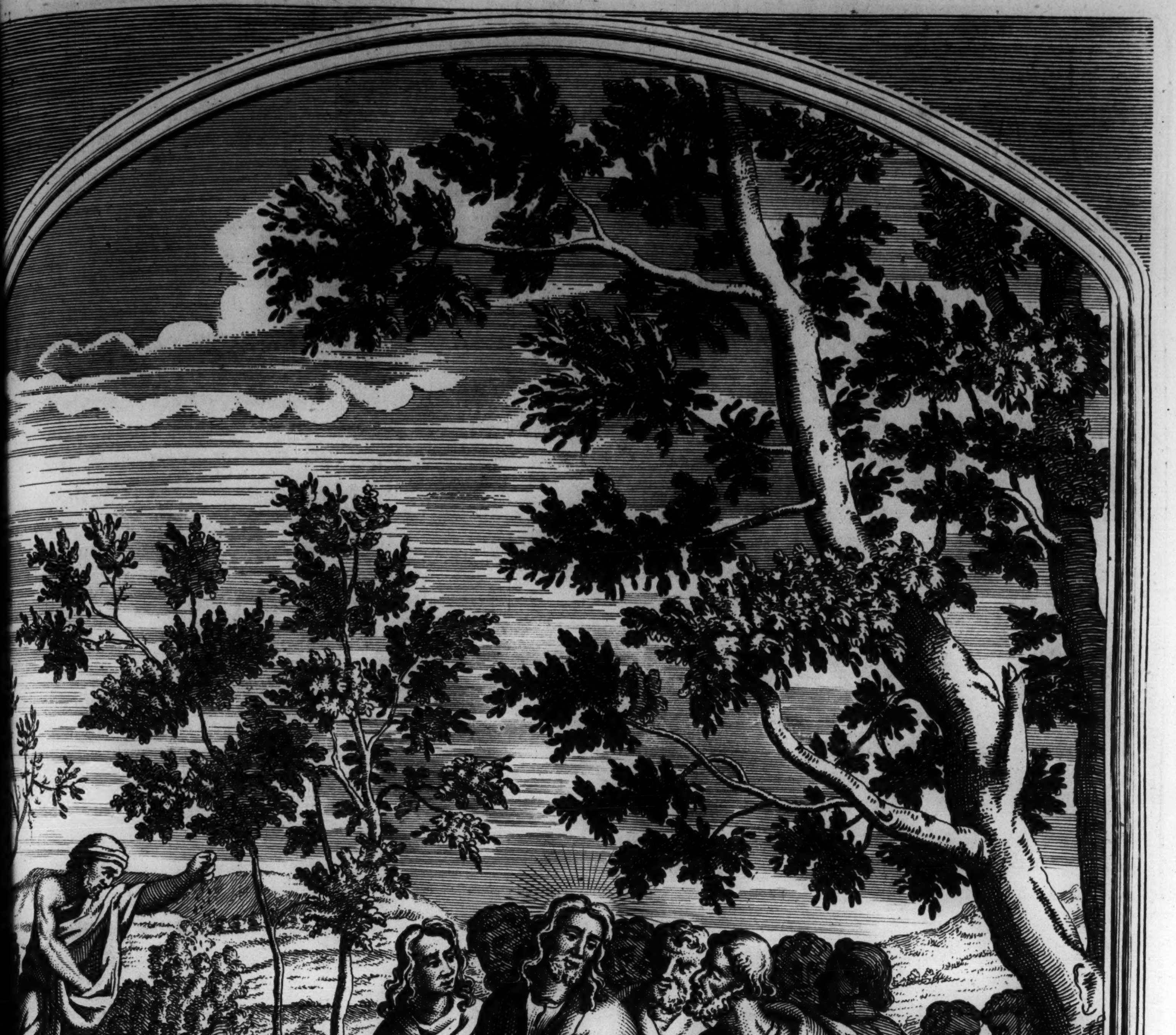
[a] Matth. xiii. 1——9 Mark iv. 1——9. Luke viii 4——8.
[b] Matth. xiii. 10——17. Mark. iv. 10, 11, 12. Luke viii. 9, 10.
[c] Iſaiah. vi 9, 10.
[d] Matth. xiii. 18——23. Mark iv. 13——20. Luke viii. 11——15

ſecution



he Parable of the Sower and Seed.

Luke VIII. v 5.

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ſecution upon the Account of it, are ready to abandon it, rather than to endure the leaſt Calamity. The Ground over-run with Briars is a Deſignation of thoſe who at firſt willingly receive the Goſpel, and for a while are mindful of it, but afterwards are diverted by anxious Cares after the Conveniencies of Life, and the earneſt Purſuit of Riches; and thus neglecting to conform their Lives anſwerable to the divine Preſcriptions of it, render the Revelation of it wholly uſeleſs to them. Laſtly, the good Soil repreſents thoſe who receive it with an honeſt and reſolute Temper, who make it their Buſineſs to meditate upon it, and treaſuring up the Laws of it in their Memories, live all their Life-time after in Conformity to it, be it attended with never ſo great Calamities. Theſe are they in whom this divine Seed brings forth the plentiful Crop I ſpoke of, though not equally in all.

IV. [e] Though there may ſeem to be ſome Obſcurity in this Parable, as you have obſerved, yet my Deſign was by no Means ſo unintelligible to all: For as no one lights a Candle on Purpoſe to conceal the Light of it under ſome Veſſel or Couch, but to place it on high, that it may be conſpicuous for the neceſſary Occaſions of the Houſe; ſo neither do I propound my Doctrine to my Hearers ſo as not to be underſtood by any of them. Suppoſe no one at firſt comprehend it, it is impoſſible but it muſt ſhine out in a ſhort Time: For you may juſtly apply to it that proverbial Saying, *Nothing is hidden that ſhall not be diſcovered, nothing ſecret that ſhall not be manifeſted.* Whoever therefore would underſtand my Words, let him give Attention to them, and they ſhall become plain and eaſy, provided he makes Uſe of the Faculties God has given him as he ought to do. *He then proceeded to caution them againſt a negligent Hearing of his Doctrine:* For, *ſaith he*, if you receive what I now deliver with an honeſt and religious Temper, I will hereafter give you a more clear and copious Expoſition of my Doctrine. Conſider diligently what Sort of Hearers you ought to be: For, if you make a right Uſe of what I now ſpeak to you, I will inſtruct you farther; otherwiſe that very Knowledge which you ſeem to have acquired ſhall become unprofitable to you.

V. [f] *Several other Parables* Jeſus *ſpoke to the Multitude.* In the heavenly Kingdom of the Meſſiah, *ſaid he*, there ſhall happen ſomething like the Accident that befel that Man, who having ſowed his Fields with good Wheat, an Enemy came privately in the Night-time, and ſowed Tares amongſt it. When the Wheat grew up, the Tares alſo grew up along with it; which the Servants taking notice of, acquainted their Maſter with it, asking him if he had not ſowed his Field with Wheat; from whence then, ſaid they, are theſe Tares? He told them he had ſown only Wheat, and knew nothing of the Tares before, but that he imagined ſome Enemy had miſchievouſly mixed the Tares among the Wheat. The Servants then propoſed to have the Tares rooted up, that the Corn afterwards might receive the greater Nouriſhment. But the Maſter forbad it, leſt while they plucked up the Tares, they might pluck up the Corn alſo. Let both grow together, ſaid he, until the Time of Harveſt, and then you ſhall gather the Tares, and bundle them up for Fewel, and reap the Corn to be ſtored up in my Barns.—The Preaching of my Goſpel may be alſo likened to Seed ſown in the Ground, which ſprings up, and grows inſenſibly, whilſt Men are aſleep, or employed about their worldly Affairs: For the Earth, after it has been ſown with Corn, without any farther Labour of the Husbandman, completes the Work, bringing forth at firſt the Blade, then the Ear, after that the full Corn in the Ear; which, when it is ripe, is reaped, and laid up in Storehouſes.——We may alſo compare the Doctrine of the Goſpel to a Grain of Muſtard-ſeed, which, though it be of the ſmalleſt Sort of Seeds, yet ſhoots forth to ſuch a Height, and has ſo many Branches, as to be able to afford ſhelter to the Birds againſt the Heat of the Sun, and Places for them to build their Neſts in.——The Goſpel may alſo not unfitly be compared to a little Leaven, which a Woman mixes with a large Quantity of Meal, and which cauſes the whole Maſs to ſwell, and to dilate itſelf in every Part of it.

VI. [g] Jeſus *made uſe of theſe Similitudes in his Diſcourſes to the People, at a Time when it was not ſeaſonable for him to expreſs himſelf more clearly: For queſtionleſs they would have been offended, if he had at firſt openly declared unto them that the Power of the Meſſiah here on Earth was only to ſet them free from their Vices; that their* Jewiſh *Rites were now to be abrogated, and give place to a new Religion, and other like Truths, which were indeed for the Honour of the Goſpel, but little agreeing with the common Opinions of the* Jews *concerning the Meſſiah, and the perpetual Obligation of the Law of* Moſes. *For theſe Reaſons* Jeſus *wrapped up thoſe Truths in Parables, which might elſe have offended the Ears of the unprepared* Jews; *not to conceal his Meaning alike from all, but that he might not immediately alienate the Minds of thoſe from him who as yet were not ſufficiently diſpoſed to receive the naked Truth: For he interpreted whatever was obſcure in them to his Diſciples in private. To which Practice of* Jeſus *thoſe Words may be applied which we read in the* Pſalms, [h] I will open my Mouth in a Parable; I will utter dark Sayings of old.

VII. [i] *The Multitude being ſeparated,* Jeſus *returned home, and his Diſciples came to him, deſiring him to explain to them the Similitude of the Tares, which they did not thoroughly underſtand. To whom* Jeſus *thus replied:* I am the Sower of the good Seed I ſpoke of: The Field is the Earth: The Seed, they that hear the Goſpel, believe it, and live according to the Rules of it; and ſhall therefore participate of the Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven. The Tares are wicked Men, who are every where mixed with the Good, and who ſhall have no Share in the Happineſs of that Kingdom. The Enemy, who privately ſowed Tares among the Wheat, is the evil Spirit, who by private Artifices ſeeks to undermine and corrupt Mens Integrity. The Harveſt is the End of the World, and the laſt Judgment; and the Reapers are the Angels. Like as the Tares, therefore, are gathered together in order to be burnt, while the Wheat is carefully ſtored up, thus ſhall I ſend the Angels as Executioners of my Will, to ſeparate the Good from the Bad, that theſe may be thrown into Fire; that is, a Place allotted for them to endure the Torments they have merited, where all their Lamentations and Complaints of the Miſery of their Condition ſhall be vain and fruitleſs to them; while the former are admitted into the Seats of eternal Bliſs, where they ſhall ſhine like the Sun in its greateſt Luſtre. Let thoſe who make a right uſe of the Abilities God hath given them, attend to my Sayings, and they ſhall underſtand them.

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[e] Mark iv. 25——18. Luke viii. 15——18.

[g] Matth. xiii. 34, 35. Mark. iv. 33, 34.

[i] Matth. xiii. 36——43.

[f] Matth. xiii. 24——33. Mark iv. 26——32.

[h] Pſalm lxxviii. 2.

VIII. [k] I might alſo compare the Doctrine of the Goſpel to Treaſure formerly hid in the Ground, and concealed for a long time, but at laſt diſcover'd by a Paſſenger, who, though he is extremely glad of his good Fortune, yet is afraid of diſcovering the Place in which his Treaſure lies; and not being able to carry it off privately, diſſembling his Joy, ſells all he is worth, if it be neceſſary, on purpoſe to buy that Field, that he may privately dig it up, and ſecure it from being ſeiz'd by the Lord of the Manor. Surely you ought to ſhew as great Concern for your Salvation; and if the Caſe require it, it would be your Intereſt to part with every Thing, rather than to fail of the Knowledge of the Evangelical Doctrine, though it hath been ſo long conceal'd, and as yet is not much celebrated among Men.—A Jeweller having met with a Jewel of extraordinary Value, by the Purchaſe of which he hopes to make his Fortune, ſells all his others, if his Stock of Money be not ſufficient, on purpoſe to procure that one Jewel. Thus it fares with thoſe that hear, and embrace my Goſpel; rather than miſs of an Occaſion of being acquainted with its divine Precepts, and leading a Life anſwerable to it, they will run the hazard of loſing all they are worth in this World. — The Preaching of the Goſpel is like to a Net, which being let down into the Sea, encloſes a vaſt Number of all ſorts of Fiſhes. The Fiſhermen perceiving their Net full, drag it to the Shore, and preſerving the Good for Service, throw away the Refuſe. In like Manner ſhall it happen at the Day of Judgment: The Angels ſhall ſeparate the good Men from the Bad, with whom they have been mix'd in my Church till now; and ſhall caſt the Bad into a Furnace of Fire, that is, a Place where they ſhall be juſtly puniſh'd by God, and where there ſhall be nothing heard but miſerable Groans and Lamentations.

IX. [l] *When* Jeſus *had done ſpeaking, he asked the Apoſtles whether they underſtood the Meaning of theſe Parables; which they affirming, he told them, that they, and all who like them were acquainted, not only with the Doctrine of* Moſes *and the Prophets, but his alſo, reſembled a Maſter of a Family, who having the laſt Year's, and this Year's Fruit, made uſe of both upon Occaſion, for the Suſtenance of his Family.— And after he had pronounced theſe Parables, partly before the Multitude, partly to his Diſciples alone, at* Capernaum, *or the Country adjoining to it, he left thoſe Parts.*

DISSERTATION.

Of Parables, and the Reaſons why our Saviour uſed them, &c.

I. *Parable, what the Word ſignifies, and in what Senſe it is uſed in Scripture. Parables in the Old Teſtament,* &c. II. *The Meaning of this Phraſe, Becauſe ſeeing, they ſee not,* &c. III. *Several Reaſons why our Lord made uſe of Parables in teaching the People.* IV. *The Nature and Tendency of theſe Parables.*

I. THE Chapter we are now to conſider, conſiſts almoſt wholly of Parables concerning thoſe who hear the Word. We believe theſe Parables, both as their general Nature and Tendency, and alſo as to our Lord's particular Deſign in each of them, are ſufficiently explain'd by our Paraphraſe: All we ſhall attempt, therefore, in this Diſſertation, ſhall be, *1ſt*, To ſhew what the Word Parable ſignifies, in the Bible; *2dly*, To find out the Meaning of that Phraſe in our Lord's Anſwer to his Diſciples, *Becauſe ſeeing, they ſee not*, when they asked him, *Why he ſpake in Parables? 3dly*, To aſſign ſome other Reaſons, beſides thoſe given by our Lord, for this Practice of his.

[a] The Word *Parable* comes from a *Greek* Word, which ſignifies to *compare Things together*, or to make a Parallel or Similitude of them with any Thing elſe. In the Scripture, Compariſon, Simile, Parable, and the ſententious Manner of ſpeaking by Proverbs, Sentences, or Similitudes, are often confounded together. What we call the *Proverbs of Solomon*, which are moral Maxims and Sentences, are by the *Greeks* called the *Parables of Solomon*. And in our *Engliſh* Bibles, as well as in the Vulgate, in order to expreſs the ſententious and poetical Stile of the falſe Prophet *Balaam*, we read, [b] *He took up his Parable, and ſaid.* In like Manner *Job*, when he makes anſwer to his Friends, is repreſented as *taking up, and* [c] *continuing his Parable.* The parabolical, enigmatical, figurative, and ſenten-

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[k] Matth. xiii. 44—50.

[l] Matth. xiii. 51, 52, 53.

[a] Calmet's Dict. in the Word Parable.

[b] Numb. xxiii. 7, 18.

[c] Job. xxvii. 1. xxix. 1.

tious Way of ſpeaking, was the Language of the Eaſtern Sages and learned Men; and nothing was by them counted more inſupportable than to hear a Fool utter Parables. [d] *The Legs of the Lame*, ſays Solomon, *are not equal; ſo is a Parable in the Mouth of Fools.*

The Prophets had recourſe to Parables, in order to make a ſtronger Impreſſion, both on Prince and People, of the Threatenings or of the Promiſes they delivered to them. *Nathan* [d] reproves *David* under the Parable of a rich Man, that had taken away and killed the Lamb of a poor Man. The Woman of *Tekoah*, [f] who was hired by *Joab* to reconcile the Mind of the ſame Prince towards his Son *Abſalom*, propoſed to him the Parable of her two Sons that fought together in the Field, one of which having killed the other, they were going to put the Murderer to Death, and ſo to deprive her of both her Sons at once. [g] *Jotham*, Son of *Gideon*, propoſed to the Men of *Shechem* the Parable of the Bramble of *Libanus*, whom the Trees had a mind to chuſe for their King. The Prophets often repreſent the Infidelity of *Jeruſalem* under the Parable of an adulterous Woman; and deſcribe the Violence of ſuch Princes as are Enemies to the People of God, under the Repreſentations of Lions, Eagles, Bears, and other ravenous Creatures. St. [h] *Jerom* obſerves, that this Way of inſtructing the People by Parables and Similitudes, was very common among the *Syrians*, and eſpecially among the Inhabitants of *Paleſtine*.

The Word *Parable* is alſo ſometimes uſed in Scripture in a Senſe of Reproach and Contempt. God threatens the *Jews* to ſcatter them among the Nations, and to make them a Parable or a Fable to the People. He ſays [i] he will make the Temple a Parable to all People, if *Iſrael* does not continue faithful to him. And when any one would expreſs a Nation hated of God, and which had ſuffered the utmoſt Degree of Anger, they uſed to mention its being *become like to the Iſraelites!*

Our Saviour, in the Goſpel, ſeldom ſpeaks otherwiſe to the People than in Parables. Some of theſe Parables are ſuppoſed to be true Stories; as that of the good *Samaritan*, who found on the Road to *Jericho* the Man wounded by Thieves; and that of the Prodigal Son. There are others, in which our Saviour ſeems to allude to ſome Points of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times; as that where it is ſaid, that a King went into a far Country to receive a Kingdom, which may allude to the Journey of *Archelaus*, who, after the Death of his Father *Herod*, went to *Rome*, there to receive from *Auguſtus* the Confirmation of a Will, which made him King of *Judea*. Our Saviour tells his Diſciples, upon their asking him why he ſpake in Parables, that he did it to verify a Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, which we ſhall now conſider.

II. *Iſaiah* had ſaid, that he heard the Voice of the Lord, ſaying, [k] *Go and tell this People, Hear ye, indeed, but underſtand not; and ſee ye, indeed, but receive not.* Which Prophecy, our Lord tells his Diſciples, was fulfilled in the *Jews* of his Time: And *therefore*, ſays he, *ſpeak I to them in Parables, becauſe they ſeeing, ſee not, and hearing, they hear not, neither do they underſtand.* Now to come at the true Senſe of this Paſſage, we muſt obſerve, that the Words here uſed, both in ſacred and other Authors, are proverbial, and regard Men who are ſo wicked and ſlothful, that either they attend not to, or will not follow, the cleareſt Intimations and Convictions of their Duty. Thus to a revolting and rebellious People, who had caſt off the Fear of God, the Prophet *Jeremy* ſpeaks theſe Words; [l] *Hear now this, O fooliſh People, and without Underſtanding, which have Eyes and ſee not, which have Ears and hear not:* And God ſpeaks to *Ezekiel* thus; [m] *Son of Man, thou dwelleſt in the midſt of a rebellious Houſe, which have Eyes to ſee, and ſee not, they have Ears to hear, and hear not, for they are a rebellious Houſe.*

This Form of Speech is frequent in *Philo*; as when ſpeaking of thoſe addicted to Wine and ſenſual Pleaſures, he ſays, [n] *They ſeeing, ſee not; and hearing, do not hear:* And again, [o] *it ſometimes happens, that ſeeing we ſee not, and hearing we hear not*; meaning, when the Mind is more intent upon other Things. *Demoſthenes* mentions as a Proverb a Phraſe to the ſame Purpoſe. And we find that this Phraſe is ſometimes uſed in a good Senſe, to ſignify Men who will not hearken to any Solicitations to Wickedneſs, but ſtop their Ears, and ſhut their Eyes againſt them. Thus we read of [p] *him that ſtoppeth his Ears from hearing of Blood, and that ſhutteth his Eyes that he may ſee no Evil.*

From theſe Conſiderations we may collect the Meaning of our Lord's Words, in which he aſſigns a Reaſon for his ſpeaking to the Multitude in Parables. This Phraſe, *to them it is not given to know the Myſteries of the Kingdom*, imports only, that he did not think fit to vouchſafe or allow them a clearer Knowledge of theſe Things, which he found them ſo much inclined to deſpiſe and neglect: And ſo, by the Rule of contrary, *To you it is given to know*, ſignifies, To you I think fit to allow the Knowledge of theſe Myſteries, as finding you diſpoſed to attend to, and improve by, them. Nor is there any Senſe in Scripture of the Word *give* more frequent than this of *allow*, *vouchſafe*, *permit*, or *think fit*. We read of the [q] *Day of Life which God hath given us, and of the* [r] *ſore Travel which God hath given to the Sons of Men:* And we ſay in common Diſcourſe, that ſuch an one is *given to Wine*, or *given to Women*, when we would intimate his allowing himſelf in the unlawful or inordinate Uſe of the one or the other.

They are in the wrong, therefore, who infer from St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, that our Saviour ſpake in Parables for this End, that the *Jews* might not perceive, or underſtand, or be converted: For theſe Evangeliſts, when one of them ſays, *that ſeeing they may not ſee*, and the other, *that ſeeing they may ſee, and not perceive*, are only giving an Abbreviation of what our Lord had ſaid, and St. *Matthew* related, more fully. Chriſt might ſay what *Mark* and *Luke* relate, and yet ſay more than they relate, as *Matthew* aſſures us he did: For *Matthew* could not have given us the Diſcourſe more fully, unleſs our Lord had ſpoken it more fully, than it is related by *Mark* and *Luke*. This is agreeable to a Rule which we have elſewhere given. Since then *Matthew* tells us expreſly from the Mouth of Chriſt, that *he therefore ſpake to them in Parables, becauſe they ſeeing would not ſee, or did not ſee, and hearing did not underſtand*; and that therefore they did not ſee, hear, and underſtand, *becauſe their Heart was waxed groſs, and their Ears heavy, and they had cloſed their Eyes, leſt they ſhould ſee, and hear, and be converted*; it ſeems evident that the Words of *Mark* and *Luke* muſt be filled up, or made entire, thus: "To others of the *Jews* ſpeak I in Parables, that as they will not hitherto ſee, hear, and underſtand, upon the plaineſt Evidence, ſo they may now ſee and not perceive, hear and not underſtand, thoſe Things which if they did perceive and underſtand, they would not believe." And doubtleſs, tho' this ſad Effect of their not perceiving and underſtanding, was not intended by them, yet it was the natural Effect of their ſhutting their Eyes and ſtopping their Ears againſt Evidence. Thus the Prophet *Hoſea* ſays concerning their Forefathers, [s] *Of their Silver and Gold have they made them Idols, that they might be cut off.* And the Prophet *Micah* thus expreſſeth the Word of God: [t] *For the Statutes of* Omri *are kept, and all the Works of the Houſe of* Ahab, *and ye walk in their Counſels, that I ſhould make thee a Deſolation.*

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[d] Prov. xxvi. 7.
[e] 2 Sam. xii. 2, 3, &c.
[f] 2 Sam. xiv. 2, 3, &c.
[g] Judg. ix. 7, 8.
[h] Hieron. in Matth. xviii.
[i] 2 Chron. vii. 20.
[k] Iſa. vi. 8, 9.
[l] Jer. v. 21.
[m] Ezek. xii. 2.
[n] Alleg. l. 2. p. 72. D.
[o] L. 3. p. 850. E.
[p] Iſai. xxxiii. 15.
[q] Eccleſ. v. 18. viii. 15. ix. 9.
[r] Eccleſ. iii. 10.

III. To make our Lord's Reaſon for teaching in Parables a little more plain, let us obſerve the following Things:

Firſt, That tho' this Way of Teaching was ſomewhat cloudy and obſcure, yet was it intelligible to the attent and ſearching Auditor; as will appear from that Expreſſion, with which our Saviour ſo often concludes his Parables, *He that hath Ears to hear, let him hear.* Agreeable to which, he ſays to the Multitude, when he was about to inſtruct them in Parables, [u] *Hear and underſtand.* And when his Diſciples aſked the Meaning of that Parable, he reprehends them, ſaying, *Are ye alſo without Underſtanding?* Intimating, that it was not ſo much the Obſcurity of his Words, as their own Dulneſs and Want of Underſtanding, that made them not perceive the Import of his Doctrine. And in another Place he ſpeaks by way of Admiration to them, ſaying, [w] *Know ye not this Parable!*

Secondly, That this Method of Inſtruction was not without its Uſes and Advantages, ſince hereby 'twas viſible who were the Sons of Wiſdom, who had a cordial Love to divine Things, and thought it worthy of their Pains to ſearch them out; which were neceſſary Qualifications for the Reception of the Goſpel Light. It was the Cuſtom of the Diſciples of the *Jewiſh* Doctors, when they underſtood not the Meaning of their Parables, to go to their Rabbies and get them explain'd; in imitation of which our Lord's Diſciples aſked him the Meaning of thoſe Parables, which they underſtood not. And this *Chriſt*'s other Hearers might have done, had they not been indiſpoſed to receive the Doctrines which he taught; and had they not choſen rather to be held in Error by the Scribes and Phariſees, than to be inſtructed by *Chriſt*. To which we may add, that Leſſons deliver'd in Parables, as they are beſt remember'd, ſo having once imprinted their Senſe, they will ſtick cloſeſt to us: For the Time ſpent in unfolding them, makes the Idea they give more fix'd and laſting in the Brain than it would otherwiſe be.

Thirdly, That it did not proceed from any Unwillingneſs in *Chriſt* to inſtruct the Multitude, that he thus ſpoke to them in Parables; but from their Indiſpoſition to receive his Doctrine, when it was more plainly deliver'd to them. Of this St. *Mark* informs us, by ſaying, [x] *He ſpake the Word to them in many Parables, as they were able to bear it:* Where his Compliance with their Capacity, or their Inclination, which is mentioned by the Evangeliſt, proves whoſe Fault it was that they were not taught more plainly: For if they had been *able to bear* literal Inſtruction, there would have been no need of Parables.

Fourthly, That what *Chriſt* thus deliver'd to the People, did not contain the fundamental Precepts and Doctrines of the Goſpel, but for the moſt part only certain Myſteries relating to the Progreſs of the Goſpel, and the Event of it among the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. The fundamental Precepts and Doctrines were deliver'd in the Sermon on the Mount, and in other plain Diſcourſes; and conſiſted of Truths, that when they were once known, appeared, for the Generality, of a ſelf-evident Nature: But the other Subjects here mention'd, as they were prophetical, and therefore not capable of an equal Proof, ſo were they uſually ſuch as claſhed either with the Prejudices or Intereſts of the *Jewiſh* Nation, or at leaſt of their Rulers. And even the *Jews* acknowledge, that Predictions, and Doctrines of this Nature, were properly taught in allegorical and parabolical Expreſſions; they being not ſo needful to be known, as the fundamental Rules of Faith and Manners.

IV. What we have juſt now ſaid concerning the Nature of our Saviour's Miracles, will be moſt obvious, when we have taken a ſhort View of them under their ſeveral Heads; which is what we ſhall next do, and then conclude this Diſcourſe, to proceed with our Hiſtory.

Some of them were ſuch as would, had they been deliver'd with greater Plainneſs, have ſoured and enraged the leading *Jews*, and ſtirred them up to a more violent Oppoſition to his Doctrine, and a more precipitate Endeavour to deſtroy his Perſon, before his Work on Earth was finiſhed: Of this kind we may reckon thoſe which proclaimed him to be the Meſſiah, and the Son of God; as that which ſtiles him the good Shepherd, and concludes them to be Wolves and Robbers: For they looked upon the Inſinuation of his Divinity to be plain Blaſphemy.

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[s] Hoſ. viii 4.

[t] Mic. vi. 16.

[u] Matth. xv. 10.

[w] Mark iv. 13.

[x] Mark iv. 33.

Other of theſe Parables contradicted their Traditions, and told them that 'twas not the Uncleanneſs of the Hands, or outward Man, but the Defilement of the Heart, which made them loathſome to God: Which Doctrine could not but be very offenſive to the Phariſees, who placed ſo much in their outward Ceremonies.

Others, again, upbraided their Stubbornneſs and Diſobedience; as did the Parable of the Vineyard planted by the Huſbandman, and that of the two Sons, of whom the eldeſt promiſed fair, but did not what he promiſed.

The Parable touching the arrogant Thankſgiving of the *Phariſee*, was a Cenſure of their Pride and Self-conceit: That of the Leaven, and that of the Grain of Muſtard-Seed, foretold the great Propagation and Increaſe of the Goſpel among the Heathens: That of the cutting down the unfruitful Figtree, and that of the Decree, that thoſe who refuſed, upon Invitation, to come to the Wedding Supper, ſhould not taſte thereof, were Predictions of the Ruin and Rejection of the *Jewiſh* Nation: Thoſe recited in the preceding Chapter, are chiefly againſt the negligent and prejudiced Hearers of the Goſpel: That of the Talents reflected on their Sloth, in not improving the Advantages they had already received, and threatened them with an utter Deprivation of thoſe Advantages by way of Puniſhment for their Negligence.

Now all theſe Things were ſo offenſive to the Phariſees, that had they been plainly delivered to them, they would have provoked them to ſuch a Degree of Rage, as might have quite diſcouraged his young Diſciples, and hindred the Performance of thoſe Works which were preparatory to his Reſurrection, and to the glorious Appearance of his Kingdom. It was therefore neceſſary to vail theſe Matters in Similitudes; which, though his Meaning in them might be well enough underſtood, could not furniſh ſo good a Pretence for perſecuting him, as plain open Declarations might have done.

There are, indeed, ſome of our Saviour's Parables, which reflect upon Vices that were common to many Perſons in all Nations, and which therefore ſeem not to be levelled peculiarly at the *Jews*, or at any particular Order of Men among them; (ſuch we may eſteem the Parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, and that of the rich Man pulling down his Barns:) But then the Interpretation of thoſe is ſo very obvious, that it is juſt the ſame Thing, with reſpect to the Underſtanding, as if he had taught the Doctrines therein couched in the plaineſt Words. And this being allowed, it is certain that the parabolical Way of Teaching, for ſome Reaſons juſt now mentioned, is preferrable to any other, let the Doctrine taught be of what kind ſover.

CHAP. V.

I. *Jeſus* paſſes over the Lake of *Genneſareth*, and anſwers a Lawyer who propoſed to follow him II. He obviates the Excuſe of another, who deſired to be his Diſciple. III. He appeaſes a great Storm, and reproves his Diſciples for their Incredulity. IV. He meets two Men poſſeſſed with Demons, who deſire him not to torture them. V. *Jeſus* drives out the Demons, and ſuffers them to enter into a Herd of Swine. The Swine run head-long into the Sea. VI. The Swineheards relate the News, and the *Gadarenes* deſire him to depart out of their Country. He returns towards *Capernaum*. The *Demoniacs* ſpread his Fame. VII. He is met by Multitudes at *Capernaum*, The Ruler of the Synagogue comes to beſeech him for his Daughter. *Jeſus* goes with the Ruler, and meets a Woman with a Flux of Blood. VIII. The Woman touches his Garment and is healed. *Jeſus* diſcovers and comforts her. IX. News is brought that the Prefect's Daughter was dead. *Jeſus* comes to the Houſe and reſtores her to Life. X. He reſtores Sight to two blind Men. XI. He heals a *Demoniac* who was Dumb.

I.[a] THE *ſame Day in which* Jeſus *delivered the Parables mentioned in the laſt Chapter, towards the Evening, being on the Weſtern Side of the Lake of* Genneſareth, *together with his Diſciples, he ordered them to get a Ship in Readineſs to tranſport them to the other Side towards* Gadara. *Being ready to go on Ship-board, there came a Lawyer to him, declaring he was willing to follow him whitherſoever he went, imagining in all likelihood he was bound to ſome Place where he might advance his Fortune.* Jeſus *thereupon told him, that all Places here on Earth were alike to him; that the Foxes had Holes, and the Birds Trees wherein to ſhelter themſelves; that the moſt miſerable Men had ſome Houſe to repair to; but that for his Part, he had not any Place to retire to, nor where he could entertain his Followers. By which Words he admoniſhed his Diſciples not to hope for his eſtabliſhing an earthly Government among them, nor*

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[a] Matth. viii. 18, 19, 20. Mark iv. 35. Luke viii. 22.

to hanker after the Profits that uſually attend it.

II. [b] *Another Diſciple came to him at the ſame Time, profeſſing his Readineſs to follow him all his Life-time; but deſired he would permit him to continue with his aged Father till his Death, and then after he had buried him he would return to* Jeſus. Jeſus *thereupon, to put him in Mind that the Concerns of Heaven were to be preferred before all worldly Affairs, and that he ought to make Uſe of the preſent Opportunity that he might not fail of the Happineſs he propoſed, thus anſwered him:* Follow me, and leave the Management of the Funeral Rites to thoſe who may juſtly be termed Dead in reſpect of the ſpiritual Life of the Soul, that is, a Conformity of Morals to the Goſpel Purity.

III. [c] *The Multitude being afterwards diſmiſſed,* Jeſus *went on Board, together with his Apoſtles, and ſeveral other Veſſels followed him. When he was at ſome Diſtance from the Shore, there aroſe a ſudden Storm of Wind, ſo fierce, that the little Veſſel in which* Jeſus *was, together with his Diſciples, was in a ſhort Space almoſt full of Water, and ſo in Danger of being ſunk. All this while* Jeſus *was aſleep on the Stern of the Ship. But his Apoſtles, concerned for the Danger they were all in, waked him, and begged that he would not ſuffer them to periſh in his Company.* Jeſus, *as ſoon as he awaked, with a loud Voice commanded the Wind to ceaſe, and the Sea to be ſtill: Which Words were no ſooner pronounced, but the Wind fell, and there enſued ſo great a Calm, that they were forced to make uſe of their Oars.* Jeſus *then reproached his Apoſtles with their unreaſonable Fear in his Preſence, and their mean Notions concerning the Power and Truth of God, ſince the many Miracles, of which they had been Eye-witneſſes, might have given them to underſtand how much they were under God's immediate Care; and that therefore they might be ſecure in the greateſt Tempeſt. But they, ſtruck with Admiration, mixed with Terror, inquired one of another what Sort of Power this was with which* Jeſus *was inveſted, and which was extended to an abſolute Authority over the Winds and Waves, the like to which they had never before heard of.*

IV. [d] *Not long after they landed on the Eaſtern Side of the Lake, not far from* Gadara, *a Town inhabited by Heathens, and ſituated on the Side oppoſite to* Galilee. Jeſus *had no ſooner landed, but there met him two Men poſſeſſed with evil Spirits, naked, and who dwelt among the Sepulchres hard by. They had been often bound with Chains and Fetters, and as often broke them; and being impatient of all Reſtraint, they made their Abode among the Sepulchres, from whence they were wont to ſet upon thoſe that paſſed by, which had made that Road unfrequented. In theſe Places they lived Night and Day raging mad, and making dreadful Outcries; not only moleſting Paſſengers, but tearing and cutting themſelves with Stones in a moſt cruel Manner. Theſe perceiving* Jeſus *at a Diſtance, being acted by the evil Spirits, run towards him, and falling down at his Feet, cried out,* What have we to do with thee, O *Jeſus*, thou Son of the moſt high God? We adjure thee by thy heavenly Father not to torment us, ſince the Time in which he has decreed we ſhall be puniſhed, is not yet come: Do not trouble us till that Time come. *Theſe Words were pronounced by the evil Spirits, who made Uſe of the Organs of thoſe miſerable Perſons that had been a long Time poſſeſſed by them, becauſe* Jeſus *had commanded them to go out, taking Pity on the calamitous Condition of thoſe poor Wretches: For, as we have obſerved, they had been poſſeſſed of a long Time, and could not be bound with any Chains or Fetters; but the* Demons *breaking through all Obſtacles, hurried them away into theſe Deſarts.*

V. [e] Jeſus, *that his Diſciples might have ſome Notion of the great Miſery of thoſe Men, and withal of the Greatneſs of the Benefit he was determined to confer upon them, aſked the evil Spirits by what Name they were called. They told him their Name was* Legion, *becauſe that many evil Spirits had entered into them at the ſame Time. And they vehemently beſought* Jeſus *not to baniſh them from thoſe Parts, nor to ſend them to the Place of Torment. It happened that there was a Herd of Swine feeding not far off at the Foot of the Mountains: The* Demons *therefore intreated* Jeſus, *that if he compelled them to depart out of the Bodies of the Men, he would permit them to enter into thoſe of the Swine, deſigning in all Likelihood by the Deſtruction of the Swine to alienate the Minds of the* Gaderenes, *to whom they belonged, from him, leſt the miraculous Recovery of thoſe two Men ſhould perſuade many to believe his Goſpel. Now* Jeſus, *to make Trial of the Virtue of the Inhabitants of* Gadara, *and to ſee whether they would be more affected with the Loſs of their Swine than the Recovery of the Men and the hearing of his Doctrine, granted this Requeſt of the* Demons; *who making Uſe of this Permiſſion, entered into the Swine, who precipitated themſelves from the Tops of the Rocks into the Lake, where they were all drowned, being in Number about two thouſand, the Loſs of which no Doubt the* Gadarenes *would greatly reſent.*

VI. [f] *The Swineherds, who had ſeen the Accident, ran to the Town in a great Fright, every where divulging this Loſs, and alſo the Miracle wrought upon the Men that had been poſſeſſed. This News filled all the Inhabitants with Aſtoniſhment, and a Deſire of being ſatisfied of the Truth of what theſe Men had related to them. Thereupon they came out in a Body towards* Jeſus, *and near him ſaw with Amazement the two Men that had been poſſeſſed by the* Demons *quietly repoſing themſelves, clothed, and in a ſound Mind; and all that were preſent confirmed to them the Story of the Swineherds, how the* Demons *had*

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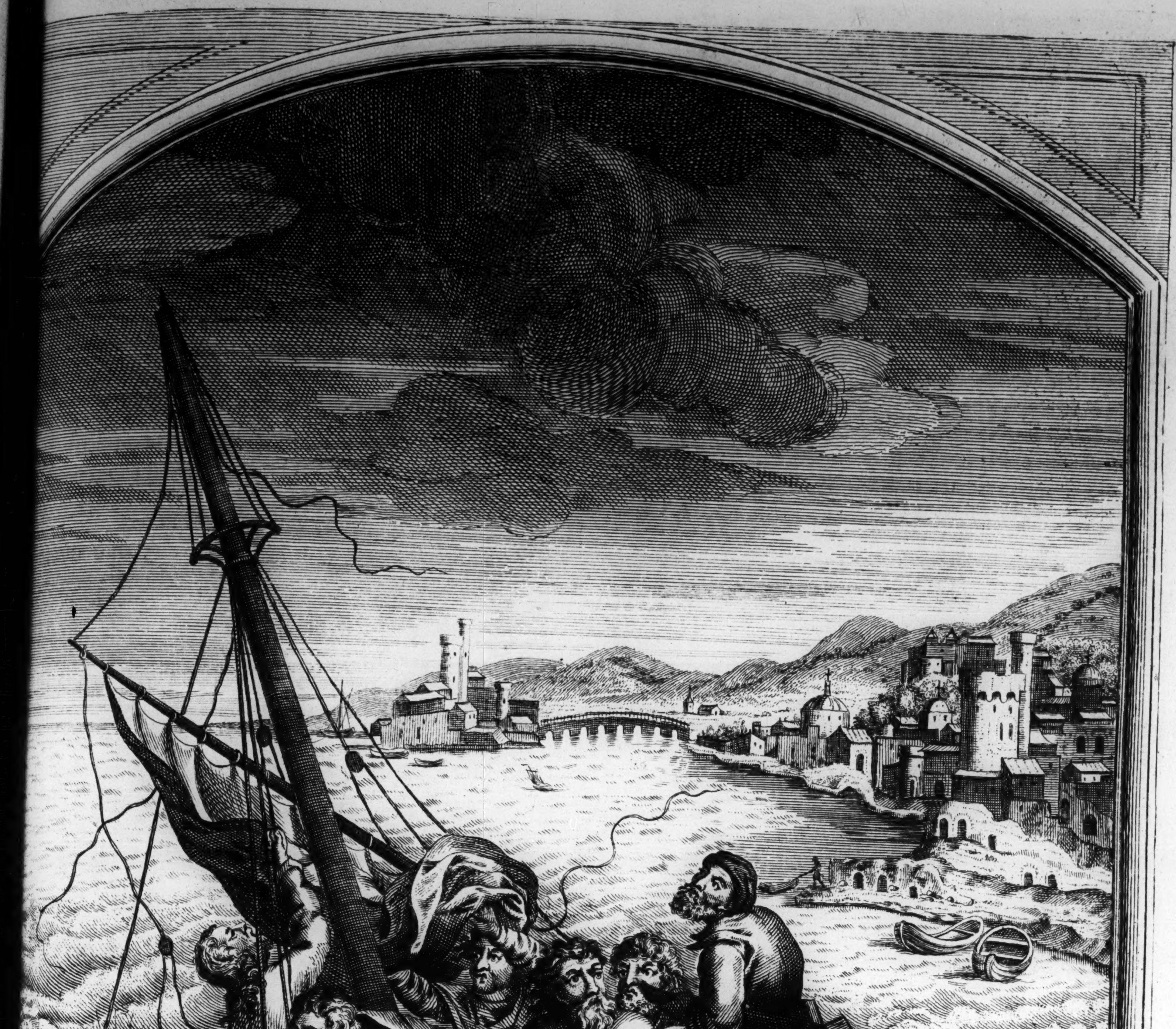
[b] Matth. viii. 21, 22.

[c] Matth viii. 23—27. Mark iv. 36—41. Luke viii. 23, 24, 25.

[d] Matth. viii. 28, 29. Mark v. 1—10. Luke viii. 26—9.

[e] Mark v. 9—13. Luke viii. 30—33. Matth. viii. 30, 31, 32.

[f] Matth viii 33, 34. Mark v. 14—20. Luke viii. 34—39.



Jeſus appeaſes a great Tempest.

Matth. VIII.

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been caſt out by the Command of Jeſus, *and of the Herd of Swines being drowned in the Lake. The Thing being thus made manifeſt, the whole City came out to* Jeſus, *and in a Body intreated him to depart out of their Coaſts, greatly apprehending ſuch another Misfortune.* Jeſus *perceiving their Apprehenſions, and how much they preferred their Wealth before the hearing of his Doctrine, took Shipping in order to return to* Capernaum; *and being ready to put off, the two Men whom he had reſcued from the Power of the evil Spirits, came to him, and beſought him to give them Leave to go along with him. But* Jeſus *ſent them Home, bidding them acquaint their Countrymen with the great Benefits they had received from God. Whereupon they left him, and ſpread the Report of that Miracle throughout all the Region of* Decapolis; *and all that heard it were filled with Admiration.*

VII. [g] *As ſoon as* Jeſus *was come to the Weſtern Side of the Lake of* Genneſareth, *there came thither a Multitude of People that had formerly heard him, in Expectation of his Return; and being impatient of his Delay, ſtood upon the Shore to receive him at his landing.* Jeſus *therefore left the Veſſel, and being come on Shore, began to inſtruct them, and diſcourſed with them upon the Method of dealing with the infirm Tempers of his Diſciples; when on a Sudden there came a certain Prefect of the Synagogue of* Capernaum *to* Jeſus, *who falling down at his Feet, earneſtly intreated him to go Home with him, that by laying his Hands upon his Daughter, he might reſtore her to her former Health, ſhe being now at the Point of Death.* Jeſus *moved with the Man's Petition, began to follow him, together with his Apoſtles; and a great Crowd of the People attended him, preſſing upon him on all ſides. Among theſe there was a certain Woman that had been troubled with a Flux of Blood for twelve Years, who had in vain had Recourſe to Phyſicians, having ſpent her Eſtate upon them, and made uſe of their Remedies without the leaſt Amendment.*

VIII. [h] *This Woman having been informed by ſeveral credible Perſons, that all People were cured of whatſoever Infirmities they laboured under, if they did but ſo much as touch his Clothes, came behind him, and touched the Hem of his Garment, not in the leaſt doubting but ſhe ſhould be cured of her Diſeaſe. She had no ſooner done it, but ſhe perceived a wonderful Alteration in her Body, and was perfectly cured from that very Moment.* Jeſus *perceived the Miracle, and immediately turning himſelf about in the midſt of the Crowd that throng'd round him, asked who it was that touched his Coat. Thoſe that were next to him diſowning that they had touched him with any Deſign,* Peter *and others of his Diſciples told him they could not but wonder at his Queſtion, ſince the Multitude every where preſſed upon him.* But, *replied* Jeſus, ſome Perſon has touched me with Deſign; for I perceive a Miracle hath been wrought in favour of ſome ſuch Perſon: *And looking round to ſee if any would own the Thing, the Woman finding ſhe was diſcovered, began to be afraid, and falling down at the Feet of* Jeſus, *being conſcious of her Recovery, confeſſed the Matter before all that were then preſent.* Jeſus *turning himſelf to her, bid her be of good Comfort, declaring that ſhe had been cured by Reaſon of the high Opinion ſhe had conceived of the divine Power and Beneficence, bidding her depart, aſſured that he willingly conſented to her Recovery.*

IX. [i] *While* Jeſus *yet ſpake, there came ſome Meſſengers from the Houſe of the Prefect of the Synagogue unto him, to acquaint him that his Daughter was dead, and that it was to no Purpoſe to trouble* Jeſus *any farther, nor to bring him to a Carcaſe without any Manner of Hopes left. But* Jeſus *bid the Prefect, who was in Tears upon this News, not to be afraid; telling him, that if he had a juſt Senſe of the Power and Goodneſs of God, his Daughter ſhould yet do well. He went on therefore towards the Houſe, the Multitude following him; but he permitted none to go into the Houſe with him beſides theſe three Apoſtles,* Peter, James, *and* John, *together the Parents of the Deceaſed. Being entered, he found the Mourners and Pipers, and other Preparations for the Funeral, ready according to the Manner of the* Jews. Jeſus *therefore told them they need not make ſuch a Tumult, nor be ſo much concerned for their ſuppoſed Loſs; for that the Maid was only in a Sleep; that ſhe ſhould quickly be waked out of it, and that ſhe ſhould not die this Time: But they began to jeer him, well knowing that ſhe was really dead. Nevertheleſs,* Jeſus *bid them all depart out of the Room in which the Girl lay, except her Parents: Then taking her by the Hand,* Maid, *ſaid he,* ariſe. *The Words were no ſooner pronounced, but her Soul returned unto her, and ſhe immediately got up, being about twelve Years old. Then* Jeſus, *to demonſtrate that this was no magical Illuſion, and to convince them that ſhe was perfectly recovered, ordered them to give her ſomething to eat. The Parents could not but look upon this Miracle with the greateſt Admiration; and were ſo filled with Joy for the miraculous Favour beſtowed on them, that they would have ſpread the Rumour of it far and near, if* Jeſus *had not expreſly charged them not to divulge it, leſt it ſhould occaſion a too numerous Reſort of Men unto him. Nevertheleſs, the Fame of it went through all the Country, from which many inferr'd that he was the Meſſiah.*

X. [k] *Being now upon his Return home, there followed him two blind Men to the Houſe where he lodged, crying all the Way they went,* O Son of *David* have Mercy on us! Jeſus *therefore asked them, whether they had ſuch a great Idea of the Power wherewith he was inveſted, as to be perſuaded that he was able to reſtore them to their Sight. They replied, they were firmly perſuaded that he was able.* Jeſus *therefore touched their Eyes, and told them that he was willing they ſhould be cured, ſince they had this juſt Notion of the divine Power by which he acted: Upon which*

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[g] Mark v. 21—26. Luke viii. 40—43. Matth. ix. 18, 19, 20.

[h] Matth. ix. 20, 21, 22. Mark v. 27—34. Luke viii. 44—48.

[i] Mark v. 35—43. Luke viii 49—56. Matth. ix. 23—26.

[k] Matth. ix. 27—31.

they both immediately recovered. Jeſus *forbid them to publiſh this ſo great a Miracle for the Reaſon before-mentioned, and particularly becauſe they had ſtiled him the* Meſſiah. *But they, as ſoon as they were out of his Sight, could not refrain themſelves, as thinking it injurious to their Benefactor not to divulge what was ſo very much to his Honour.*

XI. [1] *Soon after there was brought to* Jeſus *a Man poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, which had deprived him of the Uſe of his Speech.* Jeſus *taking pity of him, commanded the* Demon *to depart out of him, who inſtantly obeyed, and the Man began to ſpeak. Now this ſort of* Demon *being the moſt difficult of all to be caſt out, the Multitude wondered that it ſhould obey the very firſt Summons, affirming they had never ſeen the like. But the* Phariſees, *who were bitter Enemies to* Jeſus, *endeavour'd to perſuade the People that he caſt out the evil Spirits by an Authority derived from the Prince of them; that therefore he was a Magician, and not a Prophet.*

DISSERTATION.

In Defence of three of our Saviour's Miracles, namely, his ſending a Legion of *Demons* out of two Men into a Herd of Swine, his raiſing the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter, and his curing a Woman who had an Iſſue of Blood twelve Years.

I. *Only Argument to be conſidered in this Diſſertation.* Mark *and* Luke *reconciled with* Matthew *in their Account of the* Demoniacs *that were cured by* Jeſus. II. *Firſt Objection againſt this Miracle conſidered.* III. *Second Objection. The Juſtice of* Jeſus *in this Miracle defended.* IV. *Several Queries anſwered.* V. *An Argument taken from the Evidence againſt our Lord at his Crucifixion conſidered.* VI. *Reflections on the Hiſtory of the Ruler's Daughter, who was raiſed by* Jeſus. VII. *The Objection, That none of the Rulers believed on* Chriſt, *conſidered.* VIII. *Why* Jeſus *called Death by the Name of Sleep.* IX. *Why he turned the People out of the Room when he performed this Miracle.* X. *Why he charged the Damſel's Parents not to publiſh the Miracle.* XI. *A Detection of two Miſrepreſentations of the Fathers.* XII. *Proof that all our Saviour's Cures of bodily Diſeaſes were miraculous.* XIII. *A Conceſſion concerning the Woman cured of the Iſſue of Blood taken notice of.* XIV. *An Enquiry into the Nature of that Woman's Diſeaſe.* XV. *That this Cure could not be wrought by the Woman's Fancy. The Power of Imagination conſidered.* XVI. *Why* Jeſus *performed no Cures againſt Unbelief.* XVII. *The Opinion of ſeveral Phyſicians, concerning the Cure of the above-mentioned Woman.*

I. THREE of the Miracles related in the Chapter juſt now concluded, are cavilled at by the Author of the Diſcourſes which we have ſo often mentioned. Theſe Miracles are, *Firſt*, Our Saviour's driving a Legion of Devils out of two Men who were poſſeſſed, and ſuffering thoſe Devils to enter into a Herd of Swine: *Secondly*, His raiſing to Life the Daughter of *Jairus*, Ruler of the Synagogue; (a Miracle which hath partly been defended before, in Conjunction with [a] two others of the ſame Nature:) And, *thirdly*, his curing a Woman, who had been twelve Years troubled with an Iſſue of Blood, by the Touch of his Garment only. When we have gone through theſe, we ſhall have done with much the greateſt Part of thoſe Miracles that are animadverted on by the above-mentioned Writer; of whoſe Objections we have already promiſed to take no farther notice, than as they are offered by way of Argument, without regarding his numerous Quotations of the Fathers, in Defence of a myſtical Interpretation; thoſe Quotations being all of the ſame Kind with thoſe already expoſed, that is, either falſe in themſelves, or nothing at all to the Purpoſe for which they are produced; as may be abundantly ſeen in the learned [b] Work from which we extract moſt of our Anſwers to what this Author has malignantly ſaid.

The firſt of theſe Miracles then, is our Saviour's diſpoſſeſſing a Legion of *Demons*, and ſuffering them to enter into the Swine: In the Hiſtory of which Fact one Thing occurs, which we ſhould ſet right before we proceed to the Defence of it: We mean the Difference between *Matthew* and the two other Evangeliſts who relate it: For whereas *Matthew* mentions two that were poſſeſſed with *Demons*, *Mark* and *Luke* ſpeak only of one. Beſides what has been ſaid concerning this Variation in a [c] Diſſertation on the Harmony of the Goſpels, (to which we refer the Reader;) we think Dr. *Lightfoot*'s Conjectures thereon not unworthy of Notice. [d] He imagines one of theſe two was a *Gergeſen*, and a *Jew*; and ſo, in caſting the Devils out of him, our Saviour did only what he had frequently done in *Judæa*: But that the other was a *Gaderen*, one of a heathen City. (That *Gadara* was a Heathen City, is what *Joſephus* teſtifies. And the Country between this Place and *Gergeſa*, is called by *Matthew* the Land of the *Gergeſens*, and by *Mark* and *Luke* the Land of the *Gaderens*, becauſe of its Proximity to the two Cities.) Now of this one St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* more peculiarly take Notice, becauſe his Cure was a remarkable and rare Inſtance; this and that of the *Syrophenician* Woman being the only Inſtances of Cures wrought upon Heathens. That this Man was a Heathen Dr. *Lightfoot* conjectures, not only from the City he inhabited, but from the Devil's Requeſt that *Jeſus* would not torment them, nor ſend them out of the Country; for being among Heathens, they thought they were in their own, and not in *Chriſt*'s Juriſdiction. He farther thinks that this was the only one that had an unclean Spirit, and who had been bound with Bands and Chains to no Purpoſe: And that on Account of this remarkable Circumſtance, as well as the former, *Mark* and *Luke* take notice of him to the Excluſion of the other, in whom was no ſuch remarkable Circumſtance at all.

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[1] Matth. ix. 32, 33, 34.

[a] Thoſe of raiſing the Widow of Naim's Son and Lazarus. See Diſſ. after C. ii. of this ſame Book.

[b] Bp. of Litchfield and Coventry's Vindication.

[c] See p. 143 of this Work.

[d] See Lightfoot's Harm. p. 32.

[c] Diſc. i. p. 32. We have before conſidered the Miraculouſneſs of our Saviour's Diſpoſſeſſions in general.

II. We now proceed to Mr. *Woolſton*'s Objections againſt the Letter of this Story; the *firſt* of which, that we ſhall take notice of, is, That [e] *it is not credible there was a Herd of Swine in that Country.* [f] But this is capable of being anſwer'd in a few Words, after what we have already ſaid of this Country. For though the *Jews* were forbid by their Law to eat Swine's Fleſh, and by their later Conſtitutions to keep Swine; yet it is very credible that Swine were both kept and eat in the Country of *Gadara*, which was Part of *Decapolis*, or the Region of Ten Cities of *Greeks* intermixed with the *Jews*. For *Gadara* was the Metropolis of *Peræa* in *Cæle-Syria*; it was a *Greek* City, and not a *Jewiſh* one; and therefore both that Place, and the Country round about it, may fairly be allowed to abound with Swine. And on this Occaſion, for Brevity Sake, we refer the Reader to the Teſtimony of *Strabo*, and that of *Joſephus*, above mentioned, as they are cited by *Caſaubon* [g] in his critical Work on *Baronius*, which moſt clearly eſtabliſh this Aſſertion. Swine therefore, though forbidden the *Jews*, might very well be found in their Neighbourhood: And the Authorities now referred to, favour ſuch a Suppoſition; though it is declared by our Author to be improbable, but without any Reaſon aſſigned by him.

III. *Secondly*, Mr. *Woolſton* objects, that ſuch [h] *a Permiſſion to the Devils to enter into the Herd of Swine, to their Deſtruction, is inconſiſtent with Goodneſs and Juſtice.* Now it is certain, that as the Miracles of our Lord, in general, were very uſeful and beneficial to Mankind; ſo three Inſtances occur out of about thirty different Sorts of them, that were, no Doubt for peculiar Reaſons, of the punitive and vindictive Kind. That of *driving the Sellers and Buyers out of the Temple*, though without any Injury done to their Goods, has been already vindicated. Another is that of *Curſing the barren Figtree*; which ſhall likewiſe be vindicated in its proper Place. And the third is the *miraculous Permiſſion*, now under our immediate View. But to reduce this Matter into a narrow Compaſs; they were either *Jews* or *Gentiles*, that were Proprietors of the Swine that were deſtroyed, in Conſequence of the Permiſſion given to the evil Spirits to enter into them. If the Swine belonged to the *Jews* that were intermixed with the *Grecian* Gentiles, thoſe *Jews* were juſtly puniſhed for their ſordid Covetouſneſs, that prevailed ſo far as to induce them to break their own Laws and Conſtitutions. If the Proprietors were apoſtate *Jews*, with whom, as *Grotius* informs us, that Place abounded, it muſt be granted that they were moſt juſtly puniſhed for their Apoſtacy. And if they were Gentiles that owned the Swine, it is reaſonable to believe they were guilty of ſome great Sins, that occaſioned this Loſs to them: And the Conjecture is not improbable, that it was inflicted in order to cure them, by an Argument peculiarly adapted to them, of their idolatrous Worſhip of Demons; over whom *Jeſus* ſo clearly demonſtrated his Superiority, both in his caſting out of one Man an whole Legion of them, and likewiſe by their Confeſſion that they abſolutely depended on his Permiſſion. So that even this Permiſſion, in the Intention of it, ſeems to have been uſeful and beneficial, though it was of the terrifying and punitive Kind. For our Lord not only hereby ſhewed the implacable Hatred of thoſe *Demons* whom they worſhipped to Mankind, but likewiſe his own inexpreſſible Love to all Men, by ſubduing the Power and reſtraining the Malice of their inviolable Enemies; and to themſelves in particular, by caſting out of one of their Demoniacs ſuch a Multitude of Devils, and obliging them to leave their miſerable Country. And if the People of that Country were not of a Temper capable of being won to the Goſpel by ſo great an Act of Love and Compaſſion, it was not improper to terrify thoſe who deſerved to be puniſhed, not only for their former Sins, but for their preſent Perverſeneſs and obſtinate Infidelity. For no doubt they muſt have frequently heard of the Miracles of *Jeſus* performed on the other Side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, and now ſaw a very great one wrought in the Cure of the wretched Demoniacs among themſelves: So that even this Permiſſion of *Jeſus* to the evil Spirits, was amply compenſated by caſting an whole Legion of Devil's out of two Perſons. And this Diſpoſſeſſion of thoſe evil Spirits, and Permiſſion given them in Conſequence of it, were Arguments of great Force to ſhew the Power of *Jeſus*, over ſo numerous a Regiment of them, and thereby to convince the *Gadarens*, if they had made a right Application of this Miracle, of the Truth of the Goſpel, and of the Madneſs of their own Worſhip of ſuch impure Spirits, as were caſt out of Men at *Jeſus*'s Command, and could not enter even into the Swine without his Permiſſion. The Goodneſs therefore, as well as Juſtice of our Lord, is fully exhibited, in the Diſpoſſeſſion of ſo many tyrannical Spirits lodged in one or two Perſons, [i] *unto whom great Things* are truly ſaid *to have been done by God*; and likewiſe by *Jeſus*'s Attempt to rouze and awaken the thoughtleſs, or rather wicked *Gadarens*, to a true Senſe of his Religion, by a Loſs ſo eaſily borne, and which probably was ſhared among ſeveral Proprietors of the Swine; who may be conſidered as a Sort of Contributors to the Sacrifice of them, as devoted to the Deliverance of their Country from evil Spirits.

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[e] Diſc. i. p. 32.

[h] Diſc. i. p. 33.

[f] Vind. Vol. i. p. 199, &c.

[i] Luke viii. 39.

[g] Vide Iſ. Caſaub. Exercit. 13. in Baron. Annal. p 301. Lond. 1614.

And here we cannot but reflect how very ſmall the Number is of the vindictive Inſtances of *Jeſus*'s miraculous Power, when compared with the many terrible ones even of the meek *Moſes*, and the other antient Prophets among the *Jews*, performed upon Multitudes of Men, and not upon mere Swine, or an inſenſible Fig-tree. And if it be replied on this Occaſion, that Prophets were always allowed to act above vulgar Rules in vindictive and punitive Inſtances; we muſt certainly recollect that *Jeſus* was not only acknowledged by the *Jewiſh* Multitudes to be a great Prophet, but was confeſſed by the ejected Devils themſelves to be [k] *the Son of God moſt High*. And how much is this heightened when we conſider, that he was and is, believed by all true Chriſtians to be the ſovereign Proprietor of all Things, and who therefore can transfer Right without any Imputation of Injury, and who probably puniſhed the *Gadaren* Sinners with much leſs Severity than their Iniquities deſerved; and that too with a View of promoting the great and good Ends that have now been intimated?

IV. Two or three [l] Queſtions more are asked by our Author about theſe Demoniacs, which we are not ſtrictly obliged to anſwer, as being foreign to the preſent Caſe. For whether an Anſwer is aſſignable or not to Matters of ſo curious a Nature, the Miracle wrought by *Jeſus* on the Demoniacs is not at all affected, but the Fact continues the very ſame. However, it may be replied in general to this Query, "Why did theſe Demoniacs dwell among the Tombs?" that by the Acknowledgment of all the World, not only the antient Tombs were generally without Towns and Cities, but were thought even by ſome Philoſophers to be frequented by departed Spirits; or at leaſt ſuch melancholy Places were very ſuitable to Perſons of their Character. Again it is asked, "Why theſe Wretches were not taken Care of? we anſwer, that the *Gadarenes* were not only a rude and unpoliſhed Sort of People, as has been ſhewn, but poſſibly they had not thoſe Accommodations for poſſeſſed or mad Perſons as we of later Ages have. And laſtly, he ſays, that, "to prevent Danger, it was lawful to diſpatch them." But indeed we are not aſſured that the *Gadarens*, notwithſtanding their Want of Politeneſs, were arrived at that Degree of Barbarity. But which Way ſoever theſe imaginary Difficulties are ſolved, this Miracle of *Jeſus* was actually performed, and ought to be conſidered as a well eſtabliſhed Fact.

V. After all this Parade, our Author appeals to the Fathers, whom he here treats with his uſual Candour and Sincerity: And then, as if he diſtruſted the Strength of his Arguments, thus pretended to be drawn from Reaſon and the Authorities of the Fathers, he has thought fit to corroborate them with ſome additional Reflections on the literal Senſe of this Miracle, and that of purging the Temple, both which he ſtrives to make more agreeable to vitiated Palates by a little Blaſphemy. And in order to introduce it, he boldly aſſerts that theſe two Miracles [m] *could not have been literally. true of* Jeſus, *becauſe no ſuch Crimes, as are contained in theſe Stories, were laid to his Charge*; and that *if they had been literally true, there had been no need of falſe Witneſſes againſt him*. And [n] *for this Reaſon* he confeſſes that *he believes little, or nothing, of theſe ſeemingly miraculous Stories*, as he ſtyles them. Now in Anſwer to this impious Suggeſtion it ought to be remember'd, that the Objections already conſidered againſt the literal Senſe of theſe two Miracles, in Point of Reaſon, are of no Manner of Force. Theſe Miracles were therefore real Facts, notwithſtanding the Allegories that have been grafted on them. And if they were ſuch real Facts as they are repreſented in the Goſpel, there were no ſuch Crimes committed in either of them, as our Author fancies might have been urged againſt *Jeſus*, even to his legal Condemnation; and that for this very Reaſon, becauſe no ſuch Crimes were laid to his Charge before *Pilate*, when the Malice of his Enemies was obliged to recur to falſe Witneſſes, and thoſe likewiſe diſagreeing in their Evidence, or rather not depoſing any Thing that was equal to a capital Crime. It is clear then, that the *Gadarenes*, who not only contented themſelves with deſiring *Jeſus to depart out of their Coaſts*, but did not appear as Evidence againſt him before the Judge, had not formed any hight Notions of the Injury done them. Neither did the Merchants, drove out of the Temple by *Jeſus*, depoſe at the Trial of *Jeſus*, that *they were great Sufferers by him, and that their Goods were embezzled or damaged* on that Occaſion. Their Traffic there was unlawful, and therefore forbid by *Jeſus*; but as for their Money, though it was thrown down on the Floor, it was not pretended to have been taken away from the Proprietors of it. Where do we find that they were not permitted to gather up their own? Or how does it appear, that they were not allowed to take Poſſeſſion again of their reſpective Cattle, and ſell them elſewhere? And as for the Doves, which might not have been ſo eaſily recovered, our Lord expreſly ſaid to the Sellers of them, *Take theſe Things hence.* No one then complained that he had loſt his Money or Goods; neither was any ſuch Evidence produced by the pretended Sufferers, even when the *Jewiſh* Governors were under great Want of Evidence to condemn *Jeſus.* It is therefore demonſtrable that no ſuch Injury was then thought to be done by either of theſe Miracles, as is now pretended. However, in this notorious Deficiency of *Jewiſh* Evidence to condemn our Lord, and when *Pilate* himſelf was ſo far from affirming that he had *done any Evil*, that when he gave Sentence againſt him, he acknowledged his Innocency; Mr. *Woolſton* has had the unparallel'd Aſſurance to draw up a new Bill of Indictment againſt *Jeſus*, and has condemned him again, as guilty of Crimes not laid to his Charge even by the implacable Malice of the *Jews* themſelves. Strange and unheard-of Blaſphemy! that when the Witneſſes againſt *Jeſus*, ſuborned as they were, could offer at no Accuſation worthy of Death, even in the Opinion of his Judge, a Perſon that ſtill writes himſelf an Adorer of the holy *Jeſus*, ſhould, at this Diſtance of Time, pretend to diſcover ſuch ſupplemental Evidence, as would, in the Opinion of this Author, have juſtly condemn'd him.

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[k] Mark v. 7. Luke viii. 28.

[l] Diſc. i. p. 32, 33.

[m] P. 38.

[n] P. 39.

That we may not be thought to accuſe him as wrongfully as he has done his former Maſter, we will tranſcribe his own emphatical, but ſhocking, Words. He tells us, That [o] *if any Perſon among us had done the like to what* Jeſus *is ſaid to have done with regard to the Demoniacs and Swine, our Laws and Judges of the laſt Age would have made him to ſwing for it.* Again, That [p] *if this Account of the Demoniacs and Swine, and likewiſe that of Purifying the Temple, had been literally true, there had been no need of falſe Witneſſes againſt him.* Once more, *Upon ſuch Evidence as this* Pilate *aſks the Opinion of the* Jews, *ſaying*, What think you? *If they had all condemned him to be guilty of Death, it is no Wonder, ſince there is not a Jury in* England *that would have acquitted any one arraign'd and accus'd in the like Caſe.* He has here dared to give Sentence againſt our Lord, in the Name of the Laws, and Judges, and Jury of *England*, both of the laſt and of the preſent Age. This is all over ſo diabolical, that we ſcarce know how to copy ſuch Language, tho' for its Confutation. For this Apoſtate Writer has not only juſtified the *Jews* themſelves in crucifying our Lord, as one that well deſerved to be put to Death, but has himſelf condemned him again, by a Verdict of his own Invention, as a wicked Impoſtor; has *literally crucified the Son of God afreſh*, and *put him* anew *to an open Shame*. *Hear this, O Heavens; and give Ear, O Earth!* and be ye aſtoniſh'd at the Affronts offer'd to the Lord of both!

VI. The *ſecond* Miracle which we propoſed to conſider, is the Raiſing of the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter. We have already ſpoken of this Miracle in general, and defended it in thoſe Circumſtances which it has in common with the other two Reſurrection-Miracles of our Lord: All we have now to do, therefore, is to refute the particular Objections that are offer'd againſt it; in order to which, it is neceſſary to premiſe ſome Reflections on the hiſtorical Account of the Damſel's Death.

When the Ruler of the Synagogue applied to *Jeſus* for the Cure of his Daughter, ſhe is ſaid by St. *Mark* to have been [q] *at the Point of Death*, and by St. *Luke* to [r] *have lain a dying*, which is the ſame with St. *Matthew*'s Phraſe, that ſhe was [ſ] *even now dead*. But we find that as *Jeſus* was going to the Ruler's Houſe, and by the Way was a little retarded by the Cure of the Woman that had an Iſſue of Blood, there came a [t] particular Meſſenger from the Ruler's Houſe to acquaint him with the News of the actual Death of the young Woman; who therefore deſired the Ruler not to trouble *Jeſus* any farther, upon a Conviction, no doubt, that it was too late for him to come and cure her: Probably the Ruler and his Family had not then ſeen any Inſtance of the Reſurrection of the Dead by *Jeſus*. Upon this *Jeſus* bid the Ruler not be afraid, but *only believe*. And accordingly he went to his Houſe, and found the whole Family, their Relations and Friends, under great Sorrow, on a firm Belief that the Maid was actually dead; the funeral *Minſtrels too, and the Mourners, the People that made a great Noiſe*, were preſent; and other Preparations were making, no doubt, for her Burial. And when *Jeſus* intimated that ſhe was not finally and irretrievably dead, but ſhould be reſtored to Life, by that Expreſſion, *the Maid is not dead, but ſleepeth*, the Company, literally miſunderſtanding it, *laughed him to ſcorn, as knowing that ſhe was* truly *dead*; and hereby they declared their Judgment that ſhe really was ſo.

All this had paſſed before *Jeſus* enter'd into the Room where the Damſel was lying: So that it was not from any View of her that *Jeſus* could before ſay ſhe is not dead, in the Senſe they underſtood him. And indeed the Word *ſleepeth* is in the ſame Manner diſtinguiſhed from the Word *dead* in the [u] Story of *Lazarus*. *Jeſus* there ſpeaks thus, *Our Friend* Lazarus *ſleepeth*, that is, *is dead*, as he explains himſelf immediately. And the ſame Account is to be given of the Phraſe uſed there, [w] *This Sickneſs is not unto Death*; that is, not to a final and irrecoverable Death, tho' he ſhould actually die for a ſhort Time. Accordingly theſe Expreſſions of *Death* and *Sleep* are often uſed promiſcuouſly, not only in the Sacred, but in Profane Writers, the Quotations of which would be here ſuperfluous. Thus as *Lazarus*'s Sickneſs was finally not unto Death, tho' he really died; ſo *Jairus*'s Daughter was not finally, tho' actually, dead: And therefore ſince her Life was to be reſtored, that gentle Figure of Sleep was uſed, out of which ſhe was to be quickly awaked to Life. And to this may be added, that St. *Luke* expreſly mentions, that *her Spirit came again*; which may be render'd, *and her Spirit*, or Soul, [x] *returned to her Body*. And what confirms this Interpretation, is, that a parallel Expoſition is uſed in the Septuagint about the Return of the Soul of the [y] Widow of *Zarephath*'s Child, who was raiſed by *Elijah*: For in the *Alexandrian* Manuſcript the Phraſe uſed is, the *Soul of the Child* [z] *returned* into him; and ſurely one that perſonates a *Jew* cannot deny that this Widow's Child was really dead, and reſtored to Life again by *Elijah*.

VII. Having thus recollected the Hiſtorical Occaſion of the Miracle wrought on *Jairus*'s

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[o] P. 34.
[p] P. 38, 39.
[q] Mark v. 23.
[r] Luke viii. 42.
[ſ] Matth. ix. 18.
[t] See the Chapters above referr'd to for all theſe Particulars.
[u] John xi. 11. 13.
[w] Ver. 4.
[x] ἐπέστρεψε.
[y] 1 Kings xvii. 22.
[z] ἐπιστράφη.

Daughter; and ſhewn thereby that ſhe was really dead, tho' the Word *Sleep* was uſed by *Jeſus* previouſly to his reſtoring her Life, we proceed to reflect upon what Mr. *Woolſton* cites, by way of Objection, from *Hilary*, [a] namely, *That the Goſpel acquaints us; that none of the Rulers of the Synagogues believed in* Jeſus; *and therefore there was no ſuch Ruler as* Jairus; *and conſequently the Letter of this Story cannot be true*. But *Hilary* draws no ſuch Conſequence, nor hints any thing like it. And if the Name *Jairus* had a myſtical Meaning, and in point of Etymology ſignified an illuminated Perſon; and if this Name carried an Alluſion to *Moſes*, or any other Perſon or Thing, how does *Hilary* intimate that the whole Story was fictitious, becauſe the Name *Jairus* may be imagined to be ſo? Indeed the contrary Suppoſition is moſt evidently true, from a Multitude of Scriptural Names of Perſons that muſt be allow'd to have really exiſted, and therefore not to have been merely fictitious, tho' their Names, in point of Etymology, bore ſome Alluſion to their reſpective Circumſtances.

As to the Pretenſion, that none of the Rulers of the Synagogues believed on *Jeſus*, and therefore that there was no ſuch Perſon as *Jairus*; it is not only a weak Chain of Reaſoning, but is falſe in Fact. It is confeſſed that the *Phariſees* ſaid, [b] *Have any of the Rulers, or of the* Phariſees, *believed on him?* But did not [c] *Nicodemus*, who was both a *Phariſee* and a Ruler of the *Jews*, acknowledge *Jeſus* to be a *Teacher come from God*, and give this general Reaſon for his Belief, *That no Man can do thoſe Miracles that he did, except God be with him?* And again, we are aſſured by St. *John*, that [d] *among the chief Rulers alſo many believed on him?* tho' out of Fear *they did not confeſs him*. But does it hence follow, that becauſe they did not openly confeſs him to be the *Chriſt*, therefore they did not believe him to be a Prophet, that could cure deſperate Diſeaſes, and perform many wonderful Works? No, by no Means; for the very common People, as well as many of their Superiors, did allow him to be a Prophet, tho' they doubted of his being the *Chriſt*. *Nicodemus*, we find, confeſſed to himſelf that he was *a Teacher come from God*, becauſe he could perform real Miracles. And the Ruler of the Synagogue, in our preſent Story, undoubtedly believed the ſame: For otherwiſe he had never made any Application to him for the Cure of his Daughter. And it does not any where appear that *Jairus*, at firſt, had any other Apprehenſions of *Jeſus* than thoſe of a Prophet, when he [e] *beſought him greatly to come and lay his Hands on his Daughter, then at the Point of Death*; in conſequence of which he doubted not but ſhe ſhould live. It is not, however, improbable, but that, from the wonderful Cure of the Woman who had an Iſſue of Blood, in the Way to his Houſe, whither *Jeſus* was going with him, he might form higher Notions of *Jeſus*, as the *Chriſt*, than he brought from home along with him. It is certain, that thoſe of the Ruler's Family; who ſent a deciſive Meſſage to him that his Daughter was dead, and therefore intimated to him that he ſhould give *Jeſus* no farther Trouble about her, ſeem to have had no greater Notion of him than of a Prophet at large, that could cure all ſorts of Diſeaſes; ſince they dropp'd the Thoughts of all Application to him upon her Death: And therefore it is probable that the Ruler himſelf, when he firſt applied to *Jeſus*, had no other Idea of him than his Relations and Domeſticks had. And even the [f] Faith required by *Jeſus* of the Ruler, upon the certain News brought of his Daughter's Death, may poſſibly mean no more than that the Ruler ſhould put his Truſt and Confidence in him as a Prophet; and believe that he could, even yet, make his Daughter whole again, and reſtore her to Life.

VIII. This *Stumbling-Block at the Threſhold of the Letter of this Story*, as our Author ſtiles it, being thus removed, we go on to conſider his next pretended Abſurdity in it. He aſks, [g] “ Why did *Jeſus* ſay this Girl was but in a Sleep? If he was going to work a Miracle in her Reſuſcitation, he ſhould not have called Death Sleep; but if others had been of a contrary Opinion, he ſhould firſt have convinced them of the Certainty of her Death before he did the great Work on her.” We anſwer, That this is a moſt abſurd Objection, appears plainly from the Conſideration, that her Relations and Friends were all too well appriſed of the Reality of her Death, and therefore there was no Occaſion for any farther Conviction. And again, it is demonſtrable from hence, that *Jeſus* acted with the greateſt Sincerity, ſince he told them, by way of Information, and that before he ſaw the Maid, that ſhe ſhould be made whole, or reſtored to Life; and therefore he called her ſhort temporary Death by the Name of Sleep, becauſe ſhe was ſpeedily to be awakened effectually, that is, revived, by him. And when he reſolved to reſtore her Life, he did not uſe the Arts of Impoſtors and Quacks, in magnifying his deſigned Performance by lofty Words; but choſe rather an Expreſſion of ſeeming Diminution of it, when he termed her Death *Sleep*; tho' he never ſaid, as is fondly ſuggeſted, that ſhe was *aſleep*, in the obvious and literal Senſe of that Word. An Impoſtor would have acted the very reverſe of this, and would have called common Sleep by the Name of Death; out of which ſhe might have been literally awakened. But a real Prophet, that abhorred all Artifices, would as naturally have called Death *Sleep*, without any Oſtentation; and conſequently this is a vain and trifling Objection.

IX. Another Objection offered againſt this Miracle, underſtood according to the *Letter*, is, “ [h] Why did *Jeſus* turn the People out of the Houſe before he would raiſe her; ſince the more Witneſſes, and thoſe too incredulous,

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[a] P. 36. of Diſc. v.
[b] John vii. 48.
[c] John iii. 1, 2.
[d] John xii. 42.
[e] Mark v. 3.
[f] Ver. 36.
[g] P. 36. Diſc. v.
[h] Ibid. p. 37.

“ ſo much the better is the Atteſtation.” We anſwer, That if there were a ſufficient Number of proper and competent Witneſſes preſent at this Miracle, there was no Occaſion for the Trouble of more; ſince others would believe it not only on their Authority, but likewiſe in conſequence of their perſonal Knowledge of her Death, and of her being actually reſtored to Life. And that there was a ſufficient Number of well-qualified Witneſſes preſent on this Occaſion, appears very clearly from *Jeſus's taking the Father and the Mother of the Damſel*, Perſons the moſt intereſted in this Affair, together with his *three ſelected Diſciples*, and his *entring in with them where the Damſel was lying.* And therefore it is not at all ſurpriſing, that when, in Virtue of *Jeſus*'s commanding Words, *Damſel ariſe, the Damſel ſtraightway aroſe and walked*, her Parents, as well as his Diſciples, who were preſent, *were aſtoniſhed with a great Aſtoniſhment:* As no doubt were all thoſe troubleſome People, that were put out for their Unworthineſs to be preſent, on account of their *laughing him to Scorn* immediately before. However, the moſt Incredulous, even among them that were put out, muſt have received a full Conviction, when they afterwards ſaw the Damſel actually reſtored to Life, who they knew had been really dead.

X. Again, Mr. *Woolſton* objects, “[i] Why did *Jeſus* charge the Parents of the Damſel not to ſpeak of the Miracle, if he meant it as a Teſtimony of his divine Power?” To which the Anſwer is, That he declined greater Envy and Oppoſition from his Enemies than was unavoidable, ſince *his Hour was not yet come*; and indeed a conſiderable Part of his Miniſtry was yet to be performed. And it is obſervable that the like Caution was chiefly uſed in the former Part of his Miniſtry, as we have ſeveral Times obſerved. This, tho' a prudent Caution, was not inconſiſtent with the Proof of his divine Authority by his numerous Miracles; for, notwithſtanding this Caution, we are aſſured that[k] *the Fame hereof went abroad into all the Land.*

XI. Before we conclude this Subject of the Reſtoration of the Life of *Jairus*'s Daughter, we muſt refute an Inſinuation, founded on the pretended Authority of *Theophanes Cerameus* and *Theophylact*; “[l] That there is room to ſuſpect that this Girl was only *beſide herſelf*, and that it is not impoſſible but the Skreams of the By-ſtanders might fright her into Fits, that bore the Appearance of Death.” Our Author's *Latin* Quotation of *Cerameus* adds expreſly, that ſhe was *not dead:* Whereas that Father aſſerts directly the contrary[m] in the Homily there cited: For he not only ſays there, that *Death prevailed over the young Woman*, and that *ſhe was dead*, and that *thoſe of the Family juſtly bewailed and lamented her*, but he likewiſe aſks this Queſtion; *For what Reaſon did* Jeſus *exclude all the reſt of the Company, and admit none to be preſent with him but the Parents of the young Woman and his three Diſciples?* To which he anſwers thus in expreſs Words: *Leſt any one ſhould think that the young Woman was ſeized with a Fit, occaſioned by the Noiſe of thoſe that lamented her, and was not dead.* So that according to *Cerameus* himſelf, there is no room to ſuſpect that this Girl was only *beſide herſelf*; which we could farther prove from ſeveral other Inſtances. But there is no Occaſion for any more Citations of this Author, ſince Mr. *Woolſton* has ſupplied us with one himſelf in this very[n] Diſcourſe; when he ſays, as from *Cerameus*, that “*Jeſus, after he had reſtored the Health of the Woman who had an Iſſue of Blood, reſtored the deceaſed Girl from the Dead.*”

He refers his Reader alſo, on this Occaſion, to *Theophylact*'s Commentary on St. *Matthew*; but whoever conſults *Theophylact* on the Place in St. *Matthew*, will be ſupriſed to find that he, as well as *Cerameus*, aſſerts directly the contrary, without the leaſt Intimation of any ſuch pretended Suſpicion: For he ſays thus; [o] *Do not wonder that they laughed him to Scorn; for they give the ſtronger Teſtimony to the Miracle of his raiſing her again, as one that was truly dead: For therefore it was confeſſed by all that ſhe was dead, leſt any one ſhould pretend that ſhe was in a Fit.* And it is remarkable, that *Theophylact* elſewhere[p] repeats the very ſame Aſſertion of the Reality of her Death, and the Teſtimony given of it by the Company's Deriſion of *Jeſus*, in ſtronger Terms, if poſſible, than thoſe already cited; and more particularly as to the Deriſion of *Jeſus*, he ſays expreſly that *Jeſus permitted it, that the Mouths of thoſe that were willing to calumniate him might be ſtopp'd.*

XII. The *third* Hiſtory which we are to defend in this Diſcourſe, is that of the Woman who was twelve Years afflicted with an Iſſue of Blood, and afterwards inſtantaneouſly cured by *Jeſus.*

The Reflections on this Miracle are prefaced[q] with a few Remarks on bodily Diſeaſes, and an Inſinuation, that the Cures of them by our Lord, are not ſufficiently proved by the Evangeliſts to be miraculous. It ſeems neceſſary therefore to recollect what we have already ſaid on that Occaſion before our Vindication of our Lord's firſt Miracle, and previouſly to add a general Anſwer to an Objection which is renewed in general Terms.

In the Place here referred to, we have diſtinguiſhed the miraculous Cures of Diſeaſes by *Jeſus*, into thoſe of the Subject-matter, and thoſe of the Manner of Cure. The former relate to Diſeaſes that are naturally incurable, and the latter to thoſe that are naturally curable. Inſtances of the former Sort of Cures are *Jeſus*'s reſtoring the whithered Hand, and giving Sight to one born blind; and Inſtances of the latter are *Jeſus*'s inſtantaneous and ſudden Cures of ſome ſuppoſed curable Diſtempers, as they were the immediate Effects of a mere Word ſpoken by him, or of the ſlighteſt Touch of his Hand or Garment. This Diſtribution comprehends all the miraculous Cures of our Lord; and thoſe of each Sort are equally miraculous. For though ſome celebrated Phyſicians have been of Opinion, that all the bodily Diſeaſes that were cured by our Lord were really incurable by Art, yet the Exigency of the Caſe requires not ſo unlimited an Aſſertion. It is certain indeed in general, that moſt of the Cures performed by our Lord were of Diſeaſes incurable in their own Nature. But to avoid a vain Diſpute about curable and incurable Diſeaſes, and the juſt Limits of them, though it ſhould be ſuppoſed that ſome few of the numerous Diſeaſes cured by our Lord might poſſibly have been curable by a long Courſe of proper Remedies, and a ſlow and gradual Proceſs in the Practice of Phyſic, agreeably to the peculiar Symptoms of the reſpective Diſeaſes; yet ſuch a Suppoſition does by no Means derogate from the miraculous Cures of thoſe very Diſeaſes by *Jeſus*, as the Manner of their Cures was both immediate and laſting, without any proper Means uſed, or any Regard had to the *Criſes* of thoſe Diſtempers. So that though in thoſe Caſes the Cure of a curable Diſeaſe was not ſupernatural as to the Subject-matter; it was moſt evidently ſupernatural, as to the Manner of the Cure, and as attended with an immediate Effect. There is therefore no Force in our Author's preliminary Objection, namely, [r] "That the Diſeaſes which *Jeſus* cured, and his Manner of Operation, ſhould have been ſo accurately deſcribed, as that we might have been ſure the Work was ſupernatural; which, ſays he, the Evangeliſts have taken no Care to give us, in their Narrations of *Chriſt*'s Miracles." For it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the Evangeliſts, as they are Hiſtorians, ſhould deſcribe, with the Accuracy of profeſſed Phyſicians or Surgeons, the Nature and Symptoms of the ſeveral Diſeaſes, the Cures of which by *Jeſus* are recorded by them; ſince there are Circumſtances of thoſe Diſeaſes inſerted in their Narratives, that are ſufficient to convince all rational and unprejudiced Perſons, that the Cures of them were ſupernatural either as to the Subject-matter or the Manner of them: And which of theſe two the Incurableneſs conſiſted in, is not at all material.

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[i] Ibid.

[k] Matth. xii. 26.

[l] Diſc. v. p. 27.

[m] In Hom. de Jairi Filia.

[n] P. 63.

[o] Vid. Theoph. Comment. in loc. Matth.

[p] Vid. Theoph. in v. c. Marci, p. 216. & in viii. c. Lucæ, p. 364, 365. Par.

[q] See Diſc. ii.

XIII. Having thus obviated a general Objection againſt the Cures of bodily Diſeaſes by *Jeſus*, as drawn from the ſuppoſed Inaccuracy of the Deſcription of them in the Goſpels, we ſhall now conſider what has been alledged in particular againſt the Miracle of Chriſt's *healing the Woman that was afflicted twelve Years with an Iſſue of Blood.*

On this Occaſion Mr. *Woolſton* thought fit to alter his uſual Method of attacking our Saviour's Miracles. He here acknowledges [s] "that the Fathers themſelves do not deny that a Woman was cured of an *Hæmorrhage* after the Manner that is deſcribed by the Evangeliſts. St *Auguſtine*, he confeſſes, ſays of this Miracle, that *it was done as it is related*;" and our Author adds, *I have a greater Veneration for his Authority, than to gainſay it.* This is indeed an extraordinary Compliment to St. *Auſtin*, whoſe Authority is here preferred to that of the Evangeliſts: Nor is it leſs extraordinary for Mr. *Woolſton* to ſay, "*he will allow of the Truth of the Letter of this Story*;" ſince ſo uncommon a Conceſſion muſt have been very prejudicial to his Cauſe, if he had not boldly denied that the Cure was miraculous. This too is very ſurprizing, after he has confeſſed the Truth of the Fact, and that *Auſtin* and the other Fathers aſſerted it. For if the Fact be confeſſed, the Miracle is at the ſame Time acknowledged; ſince the Fact could not have been performed by any natural Means. However, ſince he has advanced an Objection or two againſt the Miraculouſneſs of this acknowledged Fact, which are drawn from the Nature of the Diſeaſe and the Manner of curing it, they ſhall be now conſidered. And on this Occaſion, we ſhall omit nothing that he offers, but the Buffoonery interſperſed, which is unworthy of any Regard.

XIV. As to the *Nature of the Diſeaſe* of the Woman here cured by *Jeſus*, it is agreed on by the [t] three former Evangeliſts that it was in general, an *Iſſue of Blood*, which ſhe had laboured under for *twelve Years.* To this St. *Mark* adds, that *ſhe had ſuffered many Things of many Phyſicians, and had ſpent all that ſhe had, and was nothing better'd, but rather grew worſe.* And St. *Luke*, himſelf a Phyſician, uſes theſe memorable Words on this Occaſion, that *ſhe had ſpent all her Living upon Phyſicians, neither could ſhe be healed of any.* Whatever therefore was the Nature of this Diſeaſe, it is moſt clear from the Accounts given of it by St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, that it was ſo very inveterate and obſtinate as to be incurable by the Art of Phyſic, ſome harſh and uncommon Courſes of which ſeem to have been practiſed on her by her *ſuffering many Things of many Phyſicians*; and that too at ſo great an Expence, that, whatever her Circumſtances were, (which ſeem to have been conſiderable from her conſulting many Phyſicians,) ſhe was reduced by them to Poverty. So that it is very evident from the Evangelical Hiſtory, that this was a chronical and confirmed Diſeaſe, and therefore far from being *a ſlight Indiſpoſition.*—But we ſhall now offer the Sentiments of ſome eminent Phyſicians concerning the Nature of this Diſeaſe, as the moſt competent Judges of Matters of this Kind.

It is confeſſed indeed, that the original Words uſed by the Evangeliſts on this Occaſion, for the *Hæmorrhage*, or *Iſſue of Blood* of this Woman, are too general to point out the particular Diſeaſe ſhe ſo long laboured under, and to determine critically what Part of her was chiefly affected. But though this Nicety was either thought unneceſſary, or perhaps was owing to the Modeſty of the Evangelical Writers, it is moſt probable that this Diſeaſe was of the menſtruous Kind, and was an immoderate and very frequent Diſcharge of Blood from the hyſterical Veſſels. This Senſe of the Words of the Goſpel is favoured by the Judgment of the great *Bartholine*. He ſpeaks to this Effect, in treating of the Cure now in our immediate View: That [u] "there was a continual Flux of Blood from the hyſterical Parts, and that Nature being by Length of Time accuſtomed to a Diſcharge that Way, and the Woman's Strength and Vigour being more and more impaired and broke, the Diſtemper became incurable." And *Mercurialis* is cited by him, not only as aſſerting in general, that *the ſeveral Diſeaſes cured by* Chriſt *were naturally incurable*, but "[c] that he *mentioned this on Occaſion of the preſent Cure of the* Iſſue of Blood, *and that this Diſeaſe in particular was abſolutely incurable*." The Senſe too of *Ader* is expreſſed in very ſtrong and emphatical Language on this very Subject: Says he, [w] "It is as certain that the Recovery of the Health of the Woman devoted to *Chriſt* was to be deſpaired of, as that the Hiſtory of her is true. ——The Concurrence of all Circumſtances ſufficiently excuſes both the Art of Phyſic and the Profeſſors of it, ſince *they could not poſſibly cure her*. —The Woman laboured under an hyſterical Iſſue of Blood, a Diſeaſe very troubleſome and odious." And after a Deſcription of the Cauſes and Degree of this Diſtemper, this Writer adds: "From thence this Evil gains Strength in its Progreſs, it increaſes and grows worſe by Remedies, and at laſt all Benefit of them is deſpaired of. What *Æſculapius* could have cured a Patient in theſe Circumſtances?" Agreeably to this Account the late learned Dr. *Friend* ſays thus: [x] "It is remarkable that St. *Luke* is more particular in reciting all the Miracles of our Saviour in Relation to healing, than the other Evangeliſts are.—— The reading the *Greek* Authors, while he ſtudied Phyſic, made his Language without Diſpute more exact. ——In ſetting down the Cure of the ſame Woman, the Language of St. *Luke* is more ſimple and more correct, as well as more phyſical. ——St. *Luke* indeed in his Profeſſion as a Phyſician, and no doubt merely becauſe he was one, when there is Occaſion to ſpeak of Diſtempers or the Cure of them, makes Uſe of Words more proper for the Subject than the others do. Many Inſtances of this might be given." And with immediate Regard to this very Woman, ſays he, "St. *Luke*, though he mentions the Particulars recorded by St. *Mark*, but omitted by St. *Matthew*, gives them quite another Turn, and ſoftens the Paſſage very much in Regard to his Faculty; and inſtead of relating how much ſhe ſuffered by the ſeveral Phyſicians, or how ſhe grew worſe upon her Remedies, he ſays only that *her Diſtemper was above the Reach of any of them to remove it*." This Extract is a Demonſtration of the Falſehood of our Author's Aſſertions about the Inaccuracy of the Evangelical Accounts of our Saviour's Miracles, and of this particular Diſtemper's being curable without a Miracle; as being made by a Perſon that was equally a good Judge of the Propriety of Style, and of the Power and Extent of Phyſic.——To theſe Teſtimonies we ſhall only add that of Dr. *Harle*, who on Occaſion of this very *Hæmorrhage* ſpeaks thus; [y] "The Nature of the Diſeaſe, its long Continuance, the Variety of Phyſicians conſulted,—the Woman's growing worſe rather than better after all, demonſtrate that her Malady was incurable by any human Means."

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[r] Diſc. ii. p. 4, 5.

[s] Diſc. ii. p. 8, 9.

[t] Matth. ix. 20. Mark. v. 26. Luke viii. 43.

XV. As to the Manner of the Cure of this Diſeaſe by *Jeſus*, Mr. *Woolſton* pretends it [z] was *performed by the Power of the Woman's Imagination:* Which is nothing elſe but the old Plea [a] of *Pomponatius* the Atheiſt revived, though with leſs Decency. But this is a vain and uſeleſs Refuge of both theſe Authors: For how can mere Fancy be ſuppoſed to change the fixed Nature of Things? If it were capable of doing ſo, ſurely this Woman muſt have received great Benefit from ſome one or other of thoſe *many Phyſicians* ſhe had conſulted; ſince it is not reaſonable to think ſhe would have *ſpent all her Living* upon them, and *ſuffered many Things*, or gone through ſevere Courſes of Phyſic, as preſcribed by them, if ſhe had not formed a very good Opinion at leaſt of ſome of them, and fancied ſhe ſhould have recovered her Health by their Advice. But to ſhew the Weakneſs of this Objection, let us conſider a little what Share Imagination has in any Cure whatſoever.

Now all the Work of Fancy in this Caſe is to entertain a very good Opinion of a Phyſician, of his Skill and Fidelity, and poſſibly of his Friendſhip, and thence to be pleaſed with great Hopes of the Succeſs of his Preſcriptions. But it is utterly incredible that the very beſt Opinion, or moſt ſanguine Hopes, could be powerful enough to remove a chronical Diſtemper; a perpetual Fountain of Blood, ſo habitually rooted in Nature for twelve Years together, as to have in vain exhauſted the whole Art of Phyſic, and baffled the Attempts of all Phyſicians. This is too chimerical an *Hypotheſis* to be received by any Perſon that is capable of diſtinguiſhing the Powers of Imagination from thoſe of Reaſon. Fancy indeed may mimic Reaſon very livelily in ſome trifling Matters; but in Things of a real and high Nature can operate but little. Mr. *Woolſton*'s allegorical Attempt is a proper Inſtance of this Kind. From an implicit Admiration of the Fathers, and a falſe Taſte of the myſtical Senſes of Scripture given by ſome of them, he began to think meanly of the literal Senſe of Scripture, and thence was induced to ſubſtitute their fanciful Allegories in the Room of the Text itſelf, and at laſt Imagination prevailed ſo far as to ridicule the Facts contained in that Text. But the World was ſoon ſatisfied that all this Scheme of an irregular Imagination was mere Dream and Deluſion, and could not annul Facts, or alter the unchangeable Nature of the literal Senſe of Scripture. And therefore we cannot but adapt to the preſent Subject what has been too juſtly obſerved on ſome other Occaſions; namely, that no Perſons are ſo credulous as thoſe that diſbelieve the Truth of the Goſpel; and that they will embrace the moſt wild and romantic Notions, even thoſe of the boundleſs Power of mere Fancy, rather than acknowledge Facts ſo firmly eſtabliſhed as thoſe of the Goſpel.

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[u] Tho. Barthol. de morbis Biblicis, p. 480, 481. apud Cren. Faſcicul. tom. 5.

[w] V. Gul. Ader de Morb. Evang. apud Crit. Sac. p, 3685. tom 9. Lond.

[x] See Hiſt. of Phyſic, p. 222, 223, 224, 225. part. 1.

[y] See Eſſay on the State of Phyſic in the Old and New Teſtament, p. 121, 122. Lond. 1729

[z] Diſc. ii. p. 15.

[a] Vide Pomponat. de Incantat.

But can any clear Inſtances be produced of the Cures of real inveterate Diſtempers by mere Imagination? Since Nature is the ſame now as in former Ages, let thoſe who know it give an Experiment of this Kind at preſent, by acquainting the World where the Phyſician is to be found, that can perform Cures, even of the moſt common Diſeaſes, by no other Art but that of affecting the Fancy of his Patient. Let them try the Force of Imagination, however exalted, on the Cure of a confirmed Lameneſs, or of an univerſal Palſy, or of the abſolute Blindneſs of one born in that ſad Condition. Not here to mention, that ſeveral Miracles of *Jeſus* were performed upon Objects that were incapable of any Fancy at all, and therefore could not poſſibly be performed by the Power of it; ſuch as raiſing the Dead to Life, and the like.

Mr. *Woolſton* indeed has ſupplied profeſſed Infidels with a falſe Authority, as well as a fallacious Argument, on this Occaſion. He puts a Citation of *John* of *Jeruſalem* into the Mouths of thoſe whoſe Efforts againſt Religion he recommends and applauds, and then pronounces it unanſwerable. That Author, he pretends, aſſerts [b] "*That the Woman's own Imagination cured herſelf.*" But here he perverts the Meaning even of his own ſpurious Father. For though he ſays, "*It was not the Hem of* Chriſt's *Garment, but the Woman's Thought that reſtored her Health*;" he means, that it was not the mere Touch of *Chriſt*'s Garment, but it was a true inward Faith in him, which attended that Touch, that healed her. His Words are to be underſtood in a comparative, and not a merely negative Senſe: They mean, *That it was not ſo much the Touch of the Hem of* Jeſus's *Garment, as the Woman's Faith in* Jeſus *that wrought the Cure.* There are Multitudes of Paſſages to be found in Scripture, of which the Senſe is granted by all to be comparative, though the Words are expreſſed in a poſitive Manner.

XVI. But our Author goes on to an Argument as falſe as the Authority of *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and that has been oftner confuted. For the Benefit of his Infidel-confederates, he urges *the Probability of the Woman's curing herſelf by her own Imagination, becauſe* Jeſus *could do no Cures and Miracles againſt Unbelief.* But that this was a moral, and not a natural Impoſſibility, appears evidently from the following Compariſon of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* on this Occaſion.

Some of *Jeſus*'s Relations and Neighbours at *Nazareth were offended at him*, and deſpiſed him as a Prophet, on Account of his known Original and low Circumſtances. St. *Matthew* ſays, [c] *He did not many mighty Works there, becauſe of their Unbelief.* And St. *Mark* expreſſes it thus; [d] *And he could there do no mighty Works, ſave that he laid his Hands upon a few ſick Folk, and healed them: And he marvelled becauſe of their Unbelief.* Accordingly, as St. *Matthew* plainly implies, that *Jeſus* performed ſome mighty Works there, ſo St. *Mark* expreſly mentions his immediate Cures of ſome ſick Perſons by the Impoſition of his Hands. And conſequently, his not performing more mighty Works there was a Matter of Choice, and not of Neceſſity. The whole Matter is, he could not prevail with himſelf to work more Miracles there, under ſo high a Provocation of his Countrymen, and their Want of that Qualification of Faith in him which he juſtly demanded. For ſince *Jeſus* required ſome Degree of Faith in ſick Perſons in order to be healed, they that did not believe him to be a true Prophet, and conſequently the Meſſiah, wanted that Condition which qualified them for their reſpective Cures, and thereby made it improper for him to cure them.

Faith therefore is not to be confounded with Imagination, as is here pretended; ſince the former is a rational Aſſent to *Jeſus*'s being the *Chriſt*, whom he evinced himſelf to be by thoſe miraculous Cures which are Part of the diſtinguiſhing Character of the Meſſiah; and the latter is nothing elſe but an extraordinary Opinion ſuppoſed to be formed of him, or any other Perſon, though without any juſt Foundation. So that the Woman that was cured, as having the Qualification of Faith required by *Jeſus*, was healed by his Power co-operating with her Performance of that very Condition; and therefore *not againſt* Jeſus's *Will and Knowledge*, as has been abſurdly ſuppoſed. For ſuch a Faith was agreeable to his declared Will; and he enquired *who had touched him*, not out of Ignorance, but only in order to demonſtrate openly to the People, by the Confeſſion of the Woman herſelf, the Cure that was ſo ſecretly performed upon her. And that there could be no Artifice uſed on this Occaſion, appears very clearly from the Woman's accidentally hearing of *Jeſus* as he was occaſionally travelling towards *Jairus*'s Houſe; and likewiſe from the Cure's being wrought upon her in Conſequence of her *coming behind him*, and ſecretly *touching*, not even his Perſon, but *the very Hem of his Garment.* Indeed any concerted Artifice was impracticable in the Caſe; ſince, as has been ſhewn, the mere Imagination of a ſanative Virtue in *Jeſus*, without a real Exertion of ſuch a Virtue, was incapable of actually healing her.

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[b] Vide Joh. Hier. in Marc. c. v. tom. 1. p. 331.

[c] Matth. xiii. 58.

[d] Mark vi. 5, 6.

XVII. However, ſince poſſibly a greater Regard may be paid to the Judgment of profeſſed Phyſicians than to that of Divines, about an Artifice here uſed, and the healing Power of Imagination, we will gratify the Reader with the Opinions of a Phyſician or two on this Occaſion. The fore-mention'd Dr. *Harle* writes thus on this very Miracle: [e] "What Sanative Virtue this was that reſided in the Body of the holy *Jeſus*, and how it was exerted, and when it was, and how, that he perceived it, or was affected by it, is more than we know, becauſe not revealed; but here could be no manner of Colluſion. She *came behind him*, and *touched* him, ſo that none of the Company could perceive it, but all were ready to excuſe the Fact, from the Crowding of the People, as if it had been accidental, or forced; but that could not eſcape Omniſcience."

And as to the Force of Imagination, the famous *Bartholine*, who was cited before to ſhew that this Diſeaſe was incurable by the Art of Phyſic, as well as on ſeveral other Occaſions, gives a deciſive Judgment in the parallel Caſe of another incurable Diſtemper, namely the confirmed Palſy of the Centurion's Servant. What therefore he ſays on that Occaſion is applicable to the preſent Caſe. After he has made all fair Allowances to the Force of Imagination, he ſpeaks thus; [f] "The Nature of the Centurion's Faith is altogether unlike, and bears no Proportion to that of Imagination, becauſe the Remedy uſed is ſo very ſtupenduous. No Truſt or Confidence whatſoever, either in the Phyſician, or Phyſic, in deſperate and chronical Diſtempers, can avail to ſuch a Degree as to reſtore that vigorous Warmth that is extinct."

To this Teſtimony we will briefly add the Authority of *Fienus*, an eminent Phyſician of the laſt Century, who wrote an entire Treatiſe of the *Strength of Imagination*. It is a Concluſion of his, which he ſupports with ſeveral Reaſons, "[g] That the Fancy or Imagination cannot of itſelf cure any Diſeaſes, not even ſuch as are more plain and ſimple, ſuch as the Hectick or Dropſy;" which he inſtances in. It remains therefore evident upon the whole, that enough is recorded in the Goſpels of the Nature of this Woman's *Hæmorrhage*, and the Manner of its Cure, to evince the Miraculouſneſs of the Recovery of her Health.

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[e] See Eſſay p. 22.

[f] Vide Barthol. de Parlytic. Evang. apud Cren. p. 356. Tom. 5.

[g] Vide Fienum De viribus Imaginationis. p. 194, 195, Lugd. Bat. 1635.

CHAP. VI.

I. *Jeſus* returns to *Nazareth*, and is again deſpiſed by his Countrymen. II. He continues his Progreſs, pities the *Jews*, and determines to ſend forth his Apoſtles. III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII. He commiſſions the Twelve, and gives them large Inſtructions for their Behaviour. IX. The Apoſtles ſeparate, and enter on their Office. X. *Herod* makes a Feaſt, and, at the Requeſt of *Salome*, beheads *John the Baptiſt*. XI. He hears of the Fame of *Jeſus*. Divers Conjectures who *Jeſus* was.

I. JESUS [a] *now determined to return to* Nazareth, *where he had been above a Year ago, but ſtaid a very little while there, his Countrymen having deſigned to throw him down headlong from the Mountain, as we before related. But their Anger being appeaſed by Time, and having acquired a greater Reputation by the many Miracles he wrought after he left them, he hoped to find them in a better Diſpoſition to receive the Truth. Accordingly he went thither, together with his Apoſtles, and on the Sabbath-Day diſcourſed before the People in the Synagogue concerning the Laws and Promiſes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Many of his Hearers wondered how it was poſſible for him to ſpeak with ſo much Eloquence, and perform ſo many Miracles as they had been credibly informed of. They asked one another, therefore, whether he were not the Son of* Joſeph *the Carpenter, and bred up among them to the ſame Trade; whether his Mother's Name was not* Mary; *and whether his Relations* James, Joſes, Simon, *and* Jude, *Sons of another* Mary, *and their Siſters, were not all ſtill Inhabitants of* Nazareth? How then, *ſaid they*, can a Man of ſo mean Parentage, who has dwelt ſo long among us at *Nazareth*, acquire ſo great Learning? *Therefore none of the* Nazarenes *would believe on him; for which Reaſon* Jesus *applied this proverbial Saying*, A Prophet is no where leſs eſteem'd than among his own Countrymen, *to them, as he had done the laſt Time he was among them, and for which they were ſo enrag'd againſt him. Theſe Men therefore not being induc'd to believe on him by the Relation of the many Miracles wrought by him, he had no Opportunity of performing the like among them, this being what he was wont to do only in favour of Believers. Nevertheleſs he cured a few ſick People that were brought to him, by laying his Hands on them; but did no other Miracle among them, by Reaſon of their amazing Obſtinacy, who had nothing to object againſt him but the Meanneſs of his Family.*

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[a] Matth. xiii. 34—48. Mark vi. 1—6.

II. Jeſus [b] *therefore departed from thence, and continued his Progreſs through the other Parts of* Galilee; *and wherever he came, he cur'd the Sick that were preſented to him, and publiſh'd the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of Heaven. For which Reaſons a very great Multitude followed him in all his Journies, who were proper Objects of his Pity, and who ſeemed to him like Sheep wandring without a Shepherd, and not having any Fold to repair unto. And indeed the Condition of the* Jewiſh *Laity at that Time was deplorable; not knowing what to chuſe or avoid, and diſtracted by the diſagreeing Factions of the* Sadducees *and* Phariſees, *and as yet unacquainted with the Voice of the true Shepherd ſent to them from God himſelf. The Reflections which this State of the* Jews *ſuggeſted to* Jeſus, *gave him Occaſion to tell his Diſciples, that there was a great deal of Corn ripe for the Sickle, but few Reapers; that therefore the Lord of that Corn ought to be intreated to provide many Labourers againſt the Harveſt: For many now were prepar'd for the Reception of the divine Doctrine of the Goſpel, and only wanted proper Perſons to inſtruct them in a convenient Time and Place. The ſame Reflection, and alſo the Conſideration that he himſelf could not be preſent in all Places where it was expedient the Goſpel ſhould be publiſh'd, made him reſolve to ſend his Apoſtles abroad to all thoſe Places he did not viſit himſelf. We have* [bb] *already ſet down the Names of theſe Apoſtles, and it is not neceſſary to repeat them here. Having therefore call'd them to him, he furniſh'd them with a Power of caſting evil Spirits out of human Bodies, and curing all manner of Diſtempers; and gave them theſe Directions in Charge.*

III. [c] In this your firſt Progreſs, *ſaid he*, apply yourſelves wholly to the Converſion of the *Jews*, that after their various Wandrings like ſtrayed Sheep, they may at laſt return into the right Sheepfold. This is, as it were, the Time of your Probation: Go not therefore into any Heathen or *Samaritan* City, but acquaint the *Jews* only with the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah; and tell them, that the only way to participate of the Benefits that belong to it, is to lead a Life full of Piety and good Works. And that you may give Demonſtration of this Commiſſion which you receive from me, I authorize you in my Name to cure all Manner of Diſtempers, to cleanſe the Lepers, to raiſe the Dead to Life, and to expel the evil Spirits out of the Bodies of Men. All theſe gracious Aſſiſtances ſhall accompany your Endeavours, on Condition you as freely make uſe of them for the Good of Men, as they have been freely beſtowed upon you. Begin then without Delay, and inſtantly ſet about this glorious Work; and be not ſollicitous after providing yourſelves with Victuals, Shoes, or any manner of Garb, or even Money to defray the Expences of your Journey. Thoſe that have [cc] Staves, let them keep them, and thoſe that have not, content themſelves without them. Conſider you are under God's Protection, and the People among whom you preach the Goſpel will furniſh you with all Things neceſſary for your Subſiſtence. And it is but reaſonable that the Labourer ſhould expect to be requited, according to the Proverb.

IV. [d] At your Entrance into any Town or Village, inquire firſt into the Morals of the Inhabitants, whether they be Men of Probity, and in Expectation of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah: Whoſoever entertains you, continue in his Houſe during your Abode in that Place, leſt by leaving of him you alienate his Mind from you. And when you firſt come into the Family, pray to God for a Bleſſing on it. If that Family deſerve to have your Bleſſings confer'd upon it, God will hear your Prayers on their Behalf; otherwiſe your Prayers ſhall be fruitleſs in reſpect to them, but abundantly rewarded with Benefits on yourſelves. But, whatſoever Town or private Family ſhall refuſe to entertain you, as judging the Meſſage you are charg'd with unworthy their Attention, at your Departure from them ſhake off the very Duſt from the Soles of your Feet, as a Token that you will not have the leaſt Intercourſe with ſuch an impious Race of of Men. But reſt aſſured, that the Inhabitants of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſhall be leſs ſeverely puniſh'd in the Day of Judgment than thoſe that refuſe to hear you, or, having heard you, contemn your Doctrine.

V. [e] I ſend you now, and ſhall do it hereafter with greater Solemnity, as Sheep unto a Company of Wolves; that is, Men of an inoffenſive Temper, to a barbarous and cruel People. You ought therefore to behave yourſelves with ſo much Prudence, as not to irritate them by reproaching them too freely, nor by unſeaſonable Interpretations of that Truth they ſo much hate at preſent; but take heed this Prudence and Caution do not degenerate into worldly Craft, ſo as to make you betray the Cauſe of Truth, by incouraging them in their vicious Practices. Unite therefore the Cunning of the Serpent, as I may ſo ſay, with the Harmleſneſs of Doves. Secure yourſelves with all neceſſary Diligence againſt the Artifices of the *Jews*, who will perſecute you for the Preaching of the Goſpel, and accuſe you before the *Jewiſh* Magiſtrates, and cauſe you to be puniſh'd with Stripes: Nor will their Malice ſtop here, but they will force you to plead for your Life before the *Roman* Governors for having been my Diſciples: By which Means the Goſpel will be the more taken notice of both by the *Jews* and Gentiles. At that Time be not ſolicitous about the Method of your Defence; neither be afraid, as being deſtitute of Eloquence: The holy Spirit of God will furniſh you with Arguments, and the divine Aſſiſtance will abundantly ſupply the want of a premeditated Defence. The *Jews* and Gentiles ſhall impeach the neareſt Relations they have, and deliver them up to the Perſecutors for their Adherence to my Doctrine. A Brother ſhall betray his Brother, a Father his Son, and a Son his Father; and thus you ſhall be generally hated and tormented for being my Diſciples: But whoſoever ſhall contemn their Threats and Injuries, and ſhall perſevere in his Obedience to my Doctrine, though he be puniſhed with Death for it, that Man ſhall obtain everlaſting Life in the next World. But when you are thus perſecuted by the *Jews*, fly from one City to another, and be aſſured that you ſhall not have gone through all the Cities of the *Jews* before I come to take Vengeance on them.

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[b] Matth. ix. 35——38. x. 1——5. Mark vi. 6, 7. Luke ix. 1, 2.

[c] Matth. x. 5——10. Mark vi. 8, 9. Luke ix. 3.

[d] Matth. x. 11——15. Mark vi. 10, 11. Luke ix. 4, 5.

[bb] At the Beginning of Chap. i. of Book IV.

[cc] See the Diſſertation.

[e] Matth. x. 16——23.

VI. [f] You have a proverbial Saying amongſt you, importing that the Scholar ought to be contented, if he meet with no worſe Uſage than his Teacher; and the Servant, if he be as kindly dealt with as his Maſter. If then the Phariſees have attributed my Miracles to the Power of *Beelzebub*, if they have calumniated me as poſſeſſed by him, that Prince of the evil Spirits, how much rather will they defame you who are my Scholars and Miniſters? Be not however afraid of their Accuſations; for neither ſhall their Tricks nor your Innocence be always hid. Believe me, there is nothing ſo ſecret that ſhall not one Day be diſcloſed, nothing ſo hidden as ſhall not be laid open. Therefore what I now inſtruct you in private, I authorize you to declare in public; and what I now ſeem to whiſper to you, that ſhall you proclaim from the Tops of the Houſes, that it may be heard by all.

VII. [g] Be not afraid of Men, whoſe Power extends only to the Deſtruction of the Body, and who afterwards are not able to hurt the Soul: Stand in awe of him only, who after this Life is ended can condemn both Soul and Body to the Place of Torment. There is nothing unknown to God, nor doth any thing happen without his Permiſſion; and his good Providence will protect you in the Diſcharge of your Office. There is not ſo much as a Sparrow, whoſe Price is ſo very trivial, killed without his Knowledge and Permiſſion: How much rather will he take Care of you, as Men, and the Meſſengers of my Goſpel? The very Hairs of your Head are all numbred. Take Courage then; for he that takes Care of the ſmalleſt Creatures will be careful of you who are of ſo much more Value. Whoſoever ſhall conſtantly profeſs himſelf to be my Diſciple in Words and Actions before Men, ſhall be owned by me before my heavenly Father: But whoſoever ſhall, to avoid Perſecution, diſown his being my Diſciple, ſhall alſo be diſclaimed by me before my heavenly Father. Do not imagine, becauſe my Doctrine breathes nothing but Love and Charity, that Men ſhall lay aſide all Animoſities, and exerciſe a mutual Friendſhip. My Goſpel, which ſo much recommends theſe Virtues, ſhall be the Occaſion of the greateſt Feuds and Diſſentions, as if I had come expreſly to ſow Diſcord among Men. For, as I have already told you, Children ſhall quarrel with their Parents; the Mother-in-law with her Daughter-in-law; the neareſt Relations ſhall be at variance upon this Account, and Servants become profeſſed Enemies to their Maſters and Benefactors.

VIII. [h] Whoſoever ſhall prefer the Advantages that may probably accrue to him from his Parents or Children, before Obedience to my Commands, ſhall be judged unworthy to be my Diſciple. Nay, whoever does not reſolutely propoſe to undergo all Manner of Indignities and contumelious Outrage, as I have done before him, rather than to reject my Doctrine, cannot be accounted in the Number of my Diſciples. Whoſoever ſhall reject my Doctrine out of Hopes of ſecuring his Life, ſhall be often puniſhed in this World: On the contrary, whoſo ſhall conſtantly profeſs himſelf my Diſciple, ſhall not be diſappointed of his Hopes, but frequently preſerve his Life by thoſe very Means which the former avoided as tending to their Deſtruction. Whoſo ſhall receive you as ſent by me, and rely upon you as ſuch, ſhall be rewarded as if he had believed on me, and received me in Perſon; and whoever believes on me, believes on my heavenly Father who ſent me. Whoever receives a Prophet ſent by me, and accounts him as a true one, though he run ſome Danger by it, ſhall be as much rewarded by me as the Prophet himſelf: And whoſo ſhall receive and own a good Man, though he incurs never ſo much Hatred and Envy by it, ſhall receive as great Rewards from me as that good Man, provided he alſo lives in a ſteady Courſe of Virtue: Nor ſhall he be unrewarded, who makes a hearty Tender of the leaſt good Office to any of my Diſciples on that Account.

IX. [i] Jeſus *having given this Commiſſion to his Diſciples, and ſent them by two and two into different Places, went himſelf into another Part of the Country, with Deſign to publiſh his Goſpel, and acquaint them with the Laws of his Kingdom, and the Rewards belonging to it. The Apoſtles accordingly entered upon their Office, exhorting the* Jews *to repent, and confirming their divine Miſſion by caſting out the evil Spirits, and healing the Sick by anointing them with Oil, according to the Power conferred on them by* Jeſus Chriſt.

X. [k] *While the Goſpel was thus ſolemnly publiſhed,* Herod *the Tetrarch made a great Feaſt for the celebrating his Birth-day, to which he invited all his Courtiers, and the chief Officers of his Army, and the Nobles of* Galilee. *In the midſt of the Banquet,* Salome, *the Daughter of* Herodias *by her former Huſband* Philip, *entered the Room, and danced ſo gracefully, and ſo much to the Satisfaction of the Company, and eſpecially of* Herod *himſelf, that he commanded her to make whatever Requeſt ſhe had a mind to, aſſuring her that ſhe ſhould not be denied, though it were to the parting with half his Kingdom to her; which he alſo confirmed by an Oath.* Salome, *without making any Demand upon the Spot, went out of the Banqueting-Room to conſult her Mother* Herodias, *who bore a mortal Enmity to* John the Baptiſt *for the Reaſon we have before related. Inſtructed there-*

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[f] Matth. x. 24——27.

[g] Matth. x. 28——36.

[h] Matth x. 37——42.

[i] Matth. xi. 1. Mark vi. 12, 13. Luke ix. 6.

[k] Matth. xiv. 6——12. Mark. vi. 21—29.

fore by her Mother, ſhe return'd, and requir'd that the Head of John *ſhould immediately be deliver'd to her in a Charger.* Herod *little dreamt of ſuch a Requeſt as this, and was very much concern'd at it; yet by Reaſon of the Oath he had taken, and leſt his Gueſts ſhould think him guilty of Raſhneſs in what he had ſworn, and alſo that he might not ſeem to be perjur'd by them, he forthwith* [kk] *commanded one of his Guards to repair to the Priſon in which* John *was confin'd, and ſee Execution done upon him. The Officer accordingly perform'd his Taſk, and brought the Head into the Room, and preſented it to her. She immediately carried it to her Mother, who feaſted her Eyes with the horrid Spectacle, having thus gratified her Revenge by the barbarous Murder of this holy and innocent Perſon. The Diſciples of* John *hearing of this Diſaſter, came to* Herod, *and begg'd the dead Body of their Maſter, which they buried in a Sepulchre, and afterwards came and acquainted* Jeſus *with it, whom they knew* John *always look'd upon as the Meſſiah.*

XI. [l] *About this* [m] *Time the Fame of* Jeſus *being ſpread far and near, came at laſt to the Ears of* Herod; *and ſeveral of the Courtiers ſuſpecting that* Jeſus *was the very Perſon he had not long ago ordered to beheaded,* Herod *told them he was alſo of the ſame Opinion, and that he verily believ'd God had raiſed him from the Dead, and that it was he who under the Name of* Jeſus *was the Author of the many Miracles reported to have been wrought by him in the Land of* Paleſtine. *Others there were who took him for* Elias *the* Tiſhbite, *whom the* Jews *expected before the Arrival of the Meſſiah, from a miſtaken Prophecy of* Malachi. *Others thought he was a new Prophet; and ſome believ'd him to be one of the old ones rais'd from the Dead. But* Herod, *as we ſaid, reflecting upon the Matter, was confirm'd in his Suſpicion that it was* John *whom he had commanded to be beheaded, and who was reſtor'd to Life; for which Reaſon he greatly deſired to ſee* Jeſus, *that he might be ſatisfied of the Truth of it: But* Jeſus *would not ſuffer himſelf to be ſeen by him.*

DISSERTATION.

Of our Lord's Commiſſion to his Diſciples, the Difference of Rewards in a future State, *&c.*

I. Jeſus's *Communication of Power an Inſtance of his Divine Authority. No Impoſtor ever pretended to the like.* II. *The firſt and ſecond Miſſion of the Apoſtles diſtinguiſhed from each other.* III. *Remarks on our Saviour's Inſtructions to his Apoſtles at ſending them forth.* IV. *Of the Perſons to whom the Apoſtles were ſent. Who were worthy to receive them.* V. *Of thoſe who did not receive them. Our Lord's Compariſon of ſuch to* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *conſidered.* VI. *A Deſcription of thoſe Places.* VII. *Of receiving a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet. The Difference of Rewards in the Life to come.* VIII. *Two Objections conſidered and refuted. The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.* IX. *The Preheminence of a Prophet's Reward aſſerted.* X. *What is meant by receiving a Prophet, and why thoſe who do thus ſhall have a Prophet's Reward.*

I. THE Delegation of Power from *Chriſt* to his Apoſtles, of which we have been treating, is a Matter that well deſerves our Conſideration, as it is a moſt eminent Proof of our bleſſed Saviour's Divinity. A like Power was afterwards given [a] to the ſeventy Diſciples, who were ſent out by two and two on the ſame Errand with the Apoſtles: And after our Saviour's Reſurrection, [b] Believers in general were commiſſioned to caſt out Devils, and to do many wonderful Things, in the Name of their Maſter. Nay, ſo far was this Power extended, after the Aſcenſion of our Lord, that the Apoſtles were enabled to impart the ſame Gifts to others, by baptizing them, and laying their Hands upon them. This is ſo eminent a Demonſtration of the Truth of the Chriſtian Faith, as hath nothing like a Parallel to it in any Hiſtory; excepting that of *Moſes*, who [c] *laid his Hands upon* Joſhua, *and he was filled with the Spirit of Wiſdom*; and that of *Eliſha* [d], on whom the Spirit of *Elijah* reſted: Nor even in thoſe Caſes is the Parallel exact; becauſe *Moſes* and *Elijah* did not communicate the Virtue that reſided in them by any inherent Power they had to do ſo, but the former by the particular Command, the latter by the ſpecial Permiſſion, of God; which Command and Permiſſion extended no farther than to the ſingle Inſtances of *Joſhua* and *Eliſha*. The Truth of their prophetical Commiſſion was, indeed, hereby confirmed; but neither *Joſhua* nor *Eliſha* could afterwards communicate their ſaid Power, by invoking the Names of their Predeceſſors, as the Apoſtles did theirs by Virtue of the Name of *Jeſus*.

And it is worthy of Notice, that among all the Accounts which the Heathens have given of their famous Magicians, and Workers of Wonders, there is not one to be found, who ever pretended to have a Power to delegate his Virtue to others, or to impart his Power to them, upon the Invocation of his Name, or Belief of his Doctrines. And hence *Arnobius* having ſummed up the Miracles which our Saviour did, adds, [e] *That he not only did them himſelf by his Power, but permitted many others to do them by Invocation of his Name; nor did he any of theſe Miracles which raiſed Aſtoniſhment in others, which he enabled not his little ones, and even Ruſticks, to perform.* And then that Father triumphs over the Heathens thus: *What ſay you, O ye ſtiff and incredulous Minds? Did ever that* Jupiter, *whom ye* Romans *worſhip in the* Capitol, *give the like Power to any Mortal?* After which he concludes this to be the Evidence of a truly divine Power: *For,* ſays he, *to transfer his Power to a Man, and to give Authority and Strength to a Creature to do that which he alone can do, is an Evidence of one who hath Power over all, and hath the Cauſes of all Things at his Command.*

[kk] Joſephus attributes the Ruin of Herod's Army to God's being angry with him for this Fact: He and Herodias were afterwards baniſhed by Caligula to Lyons in France. As for Salome, it is reported that going over ſome Ice in Winter, the Ice broke, and letting her in to the Head, cut that off by its Sharpneſs. Thus were the Murderers of this good Man puniſhed by God.

[l] Matth. xiv 1, 2. Mark vi. 14, 15, 16. Luke ix. 7, 8, 9.

[m] The Reaſon why Herod was more ſtruck with the Fame of Jeſus now, than he had been before, ſeems to be this: The Apoſtles, by being diſperſed, and working ſo many Miracles in Chriſt's Name, made him much more remarkable than the Miracles which he wrought in his own Perſon could do.

[a] Luke x. 9, 17.

[b] Mark xvi. 17, 18.

[c] Deut. xxxiv. 9.

[d] 2 Kings ii. 15.

II. Among the ſeveral Things which *Chriſt* empowers his Diſciples to do, St. *Matthew* mentions [f] *raiſing the Dead:* Which Words, Dr. *Mill* [g] obſerves, are wanting in many Manuſcripts; and, becauſe the Apoſtles raiſed none from the Dead till after *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, he therefore conjectures that theſe Words have been added to the Text. But againſt this Imagination Dr. *Whitby* notes, [h] that they are to be found in the *Vulgar*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and *Æthiopic* Verſions, and that they are left out only in the *Perſic*, which is later than the others. And this Author continues to reaſon thus: The Argument which Dr. *Mill* and *Grotius* uſe for excluding theſe Words from the Text, would exclude alſo the *cleanſing of the Lepers*; for we read of none cleanſed by them in that Interval. But it is to be obſerved, that the Words [i] in this Chapter reach to their Miſſion after *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, and many of them were not fulfilled before: For then only was it, that they [k] *were brought before Councils, and ſcourged in the Synagogues, and brought before Kings and Governors, for* Chriſt's *Sake*; then only [l] *was the Spirit given them, to teach them how to ſpeak*; and then were *they hated of all Men for his Name.* Note therefore, that there was a double Miſſion of the Apoſtles, thus to be diſtinguiſhed.

The *firſt* was to the *Jews* only, excluſive of the *Gentiles* and *Samaritans.* And thus were they ſent, [m] *two and two*, to go through the Cities and Villages of *Iſrael*, and preach, ſaying, [n] *The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand.* This Miſſion they completed [o] before our Saviour's Death; and in this they were empowered only to *caſt out Devils*, and *to heal Diſeaſes.*

Their *ſecond* Miſſion was after our Lord's Reſurrection, and is conceived in theſe Words; [p] *As the Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* And this they were to execute, after the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon them, [q] by *being Witneſſes in* Jeruſalem, *and in all* Judea *and* Samaria, *and to the uttermoſt Ends of the Earth.* To this Miſſion, as well as the former, relates the Commiſſion which our Lord gave them in full, (and which St. *Mathhew* on that Occaſion rehearſes in full,) at firſt ſending them forth: And to this Miſſion only belong the Articles therein of *raiſing the Dead*, and *cleanſing the Lepers*, as well as the ſeveral Predictions concerning their own Sufferings. And this ſhews the Reaſon why St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, who relate only what belonged to the firſt Miſſion, ſpeak nothing, in the Chapters referred to, of their Commiſſion to *cleanſe the Lepers*, and to *raiſe the Dead*; namely, becauſe they well knew that theſe Things belonged only to their ſecond Miſſion.

III. We come now to conſider ſome of the Inſtructions and Predictions, which our Saviour delivered to his Diſciples when he ſent them forth. And here, *firſt*, we may obſerve, that there is no Ground to argue againſt the Maintenance of the Miniſtry from this Command, [r] *Freely ye have received, freely give:* For theſe Words relate only to the diſpenſing of miraculous Gifts, and are therefore wreſted when produced in any other Senſe. To be convinced of this, we need only to reflect, that when *Chriſt* ſent forth the Seventy on the ſame Errand, and inveſted them with the ſame Power, he commanded them, that [s] *into whatſoever Houſe they entered, they ſhould there remain, eating and drinking ſuch Things as were ſet before them*; *for,* ſays he, *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire.* And agreeable to this was the Practice of [t] many of the Apoſtles, among whom were the Brethren of the Lord and *Cephas*, when they were on the Execution of their Commiſſion. St. *Paul* alſo, who did not uſe this Liberty, not only juſtifies [u] his Right to do ſo, but requires them [w] *who are taught the Word to communicate to him who teacheth in all good Things*; and pronounces [x] *them that labour in the Word and Doctrine worthy of double Honour*, that is double Maintenance, as the Antients underſtood it; and declares [y] *the Lord to have ordained, that they who preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel.*

A *ſecond* Thing to be conſidered, is the ſeeming Difference between St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* in their Account of our Lord's Inſtructions to his Apoſtles concerning their Proviſions. According to St. *Matthew* he bid them take [z] *no Staves*; but St. *Mark* allows them [a] *a Staff.* Now it is to be obſerved, that it was common for thoſe who were going to travel a conſiderable Journey, to take with them two Stâves, as well as two Coats: And as the latter was abſolutely forbid to the Apoſtles according to three of the

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[e] Arnob. adv. Gentes. l. i. p. 30, 31. as quoted by Whitby.

[f] Matth. x. 8.

[g] See Whitby on Matth. x. 8.

[h] Ibid.

[i] The eighth Chapter of Matthew.

[k] Ver. 17, 18.

[l] Ver. 19, 20.

[m] Mark vi. 7

[n] Matth. x. 7 Luke ix. 5, 6.

[o] Matth. x. 1. Mark vi. 7, 13. Luke ix. 1, 2.

[p] John xx. 21.

[q] Acts i. 8.

[r] Matth. x. 8.

[s] Luke x. 7.

[t] 1 Cor. ix. 4, 5.

[u] See the whole Chapter laſt quoted.

[w] Gal. vi. 6.

[x] 1 Tim. v. 17. See the Notes of Hammond and Whitby thereon.

[y] 1 Cor. iv. 14.

[z] Matth. x. 10.

[a] Mark. vi. 8.

[b] Matth. x. 10. Mark. vi. 9.

Evangeliſts, we muſt explain the Precept *of Staves* agreeably thereto; namely, that they might take one Staff, and no more. Thus alſo in St. *Matthew* they are to take [b] *no Shoes*, but in St. *Mark* they are to [c] *be ſhod with Sandals*; where the Prohibition of the one contradicts not the Permiſſion of the other: For Sandals were made of hard Leather, and ſo open, that the Foot might be put into them either before or behind; whereas the Shoes of that Time were made of ſoft Leather, and would receive the Foot only one Way, as at preſent, which made them much properer for long Journies. Our Lord's prohibiting them the Uſe of theſe, as alſo of more than one Staff, was to teach them, that when they were employ'd in his Service, they ought to depend upon his Providence for what Proviſions they wanted; and therefore, after their Return, he ſpeaks thus to them, [d] *When I ſent you forth, lacked you any Thing?* But then this Prohibition was a temporary one, and reſpected only their firſt Miſſion, without reaching to their Apoſtolical Function afterwards: So that we may not infer from hence, that the Miniſters of the Goſpel ſhould make no Proviſion of the Things of this Life: On the contrary, we find that *Chriſt* himſelf had [e] one *that bore his Bag*; and St. *Paul* ſends [f] for *his Cloke, which he had left at* Troas.

Another Thing which Chriſt gives his Apoſtles in Command, was, that they ſhould [g] *take no Thought how or what they ſhould ſpeak*; *for*, ſays he, *it is not you that ſpeak, but the Spirit of my Father that ſpeaketh in you.* Where obſerve, that this Prohibition of taking Thought was only in conſequence of that immediate Aſſiſtance of the holy Spirit which was to attend them, and ought not to be extended to any Chriſtian, or Sect of Chriſtians, at this Time, becauſe no ſuch immediate Aſſiſtance is now to be expected. Vain therefore are the Papiſts, who aſcribe the ſame Aſſiſtance to their Fathers met in Council, and ſay *it is not they that ſpeak, but the Holy Ghoſt that ſpeaketh in them*: And no leſs vain are they who expect an immediate Inſpiration, either in Prayer or Preaching, after thoſe extraordinary Gifts have long ceaſed. As well might they pretend to ſpeak with Tongues, and to caſt out Devils, as the Apoſtles did, by virtue of the ſame Aſſiſtance.

Neither are we to infer from our Lord's forbidding his Apoſtles [h] *to fear them who can kill the Body, but cannot kill the Soul*, that a Miniſter of the Goſpel is to take no care for the Preſervation of his natural Life: On the contrary, Chriſt bids his Apoſtles, in the ſame Diſcourſe, [i] *be wiſe as Serpents*; and orders them, [k] *when they are perſecuted in one City, to flee unto another*; and again, commands them [l] *to beware of Men, who ſhould deliver them up to the Council.* Precepts that command us to ſuffer Martyrdom for the ſake of Chriſt, are to be underſtood with the greateſt Reſtriction, as ſignifying that we ſhould do this when *to die* or to *give up our Faith* are the only Choices left to us. In this Caſe Death is certainly to be prefer'd: But ſo long as we can preſerve the Integrity of our Conſciences together with our Lives, it is our Duty to keep as much as poſſible out of Danger.

Theſe few Things could not ſo well be expreſſed in our Paraphraſe: The reſt of our Saviour's Inſtructions and Predictions contained in the ſame Diſcourſe, are not ſo liable to Miſconſtructions as the Particulars here taken notice of. We now proceed to conſider the Perſons to whom the Apoſtles were ſent, according to their ſeveral Characters: After which we ſhall explain the Promiſe made to thoſe who receive a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet; and, on that Occaſion, treat of the Difference of Rewards in a future State, as pointed out by the Phraſes of *a Prophet's Reward*, and *a righteous Man's Reward.*

IV. The Perſons to whom the Apoſtles were ſent, at their firſt Miſſion, were, in general, the whole Nation of the *Jews*, called by our Lord, [m] *the loſt Sheep of the Houſe of* Iſrael. He calls them *Sheep*, ſays [n] Dr. *Whitby*, though they were not obedient to their Shepherd, as being all God's choſen People; and he calls them *loſt Sheep*, becauſe they were in ſo great Peril of being loſt and ruin'd by the Ignorance and Wickedneſs of their Guides. To them the Apoſtles were at firſt ſent, becauſe they were [o] *the Children of the Kingdom*, to whom the [p] Promiſe of the Meſſiah was made, and the [q] *Adoption and Promiſes* eſpecially belonged. They who by Sheep here, underſtand the Elect by a ſecret Decree of God, muſt, contrary to the Tenor of the New Teſtament, make *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles to be ſent to none who rejected the Goſpel: Nay, they make *Chriſt* ſend his Apoſtles to thoſe whom they could never find; it being impoſſible for them, without ſuch a particular Revelation as we have no Ground to think they had, to know who were thus the Elect of God.

Thus much in general as to this Miſſion of the Apoſtles: But then, in particular, they were ſent more eſpecially to [r] *them that were worthy*; and therefore, at their *entering into any Houſe*, they were to *enquire who in it was worthy*; but if *the Houſe was not worthy*, they were to leave it, and their Salutation was to return to them again. Hence ſome have concluded, that the Reaſon why one is rather called than another, is not in the Men themſelves, or from any Diſpoſition of theirs to receive or reject the Word: But the contrary to this is demonſtrable from our Lord's Commiſſion itſelf. He ſent his Apoſtles, not to them who were called already, but to the loſt Sheep of the Houſe of *Iſrael*, who were by their Miniſtry to be called into the Sheepfold of *Chriſt*: And among thoſe who were thus to be called, here is a manifeſt Suppoſition that ſome would by the Apoſtles be found *worthy*, and *ſome unworthy*: Now whence ſhould this Diſtinction be made, but from certain outward Diſpoſitions; which in ſome were ſuch as rendered them fit for the Kingdom of God, and gave Room for the Apoſtles to hope that they ſhould not labour in vain; in others, ſuch as cut off all theſe Hopes, and ſhewed them utterly indiſpoſed for Repentance and Reception of the Goſpel? In the ſame Manner muſt be underſtood what *Chriſt* commanded the Seventy, when he ſent them on the ſame Errand: He bid them ſay [s] *Peace to the Houſe they came to*; promiſing, that if a *Son of Peace were there, their Peace ſhould reſt upon it*. For what can this *Son of Peace* be, but one diſpoſed to receive ſuch Perſons peaceably and kindly, and to hearken to their Admonitions? Is not this the very Thing which fitted them for the divine Benediction, and gave its proper Effect to the Apoſtolical Salutation?

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[b] Matth. x. 10. [c] Mark vi. 9. [d] Luke xxii. 35. [e] John xiii. 9.

[f] 2 Tim. iv. 13. [g] Matth. x. 19, 20.

[h] Ver. 28. Theſe Words contain a certain Evidence that the Soul dies not with the Body, but continues afterwards in a State of Senſibility.

[i] Matth. x. 16. [k] Ver. 23. [l] Ver. 17. [m] Matth. x. 6.

[n] See his Note on this Place, in which he refers to Pſalm cxix. 176. Iſa. liii. 6. Jer. l. 6. [o] Matth. viii. 12.

[p] Gen. xvii. 1. [q] Rom. ix. 4. See alſo Acts xiii. 46. [r] Matth. x, 11, 12, 13.

V. The ſame Truth will be farther evident, from the Conſideration of thoſe Puniſhments, that were to be inflicted on the Perſons oppoſed to the *Worthy*, or the *Sons of Peace*: Theſe Perſons were ſuch as were not diſpoſed to hearken to the Word, or to receive the Preachers of it; for which they were to be looked upon as impure, to have [t] the Duſt of the Apoſtles Feet *ſhaken off as a Teſtimony againſt them*; and to ſuffer *at the Day of Judgment*, a Puniſhment *leſs tolerable than that of* Sodom *and* Gomorrah. Theſe dreadful Judgments muſt certainly befal them for ſome Reaſon: And what could that be, but the Want of ſuch Diſpoſitions as ſhould, and might but from their own Faults, have been in them, towards the Goſpel of the Kingdom, and thoſe who came with the Offer of it? They, by refuſing to receive the Word, [u] *judged themſelves unworthy of eternal Life*, when they ſhould, and might have done the contrary: And therefore, for Want of thoſe good Diſpoſitions which others had, and which they might have had, they fell ſhort of the Salvation tendered to them. This is the only natural and conſiſtent Interpretation that can be given to theſe Paſſages.

We will a little explain the Phraſes by which the Puniſhments of the *Unworthy* are expreſſed. That of *ſhaking off the Duſt from the Feet*, alludes to an Opinion of the *Jews*, that the Duſt of Heathen Lands was polluted. The Import therefore of theſe Words is this: *Look upon ſuch as will not receive you, as upon thoſe Heathens to whom I have forbid you to preach; and when you depart from them, ſhake off the Duſt of your Feet, as a Teſtimony that you ſo eſteem them.*

Some imagine, that by ſaying, *it ſhall be more tolerable for* Sodom *and* Gomorrah *than for the unworthy City*, our Lord meant only, that the Puniſhment of that City ſhould be greater, when he came to execute Judgment on the *Jewiſh* Nation, than that which *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſuffered *for refuſing the Preaching of* Lot: But this is manifeſtly to pervert the Words; for beſides that the whole Paſſage runs in the future Tenſe, *it ſhall be ſo*, our Lord mentions the Time when this ſhall be, namely in *the Day of Judgment*; which Phraſe is never in Scripture applied to the Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* Nation, but always to the laſt Day of Account, [w] to which the Wicked are reſerved for Puniſhment. The *Sodomites* at that Day ſhall certainly receive their Condemnation: And who can rationally conceive, that Men polluted with ſuch unnatural Luſts, ſhould be fit to come into that Place, into which [x] *nothing enters that is polluted or defiled?* How great then muſt that Puniſhment be, which ſhall be leſs tolerable than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, thoſe Habitations of Uncleanneſs? What horrible Aggravations muſt accompany thoſe Sins, which are committed againſt Light and Knowledge? For the Sin of thoſe who reject the Goſpel, which makes them obnoxious to greater Puniſhment than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, can have this dreadful Effect only as it is committed againſt greater Light, and greater Confirmation of the Truth, than thoſe Cities had: It muſt be a wilful Sin, which it was in the Sinner's Power to avoid.

VI. Having ſo often mentioned *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, it is proper to give ſome Account of the ſeveral States of thoſe Cities, in order to ſee the Pertinence of our Lord's frequent Alluſion to them, when he ſpeaks of the terrible Judgments that were to befal thoſe that rejected his Goſpel. This we ſhall do partly from Scripture, and partly from the Relations of antient and modern Geographers.

Sodom appears from the Scripture to have been a City of great Note when *Abraham* firſt began to ſojourn in the Land of *Canaan*. It was pleaſantly ſituated in the Plains of *Jordan*, which were well watered thereabouts, [y] *even as the Garden of the Lord, like the Land of* Egypt *as thou comeſt to* Zoar. There were four other Cities, which then ſtood in this lower Part of the Plain of *Jordan*; namely, *Gomorrah*, (which by our Lord is joined with *Sodom*, as being probably the next to it in Dignity,) *Admah*, *Zeboijm*, and *Bela*, otherwiſe called *Zoar*. This Tract of Land had the Name of *Pentapolis* among *Greek* Writert, from the aforementioned five Cities. The Inhabitants of theſe Cities were [z] *Wicked, and Sinners before the Lord exceedingly*, by Reaſon of that unnatural Luſt they were given to: Wherefore the Lord rained upon *Sodom*, and the other Cities, except *Zoar*, *Fire and Brimſtone out of Heaven*; *and he overthrew thoſe Cities, and all that Plain, and all the Inhabitants of the Cities, and all that grew upon the Ground*: Whence St. *Jude* ſaith, that [a] Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *and the Cities about them, giving them-*

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[s] Luke x. 6.

[t] Matth. x. 14, 15.

[u] Acts xiii. 46.

[w] 2 Pet. ii. 9. and iii. 7. See alſo Matth. xii. 36. 1 John iv. 17. Luke x. 14.

[x] Rev. xxi. 27.

[y] Gen. xiii. 10.

[z] Ver. 13. and chap. xix. 4, 5, 24, 25.

[a] Jude ver. 7.

ſelves over to Uncleanneſs, and going after unnatural Luſts, are ſet forth for an Example, ſuffering the Vengeance of eternal Fire.

'Tis imagined[b], that the Plain wherein theſe Cities ſtood, was firſt inflamed by Lightning, which ſet Fire to the Bitumen with which it was replete, and was afterwards overflowed by the Waters of *Jordan*, which diffuſed themſelves there, and formed the *Dead Sea*, or *Lake of Sodom*; called alſo *Aſphaltites*, becauſe of the *Aſphaltus*, or Bitumen, with which it abounded. 'Tis believed alſo, that *Sodom* was one of the more Southermoſt of the five Cities that were thus deſtroy'd, becauſe it was near *Zoar*, which lay on the South Point of the *Dead Sea*.

Many doubt whether *Sodom* was within that Space of Land which is now poſſeſs'd by this Sea, or whether it was only upon its Border. *Joſephus* ſays, "[c] That round about the *Lake of Sodom*, and about the Cities that were deſtroy'd by Fire from Heaven, the Land is all burnt up, and there are ſtill to be ſeen the diſmal Effects of this terrible Burning, and the Remains of thoſe unfortunate Cities: And that the Fruits which grow there have a fine outward Appearance, and ſeem to the Sight to be good to eat; but they are full of Aſhes, and, when opened, fly away in Duſt." By which it ſhould ſeem, that in *Joſephus*'s Time the Ruins of theſe five Cities were ſtill in being. [d] *Strabo* alſo ſpeaks of the Ruins of *Sodom*, which were ſixty Furlongs in Compaſs, and were to be ſeen on the Shore of the *Dead Sea*. There is likewiſe mention of *Sodom* as an Epiſcopal See: And one *Severus*, Biſhop of *Sodom*, ſubſcribed to the firſt Council of *Nice*; unleſs the Copiers have made a Miſtake, as Mr. *Reland* imagines they have. But *Calmet*[e] ſeems ſtrongly of the Opinion that *Sodom* was rebuilt, either in the ſame Place it was before, or over againſt it; though, he ſays, he would not too ſtrenuouſly oppoſe the common Opinion, that holds the contrary.

Mr. *Maundrell* ſpeaks thus of the *Lake of Sodom*, and the Country about it: "[f] The *Dead Sea* is encloſed on the Eaſt and Weſt with exceeding high Mountains: On the North it is bordered with the Plain of *Jericho*, on which Side alſo it receives the Waters of *Jordan*. On the South it is open, and extends beyond the Reach of the Eye. It is ſaid to be twenty-four Leagues long, and ſix or ſeven broad.

On the Shore of the Lake we found a black Sort of Pebbles, which being held in the Flame of a Candle ſoon burns, and yields a Smoke of an intolerable Stench. It has this Property, that it loſes only of it's Weight, but not of it's Bulk, by burning. The Hills bordering upon the Lake, are ſaid to abound with this ſort of ſulphurous Stones. I ſaw Pieces of it, at the Convent of St. *John* in the Wilderneſs, two Foot ſquare. They were carved in Baſſo-Relievo, and poliſh'd to as great a Luſtre as black Marble is capable of, and were deſign'd for the Ornament of the new Church at the Convent.

It is a common Tradition, that Birds, attempting to fly over this Sea, drop down dead into it and that no Fiſh, nor other Sort of Animal, can endure theſe deadly Waters. The former Report I ſaw actually confuted, by ſeveral Birds flying about, and over the Sea, without any viſible Harm: The latter alſo I have ſome Reaſon to ſuſpect as falſe, having obſerv'd amongſt the Pebbles on the Shore, two or three Shells of Fiſh, reſembling Oyſter-ſhells. Theſe were caſt up by the Waves, at two Hours Diſtance from the Mouth of *Jordan*: Which I mention, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that they might be brought into the Sea that way.

As for the Bitumen, for which this Sea hath been ſo famous, there was none at the Place where we were. But it is gather'd near the Mountains on both Sides in great Plenty. I had ſeveral Lumps of it brought me to *Jeruſalem*. It exactly reſembles Pitch, and cannot readily be diſtinguiſh'd from it, but by the Sulphurouſneſs of it's Smell and Taſte.

The Water of the Lake was very limpid, and ſalt to the higheſt Degree; and not only ſalt, but alſo extreme bitter, and nauſeous. Being willing to make an Experriment of its Strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my Body in ſwimming with an uncommon Force. But as for that Relation of ſome Authors, that Men wading into it, were buoyed up to the Top, as ſoon as they go as deep as the Navel; I found it, upon Experiment, not true.

Being deſirous to ſee the Remains, if there were any, of thoſe Cities, antiently ſituate in this Place, and made ſo dreadful an Example of the divine Vengeance, I diligently ſurvey'd the Waters, as far as my Eye could reach. But neither could I diſcern any Heaps of Ruins, nor any Smoke aſcending above the Surface of the Water, as is uſually deſcribed in the Writings and Maps of Geographers. But yet I muſt not omit what was confidently atteſted to me by the Father Guardian, and the Procurator of *Jeruſalem*; both Men in Years, and ſeemingly not deſtitute either of Senſe or Probity; namely, that they had once actually ſeen one of theſe Ruins; that it was ſo near the Shore, and the Waters ſo ſhallow, at that Time, that they, together with ſome *French* Men, went to it, and found there ſeveral Pillars, and other Fragments of Buildings. The Cauſe of our being deprived of this Sight was, I ſuppoſe, the Height of the Water.

On the Weſt Side of the Sea is a ſmall Promontory; near which, as our Guides told us, ſtood the Monument of *Lot*'s metamorphoſed Wife: Part of which, if they may be credited, is viſible at this Day. But neither would the preſent Occaſion permit us to go and examine the Truth of this Relation; neither, had the Opportunity ſerved, could we give Faith enough to their Report, to induce us to go on ſuch an Errand.

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[b] See Calmet in the Word *Sodom*

[c] De Bell. lib. v. cap. 5.

[d] Strab. Geog. lib. 15.

[e] Calmet ubi ſupra.

[f] Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 82, 83, 84.

[g] Tacit. Hiſt. lib. v. Joſeph. Bel. Jud. lib. v. cap 5.

As for the Apples of *Sodom* ſo much talked of, I neither ſaw, nor heard of any hereabouts. Nor was there any Tree to be ſeen near the Lake, from which one might expect ſuch a Kind of Fruit. [g] Which induces me to believe that there may be a greater Deceit in this Fruit, than that which is uſually reported of it; and that its very Being, as well as its Beauty, is a Fiction, only kept up, as my Lord *Bacon* obſerves many other falſe Notions are, becauſe it ſerves for a good Alluſion, and helps the Poets to a Similitude." Thus much for this famous Place.

VII. To proceed: Our bleſſed Saviour giving his Apoſtles their Miſſion to preach the Goſpel, unfurniſhed with outward Things, and forewarning them what harſh and unkind Uſage they and their Succeſſors were like to find amongſt Men; for the better Encouragement of ſuch as ſhould entertain and miniſter unto them, he pronounceth, [h] *That whoſoever received them, received him, and he that received him, received him that ſent him:* Whereby it appears how honourable an Office it was to afford them Entertainment, and ſuch as the Nobleſt need not to be aſhamed of. But becauſe the Hope of Reward is the moſt forcible Spur to all Undertakings, he addeth theſe very remarkable Words: [i] *He that receiveth a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, ſhall receive a Prophet's Reward*; that is, "he that receiveth a Prophet, not for any other Reſpect, but becauſe he is a Prophet, ſhall have the ſame Reward as a Prophet himſelf". Which Words contain in them evidently theſe two Propoſitions: *Firſt*, that there is ſome ſpecial Degree of Reward due to a Prophet above other Men. *Secondly*, That he who ſhall entertain a Prophet, and do any good Office to him under that Name, that is for his Office Sake, ſhall be Partaker of that Reward. Of theſe two Points we intend now to treat, beginning with the firſt, which is the more general.

That there ſhall be differing Degrees of Reward in the Life to come, is evident from ſundry Places of Scripture, a few of which we ſhall quote. The *firſt* is that repeated Aſſurance, that God *will reward every Man according to his Works*: Which is not to be underſtood only of the differing Quality of our Works, as they are good and evil, but alſo of the differing Works of juſt Men compared together. This is manifeſt by that [k] Paſſage, where the Apoſtle comparing his own and *Apollo*'s Work together, ſaying, *He had planted, and* Apollo *watered*, adds, That *both ſhould receive their Reward, according to their Work*; that is, as their Work differed, ſo ſhould their Reward do. In the *ſecond* Place, The ſame Thing is repreſented by [l] the Parable of the ten Servants, who received of their Lord, being to go into a far Country, ten Pounds to trade with till his Return; when he that had increaſed his Pound to ten Pounds, was made Ruler of ten Cities; he that had gained but five Pounds, over five Cities; and ſo the reſt, according as they had improved the Stock given them. A *third* Proof is contained in theſe Words of St. *Paul*, [m] *There is one Glory of the Sun, another of the Moon, and another Glory of the Stars; for one Star differeth from another in Glory. So alſo is the Reſurrection of the Dead.* Here being a full Stop at the Word *Dead*, theſe Words are not to be referred to that which follows, *(the Body is ſown in Corruption, and riſeth again in Incorruption,)* as ſome would have them: For the Apoſtle ſpeaks here of the Difference of Things heavenly and glorious, (*one Star* ſaith he, *differs from another in Glory*;) and not of the Difference between glorious and inglorius, corruptible and incorruptible: For this belongs to his other Similitude; *There are celeſtial Bodies, and Bodies terreſtrial; but the Glory of the celeſtial is one, and the Glory of the terreſtrial is another.* A *fourth* Place is that, where the Apoſtle ſpeaking of the Reward of Beneficence, avoucheth, [n] that *he who ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap ſparingly, and he that ſoweth bountifully, ſhall reap bountifully. Fifthly*, and laſtly, the following Speech of our Saviour to the Twelve, imports as much; [o] *Behold, we,* ſaith St. *Peter, have forſaken all and followed thee: What ſhall we have therefore?* To which *Chriſt* replies, *Verily I ſay unto you, that ye which have followed me in the Regeneration, when the Son of Man ſhall ſit upon the Throne of his Glory, ye alſo ſhall ſit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael. St. *Luke* relates the ſame upon another Occaſion; whereby it appears our Saviour uttered it more than once. [p] *You,* ſaith he to the Twelve, *are they which have continued with me in my Temptations: Therefore I appoint you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom, and ſit on Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael. Whatſoever is meant by the Reward intimated in this Expreſſion, for the Quality thereof, 'tis plain there is ſome peculiar and eminent Degree of Glory here promiſed the Apoſtles, which ſhall not be common to others with them; and that for theſe Reaſons. *Firſt*, becauſe it is the Reward of their proper and peculiar Service unto *Chriſt*, as the Text ſhews. *Secondly*, becauſe theſe twelve Thrones, in regard of their Number, can befit no more but theſe Twelve. *Thirdly*, ſuppoſing the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael* here mentioned, to be likewiſe in a Condition of Bliſs and Happineſs; it muſt needs be, that thoſe who *ſit upon twelve Thrones to judge*, that is to *govern them*, muſt be in a higher Degree of Dignity, than thoſe over whom they ſhall be ſet. Whatſoever therefore the Meaning of the Reward may be, thus much may be gathered from the Deſcription thereof, *That there ſhall be differing Degrees of Glory in the Kingdom of* Chriſt

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[g] Tacit Hiſt. l. v. Joſeph. Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 5.
[h] Matth. x. 40.
[i] Ver. 41
[k] 1 Cor. iii. 8.
[l] Luke xix 12——27.
[m] 1 Cor. xv. 42.
[n] 2 Cor. ix. 6.
[o] Matth. xix. 27, 28.
[p] Luke xxii. 28, 29, 30.
[q] Matth. xx.

to come. This hath been the antient and conſtant Tradition of the Church, as is teſtified by the unanimous Conſent of all the Fathers; and it was never queſtioned by any, till the Time of *Peter Martyr*, who firſt began to doubt of it; ſince when others have more boldly ventured abſolutely to contradict it.

VIII. Their main Reaſons or Objections are theſe two: *Firſt*, "that the Reward to come depends not upon the Virtue or Dignity of our Works, but only upon the Merit and Satisfaction of *Chriſt:* But his Merits and Satisfaction, ſay they, are uniform and the ſame to All: Therefore, the Reward alſo which is to be given by Virtue thereof ſhall be ſo." This Objection proceeds from that Unwillingneſs which many have to admit of any Relation or Connection between our Works and the Reward to come: Whence it is that they affirm, that our good Works ſhould not be done with an Eye to the Reward; which is an Aſſertion repugnant to the Tenour of the Scripture, where the Holy Ghoſt uſually grounds his Exhortations upon the Hope and Promiſe of Reward. And what an unreaſonable Conceit is it, to think that where Wages are promiſed for the Encouragement of the Labourer, the Labourer ſhould be bound to work without having any Eye or Reſpect to his Wages? But to the Objection we anſwer thus; That it is true, the Merits and Satisfaction of *Chriſt* is the Foundation of our Reward, and that alone which makes our Works capable thereof: Nevertheleſs it is true alſo, that our Works are the Subject of Reward, and the ſame Merit of *Chriſt* makes differing Works capable of a different Reward.

Their *other* Objection hath a little more Probability in it, and ſeems therefore ſomewhat more difficult to anſwer: It is taken from the [q] Parable, "where the Kingdom of Heaven is compared to a Vineyard, the Maſter of which went out in the Morning to hire Labourers, and agreed with them for a Penny a-day: Three Hours after, or at the third Hour, and ſo again at the ſixth, the ninth, and the eleventh Hours, he did likewiſe. And when they came all to receive their Wages, he gave the laſt hired as much as he had agreed for with the firſt, namely, every one a Penny, neither more nor leſs: Whence it ſeems to follow, that the Reward to come, ſignified by the Penny, ſhall not be proportioned according to the Difference of Works, but be one and the ſame to all."

To this Objection we anſwer; *Firſt*, That the Parable proves no more than that the ſooner or later coming of Men into the Vineyard of the Church ſhall not make their Reward greater or leſſer: Not, that the Reward ſhall not be different according to the Diverſity of our Works. For this Parable hath Reſpect to the Churches of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that have not been called, nor are to be called, at the ſame Time: For the *Jews* were hired into the Vineyard betimes in the Morning; the *Gentiles* not till the Day was far ſpent; yet ſhall theſe latter, by the Goodneſs of their heavenly Maſter, receive the ſame Reward of eternal Life, which was promiſed to the *Jews*, with whom the Covenant was firſt made, and who *bore the Heat of the Day*, whilſt the others *ſtood idle*. In the new Vineyard of the Goſpel the Turn is changed; for into that, becauſe the *Jews* would not enter, the *Gentiles* have firſt been hired, though at ſeveral Hours; the *Jew* being not to come in till the eleventh Hour: Yet when *Chriſt* comes to give us Wages, the *Jew* ſhall receive his Penny, that is, eternal Life, as well as the *Gentile*.

That this is the genuine Scope of the Parable, may be gathered from that which is preſently ſubjoined by our Saviour, as it were to be the Key thereof. *So the laſt*, ſaith he, *ſhall be firſt, and the firſt laſt; for many are called, but few are choſen*; which we underſtand thus: *The laſt*, that is the *Gentiles* who came in laſt, ſhall be the firſt Partakers of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom. The *Jews*, who were firſt in Covenant, and had wrought ſo long before us in God's Vineyard, ſhall be laſt in the Covenant of *Chriſt*, and not converted till the Fulneſs of the *Gentiles* be come in: For though many of them were invited at the firſt coming of *Chriſt*, yet few or none obeyed; and ſo the Nation became not of his Flock, but ſtands yet rejected. To the like Purpoſe is the ſame Speech uſed by our Saviour on another Occaſion, as related by St. *Luke*. *They ſhall come*, ſaith he, *from the Eaſt, and from the Weſt, and from the North, and from the South, and ſhall ſit down in the Kingdom of God. And behold there are laſt which ſhall be firſt, and there are firſt which ſhall be laſt.* Which is yet more fully expounded by St. *Matthew*, in whom the Words run thus: *Many ſhall come from the Eaſt and Weſt, and ſhall ſit down with* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *in the Kingdom of Heaven: But the Children of the Kingdom* (that is, the whole Generation of *Iſrael*, who received not the Goſpel at the Preaching of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, and all the Generations ſince, who have continued in their Unbelief) *ſhall be caſt out into utter Darkneſs*.

And here, by the way, becauſe the Parable uſeth the Notion of a Day, to ſignify a Time of many Ages, it will not be unſeaſonable to note, that the Scripture often calls the whole Time of a Man's Pilgrimage in this World, by the Name of a *Day*: Where we ſay *Day*, to include *every Day*. And ſome think we are thus to underſtand *Day* in the Lord's Prayer, in that Petition, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*: For inſtead of St. *Matthew*'s *This Day*, ſpoken after the *Hebrew* Notion, St. *Luke* hath in the ſame Petition, a Phraſe which may be rendered *every Day*. Therefore St. *Matthew*'s *To Day*, muſt comprehend St. *Luke*'s *Every Day*, if the Senſe of the Petition in both of them be the ſame, as it ſeems to be, and as we took it in our Paraphraſe on that Prayer.

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[q] Matth. xx.

IX. Thus having cleared our Propoſition in general, by proving, *That there ſhall be differing Degrees of Glory in the Reward to come*; it remains that we make it good in the *Hypotheſis* concerning a Prophet; namely, *that to them who inſtruct others in the Ways and Will of God, which is the Office of a Prophet, there belongs a Pre-eminence of Reward, above and beſides that which is common to all Saints.* This Pre-eminence of Glory the Schoolmen term *Aureola*; by which they mean, an Addition of Felicity to that eſſential Glory in the Viſion of God, which they term *Aurea.* This *Aureola*, or Coronet, to be added to the Crown of Glory, they aſcribe to three Sorts of Perſons; to Virgins, to Martyrs, and to Doctors or Prophets. The two firſt are out of our Scope: As to the third, that of Prophets, let us ſee how it is proved out of Scripture.

Firſt, This Truth is apparent from the Words immediately under Conſideration, *He that receiveth a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, ſhall receive a Prophet's Reward:* For theſe Words prove that there is ſome ſpecial or peculiar Reward belonging to a Prophet, and that this Reward is an eminent one; otherwiſe our Saviour's Speech will have no Force in it, as he that conſiders it may eaſily ſee. The *ſecond* Text we ſhall quote, is out of the Prophet *Daniel*, where the Angel propheſying of the Reſurrection to be at the End of Time, and ſaying, [r] *That many of them that ſleep in the Duſt of the Earth, ſhall awake; ſome to everlaſting Life, and ſome to Shame, and everlaſting Contempt*; he adds, *and thoſe that be wiſe* (that is, have learned the true Wiſdom, which conſiſts in the Fear of God) *ſhall ſhine as the Brightneſs of the Firmament: But thoſe that turn many unto Righteouſneſs* (that is, the Teachers and Inſtructers) ſhall ſhine *as the Stars for ever and ever.* Here the Difference between thoſe that teach and are taught, is as much as between the Light of the Stars, and the Brightneſs of the Firmament. *Thirdly*, to this Eminency of Glory the Angel ſeems alſo to have reſpect in the End of the ſame Chapter, when he ſays, *But go thy Way* Daniel, *till the End be; for thou ſhalt reſt, and ſtand up in thy Lot at the End of Days:—In thy Lot*; that is, in the Lot of the Prophets. And this perhaps may be that which our Saviour intends, in theſe Words, *Whoſoever ſhall do, and teach Men, ſhall be called great in the Kingdom of Heaven.* The Reaſon of all this is, becauſe thoſe who teach and convert others to Righteouſneſs, have an Intereſt in, and a Kind of Title to, all the good Works which they ſhall do: How then can their Reward but be great and eminent, when not only their own Works, but the Works of their Converts and Diſciples, ſhall be brought into their Account?

A Matter, if they conſider it, of no ſmall Encouragement and Comfort, to thoſe whom God hath placed in this Condition to be Teachers and Inſtructors of others, provided they bury not their Talent in a Napkin, but imploy it for the Advantage of their Lord and Maſter. For it is not the Habit or Faculty, but the Work, which ſhall reap the Reward we ſpeak of: Happy are they therefore, if they neglect not this Opportunity of Bliſs, which God hath given them!

X. And thus having done with the firſt Propoſition, we come to the *ſecond*; which is, That *he that receiveth a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, ſhall be Partaker of a Prophet's Reward.—He that receives*, that is, doth any good Office, or deſerves well of a Prophet: For this may appear to be the Meaning by that which follows: *He that receiveth a righteous Man, in the Name of a righteous Man, ſhall receive a righteous Man's Reward*; where *righteous* is to be taken by Way of Eminency, for one of eminent Sanctity, ſuch as among the *Jews* had therefore the Surname of *Juſt*, as *Simon the Juſt*, *James the Juſt*, and others in the ſame Manner. Then in the next Words the Expreſſion is varied: *Whoſoever ſhall give to drink to one of theſe little ones, a Cup of cold Water in the Name of a Diſciple, ſhall not loſe his Reward:* Whence we may gather what good Office the Word *receiving* before uſed intimated to us, namely; to *relieve*, *maintain*, *ſupport*, and the like. He therefore that thus *receives a Prophet, ſhall be Partaker*, ſaith our Saviour, *of a Prophet's Reward*; that is, ſhall have an eminent Reward, or a Reward of the Quality of a Prophet's, though himſelf be none.

The Reaſon is, becauſe he that ſupports and enables a Prophet for his Duty, hath an Intereſt in his Work, and conſequently in the Reward that belongs to it: This appears by the contrary, becauſe he that maintains and abets thoſe, who commit an evil Act, makes himſelf guilty of their Sin, and ſo of the Puniſhment due to the ſame. An Example whereof we have in that of the *Benjamites* in the [ſ] Book of *Judges*, who by abetting the Men of *Gibeah*, who committed that foul Abomination with the *Levites* Wife, made themſelves guilty of their Sin, and brought that hideous Judgment, which at firſt was deſerved only by a few Sons of *Belial*, upon the Heads of the whole Tribe. It is a known Story: And there is a Parity of Reaſon for a Man to entitle himſelf to another's good Works, as to his evil ones.

But there is a Modification in the Text, whereupon this Reward we ſpeak of depends, and without which it is not to be looked for: And that is, This good Office muſt be done *in the Name of a Prophet:* 'Tis not he that receives him only for ſome perſonal or By-reſpect, becauſe he is his Kinſman, Friend, or Acquaintance, or becauſe he is one of his own Side and Faction; but ſetting all ſuch Reſpects aſide, with mere Regard to the Office and Calling. We may perhaps find ſome who make much of a Prophet for ſome perſonal Qualities of his, or becauſe he hath Abilities above the common, or becauſe he is like to further the Way they wiſh well to, or that they may gain Repute among ſome Sort of Men, or for other Reaſons of like

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[r] Dan. xii. 3.

[ſ] Chap. xix. and xx.

Nature: But are there many who regard a Prophet *in the Name of a Prophet*? If there are, how comes it to paſs that their Favours are ſo appropriated to the Perſons of ſome, that they ſhew no Reſpect or Eſteem to the calling in others?

To conclude: Let us conſider, Whence comes that unchriſtian Temper, which prompts ſo many on all Occaſions, to turn the Name of a *Prieſt* into Ridicule. Is this to honour a Prieſt or a Prophet *in the Name of a Prophet?* or is it not rather to reproach and diſhonour the Calling itſelf in the Perſon of a Man? For can a Man honour that Condition, the Name of which he thinks to be a Reproach? We are not apt to uſe the Words *Lord*, *Knight*, *Gentleman*, *Chriſtian*, in the ſame contemptuous Manner, becauſe we account them all Terms and Titles of Honour. Judge then by this, what Account they make of God's Ambaſſadors, who turn the very Title of their Calling into a Name of Reproach! and what Reward, by Proportion, they are like to merit at *Chriſt*'s Hands! 'Tis often, and too often true indeed, that for their Perſons they are unworthy of any better reſpect; but even then it beſt appears, whether a Man hath Reſpect to the Calling itſelf, when there is nothing in the Perſon to move his Veneration.

It may not be amiſs to mention another Sort of Men, who *honour not a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet*; namely, ſuch as would be glad to rob and ſpoil of their Livelihood and daily Bread, and who not only themſelves give nothing to enable and encourage them to perform their Miniſtry, but wiſh to ſee taken from them that which the Piety and Bounty of their Anceſtors hath allotted them. We took notice a little before, that the Reaſon why *he that receives a Prophet in the Name of a Prophet, ſhall be Partaker of a Prophet's Reward*, is, becauſe *he that ſupports and enables a Prophet to do his Duty, hath hereby an Intereſt in his Work, and conſequently in the Reward due to the ſame:* If this be ſo, what can they look for, who, whenever it is in their Power, and as far as their Intereſt may prevail, endeavour, by ſubtracting from the Miniſters their daily Bread, to hinder and diſenable them from the free and chearful Performance of their Duty, and diſtract them with the Cares of providing for their bodily Life? Do they not derive upon themſelves the Guilt of whatſoever Impediment comes hereby to the Propagation of the Kingdom of *Chriſt*? Shall not the Loſs of every Soul that periſheth for Want of due Proviſion to maintain able Miniſters be caſt in their Account at the laſt Day? It is not, indeed, at this Time, in the Power of any private Man, to deprive the Clergy of what are their lawful Dues: But that there are many who wiſh themſelves poſſeſſed of ſuch a Power, is plain from the frequent Murmurings we hear about the Sums expended in their Maintenance; tho' there is ſuch a vaſt Diſproportion between the Revenues of the *Engliſh* Church at this Day, and what they were in the Times of Popery. The Clergy indeed, have one Comfort; which is that our religious Conſtitution is ſo intervoven with the Civil, that one cannot fall without the other. And this proves how much it is the Intereſt, as well as Duty, of every Miniſter, to promote Unanimity among his Hearers, and a ſincere Affection for the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

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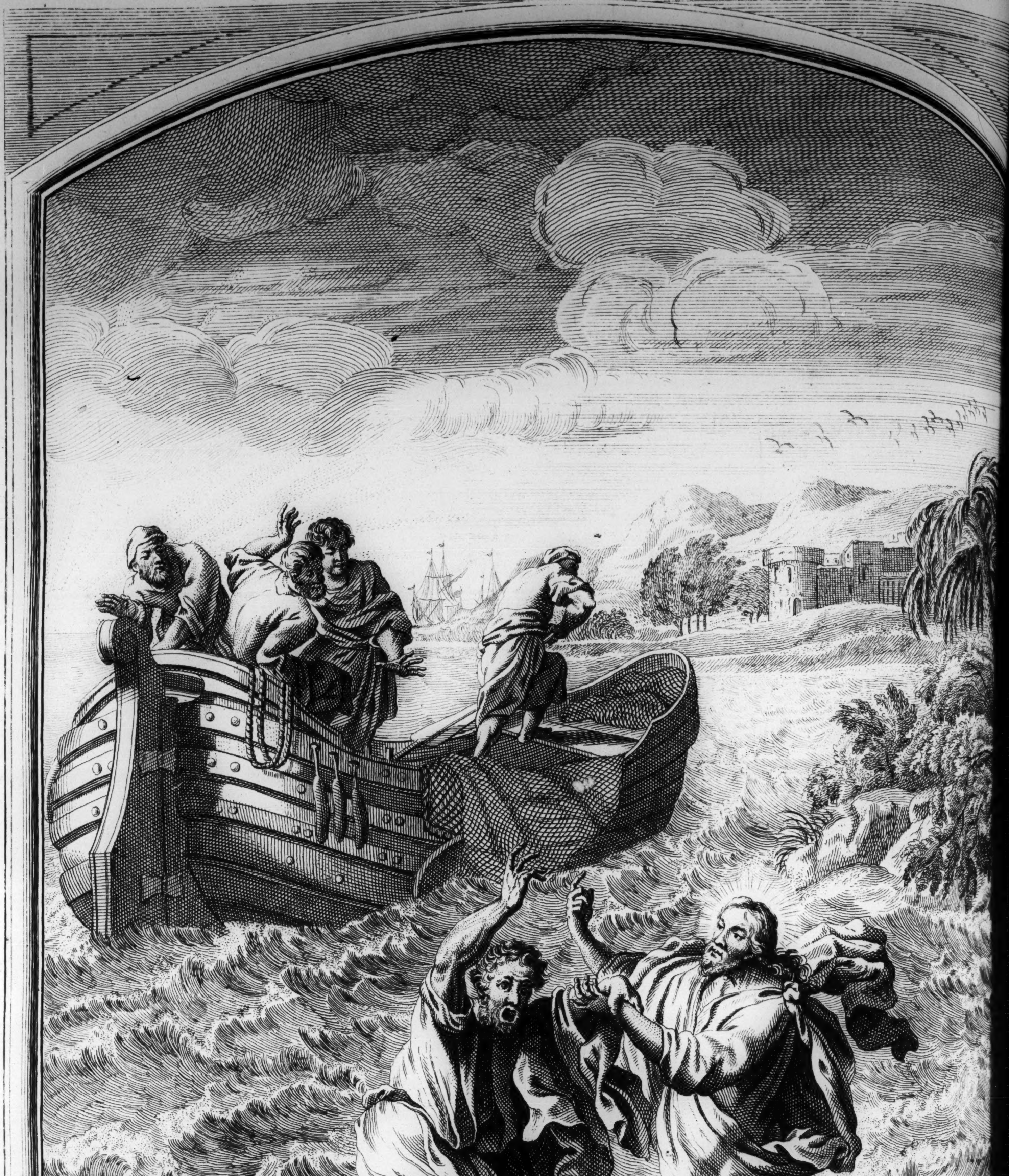

Peter walking on yͤ Water.

Matth. XIV.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and DEATH OF OUR Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR *JESUS CHRIST.*

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

I. The Apoſtles return. *Jeſus* croſſes the Lake. The Multitudes follow him. II. He propoſes to give them Victuals. III. Accordingly he feeds five thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, with five Loaves and two ſmall Fiſhes. IV. He ſends the Apoſtles acroſs the Lake, who meet with a great Storm. V. *Jeſus* comes to them walking on the Sea. *Peter* meets him in the ſame Manner. VI. *Jeſus* ſtills the Wind. They proclaim him the Son of God. He cures many ſick Perſons. VII. The Multitudes follow him from *Bethſaida* to *Capernaum.* *Jeſus* inſtructs them. VIII. They require a Miracle of him by the Example of *Moſes*. IX, X. *Jeſus* entertains them with a myſtical Diſcourſe concerning his own Body and Blood. XI. The People diſagree about what he had ſaid. *Jeſus* continues the Allegory. XII. His Hearers are offended at him. He reproves his Diſciples for murmuring at his Diſcourſe. XIII. Many of his Followers leaving him, he asks the Apoſtles if they alſo would go. *Peter*, in the Name of them all, aſſures him of the contrary, and gives a Reaſon for it. *Jeſus* hints at the Treaſon of *Judas Iſcariot*.

I. [a] *SHORTLY after, the twelve Apoſtles, whom* Jeſus *had ſent abroad to publiſh the Goſpel, returned to him, and gave an Account of all they had ſaid and done, and alſo of the Succeſs they met with in this their firſt Preaching of the Goſpel.* Jeſus *having heard them, commanded them to retire with him apart from all others into a certain Solitude to repoſe themſelves; for in the more frequented Places ſuch a Concourſe of People reſorted to him, and ſo great a Number of ſick Perſons were preſented to be healed by him, that he had not ſo much as any Time left for his neceſſary Repaſts. Taking Boat therefore, they put off to the Eaſtern Side of the Lake of* Genneſareth, *and landed in a deſart Part of the Country about* Bethſaida: *But many who had ſeen the miraculous Recovery of an innumerable Company of ſick People, would not forſake him, but taking notice of the Place he ſteered his Courſe to, went round the Lake on Foot, and repaired unto him.* Jeſus *being come aſhore, perceived the Multitude flock to him; and though he deſired to have been only with his Apoſtles, yet, according to his Cuſtom, received them kindly: And conſidering that a great many of them were ſincerely diſpoſed to receive Inſtructions, though they had none among them whoſe Buſineſs it was to inſtruct them in the Principles of Religion, he took Compaſſion on them, eſteeming them as Sheep deſtitute of a Shepherd. According to his Cuſtom therefore he acquainted them with ſeveral Things relating to the heavenly Kingdom of the* Meſſiah, *and cured ſuch ſick Perſons as were preſented to him. After which he went up into a Mountain, together with*

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[a] Mark. vi. 30——34. Luke ix. 10, 11. Matth. xiv. 13. John vi. 1——4.

his Diſciples. Now at that time the Paſſover, the moſt celebrated Feſtival among the Jews, *was at hand, which happens about the Spring-time of the Year.*

II. [b] *Toward the Evening, the Multitude continuing ſtill attentive to the Doctrine of* Jeſus, *the Apoſtles put him in mind that the Place in which they were was uninhabited, and the Time of the Day well nigh ſpent; that therefore he ſhould diſmiſs the Multitude, that they might procure Victuals and Lodging in the neighbouring Towns and Villages.* Jeſus *looking round upon the People, and perceiving a great Number of them, ask'd* Philip *if he knew where to get Bread that Evening ſufficient for ſo great a Multitude. This* Jeſus *ſpake not as deliberating with himſelf about buying ſuch a Quantity of Bread, for he had determin'd to feed them after the manner we ſhall preſently relate, but to ſee what Anſwer* Philip *would return him, who immediately replied, That two hundred Pennyworth was not enough for them, that every one might receive a ſmall Portion to refreſh himſelf.* Jeſus *then turning himſelf about to his Apoſtles, bid 'em give them wherewith to eat.* What, *ſaid they,* ſhall we go and buy two hundred Pennyworth of Bread to be diſtributed among them? *ſuppoſing they had not Money enough to purchaſe ſo much.* Jeſus *hereupon ask'd them, What Quantity might be procur'd in that Place?* Andrew, Peter's *Brother, made anſwer, that there was a Youth in the Company that had five Barley-loaves and two ſmall Fiſhes; but that this was next to nothing, in reſpect to the Number of the People.*

III. [c] Jeſus *then commanded them to bring the five Loaves and two Fiſhes to him, and to make the People ſit down upon the Graſs by fifty in a Company. The People accordingly ſeated themſelves by Hundreds and Fifties in a Company. After which* Jeſus, *taking the Loaves and the Fiſhes into his Hands, gave Thanks to God, according to his Cuſtom, and then by the Hands of his Apoſtles, diſtributed them among the Multitude, who all had enough and to ſpare: And* Jeſus *having commanded his Apoſtles to gather up the Fragments, that nothing of this miraculous Food might be waſted, they took up of the broken Pieces of the Fiſh and Bread as much as fill'd twelve Baskets. Now there were five thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, whom* Jeſus *thus entertain'd, and who perceiving this wonderful Miracle, concluded he was that extraordinary Prophet whom God had promis'd to ſend unto them, namely, the Meſſiah.*

IV. [d] Jeſus *immediately order'd his Diſciples, (who obey'd him with ſome Reluctancy at parting with him,) to go on board, and ſail over before him to the other Side of the Lake over-againſt* Bethſaida, *where he then was, while he himſelf ſtaid to diſmiſs the Multitude. After which, underſtanding that ſeveral of thoſe whom he had thus miraculouſly treated were reſolv'd to take him by Force, and proclaim him King over them, he withdrew into a Mountain alone, to fruſtrate their Deſign, and that he might be uninterrupted in his Devotion. The Apoſtles in the mean Time, who at the Beginning of the Night went on board, were now in the Middle of the Lake ſteering towards* Capernaum, *when on the ſudden the Waters began to be agitated, and their Courſe was hindered by a contrary Wind. Now* Jeſus *was not as yet come to them. When therefore by going againſt the Wind they had with great Difficulty rowed about five and twenty or thirty Furlongs, near the* [e] *fourth Watch of the Night* Jeſus *came towards them walking upon the Water, no otherwiſe than if it had been dry Ground, and made as if he intended to paſs by them.*

V. [f] *The Diſciples ſeeing him not far from their Boat, took him for* [ff] *an Apparition, and cried out for Fear: For they all ſaw him, and were mightily aſtoniſhed. But* Jeſus *bid them be of good Comfort, telling them it was he himſelf whom they ſaw walking on the Water.* Peter *being in doubt whether it was* Jeſus *or a Spectre, ſaid unto him,* If thou art *Jeſus*, command me to come unto thee, walking on the Water, as thou thy ſelf doſt. Jeſus *ſtraitway commanded him; and* Peter *going out of the Boat, began to walk towards him on the Surface of the Water, as if it had been dry Ground. The Wind in the mean Time roſe, and his Courage, and the Faith he had in* Jeſus, *which was attended with a miraculous Power of walking on the Water, failing him, his Steps gave way; and finding himſelf ſinking, he cried out with a loud Voice to* Jeſus *to come to his Aſſiſtance.* Jeſus *immediately came to him, and ſtretching out his Hand, rais'd him to the Top of the Water, rebuking him for his Diſtruſt, which was the only Reaſon of his ſinking.*

V. [g] *Afterwards* Jeſus *and* Peter, *at the Requeſt of the other Apoſtles, came into the Boat. Now the Wind, which, as we have already ſaid, was contrary, fell all on the ſudden, and they came in a ſhort Time to the Place they ſteer'd to. Both theſe Miracles fill'd them with the greateſt Admiration of their Maſter, of whom they now conceiv'd a much more noble Idea than they had before: For ſo ſtupid were they, that the miraculous feeding of five thouſand Men with five Loaves and two ſmall Fiſhes, had made no Impreſſion on them: But having ſeen him walking on the Water, they came to him, and fell down at his Feet with this Exclamation,* [gg] Truly thou art the Son of God! *Being landed not far from* Capernaum *in the Country of* Genneſareth, *which alſo gives Name to the Lake,* Jeſus *was preſently known by the Inhabitants, and a world of People flock'd to him from all Parts:*

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[b] Matth. xiv. 15—18. Mark vi. 35—38. Luke ix. 12, 13. John vi. 3—9.

[c] Matth. xiv. 18—21. Mark vi. 39—44. Luke ix. 14—17. John vi. 10—14.

[d] Matth. xiv. 22—25. Mark vi. 45—48. John vi. 15—19.

[e] The Watches were divided into *Evening*, *Midnight*, *Cock-crowing*, and *Morning*: At the Fourth of theſe it muſt be Day-light; whence he ſaw them toiling from the Land, and they him walking on the Sea.

[f] Matth. xiv. 26—31. Mark vi. 49, 50. John vi. 19, 20.

[ff] 'Tis evident that the Jews had an Opinion of hurtful Spirits walking in the Night.

[g] Matth. xiv. 32—36. Mark vi. 51—56 John vi 21.

[gg] It is made a Queſtion by ſome, Whether the Diſciples meant any more by calling him *the Son of God*, than to declare that they believed him to be the Meſſiah. But Dr. Whitby is of Opinion, That they now concluded the Divinity to be reſident in him.

For they that had firſt ſeen him, preſently told their Neighbours, that that ſtrange Perſon who had done ſo many Miracles, was again come into thoſe Parts; the Report of which occaſion'd abundance of ſick People to be brought unto him in their Beds; and wherever he went, in City or Country, in the Streets and High-Roads, the Sick were preſented to him, and they deſir'd they might be permitted to touch but the Hem of his Garment, and as many as touch'd it were cur'd of their Infirmities.

VIII. [h] *The Multitude that remain'd in the Territory of* Bethſaida, *taking notice there was but one Boat on that Side the Lake when the Apoſtles put off from Shore, and knowing that* Jeſus *was left behind, they ſought for him in all the neighbouring Villages, not in the leaſt imagining he had paſſed the Lake. They were very much affected with the Supper with which* Jeſus *had entertain'd 'em: And his great Liberality, together with the Hopes of yet greater Rewards, made them very earneſt to proclaim him King. While they thus ſought after him in vain, there came a great many Boats from* Tiberias, *not far from the Place where they had been fed by* Jeſus. *Several of the People therefore, not finding* Jeſus *nor any of his Apoſtles, came over in theſe Boats to* Capernaum *in queſt of him. When they had found him, they told him how they had look'd for him on the other Side of the Lake, and aſk'd him how long he had been on this Side.* Jeſus, *who knew that many of them followed him, not becauſe of the Miracles he wrought, nor out of a Deſire of being inſtructed by him, told 'em they did not ſeek after him on Account of his Miracles, which were ſo many Arguments of his divine Commiſſion, but by reaſon he had ſo plentifully fed them.* Now, *ſaid he,* [hh] your great Care ſhould be, not after the Food which can nouriſh only for a ſhort Time, but after that which will nouriſh your Souls to all Eternity, and which I will beſtow upon you, (though I no way ſeem to differ from any other Perſon in my outward Appearance,) provided you prepare yourſelves to receive it as becomes you. Neither can you doubt of my having ſuch a Power, ſince God the Father bears witneſs to the Truth of what I ſay by the Miracles you have ſeen me perform among you; which are as it were ſo many Seals for a Confirmation of it.

VIII. [i] *The Men, ſtruck with this Anſwer, aſk'd him* ☞ *what they were to do to become acceptable to God. Then ſaid* Jeſus, Believe on him whom God hath ſent to you, and obey the Doctrine he brings you from the Father himſelf. *Hereupon, being half angry that he did not ſet himſelf up for a King over them, when they were ready to own and aſſiſt as ſuch; as if they had quite forgot the Wonders he had perform'd among them, they aſk'd him if he could ſhew any Miracle in Confirmation of what he ſaid to them, and which might make them give credit to him.* For, *ſaid they,* our Anceſtors believ'd on *Moſes*, as you require us to believe on you; but then he fed them with Manna in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, which, as the Scripture ſpeaks, was, as it were, [ii] *Bread ſent down from Heaven to eat.* Jeſus *replied, that, properly ſpeaking,* Moſes *could not be ſaid to have given them Bread from Heaven, but that he would give them heavenly Bread in his Father's Name, and juſtly ſo called; that this Bread was truly divine, and ſent down from Heaven; and that Men were not only nouriſh'd with it, but received Life from it. They not reaching the true Meaning of what* Jeſus *ſaid, intreated him to give them always this ſort of Bread.*

IX. [k] Jeſus *anſwer'd them more openly, but ſtill in a figurative Speech, as willing to get rid of theſe Men, who thought of nothing but the Conveniences of this Life, and were ready to raiſe a Tumult upon his Account, and proclaim him King:* I am, *ſaid he,* that Bread which is the Source of Life: Whoever becomes my Diſciple ſhall partake of this Bread, and never hunger or thirſt more, as thoſe did who fed on the Manna which *Moſes* gave them, and drank of the Water that flowed out of the Rock. Theſe Things I have plainly declar'd unto you, and yet you do not believe: The Reaſon is, becauſe you did not believe in God; for all thoſe of the *Jews* who believe my Father's Teſtimony to me, in the Miracles which I perform, believe alſo in me, and are become my Diſciples; nor do I reject any that ſeriouſly deſire to be my Diſciples. I am come from Heaven, not to do my own Will, but the Orders I am charged with by my heavenly Father; and he has commanded me to take care of thoſe, who, having believ'd in him, are become my Diſciples, that at the Reſurrection they may be made Partakers of eternal Happineſs. For it is the good Pleaſure of God who hath ſent me, that whoever ſees my Miracles, and believes my Doctrine, ſhall inherit everlaſting Life, to which I will raiſe him at the laſt Day.

X. [l] *The* Jews *having heard this Reply of* Jeſus, *and not being able to bear with his telling them he was Bread come down from Heaven, mutter'd among themſelves, aſking one another whether he were not* Jeſus *the* Nazarene, *the Son of* Joſeph *and* Mary, *Perſons very well known in* Nazareth: How then, *ſaid they,* could he come down from Heaven, as he pretends? Jeſus *anſwer'd them in theſe, or the like Words:* Do not murmur among yourſelves at what I have ſaid, as if I requir'd you to believe a Lye. I propoſe nothing as the Object of your Belief, which is not in itſelf moſt true; but the Reaſon why you cannot prevail with yourſelves to believe in me, is, becauſe you were never ſo thoroughly affected as you ought, with the reveal'd Will of my heavenly Father. Now, no one among the *Jews* can become my Diſciple, unleſs he firſt believes the Revelation of my Father by me; and ſuch a one will I raiſe from the Dead at the laſt Day, that I may reward him with everlaſting Happineſs. The Prophets have foretold, that *All* the *Jews* who will not continue obſtinate in their Errors, [m] *ſhall be taught by God himſelf*; and indeed whoever embraces my Doctrine, knows it is his Duty ſo to do by the Revelation he has received from my Father. But yet you are not to miſtake me ſo far, as to think theſe Men already acquainted with all that God has determined to reveal by me to Men. This you may be aſſured of, that whoever believes and obeys my Doctrine, ſhall partake of eternal Happineſs: For I am, as I told you, that Bread, which being fed on, will nouriſh you to everlaſting Life. Your Anceſtors, it is true, did eat Manna in the Deſarts of *Arabia*, and yet were all mortal; but here you have Bread offered, which whoever feeds on, ſhall never die. It is I who am that Bread, come down from Heaven to that very End, that whoever feeds on it, ſhall be nouriſhed to Eternity. Now the Bread I give to all that are willing to receive it, is my Body, which I will ſuffer to be deſtroyed, that by its Death I may procure Life for Men.

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[h] John. vi. 22——27.

[hh] The Maſſilian Hereticks abuſed this Place, to prove it was not lawful for them to work to ſuſtain the preſent Life. But our Lord's Words are to be underſtood, not abſolutely, but comparatively; *Labour not chiefly* for this; Let not this be *your great and principal Care*, as we have here expreſſed it.

[i] John vi. 28——34.

☞ As if they had ſaid; We have already the Law of Moſes: What further Duties canſt thou inſtruct us to perform?

[ii] Pſalm lxxviii. 24

[k] John vi. 35——40.

[l] John vi. 41——51.

XI. [n] *Upon this, thoſe that heard him, diſagreed among themſelves concerning the Meaning of what he had ſaid: For none of them underſtood in what Senſe it was he told them he would give his Body to Men to feed on.* Jeſus *therefore, that they might not make ſlight of it, and conſequently not endeavour to find out the Meaning, told them, That unleſs they eat his Fleſh, and drank his Blood, it was impoſſible to obtain everlaſting Life.*——He only, *ſaid* Jeſus, who thus ſatisfies his Hunger and Thirſt, can juſtly hope to obtain that Life which is promiſed on this Condition; and ſuch a one will I raiſe from the Dead at the Day of Judgment: For my Fleſh and my Blood are Meat and Drink indeed, and they are the Means for the obtaining of everlaſting Life. Whoever thus feeds on me will thereby be ſo nearly allied to me, that I will account all that belongs to me and him, as belonging in common to us both. And like as I have been ſent by my Father, and am here on Earth on Purpoſe to execute his Will; ſo alſo whoever ſhall feed on me, will reckon that he lives for me, that is, lives to obey my Doctrine. Therefore I tell you again, that you may be ſure to take notice of it; I am that Bread come down from Heaven, to which the Manna which your Fathers eat of in the Deſart of *Arabia*, is not to be compared: For they, as I told you, were not made immortal by it, and are all dead; but whoever feeds on this Bread I g
him, ſhall obtain everlaſting Life.

XII. [o] *Theſe Diſcourſes were delivered by* Je
in the Synagogue of Capernaum; *and many*
his Hearers were offended at their Obſcurity,
cauſe he ſeemed to tell them that his own Bo
which was born of Mary, *came down from* H
ven; and that the Way to obtain everlaſt
Life was to eat its Fleſh after it ſhould be kill
a Thing ſo ſtrange, as did not only thwart
Jewiſh *Inſtitutions, but was repugnant to*
Cuſtoms of all civilized Nations whatever. Je
perceiving his Diſciples murmur upon this
count, thus accoſted them: Do theſe Things a
enate your Minds from me? and cannot I p
ſuade you to believe that I am come down fr
Heaven? Yet this is not more hard to be believ
than my Return thither from whence I cam
which ſome of you ſhall be Eye-witneſſes
within theſe few Months. Does what I t
you concerning the eating of my Fleſh offe
you? Surely it was no hard Matter to perce
that theſe Words of mine muſt be underſto
after a ſpiritual Manner, ſince nothing is m
plain than that there could no Good redou
to you from the material feeding on my Bo
This is therefore to be taken in a ſpiritual Se
for the Admiſſion of my Doctrine, which I w
confirm by my Death, and the Effuſion of m
Blood, that I may obtain eternal Life for all th
believe it and obey it. If I have ſpoken obſcure
to you, you ought however to be perſuad
there was a ſound Meaning couched under th
Obſcurity, though you were not able to appr
hend it; but the true Reaſon why you thus d
believe me is, becauſe you have not believed
God himſelf. (*For* Jeſus *knew from the beginni*
who it was that ſhould betray him, and who th
were that would diſbelieve his Doctrine.) I ha
therefore already told you, that it is impoſſib
for any one among the *Jews* to become m
Diſciple, unleſs he firſt believes in God my F
ther, who will deliver him into my Hand.

XIII. [p] *Many of his Followers were ſo offen*
at this Diſcourſe, that they quite forſook hi
which Jeſus *obſerving, asked the twelve Apo*
whether they alſo would deſert him? Peter *in*
Name of the reſt cried out: To what o
Teacher ſhall we have Recourſe, if we
leave thee, who only art able to direct us in
certain Way that leads to eternal Happineſs?
have believed and been convinced by moſt
tain Arguments, that thou art the *Meſſiah*,
is, the Son of the only true and living G
Jeſus *replied:* Out of a Multitude of Diſcip
have choſen but twelve Apoſtles, and yet t
is one in this ſmall Number that ſhall treat
like an Enemy. *This he underſtood of* J
ſurnamed Iſcariot, *one of the Twelve, who w*
betray him, as it afterwards fell out.

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[m] Iſaia. liv. 13. Je. xxxi. 34.
[n] John. vi. 52——58.
[o] John vi. 59——65.
[p] John vi 66——71.

DISS

DISSERTATION.

Of eating *Chriſt*'s Fleſh and drinking his Blood; proving that thoſe Phraſes are not to be underſtood literally, *&c.*

I. *That the Words* to eat *and* to drink *frequently ſignify* to receive Inſtruction, to believe, *&c. Proof that they mean ſo here.* II. *Miſtaken Interpretations of the* Jews *and* Romaniſts. III. *Seven Arguments againſt underſtanding, in a literal Senſe, what our Lord ſays of eating his Fleſh, taken from his own Words, and thoſe of his Hearers, on this Occaſion.* IV. *Concluſion for the ſpiritual Senſe, in the Words of the Fathers.* V. *What is to be underſtood by coming to* Chriſt, *and being given, and drawn to him by the Father.*

OUR Bleſſed Saviour, in the whole ſixth Chapter of *John*, which is paraphraſed ove, ſpeaks of believing in him and in his ſatary Paſſion, and of receiving his Doctrine, der the Notion of eating and drinking his eſh and Blood. This he doth by a Metaphor y familiar to the Eaſtern Nations, and frent in the *Jewiſh* Writings and the ſacred oks. Thus [a] *Wiſdom crieth in the Street, me eat of my Bread, and drink of the Wine that have mingled*; that is, as he explains it in the xt Verſe, [b] *Forſake the fooliſh and live, and go the Way of Underſtanding.* Thus the Prot *Iſaiah*, in the Name of God, invites every that is hungry, [c] *to eat that which is good, let his Soul delight itſelf in Fatneſs*; the aning of which we find to be, that [d] he ſhould *line his Ear, and come unto God,* and *hear, t his Soul may live.* And thus the Son of *ach* introduces *Wiſdom*, as ſaying, [e] *They that me ſhall yet be hungry, and they that drink me yet by thirſty:* Where, by *they that eat*, and *that drink*, we are taught to underſtand [f] *they obey* her Dictates. Hence *Philo* often ſpeaks rudence, Wiſdom, Virtue, as the Food of Soul, or that ſpiritual Meat and Drink that riſheth to Life eternal. So [g] *to eat of every in Paradiſe, is,* ſaith he, *an Exhortation that oul ſhall receive Advantage by all its Virtues.* in another Place he tells us, that [h] *the Soul uriſhed with Knowledge, not with Meat and k; for the Scripture teſtifies, that the Food Soul is not earthly, but heavenly, by ſaying, n down Bread from Heaven.* And he again ves, that [i] *this Principle, That God is the Beng and End of all Things, brings forth Piety, is the beſt and moſt nouriſhing Food.* In Manner the Talmudiſts ſay, [k] that *all the g and Drinking mentioned in the Book of* Ecſtes, *relates to the Law and good Works*; that *their wiſe Men are that Staff of Bread, hich* Solomon *ſaith, Come eat of my Bread.* And agreeably hereto *Clemens Alexandrinus*, diſcourſing on that Paſſage of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians, I have fed you with Milk, and not with ſtrong Meat,* obſerves, that *Milk is the Rudiments of Faith, or the Doctrines of the Catechiſm, the firſt Nouriſhment of the Soul*; and that *ſtrong Meat is a Contemplation, which makes us to diſcern the divine Power and Eſſence*; which *Contemplations,* he ſays, *are the Fleſh and Blood of the Word*; for *the Meat and Drink of the divine Word, is the Knowledge of the divine Eſſence.*

It is the ſame Thing then, in this Chapter, *to eat of the Bread which came down from Heaven,* and *to believe in* Chriſt *breaking the Bread of Life to us in his Doctrine, and offering himſelf a Sacrifice and Oblation for us to obtain that Life.* Wherefore, when he exhorts them [kk] *to labour for the Meat that did not periſh,* he tells them, that this was [l] *to believe on him whom God had ſent:* And when he had told them, that he was [m] *the Bread from Heaven,* he immediately adds, *He that cometh unto me ſhall never hunger, and he that believeth in me ſhall never thirſt:* And again, having ſaid that he was [n] *the Bread which came down from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World,* he confirms this Expreſſion by theſe Words [o]; *This is the Will of the Father, that every one who ſeeth the Son, and believeth on him, ſhould have eternal Life:* And laſtly, after he had ſaid, [p] *Verily, verily I ſay unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlaſting Life,* it follows, *I am that Bread of Life.*

II. From theſe Metaphors, ſo often repeated and explained in this Diſcourſe, our Lord proceeds to thoſe Words which are objected by the *Roman* Doctors: [q] *The Bread which I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World:* That is, "It is my Body, which I will give up unto Death, that by it the World may have Life." Now the *Jews*, like the modern *Romaniſts*, taking theſe Words in a groſs Senſe, as if our Lord had promiſed to give his real Fleſh, to be ſwallowed down their Throats and eaten by them, as they had eaten Bread the Day before, and as their Forefathers had eaten Manna in the Wilderneſs, exclaimed againſt him, as promiſing a Thing abſurd, inhuman, and impoſſible, ſaying, [r] *How can this Man give us his Fleſh to eat?* To this our Saviour anſwers, in Words ſtill more expreſſive of his violent and bloody Death for the Salvation of Mankind, [s] *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you.* Which Words again the *Romaniſts* conceive to import thus much; "Unleſs you eat, with the Mouth of your Body, my real and corporeal Fleſh, and drink my proper Blood, you cannot have eternal Life." But againſt this Senſe, beſides the Impoſſibility of the Thing itſelf, we have the following Arguments from the very Diſcourſe now under Conſideration.

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ov. ix. 5. [b] ver. 6. [c] Iſa. lv. 2. [d] Ver. 3. [e] Eccleſ. xxiv. 21.
r. 22. [g] Vide Lib. i. de Leg. Alleg. [h] Id. Op. Lib. ii.
plant. Noæ & De Cherub. [k] Midraſh Coheleth, F. 88. 4. & alibi.
ohn. vi. 27. [l] Ver. 29. [m] Ver. 35. [n] Ver. 33. [o] Ver. 40.
r. 47. [q] Ver. 51. [r] Ver. 52. [s] Ver. 53.

III. The *firſt* is from thoſe before-mention'd Words, [t] *The Bread that I will give is my Fleſh*; which prove, that the Bread and Fleſh of *Chriſt*, in this Chapter are the ſame: And both theſe are ſaid to be given *for the Life of the World*, and that thoſe who *eat and drink* of them, may *have eternal Life*. Now our Lord hath expreſly taught us, that the eating of this Bread of Life, imported only our believing on him, as hath already been made evident: Therefore, conſequently, the eating of his Fleſh certainly imports the ſame ſpiritual Action. Moreover, we are to eat of *Chriſt* as Fleſh, only in the ſame Senſe of the Phraſe in which we are to eat of him as Bread: For as *Chriſt* ſaith, *He will give Fleſh to eat*, ſo doth he ſay, *He will give Bread to eat*; and as he ſaith, *He that eateth my Fleſh ſhall live for ever*, ſo he ſaith, *He that eateth of this Bread ſhall live for ever:* And therefore, as none pretend to ſay, that *Chriſt* was, or probably could be, Bread; and as being only figuratively and ſpiritually Bread, he could only figuratively and ſpiritually be eaten as ſuch; ſo none ought to think, or can think, with any Propriety, that the Fleſh of *Chriſt*, according to the obvious Senſe of this whole Diſcourſe, is to be eaten in any other than a ſpiritual and figurative Senſe: For, doubtleſs, the ſame Form of ſpeaking runs through the Whole.

Secondly, From theſe Words, [u] *How can this Man give us his Fleſh to eat?* 'tis evident, that the *Jews* underſtood our Lord as promiſing to give them his Fleſh to eat, in the ſame Manner as they had eaten the Bread with which he fed them in the Deſart; and 'tis on all Hands agreed, even by Catholics as well as Proteſtants, that they miſtook the Senſe of *Chriſt*'s Words, and fancied ſuch a Meaning of them as he did not intend: But had our Lord intended the corporeal eating of his Fleſh, and drinking of his Blood, he muſt have intended the doing it in the ſame proper Senſe in which they had eaten the Bread which he gave them, as the *Romaniſts* ſuppoſe he did; and therefore, no Man who maintaineth this corporeal eating of *Chriſt*'s Fleſh to be intended here, and conſequently no *Romaniſt*, can, ſuitably to his Opinion, ſay, That the *Jews* impoſed a falſe Senſe on our Saviour's Words when they underſtood them thus; ſince if he doth, he muſt conclude that to be a falſe Interpretation in the *Jews*, which in himſelf he maintains to be right: And this we believe no Tranſubſtantiationiſt will be willing to confeſs, leſt he ſhould be found guilty of the utmoſt Nonſenſe and Inconſiſtency. Add to this one [w] Conſideration, which ſhews what Apprehenſions the Fathers of the three firſt Centuries had of this eating the Fleſh of *Chriſt:* It is this; When it was objected to theſe Fathers by the Heathens, that they did eat Mens Fleſh, they conſtantly, in their Apologies, rejected the Accuſation as the vileſt Calumny, and as a moſt abominable Thing, ſufficient to diſcover that the Author of it muſt be ſome wicked Demon.

Thirdly, In theſe Words, [x] *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*, we have a double Argument in Confutation of the corporeal Senſe of theſe Expreſſions. *Firſt*, It plainly follows from this Senſe, that the penitent Thief upon the Croſs, and all the pious and believing *Jews* who heard theſe Words, and died before our Saviour's Paſſion, muſt of Neceſſity be damned: For our Lord ſays expreſly, and with an Aſſeveration, *Except ye eat,—ye have no Life*. Now this was ſaid at the *Paſſover* then inſtant, and ſo at leaſt above a Year before our Saviour's Paſſion and the Inſtitution of the Sacrament, till when his Fleſh could not be corporeally eaten; and therefore, had it been intended of corporeal and ſacramental Eating and Drinking, it was impoſſible that any of thoſe Hearers could be ſaved, who died in the enſuing Year. *Secondly*, Theſe Words, interpreted in the corporeal Senſe, do plainly and inevitably infer, that they who deprive the Laity all their Lives of drinking of this Blood, expoſe them to certain Damnation, becauſe they who are thus deprived *can have no Life in them*. For though eating and drinking, taken figuratively, do here ſignify the ſame Thing, namely, the believing in a crucified Saviour; yet being taken properly, they cannot be reputed the ſame. They who take ſomething by the way of Food into their Mouths, may well be ſaid to eat the Fleſh of *Chriſt*; but it doth not therefore follow, that they may alſo be ſaid to drink his Blood, when they take nothing into their Mouth by the way of Drink. Since therefore eating and drinking are two diſtinct Actions, ſo that he cannot properly be ſaid to drink who only eats; and ſince the Privation of Life is here connected with the not drinking of *Chriſt*'s Blood, as well as with the not eating of his Fleſh, according to the literal and corporeal Interpretation of theſe Words; it certainly follows, that who doth not receive the Cup muſt be deprived of the Life here promiſed, becauſe he is deprived of drinking the Blood of *Chriſt*.

Fourthly, In the fifty-fourth and fifty-ſixth Verſes the Argument runs thus: "Whoſoever eateth the Fleſh, and drinketh the Blood of *Chriſt*, in the Senſe here ſpoken of, *abideth in* Chriſt, *and* Chriſt *in him*, and therefore is a true and living Member of *Chriſt*'s Body; in conſequence of which he ſhall have *eternal Life*, and be Partaker of an happy Reſurrection: And ſo no Perſon can either be wicked here, or deprived of everlaſting Life hereafter, who in our Lord's own Senſe eats of his Fleſh and drinks of his Blood." Now this is very true of eating ſpiritually, and by Faith, as it imports believing on *Chriſt:* For *this*, ſaith *Chriſt*, *is the Will of him that ſent me, That every one who believeth on the Son may have everlaſting Life; and I will raiſe him up at the laſt Day*. But then of ſacramental eating of *Chriſt*'s Fleſh it is abſolutely falſe: For this was eaten by a *Judas*, and continually is eaten by Millions, who are both wicked here, and we have Reaſon to think will be damned hereafter. This therefore cannot be the Import of our Saviour's Words. And we may obſerve farther, that our Lord ſpeaks in the general, *Whoſoever eats*; and this not by Way of Promiſe, which might be conditional, but by way of plain Aſſertion; intimating that the eating here mentioned can never be performed unprofitably, nor even without the greateſt Benefit. 'Tis oppoſed to the eating of Manna in the Wilderneſs, on this Account, that whereas that give only temporal Life, this would aſſuredly confer Life eternal; and whereas that was not able to preſerve from temporal Death, this would preſerve from Death eternal. It could be meant then only in a ſpiritual Senſe.

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[t] John vi. 51.

[u] Ver. 52.

[w] This Argument will be enlarged on when we come to the Inſtitution of the Lord's-Supper.

[x] John vi. 53.

Fifthly, We have another Argument in the Words of our Saviour to his Diſciples, when they murmured at what he had been ſpeaking. [y] *Doth this offend you?* ſaid he: *What if you ſhould ſee the Son of Man aſcend up where he was before?* Which Paſſage may be thus interpreted: "Are you offended that I thus ſpeak of giving you my Fleſh to eat? Do you look on this Expreſſion now as ſo abſurd and unintelligible? What then will you think of it, when this Body ſhall be removed hence to Heaven? How will you then be ſcandalized, and think it ſtill more difficult and more impoſſible that you ſhould eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, provided you continue to underſtand my Words in the groſs carnal Senſe?" For *Athanaſius* ſaith well, [z] *That when* Chriſt *here mentioned his Aſcent into Heaven, he did it that he might divert them from the corporeal Senſe; and therefore argued thus: Since it will be then impoſſible that you ſhould corporeally eat my Fleſh, when it is ſo far removed from you; by this you may diſcern, that I ſpeak of a ſpiritual eating of it.* Whence we learn by the way, That *Chriſt* thought his Aſcenſion into Heaven ſufficient Demonſtration to the *Jews*, that his Fleſh could not be eaten upon Earth: And why the ſame Argument ſhould not be convincing to Chriſtians, who certainly can ſee the Force of it as much as the *Jews*, is not a little ſurpriſing.

Sixthly, There is ſtill a more plain and certain Expoſition of our Saviour's Meaning in this Paſſage: [a] *It is the Spirit that quickneth; the Fleſh profiteth nothing: The Words that I ſpeak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life.* For the Import of what our Saviour here ſays is to this Effect: "To that eating and drinking, of which in this Diſcourſe I have ſpoken, I have annexed the Promiſe of Life, ſaying expreſly, That *he that eateth me, ſhall live by me*, and ſhall by me *be raiſed up to Life eternal*, and that *he abideth in me by the Spirit:* So that my Words are Spirit and Life; as being the Means of obtaining the Spirit, and by him this Life; to which Effects my Fleſh, if you could eat it, would profit you nothing." Had our Lord ſaid, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the Fleſh profiteth nothing; therefore the Fleſh which I will give you ſhall be joined to my Divinity, and by the Virtue of it give you Life;" he had then ſaid ſomewhat like the Senſe which the *Romaniſts* put upon this Text: But he ſaying only, The Word which I ſpeak *unto you, they are Spirit*; we cannot doubt but he ſpeaks of eating and drinking his Fleſh and Blood ſpiritually.

Seventhly, Our Saviour having ſaid to the Twelve, [b] *Will you alſo go away?* St. *Peter* anſwers, *To whom ſhould we go? Thou haſt the Words of eternal Life; and we believe, and are ſure, that thou art the* Chriſt, *the Son of the living God.* Where we may obſerve, *firſt*, That *Peter* here, doth as it were repeat the Words of *Chriſt: My Words are Life*, ſaith *Chriſt. Thou haſt the Words of eternal Life*, ſaith *Peter:* Whereas if he had underſtood our Lord to ſpeak here of oral Manducation, his Anſwer would in all Probability have been to this Effect: *Whatſoever Appearance there may be of Inhumanity, Abſurdity, and Impoſſibility, in what thou haſt ſaid of eating thy natural Fleſh, and drinking thy Blood; yet we believe it, becauſe thou haſt ſaid it, who art Truth itſelf, and who art able to make good thy Words.* We therefore hearing nothing of this Tendency from him, may conclude, that he knew nothing of this Import of our Lord's Words. *Secondly*, We may obſerve, That he thought it ſufficient to ſay, *We believe thou art the* Chriſt: Which Acknowledgment, if our Lord ſpoke here of oral Manducation, was nothing at all to the Purpoſe. But if our Saviour ſpoke only of eating him in a ſpiritual Senſe, this Acknowledgment was the Thing which was deſigned by him in this Diſcourſe, and which he endeavoured to extort in thoſe Words which ſo much offended others.

IV. From theſe plain Arguments, which are all contained in one Chapter, we may ſafely conclude, "with *Clement* of *Alexandria*, [c] That *when our Lord ſaid*, Eat my Fleſh, and drink my Blood, *he allegorically meant the drinking of Faith and of the Promiſes; and that our Lord is, by Way of Allegory, to thoſe who believe on him, Meat, and Fleſh, and Nouriſhment, and Bread, and Blood:* "With *Tertullian*, [d] That *our Lord all along urged his Intent by Allegory, calling his Word Fleſh, as being to be hungred after, that we might have Light; to be devoured by the Ear, ruminated upon by the Mind, and by Faith digeſted;* "With *Origen*, [e] that *we are ſaid to drink his Blood, when we receive his Words, in which Life conſiſts*; that his Fleſh is Meat indeed, *and* his Blood Drink indeed, *becauſe he feedeth all Mankind with the Fleſh and Blood of his Word, as with pure Meat and Drink:* "With *Euſebius*, [f] That *his Word and Doctrines are Fleſh and Blood:* "With *Athanaſius*, [g] That *the Words which* Chriſt *ſpake, were not carnal but ſpiritual; for how could his Body have ſufficed for Meat, that it ſhould be made the Food of the whole World?* "With *Auſtin*, [h] who demands, *Why provideſt thou Teeth and a Belly?* and adds, *Believe, and*

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[y] Ver. 61, 62.

[z] Athanaſ. in illud Evang. *Quicunque dixerit*, p. 979.

[a] Ver. 63.

[b] Ver. 68, 69.

[c] Pædag. l. i. c. 6.

[d] De Reſur. Carn. cap. 36, 37.

[e] Hom. viii. in Levit.

[f] De Eccleſ. Theolog. l. iii. c. 12.

[g] Oper. tom. i. p. 79.

[h] Tract 23, and 26 in Joh.

thou haſt eaten; for to believe in him is to eat the living Bread: " And laſtly, with *Jerom*, [i] That *in the trueſt Senſe, the Body and Blood of* Chriſt *are the Word and Doctrine of the Scripture, and that the Fleſh and Blood of* Chriſt *is poured into our Ears.* In a Word, let us come into the general Senſe of the Fathers.

Say we then to the *Romaniſts*, in the Language of *Origen*, [k] *If you are the Sons of the Church, own theſe Things to be Figures: For if you here follow the Letter, this very Saying,* Except you eat the Fleſh, *is a killing Letter.* Repeat we the Words of *Euſebius*, pronounced in the Name of *Chriſt:* [l] *Do not think that I ſpeak of that Fleſh with which I am encompaſſed; neither imagine, that I command you to drink of my bodily and ſenſible Blood; but underſtand well, that the Words which I have ſpoken to you, they are Spirit and Life.* For, as St. *Auſtin* judiciouſly obſerves, touching the Expoſition of Scripture Phraſes, [m] *If the Saying be preceptive, either forbiding a wicked Action, or commanding that which is good, it is no figurative Speech: But if it ſeems to command any Wickedneſs, or to forbid what is profitable and good, it is figurative. This Saying,* Except you eat my Fleſh, *ſeems to command a wicked Thing: It is therefore a Figure, enjoining us to communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and ſweetly and profitably remember, that his Fleſh was wounded and crucified for us.* —— To theſe few Quotations, we need only add, That the Fathers argue for a figurative Interpretation of this Text, as the firſt and genuine Senſe of it: Whereas in thoſe Paſſages of their Works, that are produced againſt the Letter of our Saviour's Miracles, they conſtantly build the Allegory upon the literal Senſe, not by way of Interpretation, but only as a Means to raiſe the Mind and Thoughts, and to deduce Matter for ſpiritual Contemplation and Comfort from every Part of the Scriptures. Thus much has been ſaid before; but it was neceſſary to repeat it in this Place, after having quoted ſo many of the Fathers for a figurative Interpretation of what our Lord ſays concerning his Fleſh and Blood; leſt it ſhould be objected as a Fault, that we recur to their Authority in ſome Points, and renounce it in others; for the Caſes are plainly different.

V. We will cloſe this Diſſertation with a few Remarks on two or three other controverted Expreſſions in the ſame Diſcourſe of our Lord, of which we have been ſpeaking: And here *firſt*, we would obſerve, that *coming to* Chriſt, is an equivalent Phraſe to *believing on him*, to to *eating and drinking his Fleſh and Blood:* For our Lord elſewhere makes *coming to him* the Condition of a Perſon's *having Life*; as he here makes *believing*, and *eating and drinking*, a Condition of the ſame Thing. Thus theſe Words, [n] *Ye will not come unto me, that ye may have Life*, ſignify the ſame as ſeveral Expreſſions concerning *believing, eating his Bread, and his Fleſh*, in this Chapter. We could produce ſeveral other Inſtances, if this one were not ſufficient.

A *ſecond* Phraſe which deſerves Explanation, is that of being *given to* Chriſt. [o] *All that the Father giveth me*, ſaith he, *ſhall come to me.* Now 'tis obvious, that this cannot here ſignify to be abſolutely choſen by the Father to eternal Life, as ſome would have it; for then the *Jews* could not be reaſonably accuſed for not coming to *Chriſt*, or not believing in him; ſince it was impoſſible for them to believe who were not thus elected: Whereas it is certain that our Saviour repreſents it as their great Sin, [p] *that they believed not in him whom the Father had ſent*; and even tells them, [q] that they *had no Excuſe for their Sin*, in that they had ſeen his Miracles, and not believed in him.

The *third*, and laſt Phraſe that we ſhall here take notice of, is that of being *drawn to* Chriſt *by the Father.* [r] *No Man can come unto me, except the Father who hath ſent me draw him.* Which Words cannot import our being moved by any inward irreſiſtible Impreſſions from God: For then no Man could come unto *Chriſt* without theſe irreſiſtible Impreſſions; and conſequently, as in the Caſe of being *given to* Chriſt, no Man could be blame-worthy for not coming to, or not believing on him.

To be *given of the Father*, therefore, and to be *drawn of the Father*, ſignify only to be convinced by thoſe Miaacles which God wrought by *Jeſus*, in Confirmation of his Miſſion, that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah, and the Son of God; and to believe in, and to depend on him, as ſuch, in Conſequence of that Conviction: Or they ſignify, to be prevailed on by the great Promiſe of eternal Life, thus to believe and truſt. Many Texts of Scripture might be brought, in Confirmation of theſe Expoſitions, were they ſeen to be neceſſary.

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[i] In Pſalm. cxlvii.

[k] Hom. vii. in Levit.

[l] Ubi ſupra.

[m] De Doct. Chriſt.

[n] John v. 40.

[o] John vi. 37.

[p] John v. 38. See alſo ver. 40. and Chap. xvi. 9.

[q] John xv. 22, 24.

[r] John vi. 37.

CHAP. II.

I. The third *Paſſover* during our Saviour's Miniſtry. He reproves the *Phariſees* for their ſuperſtitious Waſhings and inhuman Vows. II. He ſpeaks to the People of inward Impurity, and fortels the Abrogation of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies. III. He explains to the Apoſtles what he had delivered obſcurely to the Multitude. IV. He cures the Daughter of a *Syrophœnician* Woman, who was a Gentile. V. He comes to *Decapolis*, heals one that was deaf and dumb, and charges him, but in vain, not to publiſh his Cure. VI. *Jeſus* feeds four thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, with ſeven Loaves and a few Fiſhes. VII. Then departs to *Dalmanutha*, and reproaches the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*. VIII. He cautions his Diſciples againſt the Leven of the *Phariſees*, *Herod*, and the *Sadducees*. The Diſciples miſunderſtand him, and are reproved for it. IX. *Jeſus* goes to *Bethſaida*, and cures a blind Man. X. On the Way to *Cæſarea Philippi*, he asks his Diſciples what the People ſaid of him, and what they thought of him themſelves. *Peter*'s Anſwer approved, with a Promiſe of Reward. XI. *Jeſus* fortels his Sufferings, and rebukes *Peter* for diſſuading him from them. He inſtructs the Multitude in the Duty of hazarding all for his Sake, and fortels the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

I. [a] NOT *long after*, Jeſus, *according to his uſual Cuſtom, ſeems to have gone to* Jeruſalem *to celebrate the Paſſover, being the third Time of his ſo doing ſince his Baptiſm. But while he continued in* Galilee, *there came ſeveral* Phariſees *and Doctors of the Law to him from* Jeruſalem, *on purpoſe to obſerve his Words and Actions. Theſe having taken notice, that ſome of his Apoſtles neglected to waſh their Hands before they ſat down to Meat, could by no Means digeſt the Want of this Ceremony. For all the* Jews, *eſpecially the* Phariſees, *are wont to waſh their Hands with a great deal of Nicety before they offer to touch a Bit of Meat: Which Cuſtom they obſerve with great Exactneſs, though it be only a Tradition handed down from their Anceſtors, and no Law of* Moſes. *At their Return from the Market, though they are not conſcious of having touched any Thing reputed unclean, yet for Fear they might have done it unawares, they will eat nothing before they have waſhed their Hands. Many ſuch Rites are obſerved by them, though there is no Law that lays this Obligation on them; and they are very curious in the waſhing of their Pots and Cups, and other Utenſils. This then being the conſtant Practice of the* Jews, *the* Phariſees *came immediately to* Jeſus, *without ſaying any thing to his Apoſtles, complaining of their Neglect in this Particular, and demanding the Reaſon of it.* Jeſus *knowing their Deſign, told them, that* Iſaiah *gave an elegant Deſcription of ſuch Hypocrites as themſelves in theſe Words;* [aa] This People draw near me with their Mouth, and with their Lips do honour me, but have removed their Heart far from me; and their Fear toward me is taught by the Precept of Men.——For you obſerve, *continued* Jeſus, with the utmoſt Diligence, the Traditions of Men concerning the waſhing of Cups and Pots, and the like, while you break or neglect the Laws of God. But is this true Religion, to obſerve inviolably the Inſtitutions of Men, though in Oppoſition to the Laws of God? *Moſes* commanded Children to honour their Parents; and thoſe that curſe them, are by the Law to ſuffer Death for it. But your Interpretation of it is, with a Proviſo that the Son tells not his Father or Mother in a Paſſion, that he has conſecrated all his Goods to God, or that he has not taken an Oath never to confer any Benefit upon them; which impious Oath and Dedication of his Goods, with which he might have aſſiſted his Parents in their Neceſſities, you eſteem obligatory. Thus plainly do you make the Traditions of Men claſh with the poſitive Laws of God: And it were eaſy to reckon up many more Inſtances of the like Nature.

II. [b] *After this he called the Multitude that followed him to hear his Doctrine, and ſaid to*[bb] *them:* Hearken attentively to what I am about to ſay, and ſeriouſly reflect upon it. There is nothing without the Man that can poſſibly defile him, that is, make him leſs good, and leſs acceptable to God: 'Tis the evil Thoughts and Diſpoſitions flowing from within that can only be ſaid to pollute him. Let all that are convinced it is their Duty to uſe the Faculties God has beſtowed upon them, in an impartial Search after Truth, attend to what I ſay to them, and they ſhall eaſily underſtand the Meaning of it, and with what Purpoſe it was ſpoken. *Having ſaid this, he diſmiſſed the Multitude, and being alone in an Houſe with his Apoſtles, he was put in Mind by them that the* Phariſees *were very much offended at his Doctrine, which ſeemed to tend to the abrogating all the Rites and Ceremonies about unclean Meats, which had been handed down to them from their Anceſtors. In Anſwer to which* Jeſus *told them, that all thoſe Plants which his Father had not planted, ſhould be rooted up, though*

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[a] Matth. xv. 1——9. Mark vii. 1——13.

[aa] Iſaiah xxix. 13. See an Account of the Superſtition of this People, and alſo of their ſcandalous Doctrine concerning the Corban, or Gifts pretendedly offered to God, in our Diſſertation on the Corruptions of the Jewiſh Church, beginning Page 112 of this Work.

[b] Matth. xv. 10——14. Mark vii. 14——17.

[bb] From this Exhortation of our Lord to the Multitude, 'tis plain that he ſuppoſed them common People capable of underſtanding thoſe Things which the Phariſees and Doctors would not hearken to. And if theſe parabolical Expreſſions wete Things eaſy to be underſtood, much more ſo were the Doctrines which concerned their Duty, and which were plainly delivered.

the Minds of the Irreligious were offended at it: [c] *By which Words he ſignified, though obſcurely, that there was no longer any Account to be made of the ceremonial Laws, which God never deſigned ſhould be perpetual; and that the Traditions of Men were not to be regarded, which contributed nothing to Virtue, but were ſometimes repugnant to it. And as for the Opinion of theſe Men, they ought not to ſet any Value on it, being but blind Directors of others, like themſelves blind, in the Way to Happineſs*; who, *according to the Proverb*, would both together fall into a Ditch.

III. [d] *After this,* Peter, *in the Name of all the Apoſtles, deſired him to explain what he had lately told them concerning what goes into and comes out of a Man. Then ſaid* Jeſus *unto them,* Are you ſo unſkilful as not to comprehend the Meaning of it? Perceive you not that it is impoſſible for a Man to be defiled by the Meat he ſwallows, which going in at the Mouth paſſes down into the Stomach, and from thence into the Bowels, where that Part from which we receive Nouriſhment, is ſeparated from the Excrements that are voided? Thus you ſee it is impoſſible we ſhould be polluted by the Food we eat, that is, become the worſe for it in God's Sight. But that which makes us leſs acceptable to him, proceeds out of the Soul of Man. 'Tis from hence, as from a Fountain, that all Evil, which is diſpleaſing to God, continually flows; here is the Spring-head of all evil Imaginations, Adulteries, Fornication, Murder, Theft, Rapine, Covetouſneſs, Cheating, Luſts, Envy, Lies, Blaſphemy, Pride, and Intemperance. Theſe and the like Vices proceed from within, from the Soul, and are the Spots that defile the Man, and not a Cuſtom of eating with unwaſhen Hands, and the Neglect of ſuch like Ceremonies.

IV. [e] Jeſus *from hence went into that Part of* Galilee *which borders on the Country of the* Tyrians *and* Sidonians. *Being entered the Houſe he deſigned to lodge at, he forbad them to make his Arrival known, leſt by the Concourſe of the* Gentiles *to him he ſhould make himſelf obnoxious to the* Jews: *But it was impoſſible for him to conceal himſelf, the Fame of his coming being every where divulged. A certain Woman of* [ee] Syrophœnicia *therefore, whoſe Daughter was poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, hearing of it, came, and fell down at his Feet as he paſſed by; and calling him Lord, and Son of* David, *intreated him to have Compaſſion on her, and to heal her Daughter, who was grievouſly tormented with an evil Spirit. The Woman, as we ſaid, was a* Syrophœnician, *and educated in the Superſtition of the* Greeks; *notwithſtanding which, ſhe was ſo affected with the Report of* Jeſus's *Miracles, that ſhe vehemently beſought him to expel the* Dæmon *out of the Body of her Daughter.* Jeſus *not deigning to receive her Petition, paſt by without giving her any Anſwer. The Woman nevertheleſs ſtill followed him with lamentable Outcries; inſomuch that the Apoſtles, to whom ſhe was troubleſome, intreated him to diſmiſs her, that ſhe might no longer purſue them with her Clamours. Hereupon* Jeſus *turning himſelf about, told her firſt, that it was but juſt for her to ſtay till the Children of the Family were ſerved; and that a Parent would do very ill who ſhould throw that Bread to the Dogs which was laid up for the Nouriſhment of his Sons; meaning, that ſhe ought to wait till all the ſick Perſons among the* Jews *had been cured. Next he told her, he was only ſent to the wandring Sheep of the* Jewiſh *Nation; and, that his Commiſſion was, to convert the* Jews *by his Miracles and Benefits, and not the Heathens. The Woman ſtill urged him with her Cries; which made* Jeſus *repeat that Saying to her;* The Children's Bread ought not to be given to the Dogs. *The Woman replied, She did not deny what he ſaid to be moſt equitable, and that it was true that the Dogs were ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently provided with the Scraps that fell from their Maſter's Table:* May I then, *ſaid ſhe,* have this one Requeſt granted me, and after the many Benefits conferred upon the *Jews*, may I not be denied this one Offal, as it were, from their ſumptuous Feaſt! Jeſus *upon this told her, that ſhe had ſo great an Opinion of the divine Power and Bounty, that according to her Deſire the evil Spirit ſhould immediately be baniſhed from the Body of her Daughter. The Woman having heard this, returned Home, and found her Daughter lying on the Couch, and quite cured from the very Moment that* Jeſus *told her ſhe ſhould be delivered from the evil Spirit.*

V. [f] *After this* Jeſus *left that Country, which bordered upon many Heathen Cities, and came to the Country about* Decapolis, *ſituated on the Eaſtern Side of the Lake of* Genneſareth, *where he frequently reſided, and inſtructed his Followers ſitting on a Mountain hard by. It happened while he was in thoſe Parts, that there was brought to him a Man who by a violent Diſtemper had quite loſt his Hearing, and was almoſt deprived of his Speech alſo. The Man being preſented to him, they that had the Charge of him, beſought* Jeſus *by laying on his Hands to cure him.* Jeſus *therefore ſtepping aſide with the Man, put his Fingers into his Ears, and touched his Tongue with Spittle; not with a Deſign to cure him by that outward Application, but to give, as it were, according to his Cuſtom, ſome Emblem of the inviſible Power by which he acted. Then lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, he ſigh'd, as being ſenſibly touched with the Miſeries of Mankind, and ſaid in the* Syriac *Language,* Be open'd. *Which Words were no ſooner ſpoken, but the Man recover'd the perfect Uſe both of his Ears and Tongue. Upon which,* Jeſus *forbad the Man that was cur'd, and thoſe that brought him, to divulge the Matter. But the more he charged them, the more officious were they in publiſhing the Miracles of their Benefactor. Wherefore all Men were ſtruck with the greateſt Admiration, and readily acknowledg'd he had perform'd all the Miracles that* Iſaiah *had foretold ſhould be wrought by the Meſſiah, in theſe Words:* [g] The Eyes of the Blind ſhall be opened, and the Ears of the Deaf ſhall be unſtopp'd; *inaſmuch as he made the Deaf to hear, the Blind to ſee, and the Dumb to ſpeak. For theſe Reaſons abundance of People flock'd to him from all Parts, and brought with them the Lame, the Blind, the Deaf, the Maim'd, and many other ſick Perſons, who were laid at* Jeſus's *Feet, to be healed of their Infirmities, and all were cur'd by him with a Word's ſpeaking: Inſomuch that all Men were amaz'd to hear thoſe that a Moment before were dumb, to ſpeak plainly; and to ſee Cripples immediately uſe their Limbs as freely as if they had never ail'd any thing; and they glorified God, who confer'd by the means of* Jeſus *ſuch great Benefits on the* Jewiſh *Nation.*

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[c] Some underſtand this Paſſage not merely of the Jewiſh Ceremonies themſelves, but as a Sentence denounced againſt thoſe who practiſed them to the Prejudice of Morality, as the Phariſees and others.

[d] Matth. xv. 15——20. Mark vii. 17—23.

[e] Matth. xv. 21——28. Mark vii. 24. 30.

[ee] St. Matthew calls this Woman, a Woman of Canaan, St. Mark ſtiles her, a Gentile of Syrophœnicia. Now Canaan and Phœnicia are the ſame Thing: For the Seventy frequently render the Word *Canaanitiſh* by *Phœnician* in their Verſion of the Old Teſtament: And Phœnicia being comprehended in Syria, as Pliny aſſerts, the Woman that came to Jeſus is properly called a Syrophœnician. Others ſay the Sea-coaſt of this Country was called Phœnicia, and the more inland Part of it Syrophœnicia.

[f] Matth. xv. 29, 30, 31. Mark vii. 31——37.

VI. [h] *About this Time, a great Multitude being with* Jeſus *and his Apoſtles in the Deſarts near* Decapolis, *and unfurniſhed with Proviſions, he call'd his Apoſtles to him, telling them, he pitied the Multitude, who had for three Days followed him, and were now deſtitute of Victuals.* If, *ſaid he,* we diſmiſs them faſting, 'tis to be fear'd, in the Condition they now are, that many of them, who live at a great Diſtance, will periſh on the Road. *The Diſciples, who, as we have related, took not ſufficient Notice of the Miracle whereby he entertained five thouſand Men with five Loaves and two Fiſhes, told him they could not find Bread ſufficient in that deſart Country to ſatisfy ſuch a Multitude. But* Jeſus *ask'd them how many Loaves they had for themſelves: They told him, Seven. After this he commanded the whole Multitude to ſit down on the Ground; and having received the Loaves, he bleſſed them, and breaking them, gave the Fragments to his Apoſtles, to be diſtributed among the People. The Apoſtles had a few ſmall Fiſhes beſides, which he likewiſe commanded them to diſtribute among the Multitude; who made a full Meal of the Loaves and Fiſhes; and the broken Pieces and Scraps that were left, fill'd ſeven Baskets. Now there were about four thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, who were thus miraculouſly fed.*

VII. [i] Jeſus, *immediately after this Miracle, that he might not be continually moleſted with ſuch a Crowd, who 'twas likely followed him rather to be fed than to be inſtructed, went on board a little Veſſel with his Apoſtles, and ſail'd over to the Coaſt* [k] *of* Dalmanutha, *not far from* Magdala. *Being landed there, ſeveral* Sadduces *and* Phariſees *came and diſputed with him concerning his Authority, requiring ſome Miracle from Heaven as a Demonſtration of his divine Miſſion.* Jeſus *replied to this Purpoſe:* If the Sun ſets bright, and the Sky looks red, you think it a Token of fair Weather the Day after; and in the Morning, if the Sky be red and lowring, you account it the Forerunner of a Tempeſt. O ye Counterfeiters of Virtue, you can uſe your Reaſon and Experience in predicting the Change of Weather; Why do you ſeem ſo wholly void of Reaſon, as not to be able to tell, whether the Signs of thoſe Times which you ſtill expect, have not already happen'd according to the Predictions of the Prophets? *In which Words* Jeſus *hinted at the Signs of the Coming of the Meſſiah. Then fetching a deep Sigh becauſe of their Malice;* This wicked Race, *ſaid he,* whoſe Minds are alienated from the Service of God, expect a Miracle in Confirmation of my being ſent from Heaven, as if I had not perform'd any; but there ſhall be none granted to them for a Demonſtration of this Truth, except ſomething that ſhall happen [l] to me like what befel the Prophet *Jonas.*

VIII. [m] *Afterwards he left that Country, and ſailed over to the Weſtern Side of the Lake. Now the Apoſtles had forgot to buy Bread, and had but one Loaf with them in the Veſſel. As they were ſailing over, it happen'd that* Jeſus *admoniſh'd them diligently to beware of the* [n] *Leven of the* Phariſees, *and of* Herod, *and of the* Sadduces. *The Apoſtles reflecting upon their not having bought Bread, thought that* Jeſus *had upbraided them with their Negligence in obſcure Terms, and caution'd them againſt buying any for the future of thoſe who were addicted to either of the Sects mention'd.* Jeſus *obſerving their Miſtake, thus rebuk'd them:* O you who have ſuch mean Notions of the Goodneſs and Power of God, what makes you imagine that your Negligence in not providing yourſelves with Bread, is the Occaſion of my giving you this Caution about the Leven of the *Phariſees* and *Sadduces?* Are you ſtill as unacquainted with my way of ſpeaking, as when I firſt made choice of you? Have you taken no manner of notice of my Miracles and my Doctrine? or are you wholly without Memory, that you thus forget what you have heard and ſeen? When I fed five thouſand Men with five Loaves, how many Baskets did you fill with the Fragments that remained? *They anſwer'd, Twelve.* And when four thouſand were ſatisfied with ſeven Loaves, how many Baskets did you fill? *They anſwer'd, Seven.* Then, *continued* Jeſus, ought you not hence to have infer'd, that it was very unlikely I ſhould be ſolicitous about your Scarcity of Bread, who thus twice before your Eyes, have miraculouſly increaſed its Subſtance; and that this was not in my Thoughts when I cautioned you againſt the Leven of the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*? *The Apoſtles at laſt perceived that the Leven he mentioned was not to be underſtood of that which we uſe in making Bread, but of certain Tenets and Ordinances peculiar to the* Phariſees *and* Sadducees, *which like ill Leven gave a pernicious Ferment to the Life and Converſation.*

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[g] Iſai. xxxv. 5. [h] Matth. xv. 32——38. Mark viii. 1——9.

[i] Matth. xv. 39. xvi. 1—4. Mark viii. 10, 11, 12.

[k] St. Matthew ſays, that *he came into the Coaſts of Magdala*; St. Mark, that *he came into the Parts of Dalmanutha:* Which may be reconciled as above; or otherwiſe, either by ſuppoſing the Tract he came to, to be between theſe two Places, or that Dalmanutha was a particular Place within the Bounds of Magdala.

[l] That is, in my Burial and Reſurrection on the third Day, as he elſewhere explains it.

[m] Matth. xvi. 4——11. Mark viii. 13——21.

[n] See an Account of the Tenets of theſe People in the Diſſertation laſt quoted, *Of the Corruptions*, &c.

IX. [o] Jeſus *afterwards went with his Diſciples to* Bethſaida, *where there was a blind Man preſented to him to be cured. He reſolved to gratify their Requeſt, but would not perform the Miracle in the Town itſelf, either becauſe he thought the Inhabitants unworthy becauſe of their Incredulity, or to avoid the Concourſe of People; which began now to be more frequent, and in greater Companies; leſt the ill deſigning among them might raiſe ſome Tumult againſt the* Romans, *under Pretence of ſetting him up as King of the* Jews, *which he avoided by often removing from one Place to another: For which Purpoſe the Lake of* Genneſareth *was very commodious, the Multitude not having Boats enough, nor always in Readineſs, to tranſport themſelves as often as he ſailed from one Side to the other. For theſe Reaſons he led the blind Man by the Hand out of the Town, and having rubbed his Eyes with Spittle, aſked him Whether he ſaw any Thing? The Man turning himſelf round, told him, he ſaw a little, but it was ſo confuſedly, that he could diſtinguiſh Men from Trees only by their Motion. Whereupon* Jeſus *touched his Eyes again, and perfectly reſtored him to his Sight, inſomuch that he ſaw all Things plainly and diſtinctly. After which he diſmiſſed him, charging him not to return to* Bethſaida, *nor to acquaint any of the Inhabitants with it, for the Reaſons before-mentioned.*

X. [p] *After this Miracle* Jeſus *went a while from the Lake of* Genneſareth *into the Country about* Cæſarea, *a City founded by* Philip *the Son of* Herod *the Great, not far from the Source of* Jordan. *While they were on their Journey,* Jeſus *being retired with his Apoſtles into a ſolitary Place, that he might be unmoleſted in his Devotion, asked them Whom the World took him for, ſince he did not differ from others in his outward Appearance? They told him, Some thought he was* John the Baptiſt *raiſed from the Dead; others thought he was* Elias *come down from Heaven; and ſome took him for* Jeremiah *reſtored to Life, or ſome other of the antient Poophets. Then ſaid* Jeſus; *But who do you take me for?* Peter, *not ſtaying for the Anſwer of the other Apoſtles, replied:* Thou art the Meſſiah, the Son of the true and living God. *Upon which* Jeſus *congratulating his Knowledge of this Truth, told him, he had great Reaſon to account himſelf highly favoured, ſince it was impoſſible* [q] *any could reveal this important Truth to him but his heavenly Father, who atteſted it by the Miracles he gave him Power to perform.* It was not, *ſaid he,* without Reaſon that I gave thee the Surname of *Peter*, (which ſignifies *Stone* or *Rock*,) ſince thou wilt in thy Preaching and conſtant Adherence to this Truth be like a Rock, firm and unſhaken, on which I will build my Church; nor ſhall any Terror of Death make thee diſown the Cauſe for which they perſecute thee. Great ſhall thy Authority be in the Kingdom of Heaven; inſomuch that whoſe Sins ſoever thou wilt have puniſhed here on Earth, ſhall be forthwith puniſhed, and whoſe Sins ſoever thou wilt have pardoned on Earth, ſhall immediately be forgiven. *And having thus approved this Judgment of* Peter *concerning him, and rewarded him with theſe ſingular Bleſſings,* Jeſus *charged all his Apoſtles not to divulge his being the Meſſiah, leſt ſuch a Truth once ſpread abroad ſhould tempt many of the* Jews, *not only the Bad, but the Well-meaning alſo, who ſtill expected the Meſſiah ſhould eſtabliſh an earthly Government among them, to raiſe ſome Tumult on his Account, and ſo defame his Doctrine, as favouring rebellious Principles, among thoſe that were not ſufficiently acquainted with him.*

XI. [r] *From this Time* Jeſus *began openly to declare to them that he muſt ſhortly go to* Jeruſalem, *and there ſuffer all Manner of Indignities, and a cruel Death, by the Malice of the Sanhedrim, the Prieſts, and the Teachers of the Law; but that after his being three Days dead, he ſhould riſe again. And this he plainly foretold them without uſing any figurative Expreſſions.* Peter *hereupon embracing him with ſome Earneſtneſs, cried out;* God forbid, that any ſuch Thing ſhould ever befal you. *But* Jeſus *turning about, replied with Indignation;* Away from me, thou, who under a Pretext of Love and Friendſhip, thus oppoſeſt thyſelf to my Determinations, and putteſt an Obſtacle in my Way to hinder me from executing the Commiſſion I received from my Father. Your Thoughts ſavour only of worldly Conveniencies, and not in the leaſt of the Joys of Heaven. *Then addreſſing himſelf to the Multitude, he ſpoke to this Effect:* Whoever deſires to be my Diſciple, ought, (without making account of the Advantages that might redound to him if he were at free Liberty,) to give himſelf intirely to the Service of God, and daily reſolve to adhere firmly to it, and to endure the greateſt Misfortunes rather than violate the leaſt of his Commands. Thoſe only that are thus diſpoſed, ſhall be reputed my Diſciples. And take notice moreover, that many who deny me to ſave their

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[o] Mark viii. 22——26.

[p] Matth. xvi. 13——20. Mark viii. 27——30. Luke ix. 18——21. *Cæſarea Philippi* is called *Laiſh* and *Dan* in the Old Teſtament. It was given, with its Territories, to Herod the Great, who left it to his Son Philip the Tetrarch. This latter called it Cæſarea to curry Favour with Tiberius Cæſar; and Philippi, partly to preſerve his own Name, and partly to diſtinguiſh it from another Cæſarea mentioned Acts x. 1 which lay on the Mediterranean Sea.

[q] The Words of the Text are, *Fleſh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee*; by which Phraſe Mankind is to be conſtantly underſtood.

[r] Matth xvi. 21——28. Mark viii. 31——38. ix. 1. Luke ix. 22——27.

Life, ſhall loſe it; and on the contrary, Many, who ſhall couragiouſly hazard it for my Sake, ſhall ſave it. Thus, if you regard only temporal Advantages, it will be beneficial openly to profeſs your being my Diſciples: For what will all the good Things you expect to gain by your Treachery, avail you, if at laſt you loſe your [f] Life, the moſt valuable of all human Bleſſings? With how much Reaſon then ought you to part with all theſe, nay Life itſelf, for the obtaining endleſs Happineſs in a future State, which ſhall be the Reward of thoſe only who perſiſt in a conſtant Profeſſion of being my Diſciples? For whoever ſhall not have the Courage in this deprav'd and degenerate Age publickly to own his Obedience to my Goſpel, ſhall not be eſteem'd one of my Diſciples in that Day when I ſhall come to judge the World with all the Pomp of Heaven and the holy Angels: For let no one doubt but there ſhall be ſuch a Day of Judgment, in which I ſhall come ſurrounded with divine Majeſty, and attended by the Angels as Executioners of my Decrees, to reward Men according to their Actions in this Life; nay, there are ſome here preſent, who ſhall not die till they have ſeen one remarkable Inſtance of this my Office [t] executed on the Men of this Age.

DISSERTATION I.

Hiſtorical and Topographical:

Containing a Deſcription of *Phœnicia*, or the Coaſts of *Tyre* and *Sidon*.

I. *Introduction.* Tripoli *deſcribed.* Turkiſh *Civility.* II. Greeks, *their Convent and Worſhip deſcribed.* III. *A particular Deſcription of a* Turkiſh *Viſit. The Port of* Tripoli. *Its Name.* IV. *Road from* Tripoli *to* Gibyle. *A Deſcription of that City, and of the River* Adonis. V. *The Mountains* Climax *and* Caſtravan. *The River* Lycus. *The* Antonine *Way: Antiquities there ſeen.* VI. Beroot, *or* Berytus, *deſcribed. An Account of the* Emir Faccardine; *his Dominions, Palaces, Gardens,* &c. VII. *Churches of St.* John *the Evangeliſt,* &c. *Legend of St.* Nicephorus*'s Beard. Several Antiquities.* VIII. *Of the* Druſes, *and their Prince. The River* Damer: *Difficulty of paſſing it.* IX. *The Author comes to* Sidon. *Deſcription and Hiſtory of that City.* X. *Cuſtom of the* French *Conſul at* Sidon. Roman *Inſcriptions.* Sarphan, *or* Sarepta. *The River* Caſimeer. XI. Tyre; *its antient State, and moſt remarkable Revolutions. A Digreſſion.* XII. *Its preſent State. A Remark of Travellers,* &c. XIII. *Of* Roſelayn, *and the Ciſterns of* Solomon. *The Works of* Alexander the Great. *The Plain of* Acra, *and Town of* Zib. XIV. *The Antiquities of* Acra, *and the Hiſtory of its Abbeſs and Nuns.* XV. *A Deſcription of* Beer; *with ſome curious Remarks on the antient and modern State of* Paleſtine.

I. THE Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and the *Coaſts* or *Borders* of them, (by which we are to underſtand Part at leaſt of the antient *Phœnicia*,) being ſo often mentioned in the Goſpels; and this whole Country, and in particular theſe two Cities, being very famous in antient Hiſtory, profane as well as ſacred; we believe it will be a not unpleaſing Amuſement to our Readers, if, in our Deſcription thereof, we are a little more copious than we uſually are on Subjects of this Nature; after the Example of what we once before did, in deſcribing *Jeruſalem*, and its Temple: Eſpecially ſince in doing this, we ſhall have an Opportunity of producing another large Extract from the ingenious Mr. *Maundrell*, who viſited theſe Countries in the Year 1697, and has left us a more agreeable Account of them than any other *Engliſh* Author that we have ever ſeen.

The Sea-Coaſt of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, from *Tripoli* to *Acra*, including theſe two Cities, is what among Geographers is generally known by the Name of *Phœnicia:* In which Tract, beſides the ſaid two Places, we have the Towns antiently known under the Names of *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and others of leſs Note, which all fell in the Way of the abovementioned Author, in his Journey from *Aleppo* to *Jeruſalem*. His Deſcriptions of them, the Countries between them, their Antiquities, and the Cuſtoms of their Inhabitants, ſhall be given for the moſt Part in his own Words, with only the Addition of a few Things from other Writers; which Additions will ſometimes be inſerted in the Text, and at other Times thrown into Notes. We would obſerve, however, before-hand, that ſeveral Places here, are not to be found in the Scriptures, either by the Modern or any other Names, and are here taken Notice of only to keep up the Thread of the Narration, which is written in the Form of a Journal. This we think ſufficient to ſay by Way of Introduction, and to excuſe us from making a greater Number of References, than the Matter abſolutely requires.

[a] *Tripoli* is ſeated about [b] half an Hour from the Sea. The major Part of the City lies between two Hills: One on the Eaſt, on which is a Caſtle commanding the Place; another on the Weſt, between the City and the Sea. This lat-

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[f] That the original Word ψυχὴ, which is rendered *Soul* in our Tranſlation, ſhould be rendered *Life* here, as in the preceding Period, is highly probable for ſeveral Reaſons, but chiefly for this, Becauſe Chriſt, who came to ſave Men's Souls, could, in no Senſe talk of their loſing them for his Sake.

[t] Meaning in the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which doubtleſs many who heard him now lived to ſee.

[a] Journey from Aleppo, p. 25.

[b] The Author, it will be obſerved, all along meaſures the Diſtance between one Place and another by the Time he was in going it; this being the only Method he could uſe in ſuch Countries as Syria and Paleſtine now are.

ter is ſaid to have been firſt raiſed, and to be ſtill encreaſed, by the daily Acceſſion of Sand, blown to it from the Shore: Upon which Occaſion there goes a Prophecy, that the whole City ſhall in Time be buried with this ſandy Hill. But the *Turks* ſeem not very apprehenſive of this Prediction; for inſtead of preventing the Growth of the Hill, they ſuffer it to take it's Courſe, and make it a Place of Pleaſure; which they would have little Inclination to do, did they apprehend it were ſome time to be their Grave."

Whilſt Mr *Maundrell* was here, he and his Company were all treated one Day by Mr. *Fiſher*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, in the *Campagnia*. "The Place, ſays he, where we dined was a narrow pleaſant Valley by a River's Side, diſtant from the City about a Mile Eaſtward. A croſs the Valley there runs from Hill to Hill, a handſome lofty Aqueduct, carrying upon it ſo large a Body of Water, as ſuffices the whole City. It was called the *Prince's-Bridge*, ſuppoſed to have been built by *Godfrey* of *Bulloign*.

Another Day we all dined at Conſul *Haſting*'s Houſe, and after Dinner went to wait upon *Oſtan* the *Baſſa* of *Tripoli:* Having firſt ſent our Preſent, as the Manner is amongſt the *Turks*, to procure a propitious Reception.

It is counted uncivil to viſit in this Country without an Offering in Hand. All great Men expect it, as a Kind of Tribute due to their Character and Authority, and look upon themſelves as affronted, and indeed defrauded, when this Compliment is omitted. Even in familiar Viſits among inferior People, you ſhall ſeldom have them come without bringing a Flower, or an Orange, or ſome other ſuch Token of their Reſpect, to the Perſon viſited; the *Turks* in this Point keeping up the antient Oriental Cuſtom hinted at in this Speech of *Saul:* [c] *If we go, what ſhall we bring the Man of God? there is not a Preſent to bring.* Which Words are queſtionleſs to be underſtood in Conformity to this Eaſtern Cuſtom, as relating to a Token of Reſpect, and not to a Price of Divination.

II. In the Afternoon we went to viſit *Bell-Mount*, a Convent of *Greeks*, about two Hours to the Southward of *Tripoli*. It was founded by one of the Earls of *Tripoli*, and ſtands upon a very high rocky Mountain looking over the Sea; a Place of very difficult Aſcent, though made as acceſſible as it was capable, by the Labour of the poor Monks. It was our Fortune to arrive there juſt as they were going to their Evening Service. Their Chapel is large, but obſcure; and the Altar is incloſed with *Cancelli*, ſo as not to be approached by any one but the Prieſt, according to the Faſhion of the *Greek* Churches. They call their Congregation together, by beating a Kind of a Tune, with two Mallets, on a long pendulous Piece of Plank at the Church Door; Bells being an Abomination to the *Turks*.

Their Service conſiſted in precipitate, and very irreverent, chattering of certain Prayers and Hymns to our bleſſed Saviour, and to the bleſſed Virgin; and in ſome dark Ceremonies. The Prieſt that officiated, ſpent at leaſt one third Part of his Time in compaſſing the Altar, and perfuming it with a Pot of Incenſe, and then going all round the Congregation, flinging his Incenſe-pot backward and forward, and tendring its Smoke with three repeated Vibrations to every Perſon preſent. Towards the End of the Service, there was brought into the Body of the Church a ſmall Table, covered with a fair Linnen Cloth, on which were placed five ſmall Cakes of Bread croſs-way; and in the Center of each Cake was fixed a ſmall lighted Wax-Taper, a Hole in the Cake ſerving for a Socket.

At this Ceremony the Prieſt read the Goſpel concerning our Lord's feeding the Multitude with five Loaves. After which the Bread was carried into the *Cancelli*; and being there ſuddenly broke to Bits, was again brought out in a Basket, and preſented to every one in the Aſſembly, that he might take a little. After this Collation, the Prieſt pronounced the Bleſſing, and ſo the Service ended. On both Sides of the Body of the Church were Seats for the Monks, in the Nature of the Stalls for the Fellows of Colleges in *Oxford*; and on each Hand of every Seat were placed Crutches. Theſe you find in like manner in moſt Churches of this Country. Their Uſe is for the Prieſt to lean upon: The Service being ſometimes ſo long, that they cannot well ſtay it out without the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Eaſements; for they are not permitted by their Rubrick to ſit down. The younger Monks, who perhaps may have no great Occaſion for theſe Supporters, do yet delight to uſe them, as the *Spaniards* do Spectacles, not for any Neceſſity, but in Affectation of Gravity.

The Monks of this Convent were, as I remember, forty in all. We found them ſeemingly a very good-natured and induſtrious, but certainly a very ignorant People: For I found upon Enquiry, that they could not give any Manner of *Rationale* of their own divine Service. And to ſhew their extreme Simplicity, I cannot omit a Compliment made to the Conſul by the Chief of them: *That he was as glad to ſee him, as if he had beheld the Meſſiah himſelf coming in Perſon to make a Viſit to him.*

Nor is this Ignorance to be much wondered at; for what Intervals of Time they have between their Hours of Devotion, they are forced to ſpend, not in Study, but in managing of their Flocks, cultivating their Land, pruning their Vineyards, and other Labours of Husbandry, which they accompliſh with their own Hands. This Toil they are obliged to undergo, not only to provide for their own Suſtenance, but alſo that they may be able to ſatisfy the unreaſonable Exactions, which the greedy *Turks*, upon every Pretence they can invent, are ready to impoſe upon them. But that it may be the better gueſs'd what Sort of Men theſe *Greek* Monks are, I will add this farther Indication That the ſame Perſon, whom we ſaw officiating at the Altar, in his embroider'd ſacerdotal Robe, brought us the next Day, on his own Back, a Kid, and a Goat's Skin of Wine, as a Preſent from the Convent.

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[c] 1 Sam. ix. 7.

III. On *Saturday* Morning, *March* the thirteenth, we went again to wait upon *Oſtan Baſſa* by his own Apointment; and were entertained, as before, with great Courteſy: For you muſt know that the *Turks* are not ſo ignorant of Civility, and the Arts of Endearment, but that they can practiſe them with as much Exactneſs as any other Nation, whenever they have a Mind to ſhew themſelves obliging. For the better apprehending of which, it may not be improper, nor unpleaſant here, to deſcribe the Ceremonies of a *Turkiſh* Viſit, as far as they have ever fell under my Obſervation, either upon this or any other Occaſions.

When you would make a Viſit to a Perſon of Quality here, you muſt ſend one before with a Preſent to beſpeak your Admiſſion, and to know at what Hour your Coming may be moſt ſeaſonable. Being come to the Houſe, the Servants receive you at the outermoſt Gate, and conduct you toward their Lord or Maſter's Apartment: Other Servants, I ſuppoſe of better Rank, meeting you in the Way, at their ſeveral Stations, as you draw nearer to the Perſon you viſit. Coming into his Room, you find him prepared to receive you, either ſtanding at the Edge of the *Duan*, or elſe lying down at one Corner of it, according as he thinks it proper to maintain a greater or leſs Diſtinction. Theſe *Duans* are a Sort of low Stages, ſeated in the pleaſanteſt Part of the Room, elevated about ſixteen or eighteen Inches, or more, above the Floor. They are ſpread with Carpets, and furniſhed all round with Bolſters for leaning upon. Upon theſe the *Turks* eat, ſleep, ſmoke, receive Viſits, and ſay their Prayers. Their whole Delight is in lolling upon them, and in furniſhing them richly out is their greateſt Luxury.

Being come to the Side of the *Duan*, you ſlip off your Shoes, and ſtepping up take your Place; which you muſt do firſt at ſome Diſtance, and upon your Knees, laying your Hands very formally before you. Thus you muſt remain, till the Man of Quality invites you to draw nearer, and to put yourſelf into an eaſier Poſture, leaning upon the Bolſter. Being thus fixed, he diſcourſes with you as the Occaſion offers; the Servants ſtanding round all the while in a great Number, and with the profoundeſt Reſpect, Silence, and Order imaginable. When you have talked over your Buſineſs, or the Compliments, or whatever other Concern brought you thither, he makes a Sign to have Things ſerved in for the Entertainment; which is generally a little Sweetmeat, a Diſh of Sherbet, and another of Coffee: All which are immediately brought in by the Servants, and tender'd to all the Gueſts in order, with the greateſt Care and Awfulneſs imaginable. And they have Reaſon to look well to it; for ſhould any Servant make but the leaſt Slip or Miſtake, either in delivering or receiving his Diſh, it might coſt him fifty, perhaps one hundred, Drubs, on his bare Feet, to attone for his Crime. At laſt comes the finiſhing Part of your Entertainment; which is perfuming the Beards of the Company; a Ceremony which is performed in this Manner: They have for this Purpoſe a ſmall ſilver Chafing-diſh, covered with a Lid full of Holes, and fixed upon a handſome Plate. In this they put ſome freſh Coals, and upon them a Piece of *Lignum Aloes*; and then ſhutting it up, the Smoke immediately aſcends with a grateful Odour through the Holes of the Cover. This Smoke is held under every one's Chin, and offered as it were a Sacrifice to his Beard. The briſtly Idol ſoon perceives the Reverence done to it, and ſo greedily takes in and incorporates the gummy Steam, that it retains the Savour of it, and may ſerve for a Noſegay a good while after.

This Ceremony may perhaps ſeem ridiculous at firſt hearing: But it paſſes amongſt the *Turks* for an high Gratification. And I will ſay this in its Vindication, that its Deſign is very wiſe, and uſeful: For it is underſtood to give a civil Diſmiſſion to the Viſitants; intimating to them, that the Maſter of the Houſe has Buſineſs to do, or ſome other Avocation, that permits them to go away as ſoon as they pleaſe, and the ſooner after this Ceremony the better. By this Means you may, at any Time, without Offence, deliver yourſelf from being detained from your Affairs by tedious and unſeaſonable Viſits, and from being conſtrained to uſe that Piece of Hypocriſy, ſo common in the World, of preſſing thoſe to ſtay longer with you, whom perhaps in your Heart you wiſh a great Way off for having troubled you ſo long already. But of this enough.

Having diſcharged our Viſit to *Oſtan Baſſa*, we rid out after Dinner to view the *Marine*. It is about half an Hour diſtant from the City. The Port is an open Sea, rather than an encloſed Harbour: However, it is in Part defended from the Force of the Waves, by two ſmall Iſlands, about two Leagues out from the Shore: One of which is called the *Bird*, the other the *Coney Iſlands*; being ſo named from the Creatures which they ſeverally produce. For its Security from Pirates, it has ſeveral Caſtles, or rather ſquare Towers, built all along upon the Shore at convenient Diſtances. They are, I think, ſix in Number; but at preſent void of all Manner of Force, both of Men and Ammunition.

In the Fields, near the Shore, appeared many Heaps of Ruins, and Pillars of Granite, and ſeveral other Indications that here muſt have been antiently ſome conſiderable Buildings this Way. Which agrees very well with what *Caſaubon*, [d] in his Notes upon *Strabo*, quotes out of *Diodorus*;

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[d] Page. 213.

That the Place call'd Tripoli, *was antiently a* [e] *Cluſter of three Cities, ſtanding at a Furlong's Diſtance from each other; of which the firſt was a Seat of the* Aradii, *the ſecond of the* Sidonians, *the third of the* Tyrians*:*" And from hence it is probable, that *Tripoli* was a Name given at firſt to three diſtinct, but adjacent Places, and not to one City, built, as is uſually ſaid, by the mingled Intereſt of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Aradus*; it being hard to conceive, how three ſuch independant Commonwealths ſhould thus concur in the Founding of one City betwen them, and harder how they ſhould agree in governing it afterwards.

IV. Reſolving to purſue our Journey, we had given Orders to our Muliteers to be ready to attend us. But they had been ſo frighted by the Baſſa of *Sidon*'s Servants, who were abroad in Queſt of Mules, for the Service of their Maſter, that they were run away, and could not be heard of: A Diſappointment which gave us much Vexation, and left us no other Remedy, but only to ſupply ourſelves with freſh Beaſts, where we could find them.

Having, after much Trouble, put ourſelves in a new Poſture of Travelling, we parted from *Tripoli:* And proceeding cloſe by the Sea, we came in one Hour and a half to *Callemone*, a ſmall Village juſt under *Bell-Mont*. From hence putting forward, we came to an high Promontory, which lay directly croſs our Way, and broke off abruptly at the Sea Side, with a Cape very high, and almoſt perpendicular. In order to paſs this Barrier, we turn'd up on the Left Hand, into a narrow Valley, through which our Road lay; and it being now late, we took up our Quarters there under ſome Olive-Trees, having come in all about five Hours from *Tripoli*.

The Promontory which terminated our Journey, ſeems to be that called by *Strabo* [f] *The Face of God*, aſſign'd by that Author for the End of Mount *Libanus*. Between this Place and *Tripoli* he mentions likewiſe a City called *Trieris:* But of this we ſaw no Footſteps, unleſs you will allow for ſuch, ſome Sepulchres which we ſaw cut in the Rocks, about one Hour and a half before we arrived at the Promontory.

We were no ſooner in Motion the next Morning, but we were engaged in the difficult Work of croſſing over the fore-mention'd Cape. The Paſs over it lies about a Mile up from the Sea. We found it very ſteep and rugged, but in an Hour or thereabout maſter'd it, and arriv'd in a narrow Valley on the other Side, which brought the Sea open to us again. Near the Entrance of this Valley ſtands a ſmall Fort, erected upon a Rock perpendicular on all Sides; the Walls of the Buildings being juſt adequate to the Sides of the Rock, and ſeeming almoſt of one continued Piece with them. This Caſtle is called *Temſeida*, and commands the Paſſage into the Valley.

In about half an Hour from this Place, we came even with *Patrone*; a Place eſteem'd to be the antient *Botrus*. It is ſituate cloſe by the S and our Road lying ſomewhat higher up in Land, we diverted a little out of the Way to it. We found in it ſome Remains of an Church and a Monaſtry; but theſe are now p fectly ruin'd and deſolate; as is likewiſe the wh City. Nor is there any Thing left in it, teſtify it has been a Place of any great Co deration.

In three Hours more we came to *Gibyle*, ca by the *Greeks Byblus*, a Place once famous the Birth and Temple of *Adonis*. It is pleaſa ly ſituated by the Sea Side. At preſent it conta but a little Extent of Ground, but yet m than enough for the ſmall Number of its Inha tants. It is encompaſſed with a dry Ditch, an Wall, with ſquare Towers in it at about every fo Yards Diſtance. On its South Side it has an Caſtle: Within it is a Church, exactly of ſame Figure with that at *Tortoſa*, only not entire as that. Beſides this, it has nothing markable; though antiently it was a Place of mean Extent, as well as Beauty; as may app from the many Heaps of Ruins, and the fine lars that are ſcatter'd up and down in the G dens near the Town.

Gibyle is probably the Country of the [g] *G lites*. King *Hiram* made uſe of the People this Place in preparing Materials for *Solom* Temple, as may be collected from a Paſſage the [h] Firſt of *Kings*, where the Word which Tranſlator hath render'd *Stone-ſquarers*, in *Hebrew* is *Giblim*, or *Giblites*, and in the LX Interpreters *Biblii*, that is, *the Men of Biblus*; former uſing the *Hebrew*, the latter the *Gr* Name of this Place. The ſame Difference m be obſerved likewiſe in [i] *Ezekiel*, where this Pl is again mention'd. *The Antients of* Gebal, our Tranſlation, following the *Hebrew*: Inſt of which you read in the LXXII again, *Elders of* Bybli, *or* Byblus.

Leaving *Gibyle*, we came in an Hour to a large River, with a Stone Bridge over it, of o one Arch, but that exceeding wide and lo To this River the *Turks* give the Name of *Ibra Baſſa*; but it is doubtleſs the antient River *nis*, ſo famous for the Idolatrous Rites perfo here in Lamentation of *Adonis*. Upon the of this Stream we took up our Quarters fo following Night, having come this Day a ſix Hours. We had a very tempeſtuous N both of Wind and Rain, almoſt without tion, and with ſo great Violence, that our vants were hardly able to keep up our over us. But however this Accident, w gave us ſo much Trouble in the Night, ma amends with a Curioſity, which it yielde an Opportunity of beholding the next M ing.

For by this Means we had the Fortune what may be ſuppoſed to be the Occaſio that Opinion which *Lucian* relates, conce this River, namely, That this Stream, at ce

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[e] So the Name ſignifies.

[f] Strab. Lib. xvi. Pomp. Mela Lib. i. cap. 12.

[g] Mentioned Joſh. xiii. 5.

[h] 1 Kings v. 18.

[i] Ezek. xxix. 9.

eaſons of the Year, eſpecially about the Feaſts
Adonis, who was killed by a Wild Boar in the
ountains, out of which this Stream riſes.
omething like this we ſaw actually come to
aſs; for the Water was ſtain'd to a ſurpriſing
ednefs; and as we obſerv'd in travelling, had diſ-
lour'd the Sea a great way into a reddiſh Hue:
ccaſion'd doubtleſs by a Sort of Minium, or
Earth, waſhed into the River by the Violence
the Rain, and not by any Stain from *Adonis*'s
ood.

V. In an Hour and a Quarter from this River
paſſed over the Foot of the Mountain *Climax*,
ere, having gone through a very rugged and
ven Paſs, we came into a large Bay, called
ia. At the firſt Entrance into the Bay is an
Stone Bridge, which appoints the Limits be-
n the two Baſſalicks of *Tripoli* and *Sidon*.
e Bottom of the Bay are exceeding high and
Mountains, between which and the Sea the
lies. Theſe are the Mountains of *Caſtra*-
chiefly inhabited by *Maronites*, famous for
owth of excellent Wine. The *Maronite*
of *Aleppo*, has here his Reſidence in a Con-
of which he is the Guardian. We ſaw
other ſmall Convents on the Top of theſe
tains: One of which, call'd *Oozier*, was,
were told, in the Hands of ten or twelve
Friars. Towards the further Side of the
we came to a ſquare Tower, or Caſtle, of
Kind there are many all along upon the
for ſeveral Days Journey from this Place:
are ſaid to have been built by the Empreſs
, for the Protection of the Country from
. At this Tower is to be paid a fourth
ar. It is receiv'd by *Maronites*, a Pack of
more exacting and inſolent in their Office
e *Turks* themſelves. A little beyond this
we came to a Road cut through the
which brought us out of the Bay,
been one Hour and a Quarter in com-
it.

n Hour more ſpent upon a very rugged
cloſe by the Sea, we came to the River
call'd alſo ſometime *Canis*, and by the
at this Day *Nahor Kelp*. It derives it's
from an Idol in the Form of a Dog or
which was worſhipped, and is ſaid to have
nced Oracles, at this Place. The Image
nded to be ſhewn to Strangers at this Day,
the Sea, with it's Heels upward; I mean
y of it, for it's Oracular Head is report-
ave been broken off, and carry'd to *Ve*-
here, if Fame be true, it may be ſeen at
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ow not by what Miſtake ſeveral modern
phers confound this River with *Adonis*,
them to be one and the ſame, whereas
trary is apparent, both from experimental Obſervation, and from the Authority of antient Geographers.

This River iſſues into the Sea from between two Mountains, exceſſive ſteep and high, and ſo rocky that they ſeem to conſiſt each of one entire Stone. For croſſing the River, you go up between theſe Mountains, about a Bow-Shot from the Sea, where you have a good Bridge of four Arches, near the Foot of which is a Piece of white Marble inlaid in the Side of the Rock, with an *Arab* Inſcription on it, intimating it's Founder to have been the *Emir Faccardine*, (of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more when I come to *Beroot*.) Being paſſed the River, you immediately begin to aſcend the Mountain, or great Rock, hanging over it on that Side. To accommodate the Paſſage, you have a Path of above two Yards Breadth cut along it's Side, at a great Height above the Water; being a Work of the Emperor *Antoninus*. For the Promontory allowing no Paſſage between it and the Sea at Bottom, that Emperor undertook, with incredible Labour, to open this Way above. The Memory of which good Work is perpetuated by an [1] Inſcription, engraven on a Table plain'd in the Side of the natural Rock, not far from the firſt Entrance into the Way.

In paſſing this Way, we obſerv'd in the Sides of the Rock above us, ſeveral Tables of Figures carv'd; which ſeem'd to promiſe ſomething of Antiquity. To be ſatisfied of which, ſome of us clamber'd up to the Place, and found there ſome Signs as if the old Way had gone in that Region, before *Antoninus* cut the other more convenient Paſſage a little lower. In ſeveral Places hereabouts, we ſaw ſtrange antique Figures of Men carv'd in the natural Rock, in *Mezzo Relievo*, and in Bigneſs equal to the Life. Cloſe by each Figure was a large Table plain'd in the Side of the Rock, and border'd round with Mouldings. Both the Effigies and the Tables appear'd to have been antiently inſcrib'd all over: But the Characters are now ſo defaced, that nothing but the Footſteps of them were viſible. Only there was one of the Figures, that had both it's Lineaments and it's Inſcriptions entire.

It was our Unhappineſs to have at this Place a very violent Storm of Thunder and Rain, which made our Company too much in haſte to make any long Stay here. By which Misfortune I was prevented, to my great Regret, from copying the Inſcription, and making ſuch an exact Scrutiny into this Antiquity as it ſeem'd very well to deſerve. I hope ſome curious Traveller or other will have better Succeſs in paſſing this Way hereafter. The Figures ſeem'd to reſemble Mummies, and were perhaps the Repreſentations of ſome Perſons buried hereabout; whoſe Sepulchres

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e Caphars are certain Duties, which Travellers are obliged to pay, at ſeveral Paſſes upon the Road, to Officers who
their appointed Stations to receive them. They were at firſt levied by Chriſtians, to yield a Recompence to the Coun-
aintaining the Ways in good Repair, and ſcouring them from Arabs and Robbers. The Turks keep up ſo gainful an
, pretending the ſame Cauſes for it. But under that Pretence they take Occaſion to exact from Paſſengers, eſpecially
rbitrary and unreaſonable Sums, and inſtead of being a Safeguard, prove the greateſt Rogues and Robbers them-

Inſcription, as much of it as remains, is inſerted in Mr. Maundrell's Book, but we ſhall not here tranſcribe any Thing
ature.

might probably alſo be diſcover'd by the diligent Obſerver.

The *Antonine* Way extends about a Quarter of an Hour's Travel. It is at preſent ſo broken, and uneven, that to repair it, would require no leſs Labour, than that wherewith it was firſt made. After this Paſs you come upon a ſmooth ſandy Shore, which brings you in about one Hour and a half to the River *Beroot*; (for I could learn no other Name it had.) It is a large River, and has over it a Stone Bridge of ſix Arches. On its other Side is a plain Field, near the Sea, which is ſaid to be the Stage on which St. *George* duell'd and kill'd the Dragon. In Memory of this Atchievement, there is a ſmall Chapel built upon the Place, dedicated at firſt to that *Chriſtian* Hero, but now perverted to a Moſque. From hence in an Hour we arrived at *Beroot*, very wet by Reaſon of the long and ſevere Rains. However we found here the Shelter of a good *Kane* by the Sea Side, and there we took up our Quarters. Our whole Stage this Day was about ſix Hours and a half.

VI. The Day following we ſpent at *Beroot*; being credibly informed that the River *Damer*, which lay in our next Stage, was ſo ſwoln by the late Rains, that it would be impaſſible. This Place was called antiently *Berytus*; from which the Idol *Baal-Berith* is ſuppoſed to have had his Name: Afterwards being greatly eſteemed by *Auguſtus*, it had many Priviledges conferred upon it, and together with them the new Name of *Julia Felix*: But at preſent, it retains nothing of its antient Felicity, except the Situation; and in that Particular it is indeed very happy. It is ſeated on the Sea Side, in a Soil fertile and delightful, raiſed only ſo high above the ſalt Water, as to be ſecure from its Overflowings, and all other noxious and unwholſome Effects of that Element. It has the Benefit of good freſh Springs, flowing down to it from the adjacent Hills, and diſpenſed all over the City, in convenient, and not unhandſome Fountains. But beſides theſe Advantages of its Situation, it has at preſent nothing elſe to boaſt of.

The *Emir Faccardine* had his chief Reſidence in this Place. He was, in the Reign of *Sultan Morat*, the fourth *Emir* or Prince of the *Druſes*; a People ſuppoſed to have deſcended from ſome diſperſed Remainders of thoſe *Chriſtians* Armies, that engaged in the Cruſades, for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*: Who afterwards, being totally routed, and deſpairing of a Return to their native Country again, betook themſelves to the Mountains hereabout; in which their Deſcendants have continued ever ſince. *Faccardine*, being Prince of theſe People, was not contented to be penned up in the Mountains, but, by his Power and Artifice, enlarged his Dominions down into the Plain, all along the Sea Coaſt, as far as from this Place to *Acra*. At laſt the Grand Signior, growing jealous of ſuch a growing Power, drove the wild Beaſt back again to the Mountains, from whence he had broke looſe; and there his Poſterity retain their Principality to this Day.

We went to view the Palace of this Prince, which ſtands on the North-Eaſt Part of the City. At the Entrance of it is a Marble Fountain, of greater Beauty than is uſually ſeen in *Turkey*. The Palace within conſiſts of ſeveral Courts, all now run much to Ruin; or rather perhaps never finiſhed. The Stables, Yards for Horſes, Dens for Lions and other ſavage Creatures, Gardens, *&c.* are ſuch as would be not unworthy of the Quality of a Prince in Chriſtendom, were they wrought up to that Perfection of which they are capable, and to which they ſeem to have been deſigned by their firſt Contriver.

But the beſt Sight that this Palace affords, and the worthieſt to be remembered, is the Orange Garden. It contains a large quadrangular Plat of Ground, divided into ſixteen leſſer Squares, four in a Row, with Walks between them. The Walks are ſhaded with Orange Trees, of a large ſpreading Size, and all of ſo fine a Growth, both for Stem and Head, that one cannot imagine any Thing more perfect in this Kind. They were, at the Time when we were there, as it were gilded with Fruit, hanging thicker upon them than ever I ſaw Apples in *England*. Every one of theſe ſixteen leſſer Squares in the Garden was bordered with Stone, and in the Stone-Work were Troughs very artificially contrived, for conveying the Water all over the Garden: There being little Outlets, cut at every Tree, for the Stream as it paſſed by, to flow out, and water it. Were this Place under the Cultivation of an *Engliſh* Gardener, it is impoſſible any Thing could be made more delightful. But theſe *Heſperides* were put to no better Uſe, when we ſaw them, than to ſerve as a Fold for Sheep and Goats; inſomuch that in many Places they were up to the Knees in Dirt. So little Senſe have the *Turks*, of ſuch refined Delights as theſe; being a People generally of the groſſeſt Apprehenſion, and knowing few other Pleaſures, but ſuch Senſualities, as are equally common both to Men and Beaſts. On the Eaſt Side of this Garden were two Terraſs Walks, riſing one above the other, each of them having an Aſcent to it of twelve Steps. They had both ſeveral fine ſpreading Orange Trees upon them, to make Shades in proper Places: And at the North-end they led into Booths, and Summer-houſes, and other Apartments, very delightful; this Place being deſigned by *Faccardine* for the chief Seat of his Pleaſure.

It may perhaps be wondered, how this *Emir* ſhould be able to contrive any Thing ſo elegant and regular as this Garden; ſeeing the *Turkiſh* Gardens are uſually nothing elſe but a confuſed Miſcellany of Trees, jumbled together without either Knots, Walks, Arbours, or any Thing of Art or Deſign; ſo that they ſeem like Thickets rather than Gardens. But *Faccardine* had been in *Italy*, where he had ſeen Things of another Nature, and knew well how to copy them in his own Country. For indeed it appears by theſe Remains of him, that he muſt needs have been a Man much above the ordinary Level of a *Turkiſh* Genius.

In another Garden we ſaw ſeveral Pedeſtals for Statues, from whence it may be inferred, that this *Emir* was no [m] very zealous *Mahometan*. At one Corner of the ſame Garden ſtood a Tower of about ſixty Foot high; deſigned to have been carried to a much greater Elevation for a Watch Tower, and for that End built with an extraordinary Strength, its Walls being twelve Foot thick.

VII. From this Tower we had a View of the whole City. Amongſt other Proſpects it yielded us the Sight of a large *Chriſtian* Church, ſaid to have been at firſt conſecrated to St. *John* the Evangeliſt. But it being now uſurped by the *Turks* for their chief Moſque, we could not be permitted to ſee it, otherwiſe than at this Diſtance. Another Church there is in the Town, which ſeems to be antient; but, being a very mean Fabrick, is ſuffered to remain ſtill in the Hands of the *Greeks*. We found it adorned with Abundance of old Pictures. Amongſt the reſt I ſaw one with a little [n] *Greek* Inſcription; and juſt by it was the Figure of *Neſtorius*, who commonly makes one amongſt the Saints painted in the *Greek* Churches of thoſe of his Sect, though they do not now profeſs, nor, I believe, ſo much as know his Hereſy. But that which is moſt obſervable, was a very odd Figure of a Saint, drawn at full Length, with a large Beard reaching down to his Feet. The Curate gave us to underſtand that this was St *Nicephorus*; and perceiving that his Beard was the chief Object of our Admiration, he gratified us with the following Relation concerning him.

He was a Perſon of the moſt eminent Virtues in his Time. But his great Misfortune was, that the Endowments of his Mind were not ſet off with the outward Ornament of a Beard. Upon Occaſion of which Defect he fell into a deep Melancholy. The Devil, taking this Advantage of the Prieſt, promiſed to give him that Boon which Nature had denied, in Caſe he would comply with his Suggeſtions. The beardleſs Saint, though he was very deſirous of the Reward propoſed, yet he would not purchaſe it at that Rate neither; but rejected the previous Bribe with Indignation; declaring reſolutely, that he had rather for ever deſpair of his Wiſh, than obtain it upon ſuch Terms. And at the ſame Time, taking in his Hand the downy Tuft upon his Chin, to witneſs the Stability of his Reſolution, (for he had it ſeems Beard enough to ſwear by,) behold! as a Reward for his Conſtancy, he found the Hair immediately ſtretch, with the Pluck that he gave it; whereupon, finding it in ſo good a Humour, he followed the happy Omen; and as young Heirs that have been niggardly bred generally turn Prodigals when they come to their Eſtates, ſo he never deſiſted from pulling his Beard, till he had wiredrawn it down to his Feet. But enough both of the Beard and the Story.

At the Eaſt End of *Beroot*, are to be ſeen ſeven or eight beautiful Pillars of Granite. And over another Gate, not far diſtant, we found in a Piece of Marble, a *Greek* Inſcription, which was probably at firſt an Altar Inſcription, relating to the Offertory and the holy Communion; for its Senſe ſeems to look that Way.

On the South Side the Town Wall is ſtill entire, but built out of the Ruins of the old City, as appears by the Pieces of Pillars, and Marble, which help to build it. In one Piece of Marble Table we ſaw ſome remaining Letters of a *Latin* Inſcription. A little without this Wall, we ſaw many Granite Pillars, and Remains of *Moſaic* Floors, and in an Heap of Rubbiſh ſeveral Pieces of poliſhed Marble, Fragments of Statues, and other poor Relicks of this City's antient Magnificence. On the Sea Side is an old ruined Caſtle, and ſome Remains of a ſmall Mole.

VIII. Leaving *Beroot*, we came in one third of an Hour to a large Plain, extending from the Sea to the Mountains. At the Beginning of the Plain, is a Grove of Pine-Trees of *Faccardine*'s Plantation. We gueſs'd it to be more than half a Mile acroſs; and ſo pleaſant and inviting was its Shade, that it was not without ſome Regret that we paſſed it by. Continuing in this Plain, we ſaw at a Diſtance, on our left Hand, a ſmall Village called *Suckfoat*. It belongs to the *Druſes*, who poſſeſs at this Day a long Tract of Mountains, as far as from *Caſtravan* to *Carmel*. Their preſent Prince is *Achmet*, Grandſon to *Faccardine*; an old Man, and one who keeps up the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, of turning Day into Night: An hereditary Practice in his Family, proceeding from a traditional Perſwaſion amongſt them, that Princes can never ſleep ſecurely but by Day, when Men's Actions and Deſigns are beſt obſerved by their Guards, and, if Need be, moſt eaſily prevented; but that in the Night it concerns them to be always vigilant, leſt the Darkneſs, aided by their Sleeping, ſhould give Traitors both Opportunity and Encouragement to aſſault their Perſons, and, by a Dagger or a Piſtol, to make them continue their Sleep longer than they intended when they lay down.

Two Hours from *Faccardine*'s Grove brought us to the fifth *Caphar*, and another little Hour to the River *Damer* or *Tamyras*; the former being its modern, the latter its antient Name. It is a River apt to ſwell much upon ſudden Rains; in which Caſe precipitating itſelf from the Mountains with great Rapidity, it has been fatal to many a Paſſenger; amongſt the reſt, one Monſieur *Spon*, Nephew to Dr. *Spon*, coming from *Jeruſalem* about [o] four Years ago, in Company with ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, was in paſſing this Stream hurried down by it, and periſhed in the Sea, which lies about a Furlong lower than the Paſſage.

We had the good Fortune to find the River in a better Temper; its Waters being now aſſwaged ſince the late Rains. However the Country Fellows were ready here, according to their Trade, to have aſſiſted us in our Paſſing over. In order to which they had very officiouſly ſtripped

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[m] Mr. Sandys, who was here in Faccardine's Time, deſcribes him as one who was never known to pray, nor ever ſeen in a Moſque; as one that was very ſubtil, and not a little inclining to the Tyrant.

[n] In Engliſh, *Cuartus the firſt Archbiſhop of Berytus.*

[o] That is, in the Year 1693; for it was in 1697 that the Author was here.

ped themſelves naked againſt our coming; and to the End that they might oblige us to make uſe of their Help, for which they will be well paid, they brought us to a Place where the Water was deepeſt, pretending there was no other Paſſage beſides that; which Cheat we ſaw them actually impoſe upon ſome other Travellers, who came not long after us. But we had been adviſ'd of a Place a little higher in the River, where the Stream was broader and ſhallower, and there we eaſily paſs'd without their Aſſiſtance. Juſt by this Place are the Ruins of a Stone Bridge, of which one might gueſs, by the Firmneſs of its Remains, that it might have been ſtill entire, had not theſe Villains broke it down, in order to their making their Advantages of Paſſengers; either conducting them over for a good Pay, or elſe, if they have Opportunity, drowning them for their Spoils.

On the other Side of the River the Mountains approach cloſer to the Sea, leaving only a narrow rocky Way between. From *Damer* in two Hours we came to another River, of no inconſiderable Figure, but not once mentioned by any Geographer that I know of. It is within an Hour of *Sidon*. It's Channel is deep, contains a good Stream, and has a large Stone Bridge over it. Speaking of this River to the Reverend Father *Stephano*, *Maronite* Patriarch at *Canobine*, he told me it was call'd *Awle*, and had it's Fountain near *Barook*, a Village in *Mount Libanus*.

IX. At this River we were met by ſeveral of the *French* Merchants from *Sidon*; they having a Factory there, the moſt conſiderable of all theirs in the *Levant*. Being arrived at *Sidon*, we pitch'd our Tents by a Ciſtern without the City, but were ourſelves conducted, by the *French* Gentlemen, to the Place of their Habitation, which is a large [p] *Kane*, cloſe by the Sea, where the Conſul and all the Nation are quarter'd together. Before the Front of this *Kane* is an old Mole, running into the Sea with a right Angle: It was of no great Capacity at beſt, but now is render'd perfectly uſeleſs, having been purpoſely fill'd up with Rubbiſh and Earth by *Faccardine*, to prevent the *Turkiſh* Gallies from making their unwelcome Viſits to this Place. The Mole being thus deſtroy'd, all Ships, that take in their Burthen here, are forced to ride at Anchor under a ſmall Ridge of Rocks, about a Mile diſtant from the Shore on the North Side of the City. *Sidon* is ſtock'd well enough with Inhabitants, but is very much ſhrunk from it antient Extent, and more from it's Splendor: As appears from a great many beautiful Pillars, that lie ſcatter'd up and down the Gardens without the preſent Walls. Whatever Antiquities may, at any Time, have been hereabout, they are now all perfectly obſcur'd, and buried by the *Turkiſh* Buildings. Upon the South Side of the City, on an Hill, ſtands an old Caſtle, ſaid to have been the Work of *Lewis* the Ninth of *France*, ſurnamed the *Saint*; and not far from the Caſtle is an old unfiniſh'd Palace of *Faccardine*'s, ſerving however the *Baſſa* for his Seraglio: Neither of them worth mentioning, had the City afforded us any Thing elſe more remarkable. Near about *Sidon* begin the Precincts of the *Holy-Land*, and of that Part of it in particular which was allotted to *Aſher*; the Borders of which Tribe [q] extended from *Carmel* as far as *Great Zion*. But the People upon the Sea Coaſts were never actually maſter'd by the *Iſraelites*; being left by the juſt Judgment of God to be [r] Thorns in their Sides.

Sidon is one of the moſt antient Cities in the Univerſe, and the moſt Northern of all thoſe that were allotted to the Children of *Iſrael*. It is thought, ſays Dr. *Wells*, with great Probability, to take it's Name [ſ] *Sidon* from one of the Sons of *Canaan*: But others derive it from the *Hebrew* or *Syrian* Word *Zada*, which ſignifies *to fiſh*. From *Joſhua*'s calling it *Zidon the Great*, ſome imagine, that in the Time of *Joſhua*, there were two *Sidons*, a *Greater* and a *Leſſer*: But no antient Geographer confirms this Opinion. This City, for a long Time, excelled not only all the other Cities of *Phœnicia*, but even *Tyre* itſelf: Nay, it is ſaid to have been the greateſt of Maritime Cities in general; having for many Years enjoy'd quietly a vaſt Trade, which brought in immenſe Riches, and made the Inhabitants live in great Voluptuouſneſs: Inſomuch, that to live quietly and ſecurely, in Eaſe and Pleaſure, is denoted in the Holy Writings by [t] *Living after the Manner of the* Sidonians. The Men of *Sidon* being great Shipwrights, were famous above other Nations for hewing Timber, there being [v] *none that were ſkilled to hew Timber like the* Sidonians; and therefore hence *Solomon* had the principal Workmen to build his Temple. In a Word, the People of this City are repreſented by Authors, both ſacred and prophane, as excellent Artificers in ſeveral Profeſſions and Trades; and particularly, they are ſaid to have been the firſt Makers of Chryſtal Glaſs.

The moſt remarkable Revolution of *Sidon*, that we have ever read of, was in the Time of *Ochus* King of *Perſia*. The *Sidonians* and other *Phœnicians*, being oppreſſed and ill uſed by thoſe whom this King had ſet over them, revolted from him, and entered into a Confederacy with *Nectanebus* King of *Egypt* againſt him. The *Perſians* had long waged War with *Nectanebus*, in order to reduce *Egypt* under their Yoke, as it

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[p] It muſt be here noted, that in travelling this Country, a Man does not meet with a Market-Town and Inns, every Night, as in England; The beſt Reception you can find here, is either under your own Tent, if the Seaſon permit, or elſe in certain publick Lodgments, founded in Charity for the Uſe of Travellers. Theſe are called by the Turks *Kanes*; and are ſeated ſometimes in the Towns and Villages, ſometimes at convenient Diſtances upon the open Road. They are built in Faſhion of a Cloiſter, encompaſſing a Court of thirty or forty Yards ſquare, more or leſs, according to the Meaſure of the Founder's Ability or Charity. At theſe Places all Comers are free to take Shelter; paying only a ſmall Fee to the Kane-Keeper, and very often without that Acknowledgment: But muſt expect nothing here generally but bare Walls. As for other Accommodations, of Meat, Drink, Bed, Fire, Provender, with theſe it muſt be every one's Care to furniſh himſelf.

[q] See Joſh. xix. 26, 28.

[r] For the Reaſon of this ſee Judg. ii. 1, 2, 3, &c.

[ſ] Gen. x. 16.

[t] Joſh. xviii. 7.

[v] 1 Kings v. 6.

[w] Diod. Sic. Lib. xvi. pag. 531, 532, 533.

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commanded a Proſpect of all the Country round, as well as of the City and Temple of *Jeruſalem*) there waited the Coming of *Alexander*, and on his Approach met him in this pompous and ſolemn Manner. As ſoon as the King ſaw the High-Prieſt in this Manner coming towards him, he was ſtruck with a profound Awe at the Spectacle, and haſtning forward, bowed down to him, and ſaluted him with a religious Veneration, to the great Surpriſe of all that attended him, eſpecially of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who expected nothing leſs than that *Alexander* ſhould have deſtroyed this People as he had the *Tyrians*; and they came thither with an eager Deſire, out of the Hatred they had to them, to bear a Part in the Execution. While all ſtood amazed at this Behaviour, which was ſo much contrary to their Expectations, *Parmenio* asked the King the Reaſon of it, and how it came to paſs, that he, whom all adored, ſhould pay ſuch Adoration to the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt; to which he anſwered, that he did not pay that Adoration to him, but to that God whoſe Prieſt he was. For that when he was at *Dio* in *Macedonia*, and there deliberating with himſelf how he ſhould carry on his War againſt the *Perſians*, and was in much doubt about the Undertaking, this very Perſon, and in this very Habit, appeared to him in a Dream, and encouraged him to lay aſide all Thoughtfulneſs and Diffidence about this Matter, and paſs boldly over into *Aſia*; promiſing him that God would be his Guide in the Expedition, and give him the Empire of the *Perſians*; and that therefore on his ſeeing this Perſon, and knowing by his Habit, as well as by his Shape and Countenance, that he was the very ſame that appeared to him at *Dio*, he aſſured himſelf from hence, that he made the preſent War under the Conduct of God, and ſhould certainly by his Aſſiſtance conquer *Darius*, and overthrow the *Perſian* Empire, and ſucceed in all Things concerning it according to his Deſire; and that therefore in the Perſon of this his Prieſt he paid Adoration unto him. Hereupon turning again to *Jaddua*, he kindly embraced him, and entered *Jeruſalem* with him in a friendly Manner, and offered Sacrifices to God in the Temple; where *Jaddua* having ſhewn him the Prophecies of *Daniel*[z], which predicted the Overthrow of the *Perſian* Empire by a *Grecian* King, he went from thence with the greater Aſſurance of Succeſs in his further carrying on of the War againſt the, not doubting but that he was the Perſon meant by thoſe Prophecies. All which Particulars rendering him kindly affected to the *Jews*, he called them together when he was on his Departure, and bid them ask what they had to deſire of him. Whereupon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the Freedom of their Country Laws and Religion, and be exempted every ſeventh Year from paying any Tribute, becauſe in that Year, according to their Law, they neither ſowed nor reaped, *Alexander* readily granted them all this Requeſt.

But we return to *Tyre*. This City recovering once again both its Beauty and its Riches, after it had been deſtroyed by *Alexander*, became a Confederate of the *Romans*, and was by them inveſted with the Privileges of a *Roman* City for its great Fidelity. It was made, in the flouriſhing Times of Chriſtianity, the Metropolitan See for *Phœnicia*: But in the Year 636 it was ſubjected by the *Saracens*; under whoſe Yoke having groaned four hundred eighty-eight Years, it was regained by the Chriſtians *Anno Dom.* 1124. It was attempted afterwards by *Saladine*, but in vain: However, it was finally brought under the *Turkiſh* Thraldom in the Year of our Lord 1289; and ſo it ſtill continues.

XII. The preſent City, ſtanding in the Sea, upon a Peninſula, promiſes at a Diſtance ſomething very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no Similitude of that Glory, for which it was ſo renown'd in antient Times, and which the Prophet *Ezekiel*[a] deſcribes. On the North Side it has an old *Turkiſh* ungarriſon'd Caſtle; beſides which you ſee nothing here but a mere *Babel*, of broken Walls, Pillars, and Vaults; there being not ſo much as one entire Houſe left. Its preſent Inhabitants are only a few poor Wretches, harbouring themſelves in the Vaults, and ſubſiſting chiefly upon Fiſhing, who ſeem to be preſerved, in this Place, by divine Providence, as a viſible Argument how God has fulfilled his Word concerning *Tyre*, [b] *That it ſhould be as the Top of a Rock, a Place for Fiſhers to dry their Nets on.*

In the midſt of the Ruins, there ſtands up one Pile higher than the reſt, which is the Eaſt End of a great Church, probably of the Cathedral of *Tyre*; this having been an Archiepiſcopal See in the Chriſtian Times: And why not the very ſame that was erected by its Biſhop *Paulinus*, and honoured by that famous Conſecration Sermon of *Euſebius*, recorded [c] by himſelf?

I cannot in this Place, ſays Mr. *Maundrell*, omit an Obſervation, made by moſt of our Company in this Journey, namely, That in all the Ruins of Churches which we ſaw, though their other Parts were totally demoliſh'd, yet the Eaſt End we always found ſtanding, and tolerably entire. Whether the Chriſtians, when over-run by Infidels, redeem'd their Altars from Ruin with Money; or whether even the Barbarians, when they demoliſhed the other Parts of the Churches, might voluntarily ſpare theſe, out of an Awe and Veneration; or whether they have ſtood thus long, by Vertue of ſome peculiar Firmneſs in the Nature of their Fabrick; or whether ſome occult Providence has preſerv'd them, as ſo many ſtanding Monuments of Chriſtianity in theſe unbelieving Regions, and Preſages of it's future Reſtoration, I will not determine. This only I will ſay, that we found it in Fact, ſo as I have deſcribed, in all the ruined Churches that came in our Way, being perhaps not fewer than one hundred: Nor do I remember ever to have ſeen one Inſtance of the contrary. This might juſtly ſeem a trifling Obſervation, were it founded upon a few Examples only. But it being a Thing ſo often, and indeed univerſally obſerved by us, throughout our whole Journey, I thought it muſt needs proceed from ſomething more than blind Chance, and might very well deſerve this Animadverſion.

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[z] That is, what is written in Daniel of the Ram and He-goat, chap. viii. where that He-goat is interpreted to be the King of Grecia who ſhould conquer the Medes and Perſians, (ver. 21.) And alſo what is written by the ſame Prophet of the ſaid Grecian King, Chap. xi. 3. For both theſe Prophecies foretold the Deſtruction of the Perſian Empire by a Grecian King.

[a] Ezek. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.

[b] Ezek. xxvi. 14.

[c] Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. Lib. x. cap. 14.

But to return from this Digreſſion: There being an old Stair-caſe in this Ruin laſt mentioned, I got up to the Top of it; from whence I had an entire Proſpect of the Iſland Part of *Tyre*, of the Iſthmus, and of the adjacent Shore. I thought I could, from this Elevation, diſcern the Iſthmus to be of a Soil of a different Nature from the other two; it lying lower than either, and being covered all over with Sand, which the Sea caſts upon it, as the Tokens of its natural Right to a Paſſage there, from which it was by *Alexander the Great* injuriouſly excluded. The Iſland of *Tyre*, in its natural State, ſeems to have been of a circular Figure, containing not more than forty Acres of Ground. It diſcovers ſtill the Foundations of a Wall, which antiently encompaſſed it round, at the utmoſt Margin of the Land. It makes with the Iſthmus two large Bays, one on its North Side, the other on its South. Theſe Bays are, in Part, defended from the Ocean, each by a long Ridge, reſembling a Mole; ſtretching directly out, on both Sides, from the Head of the Iſland: But theſe Ridges, whether they were Walls or Rocks, whether the Work of Art or Nature, I was too far diſtant to diſcern.

Coming out of theſe Ruins, we ſaw the Foundation of a very ſtrong Wall, running croſs the Neck of Land, and ſerving as a Barrier, to ſecure the City on this Side. From this Place, we were one third of an Hour in paſſing the ſandy Iſthmus, before we came to the Ground, which we apprehended to be the natural Shore. From hence paſſing over Part of a very fertile Plain, which extends itſelf to a vaſt Compaſs before *Tyre*, we arrived in three Quarters of an Hour at *Roſelayn*. Our whole ſtage from *Sidon* hither was about eight Hours.

XIII. *Roſelayn* is the Place where are the Ciſterns called *Solomon*'s; ſuppoſed, according to the common Tradition hereabouts, to have been made by that great King, as Part of his Recompence to King *Hiram*, for the Supplies of Materials ſent by him toward the Building of the Temple. They are doubtleſs very antient, but yet of a much later Date than what this Tradition aſcribes to them. That they could not be built till ſince *Alexander*'s Time, may be conjectur'd from this, amongſt other Arguments; Becauſe the Aqueduct which conveys the Water from hence to *Tyre*, is carried over the Neck of Land by which *Alexander*, in his famous Siege of this Place, join'd the City to the Continent. And as the Ciſterns cannot well be imagined to be antienter than the Aqueduct, ſo one may be ſure the Aqueduct cannot be older than the Ground it ſtands upon. Of theſe Ciſterns there are three entire at this Day, one about a Furlong and a half diſtant from the Sea, the other two a little farther up.

The former is of an octogonal Figure, twenty two Yards in Diameter. It is elevated above the Ground nine Yards on the South Side, and ſix on the North; and within is ſaid to be of an unfathomable Deepneſs, but ten Yards of Line confuted that Opinion. Its Wall is of no better a Material than Gravel, and ſmall Pebbles; but conſolidated with ſo ſtrong and tenacious a Cement, that it ſeems to be all one entire Veſſel of Rock. Upon the Brink of it you have a Walk round, eight Foot broad: From which deſcending, by one Step on the South Side, and by two on the North, you have another Walk twenty one Foot broad. All this Structure, though ſo broad at Top, is yet made hollow; ſo that the Water comes in underneath the Walks: Inſomuch that I could not, with a long Rod, reach the Extremity of the Cavity. The whole Veſſel contains a vaſt Body of excellent Water; and is ſo well ſupplied from its Fountain, that though there iſſues from it a Stream like a Brook, driving four Mills between this Place and the Sea; yet it is always brim full. On the Eaſt Side of this Ciſtern was the antient Outlet of the Water, by an Aqueduct raiſed about ſix Yards from the Ground, and containing a Channel one Yard wide. But this is now ſtopped up, and dry: The *Turks* having broke an Outlet on the other Side, deriving thence a Stream for grinding their Corn.

The Aqueduct now dry is carried Eſtward about one hundred and twenty Paces, and then approaches the two other Ciſterns, of which one is twelve, the other twenty Yards ſquare. Theſe have each a little Channel, by which they antiently rendered their Waters into the Aqueduct; and ſo the united Streams of all the three Ciſterns were carried together to *Tyre*. You may trace out the Aqueduct all along by the remaining Fragments of it. It goes about one Hour Northward; and then turning to the Weſt, at a ſmall Mount where antiently ſtood a Fort, but now a Moſque, it proceeds over the Iſthmus, into the City. As we paſſed by the Aqueduct, we obſerved in ſeveral Places on its Sides, and under its Arches, rugged Heaps of Matter, reſembling Rocks. Theſe were produced by the Leakage of the Water, which petrified as it diſtilled from above, and by the continual Adherence of new Matter, were grown to a large Bulk. That which was moſt remarkable in them, was the Frame and Configuration of their Parts. They were compoſed of innumerable Tubes of Stone, of different Sizes, cleaving to one another like Icicles. Each Tube had a ſmall Cavity in its Center, from which its Parts were projected in Form of Rays to the Circumference, after the Manner of the Stones vulgarly called Thunder-ſtones.

The Fountain of theſe Waters, is as unknown as the Contriver of them. It is certain, from their riſing ſo high, that they muſt be brought from ſome Part of the Mountains, which are about a League diſtant; and it is certain that the Work was well done at firſt, ſeeing it performs its Office ſo well at ſo great a Diſtance of Time.

Leaving this pleaſant Quarter, we came in an Hour and an half to the white Promontory, ſo called from the Aſpect it yields toward the Sea. Over this you paſs by a Way of about two Yards broad, cut along its Side; from which the Proſpect down is very dreadful, by reaſon of the extreme Depth and Steepneſs of the Mountain, and the raging of the Waves at bottom. This Way is about one third of an Hour over, and is ſaid to have been the Work of *Alexander the Great.* About one third of an Hour farther, you paſs by an Heap of Rubbiſh cloſe by the Sea Side, being the Ruins of the Caſtle *Scandalium*, taking its Name from its Founder, the ſame *Alexander*, whom the *Turks* call *Scander*. The Ruin is one hundred and twenty Paces ſquare, having a dry Ditch encompaſſing it; and from under it, on the Side next the Sea, there iſſues out a Fountain of very fair Water. In an Hour from hence you come to the ſixth *Caphar*, called *Nachera*. And in another Hour to the Plain of *Acra*, over a very deep and rugged Mountain, ſuppoſed to be Part of *Mount-Saron.* All the Way from the white Promontory to this Plain is exceeding rocky; but here the Pleaſantneſs of the Road makes you amends for the former Labour.

The Plain of *Acra* extends itſelf in Length from *Mount-Saron* as far as *Carmel,* which is at leaſt ſix good Hours; and in Breadth, between the Sea and the Mountains, it is in moſt Places two Hours over. It enjoys good Streams of Water at convenient Diſtances, and every Thing elſe that might render it both pleaſant and fruitful. But this delicious Plain is now almoſt deſolate; being ſuffered, for Want of Culture, to run up to rank Weeds, which were, at the Time when we paſſed it, as high as our Horſes Backs.

Having travelled about one Hour in the Plain of *Acra*, we paſſed by an old Town called *Zib*, ſituate on an Aſcent cloſe by the Sea Side. This may probably be the old [d] *Achzib*, called afterwards *Ecdippa:* For St. *Jerome* places *Achzib* nine Miles diſtant from *Ptolemais* towards *Tyre*, to which Account we found the Situation of *Zib* exactly agreeing. This is one of the Places, out of which the *Aſherites* could not expel the *Canaanitiſh* Natives. Two Hours farther we came to a Fountain of very good Water, called by the *French* Merchants at *Acra* the Fountain of the bleſſed Virgin. In one Hour more, we arrived at *Acra*. Our whole Stage from *Roſelayn* hither was about eight Hours and a half.

XIV. *Acra* had antiently the Name of *Accho*, and is another of the Places, [e] out of which the Children of *Iſrael* could not drive the Primitive Inhabitants. Being in after Times enlarged by *Ptolemy* the Firſt, it was called by him from his own Name *Ptolemais.* But now ſince it hath been in the Poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, it has (according to the Example of many other Cities in *Turkey)* caſt off its *Greek*, and [f] recovered ſome Semblance of it's old *Hebrew* Name again; being called *Acca*, or *Acra*.

This City was for a long Time the Theatre of Contention between the Chriſtians and Infidels, till at laſt, after having divers Times changed its Maſters it was by a long Siege finally taken by the *Turks*, and ruined by them, in ſuch a Manner, as if they had thought they could never take a full Revenge upon it for the Blood it had coſt them, or ſufficiently prevent ſuch Slaughters for the future. As to its Situation, it enjoys all poſſible Advantages both of Sea and Land. On its North and Eaſt Sides it is compaſſed with a ſpacious fertile Plain: On the Weſt it is waſhed by the Mediterranean Sea; and on the South by a large Bay, extending from the City as far as Mount *Carmel.*

But notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, it has never been able to recover itſelf, ſince its laſt fatal Overthrow. For beſides a large *Kane*, in which the *French* Factors have taken up their Quarters, and a Moſque, and a few poor Cottages, you ſee nothing here but a vaſt and ſpacious Ruin. It is ſuch a Ruin however, as ſufficiently demonſtrates the Strength of the Place in former Times. It appears to have been encompaſſed on the Land Side by a double Wall, defended with Towers at ſmall Diſtances. And without the Walls are Ditches, Ramperts, and a Kind of Baſtions faced with hewn Stone. In the Fields, without theſe Works, we ſaw ſcattered up and down upon the Ground ſeveral large Balls of Stone, of at leaſt thirteen or fourteen Inches Diameter; which were Part of the Ammunition uſed in battering the City, Guns being then unknown. Within the Walls there ſtill appear ſeveral Ruins, which ſeem to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the general Heap, by ſome Marks of greater Strength and Magnificence. As *firſt*, Thoſe of the Cathedral Church dedicated to St. *Andrew*, which ſtands not far from the Sea Side, more high and conſpicuous than the other Ruins. *Secondly*, The Church of St. *John*, the tutelar Saint of this City. *Thirdly*, the Convent of the Knights Hoſpitallers, a Place whoſe remaining Walls ſufficiently teſtify its antient Strength. And not far from the Convent, the Palace of the Grand Maſter of that Order; the Magnificence of which may be gueſſed from a large Stair-caſe, and Part of a Church ſtill remaining in it. *Fourthly*, Some Remains of a large Church, formerly belonging to a Nunnery, of which they tell us this memorable Story.

The *Turks* having preſſed this City with a long and furious Siege, at laſt entered it by Storm *May* the nineteenth 1291. In which great Extremity, the Abbeſs of this Nunnery, fearing leſt ſhe, and thoſe under her Care, might be forced to ſubmit to ſuch Beſtialities, as are uſual in Caſes of that deplorable Nature, uſed this cruel but generous Means for ſecuring both herſelf and them. She ſummoned all her Flock together, and exhorted them to cut and mangle their Faces, as the only Way to preſerve their Virgin Purity. And to ſhew how much ſhe was in Earneſt, ſhe immediately began before them all, to make herſelf an Example of her own Counſel. The Nuns were ſo animated by this heroical Reſolution and Patern of the Abbeſs, that they began inſtantly to follow her Example, cutting off their Noſes, and disfiguring their Faces, with ſuch terrible Gaſhes, as might excite Horror rather than luſtful Deſires in the Beholders. The Conſequence of which was, that the Soldiers breaking into the Nunnery, and ſeeing inſtead of thoſe beautiful Ladies they expected, ſuch tragical Spectacles, took a Revenge for their diſappointed Luſts by putting them all to the Sword: Thus reſtoring them, as in Charity we may ſuppoſe, to a new, and inviolable Beauty.

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[d] Joſh. xix. 29. Judg. i. 31.

[e] Judg. i. 31.

[f] Ammian. Marcell ſays, the Greek and Roman Names of Places never took amongſt the Natives of this Country; which is the Reaſon that moſt Places retain their firſt Oriental Names at this Day. Lib. xiv. Hiſt non longe ab initio.

XV. *Mr.* Maundrell *here mentions their coming up with the* French *Conſul, in Company with whom they went to* Jeruſalem; *paſſing in their Way through* Samaria *and* Sychar, *his Deſcriptions of which Places has been already inſerted. We ſhould here conclude our Extract therefore, which already includes his whole Account of* Phœnicia, *were it not for ſome curious Remarks that he makes on the Soil of* Paleſtine, *which, with the Occaſion of them, take as follows.*

Beer enjoys a very pleaſant Situation, on an eaſy Declivity fronting Southwards. At the Bottom of the Hill, it has a plentiful Fountain of excellent Water, from which it has it's Name. At its upper Side are Remains of an old Church, built by the Empreſs *Helena*, in Memory of the Bleſſed Virgin, [g] who, when ſhe went in queſt of the Child *Jeſus*, came, as Tradition adds, to this City; and not finding him whom her Soul loved in the Company, ſhe ſate down weary and penſive at ſo ſad a Diſappointment, in the very Place where the Church now ſtands: But afterwards returning to *Jeruſalem*, ſhe had her maternal Fears turned into Joy, when ſhe found him ſitting in the Temple amongſt the Doctors, *both hearing them and asking them Queſtions.*

All along from *Kane Leban* to *Beer*, and alſo as far as we could ſee round, the Country diſcovered quite a different Face from what it had before; preſenting nothing to the View, in moſt Places, but naked Rocks, Mountains, and Precipices: At Sight of which, Pilgrims are apt to be much aſtoniſhed and baulked in their Expectations; finding that Country in ſuch an inhoſpitable Condition, concerning whoſe Pleaſantneſs and Plenty they had formed in their Minds ſuch high Ideas, from the Deſcription given of it in the Word of God; inſomuch that it almoſt ſtartles their Faith, when they reflect, how it could be poſſible, for a Land like this, to ſupply Food for ſo prodigious a Number of Inhabitants, as are ſaid to have been poll'd in the twelve Tribes at the ſame Time; the Sum given in by *Joab*, [h] amounting to no leſs than thirteen hundred thouſand fighting Men, beſides Women and Children. But it is certain that any Man, who is not a little biaſſed to Infidelity before, may ſee, as he paſſes along, Arguments enough to ſupport his Faith againſt ſuch Scruples.

For it is obvious for any one to obſerve, that theſe Rocks and Hills muſt have been antiently covered with Earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the Maintenance of the Inhabitants, no leſs than if the Country had been all plain, nay perhaps much more; foraſmuch as ſuch a mountainous and uneven Surface affords a larger Space of Ground for Cultivation than this Country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect Level.

For the huſbanding of theſe Mountains, their Manner was, to gather up the Stones, and place them in ſeveral Lines, along the Sides of the Hills, in Form of a Wall. By ſuch Borders, they ſupported the Mould from tumbling, or being waſhed down; and formed many Beds of excellent Soil, riſing gradually one above another from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountains.

Of this Form of Culture you ſee evident Footſteps wherever you go in all the Mountains of *Paleſtine*. Thus the very Rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no Spot of Ground in this whole Land, that was not formerly improved, to the Production of ſomething or other, miniſtring to the Suſtenance of human Life. For than the plain Country, nothing can be more fruitful; whether for the Production of Corn or Cattle, and conſequently of Milk. The Hills, though improper for Cattle, except Goats, yet being diſpoſed into ſuch Beds as are deſcribed, ſerved very well to bear Corn, Melons, Gourds, Cucumbers, and ſuch like Garden-Stuff, which makes the principal Food of theſe Countries for ſeveral Months in the Year. The moſt rocky Parts of all, which could not well be adjuſted in that Manner for the Production of Corn, might yet ſerve for the Plantation of Vines, and Olive-Trees; which delight to extract, the one its Fatneſs, the other its ſprightly Juice, chiefly out of ſuch dry and flinty Places. And the great Plain joining to the *Dead Sea*, which, by reaſon of its Saltneſs, might be thought unſerviceable both for Cattle, Corn, Olives, and Vines, had yet its proper Uſefulneſs, for the Nouriſhment of Bees, and for the Fabrick of Honey; of which *Joſephus* [i] gives us his Teſtimony. And I have Reaſon to believe it, becauſe when I was there, I perceived in many Places a Smell of Honey and Wax, as ſtrong as if one had been in an Apiary. Why then might not this Country very well maintain the vaſt Number of its Inhabitants, being in every Part ſo productive of either Milk, Corn, Wine, Oil, or Honey? which are the principal Food of theſe Eaſtern Nations: The Conſtitution of their Bodies, and the Nature of their Clime, enclining them to a more abſtemious Diet than we uſe in *England*, and other colder Regions.

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[g] Luke ii. 24.

[h] 2 Sam. xxiv.

[i] De Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.

DISSERTATION II.

Of our Saviour's Promiſe to St. *Peter*, againſt the pretended Succeſſion and Infallibility of the Pope.

I. *The Promiſe recited. Several Proofs that it was given particularly to* Peter, *and not to all the Apoſtles.* II. *The Pope cannot be* Peter's *Succeſſor, becauſe he doth not follow his Practice. In what the Promiſe to* Peter *was fulfilled by him, and the Impoſſibility of its being fulfilled by, or extended to, any other Perſon whatſoever.* III. *What is meant by the Gates of Hell, which ſhall not prevail againſt the Church.* IV. *What is meant by the Key of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Power of looſing and binding,* &c.

I. UPON our Saviour's aſking his Apoſtles, whom they took him to be, *Peter* replied, [a] *Thou art* Chriſt, *the Son of the living God. And* Jeſus *anſwered, and ſaid unto him, Bleſſed art thou,* Simon Barjona; *for Fleſh and Blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven; and I ſay unto thee, that thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* From the promiſſory Part of which Anſwer of *Chriſt*, the *Romaniſts* pretend to prove, both that their Pope is the true Succeſſor of St *Peter*, and that he is infallible in all his Determinations. For this Reaſon we ſhall here conſider the promiſſory Part of this Anwer, and ſhew not only that no ſuch Conſequences can juſtly be drawn from it, but alſo what is the true and full Senſe thereof.

Firſt then, we acknowledge, [b] that our Lord, when he ſaid, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church*, did not ſpeak in general to all his Apoſtles, but to *Peter* in particular; which is evident from theſe Conſiderations.

1ſt, Becauſe it was *Simon Peter*, the Son of *Jona*, who made that Confeſſion which occaſioned theſe Words: And agreeable to this, our Lord's Anſwer was to *him* in the ſingular, not to *them*, or all the Apoſtles. As if he had ſaid, *Like as thou* Peter *haſt ſaid of me, that I am* Chriſt; *ſo ſay I now of thee, that thou art* Peter. Since therefore it could not properly be ſaid of the reſt of the Apoſtles, *Thou art* Peter, much leſs that they were Sons of *Jona*, our Lord muſt ſpeak only to him who properly was ſo: And ſince the Text ſaith expreſly, that our Lord ſpake to him, and doth not mention any others that were ſpoken to, it is a plain Addition to the Text, to ſay that our Lord ſpoke equally to all the Apoſtles. When our Lord put the Queſtion to them all, *Whom ſay Men that I am?* they replied in general, *Some ſay* John the Baptiſt, *others* Elias, *others* Jeremias, *or one of the Prophets.* But when he enquires farther, *Whom do you Apoſtles ſay that I am? Peter* only is mentioned as anſwering: Whereas had they all continued to anſwer, or, which is the ſame Thing, had *Peter* ſpoken in the Behalf of them all, the ſame Form of Speech would have been kept throughout the whole Converſation, and *Chriſt* would have directed his following Words to them all, and not ſo peculiarly to *Simon Peter*, the Son of *Jona*.

2dly, It is evident, that *Chriſt* here promiſed to build his Church upon *Peter*, becauſe theſe Words bear a manifeſt Alluſion to the Name of *Peter*, and to the *Syriac* Name of *Cephas*, which our Lord had given him; both which ſignify, a *Rock*, or *Stone*. As if our Lord had ſaid, *Thou art by Name a Rock, and ſuitable to that Name ſhall be thy Work and Office: For upon thee, that is upon thy Preaching, as upon a Rock, ſhall the Foundation of my Church be laid.* Now the whole Grace of this Alluſion will be loſt, unleſs we expound the Paſſage of St. *Peter*'s Perſon, and not of his Confeſſion, or the Object of it. When God ſaid to *Abraham*, [c] *Thy Name ſhall be called* Abraham, *for a Father of many Nations have I made thee*; the latter Words contain the Reaſon of the Name, given in the former. So was it alſo when God ſaid to *Jacob*, [d] *Thy Name ſhall be called* Iſrael, *for as a Prince haſt thou prevailed with God and Man.* And agreeable to theſe Examples, it may rationally be conceived, that when *Chriſt* ſaid to the Son of *Jona*, *Thou art* Peter, the following Words, *and on this Rock will I build my Church*, which are joined to the former by a Conjunction copulative, contain the Reaſon of theſe former, or of the Apellation therein remembred.

3dly, The Demonſtrative Article *This*, as contained in the Words *This Rock*, plainly intimates, that our Lord promiſed to build his Church upon that Rock which he had juſt before mentioned. And what Rock did he mention but in theſe Words, *Thou art* Peter, that is, *thy Name ſignifies a Rock? I gave it thee with a Regard to thy future Office, and I will build my Church upon thee.*

4thly, It cannot rationally be doubted, but that our Lord intended to ſay ſomething ſingular to *Peter*, as a Reward for his ſingular Confeſſion, if we conſider the reſt of the Paſſage; either theſe Words, *Bleſſed art thou* Simon Barjona, *for Fleſh and Blood hath not revealed this unto thee; or theſe, And I do alſo ſay unto thee, That thou art* Peter: But if our Lord had ſpoken not of *Peter*, whom he had before called *Cephas*, when he mentioned the Rock on which he would build his Church, but either of himſelf, or of *Peter*'s Confeſſion, he had then ſaid nothing ſingular concerning this Apoſtle; it being no ſingular Thing with regard to *Peter*, that *Chriſt* would build his Church upon himſelf, or upon that Truth of his being the Meſſiah, which *Peter* had acknowledged: Nor was there any peculiar Reward to *Peter* contained in ſuch a Declaration.

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[a] Matth. xvi. 16, 17, 18.

[b] Whitby on the Place.

[c] Gen. xvii. 5.

[d] Gen. xxxii. 28.

5thly, When our Lord ſaid to *Peter*, *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, 'tis evident from the Connexion of the Words, that he ſpoke directly to that Apoſtle. Why then ſhould we not conceive he ſpeaks of the ſame Perſon, when he ſays in the foregoing Words, *Upon this Rock will I build my Church?* If it be neceſſary to find a Senſe that may be applicable to *Peter* in one Part of our Saviour's Speech, why ſhould we not conclude the ſame of all the Parts of it, ſince there is no Variation in the Form of ſpeaking, or Manner of Addreſs? Now we are pretty well agreed in interpreting thus the Paſſage of the Keys: *I will cauſe thee firſt to open the Kingdom of Heaven, by preaching to both* Jews *and* Gentiles, *and laying the Foundation of a Church among them.* Why then was it abſurd or improper to ſay, by a Figure eaſily explained from its Alluſion to *Peter*'s Name, *I will build my Church upon thee?*

II. But then we are to remember, in the *ſecond* Place, that the Pretences of the Pope to be St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, are ſo far from being eſtabliſhed by this Explication, that they are thereby moſt effectually overthrown. And this will be as evident as the former Propoſition, when we have ſufficiently conſidered our Lord's Promiſe to build his Church upon *Peter*, and how that Promiſe was fulfilled.

1ſt, Our Lord ſpeaks here of his Church, not as a Thing in preſent Being, or a Building now erected, but as hereafter to be raiſed: *I will* hereafter *build my Church*, that is *the Chriſtian Church, commencing after my Reſurrection and Aſcenſion.* This is the Church of which our Lord here plainly ſpeaks in this Text, and which was hereafter to be founded by St. *Peter*'s preaching to both *Jew* and *Gentile.* If then the Pope would be St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor in this Affair, he muſt not remain at *Rome* lording it over God's Heritage, but muſt in Perſon go to the unbelieving *Jews*, and heathen World, as *Peter* did, and labour by his preaching to convert the *Turk*, the *Jew*, the Infidel: And when he hath ſo done, and ſettled Churches among theſe People, we ſhall be more willing to allow his Title to the Succeſſorſhip of St. *Peter*, than we now are; though even then his Claim would not be clear, as we ſhall immediately prove. But without keeping up the Character, and following the Practice of that eminent Apoſtle, all Pretenſions to the being his Succeſſor are abſolutely vain and trivial.

2dly, The Senſe of our Saviour's Promiſe to St. *Peter* will farther appear, if we conſider the Manner in which it was fulfilled, which was punctually the ſame as is here ſuppoſed. Our Lord uſed the Miniſtry of that Apoſtle, in laying the firſt Foundations of a Church, both among the *Jews* and the *Gentiles.* He was the firſt Preacher of, and made the firſt Proſelytes to, that Faith which he here confeſſed to *Chriſt.* It was ſuitably to this Promiſe that *Peter* laid the Foundation of a Church among the *Jews*, by the Converſion [e] of *three thouſand Souls*, who *when they had gladly embraced his Doctrine*, were *all baptized*; and then we find the firſt Mention of a Chriſtian Church, in theſe Words, [f] *and the Lord added daily to the Church ſuch as ſhould be ſaved.* The ſame Apoſtle laid the firſt Foundation of a Church among the *Gentiles*, by the [g] Converſion of *Cornelius* and his Friends: For though we read before of Perſons in *Samaria*, that were converted and baptized by *Philip* the Evangeliſt, he being one of them that were diſperſed through *Judea* and *Samaria* upon the Perſecution that aroſe concerning *Stephen*; yet the Holy Ghoſt informs us, that they who were thus ſcattered [h] *preached the Word to none but only the* Jews. Nor could they, ſuitably to their avowed Principles, do otherwiſe, ſince they deemed it [i] unlawful to go in to, or converſe with the Uncircumciſed, and had no Apprehenſion that God would grant Repentance unto Life to the *Gentiles.* Wherefore to qualify *Peter* for this Work, the Lord by a Viſion convinced him of the Lawfulneſs of preaching the glad Tidings of Salvation to the heathen World, and of converſing with them for that End. And in purſuance of this Promiſe made to *Peter*, God commands *Cornelius* to ſend, not to *Jeruſalem* for *James* and *John*, nor to *Damaſcus* for *Paul*, but to *Joppa* for *Peter*, whom *Chriſt* had by this Promiſe appointed for that Work, that from him *he might hear thoſe Words, by which he and his whole Houſhold ſhould be ſaved.* And it ſeems to be in Relation to this Promiſe of our Lord, as well as the Completion of it by the Converſion of *Cornelius*, that *Peter* ſpoke thus in the Synod met at *Jeruſalem*: [k] *Men and Brethren, you know how that a good while ago, God choſe me out from among you, that by my Mouth the Gentiles ſhould hear the Word.* Certainly therefore he was the Perſon, who firſt preached the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, and by ſo doing, opened the Kingdom of Heaven to them: He was the Perſon choſen by *Chriſt* to perform this Work, from the Beginning of *Chriſt*'s own Preaching, when he received the Name of *Cephas* with relation thereto.

This Expoſition of our Saviour's Promiſe to *Peter*, which cuts off entirely any ſuch Kind of Superiority in that Apoſtle as might be derived to a Succeſſor, is as antient as *Tertullian*, [l] who ſaith, *the Church was built upon* Peter, *that is by him*; *he firſt hanſel'd the Key*; meaning in the aforementioned Sermon to the *Jews*, and in the Converſion of *Cornelius*, the Event of which was his giving theſe Proſelytes Admiſſion into the Kingdom of Heaven by Baptiſm. *Ambroſe* ſaith, *He was ſtiled the Rock, becauſe he laid the firſt Foundations of Faith among the Nations*; which comes to juſt the ſame.

Conclude we therefore, that the Apoſtle *Peter*, by preaching firſt to both *Jew* and *Gentile*, and by baptizing thoſe to whom he preached, was to lay the firſt Foundations of the Chriſtian Church, and that againſt the Church thus planted by him, the Gates of Hell ſhould not prevail:

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[e] Acts ii. 41.
[f] Ver 47.
[g] Acts x.
[h] Acts xi. 19.
[i] Ver. 3.
[k] Acts xv. 7.
[l] De Pudicitia.

For no other Senſe of our Saviour's Words can be juſtified, from what afterwards happened to that Apoſtle; whereas this Interpretation is clearly to be made out from the Event of Things, as they are at large related in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. And this being ſo, it clearly follows, that St. *Peter* neither hath, nor can have, a Succeſſor in the Prerogative here given him by *Chriſt*; and conſequently, that it is moſt abſurd to claim a Title of Succeſſion to that Prerogative; this being in Effect to ſay, that the Foundations of the Church of *Chriſt* are not yet laid, and to pretend a Commiſſion to perform that at preſent, which was fully performed almoſt ſeventeen hundred Years ago, and which in the Nature of the Thing could never be performed more than once, or by more than one individual Perſon.

III. Having thus overthrown the Pretence of Succeſſion, as taken from our Lord's Promiſe that he would build his Church upon St. *Peter*, the next Thing to be conſidered are the Words immediately following, which are as it were an additional Promiſe to the other: *And the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* Here the principal Enquiry will be, what is to be underſtood by *the Gates of Hell*; for this Phraſe is variouſly interpreted by different Authors.

Without dwelling on this Variety of Opinions, 'tis ſufficient to take Notice here, that ſome underſtand this Phraſe of the Prevalence of Hereſy and Schiſm; others, of the Growth of Wickedneſs and Vice; others again, of the Subtility of *Satan*, and the Power of his Temptations and Aſſaults. But if we examine the Import of it, as uſed by the antient *Greek* and *Jewiſh* Writers, in the Old Teſtament, and in the Tranſlation of the ſeventy Interpreters, we ſhall find that it is never uſed to ſignify either of theſe, and therefore cannot rationally be ſuppoſed here to bear any ſuch Senſe[m], but is conſtantly put by them for *the State of Death*, the *Place* or Receptacle *of the Dead*, into which Souls departed enter, or for *the Entrance* into that Place. We ſhall here mention only two or three Texts of Scripture, where the ſame original Word *Hades*, which our Tranſlators have rendered *Hell*, may be found in this Senſe; leaving the Proofs from other Authors to be conſulted in the Writings of thoſe who have collected them. The Texts are as follow: The Writing of *Hezekiah*, after his Recovery, begins thus; [n] *I ſaid, in the cutting off of my Days, I ſhall go to the Gates of the Grave: I am deprived of the Reſidue of my Years. I ſaid, I ſhall not ſee the Lord, even the Lord in the Land of the Living: I ſhall behold Man no more with the Inhabitants of the World.* And thus God puts the Queſtion to *Job*, [o] *Have the Gates of Death been opened unto thee? or haſt thou ſeen the Doors of the Shadow of Death?* In like Manner ſpeaks the Author of the Book of *Wiſdom*; [p] *Thou haſt the Power of Life and Death; thou bringeſt down to the Gates of the Grave, and thou raiſeſt up again.* In all theſe Places, the original Word is the ſame which the Evangeliſt here makes uſe of.

That we may the better ſee the Propriety of this Expreſſion, the *Gates of Hades*, or the Gates of Death, we ſhould remember that the Place of *Hades* is generally repreſented as a great Houſe, a Receptacle, that has Doors, and Bars, and Keys, and Gates, by which the Dead are ſaid to enter. Hence in the Poets we find frequent Mention of the Houſe of *Hades*, and the Gates of *Hades*: And hence *Job* cries out, [q] *Hades is my Houſe*; and they who die are ſaid by *Euripides* and *Homer*, *to go to the Houſe of Hades.* All which is very agreeable to the Eaſtern Manner of ſpeaking, which generally repreſents Things by bold and ſtrong Metaphors.

From this Account of the Word *Hades*, in our Tranſlation rendered *Hell*, we may collect the true Meaning of our Saviour's Promiſe, That *the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt his Church*; namely, *That Death itſelf ſhall not prevail againſt the genuine Members of* Chriſt's *Church, but that they ſhall enjoy a glorious Reſurrection.* And from this Expoſion we may learn, how vainly theſe Words are produced, to prove, that any Church upon Earth is infallible, and particularly that the Church of *Rome* hath a Title to that Privilege: For if the *Gates of Hell* never ſignifies in any antient Writer, or in any Eaſtern Language, Hereſy or Error; to interpret theſe Words of a Security from Error promiſed to the Church, muſt be to wreſt them from their plain and conſtant Senſe, to ſuch an Import as they never had in any Language that was in uſe when our Saviour ſpoke them.

IV. Only the laſt Part of our Saviour's Promiſe to *Peter* now remains to be conſidered: *And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: And whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhalt be looſed in Heaven.*

Now St. *Peter* had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, by being the firſt that opened that Kingdom by preaching to both *Jew* and *Gentile*, and baptizing thoſe who believed, and thereby laying the Foundation of a Church among them. Our Lord's giving *Peter* this Key therefore, was equivalent to making him the Rock on which he would build his Church, and both Promiſes are to be underſtood as relating to the ſame Thing. That this Privilege of the Keys extended no farther than to the firſt opening of the Kingdom of Heaven, that is, to the erecting of the firſt Churches, is evident from this, that the other Apoſtles had not theſe Keys: Whereas might it be extended to all the Churches that were afterwards erected, St. *James*, and St *John*, and St. *Paul*, would have had the Keys as much St. *Peter*. For *James* and *John* executed the Miniſterial Office, and erected Churches among the *Jews*, independantly of *Peter*: And *Paul* was, by Way of Excellency, and by Virtue of his Miſſion, the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, and opened the *Kingdom of Heaven* to more of them than *Peter* ever did.

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[m] For Proof of this conſult Whitby's Note on the Place, where abundance of Authorities are produced

[n] Iſa. xxv. 10, 11.

[o] Job xxxviii. 17.

[p] Wiſd. xvi. 13.

[q] Sheol Bethi.

Hitherto then, the Promiſe given to *Peter* relates only to his being made the firſt Publiſher of the Goſpel, the firſt Means of converting Men to the Knowledge of the Truth. And this was indeed the whole Privilege granted him by Conſequence of that Promiſe, nor are we to think that this was a ſmall one neither. As to what follows, concerning the Power of binding and looſing in Earth and in Heaven, it was no peculiar Grant to *Peter*, but common to all the Apoſtles; *Chriſt* having ſaid the ſame Thing to them all in general, as fully as he did here to St. *Peter*: [r] *Verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye ſhall bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven; and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* This Power of binding and looſing therefore, let it have been what it will, muſt have given *Peter* no Superiority over his Brethren, for as much as they had the ſame Power in an equal Degree with him.

The better to come at a true Notion of this Power, 'tis proper to enquire into the Senſe of the original Words by which it is expreſſed. Now the *Greek* Word which we render *to looſe*, has, in Scripture and the *Jewiſh* Writers, a Relation to Sin, and the Pardon of it. Thus we read of *Job*, [t] *that he prayed for his three Friends, and God accepted the Face of* Job, *and forgave*, or looſed, *their Sin.* And the Author of *Eccleſiaſticus* ſays, "[u] *Forgive the Injury of thy Brother; and ſo when thou prayeſt, thy Sin ſhall be forgiven, or looſed.* And this being the Senſe of the Word *looſe*, its oppoſite *bind*, by the Rule of Contraries, muſt ſignify to retain their Sins; to leave them under the Guilt, and obnoxious to the Puniſhment of them. Thus, becauſe a Vow or Oath renders us obnoxious to Puniſhment on a Tranſgreſſion of it, the Perſon that vows or ſwears is ſaid [w] *to bind his Soul by an Oath.* The Word *bind* alſo ſignifies, in the *Jewiſh* Phraſe, to *forbid*, under the Penalty of God's Diſpleaſure: Agreeably to which the *Chaldee* Interpreters render the Words of *Joſhua* to *Moſes*, [x] *My Lord* Moſes *forbid them!* by a Phraſe which ſignifies his requeſting *Moſes* to *bind* them. And contrary to this, *to looſe* muſt be to permit this or that, and to pronounce them free from Puniſhment, or God's Diſpleaſure, who do it. Thus in the very Chapter which contains the Promiſe to *Peter*, we read, [x] *The Lord of that Servant had Compaſſion on him, and looſed him, and forgave him the Debt:* And the Woman that had the Spirit of Infirmity, [y] is ſaid to be *looſed from it*, by the Remiſſion of that temporal Puniſhment inflicted on her for her Sin.

Having thus found out the general Import of theſe Words, the Senſe of them as they expreſs a Power lodged in the Apoſtles becomes pretty obvious. Our Saviour, when he ſpoke this to his Apoſtles, had juſt before been laying down Rules for reproving and correcting a Brother who had offended: To which he added this as a farther Privilege of the twelve than that of barely reproving or rejecting an obſtinate Offender. As if he had ſaid, "You ſhall not only, in theſe Caſes, have Power as Chriſtians, to looſe your repenting, and bind your obſtinately offending Brother: But, as you are my Apoſtles, to whom I have promiſed the Spirit of Truth, I grant you farther, that whatſoever Things ye ſhall declare to be forbidden on Pain of my Diſpleaſure, ſhall by your Prohibition be rendered obnoxious to my Wrath, and whatſoever Things ye ſhall declare to be lawful, though once forbidden by the Law of *Moſes*, Men ſhall be allowed to do them without incurring my Diſpleaſure." This Promiſe to the Apoſtles, in the Senſe here given of it, is the Foundation of our Obligation to believe and obey all their Commands and Doctrines: It makes their Words of equal Authority with thoſe of *Chriſt* himſelf; and indeed, in what they left for the Guidance of the Church, they were influenced and directed by the ſame Spirit by whom *Chriſt* executed his prophetical Office.

But then this Promiſe, though given in ſo great a Latitude to the Apoſtles, can by no Means be extended to their Succeſſors: Nor even if it could, would the allowing of ſuch a Thing be of any Service to the Biſhop of *Rome*. For this Power being given to all the Apoſtles, as much as to him that was Succeſſor of St. *Peter*; (Whether the Pope be ſo, or no, is not now the Matter in Diſpute, that Pretence being already refuted;) it belongs therefore to every Prieſt, at leaſt to every Biſhop, as much as to the Pope: So that if Infallibility be lodged in any one Perſon, it is lodged in a great many, and not in the Pope alone: Nor can it be in any Council more than in a ſingle Succeſſor of the Apoſtles, any otherwiſe than as a large Body of Men may give a Sanction to their Decrees, and make them appear with more Solemnity.

To conclude; If we allow no more to be here meant, than a Power to excommunicate the ſtubborn Criminal, and to abſolve the Penitent, the Pope will be nothing the better for it: For it is confeſſed on all Hands, that this Power of Excommunication and Abſolution belongs ſeverally to every Prieſt. Beſides, if theſe Words be thus connected with the Doctrine of Excommunication and Abſolution, they muſt belong to criminal Matters, which are the only Objects of the Churches Cenſure, and not to Matters of Faith: But the *Romaniſts* themſelves acknowledge, That the Church may err in paſſing Judgment of theſe Things, becauſe in Caſes of this Nature ſhe depends on human Teſtimony; and therefore it is certain, that nothing can be hence concluded concerning the Infallibility of either Pope or Councils, or any Articles of Faith defined by the *Romaniſts*.

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[r] Matth. xviii. 18.

[ſ] *λύειν.*

[t] Job. xlii. 9.

[u] Eccluſ. xxviii. 2.

[w] Numb. xxx. 4—11.

[x] Numb. xi. 28.

[y] Luke xiii. 12.

CHAP. III.

I. *Jeſus* goes up into a Mountain, with three of his Diſciples, and is transfigured, and converſes with *Moſes* and *Elias*. The Diſciples are aſtoniſhed. A Voice from Heaven. II. *Jeſus* deſcends from the Mountain, and diſcourſes of *Elias* to his Apoſtles. III. A Youth is brought to him, who was poſſeſſed with a furious Dumb Demon. IV. *Jeſus* caſts out the Demon and reſtores the Youth. V. He informs his Diſciples why they could not do the ſame. VI. He goes into *Galilee*, and diſcourſes of his Reſurrection and Sufferings. The Diſciples are ſorrowful. VII. *Jeſus* goes into *Capernaum*, and pays the Tribute-Money, for which he empowers *Peter* to work a Miracle. VIII. He queſtions his Apoſtles, checks their Ambition, and propoſes to them the Example of a little Child. IX. He diſcourſes of Offences, and the Neceſſity of parting with all for the Truth. X. He compares the Diſciples to Salt. XI. He cautions them againſt deſpiſing the Mean, and rehearſes the Parable of the loſt Sheep. XII. He gives them Rules for their Behaviour towards Offenders, and declares their great Power in this Reſpect. XIII. He inculcates the Duty of forgiving others from the Example of a King and his Servant. XIV. He ſpeaks favourably of one that caſt out Devils in his Name.

I. T*HE*[a] *eighth Day after theſe Diſcourſes paſs'd,* Jeſus *commanded*[b] Peter, *and the two Sons of* Zebedee, *whoſe Names were* James *and* John, *to retire with him into*[c] *a very high Mountain, where he might pray without Interruption from the Multitude. While he was at his Devotions, not far from the three Apoſtles juſt now mentioned, ſuddenly his Countenance chang'd, and began to ſhine with divine Majeſty; inſomuch that the Eyes of the Men were no more able to endure the Splendor of his Looks, than they could behold the Sun in its brighteſt Luſtre. His Garments alſo glitter'd with ſo pure a White, as ſurpaſs'd the Art of Man to imitate. There were likewiſe with him two Men, who appear'd in the ſame Glory, and clad in the ſame Robes, who by their Diſcourſe prov'd to be* Moſes *and* Elias, *the two greateſt Prophets God had formerly ſent to Men. The Subject of their Diſcourſe was concerning the Sufferings and Death which* Jeſus *was to undergo at* Jeruſalem. *A little before this,* Peter *and his two Brother Apoſtles were faſt aſleep; but now waking, they beheld this glorious Congreſs, and heard Part of their Diſcourſe. Not long after,* Moſes *and* Elias *began to take their Leave of* Jeſus; *and* Peter, *willing to detain them, ſaid to* Jeſus, Maſter, it is very beneficial for us to continue here, give us Leave therefore to make three Tabernacles with the Boughs of Trees; one for thee, another for *Moſes*, and a third for *Elias*. *Now* Peter *was ſo aſtoniſh'd, (as were the other Apoſtles alſo,) that he ſcarce knew what he ſaid; ſince he might eaſily have underſtood, that* Moſes *and* Elias *were not come down from Heaven to make any long Stay among Mortals here on Earth.* Peter *had ſcarce made an End of ſpeaking, when a moſt bright Cloud came down from Heaven, and encompaſſed all that were preſent, which increas'd the Amazement of the Apoſtles, who perceiv'd themſelves encloſ'd in it. Then the Voice of God was heard out of the Middle of the Cloud, expreſſing himſelf to this Effect:* This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed: Give diligent Attention to his Doctrine and Precepts. *The Apoſtles having heard the Voice, were ſo terrified, that they fell flat with their Faces upon the Ground. But* Jeſus *coming to them, commanded them to riſe and chear up. They accordingly obey'd; and looking round, ſaw neither the Cloud, nor the Men that had kept their Maſter company, whom they now beheld with his uſual Countenance, and the Habit he had on before his Transformation.*

II. [d] Jeſus *then came down from the Mountain with his Apoſtles, and by the Way commanded them not to diſcover what they had ſeen till after his Reſurrection from the Dead: Which they accordingly obſerv'd, tho' at that Time they did not comprehend what he meant by his Reſurrection from the Dead; for they thought of nothing but the general Reſurrection of the Dead, and could not imagine why he had order'd them to conceal it till that Day.* Elias *having been but a little while with their Maſter, and being now return'd to Heaven, the Apoſtles aſk'd* Jeſus *the Reaſon why the* Jewiſh *Doctors taught that* Elias *was to come before the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, and to prepare all Things againſt that Time.* Jeſus *replied, It was very true that* Elias *was to be the Fore-runner of the Meſſiah, that he was to preach up a Reformation among the* Jews, *that they might receive him as became them, and that this Prophecy was no way contradictory to thoſe that foretold the ill Treatment the Meſſiah ſhould receive from them; and farther, that* Elias *was already come, and that he had actually declar'd the Neceſſity of Repentance, and a Reformation, tho' the* Jews *knew him not, and gave no Credit to that holy Perſon, who was alſo put to Death; and the ſame Treatment he himſelf expected from the* Jews. *The Apoſtles by this perceiv'd that he ſpake of* John the Baptiſt, *who, as he had upon other Occaſions before*

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[a] Matth. xvii. 1——8. Mark ix. 2——8. Luke ix. 28——36.

[b] Theſe being afterwards to be great Pillars of the Church, Chriſt changes their Names, admits them to this Viſion, takes them with him when he raiſes the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter, and in his Agony.

[c] Suppoſed to be Mount Tabor, and with great Probability.

[d] Matth. xvii. 9——13. Mark ix. 9——13. Luke ix. 36.

told them, not obſcurely, was that Elias *who was to precede the Coming of the Meſſiah.*

III. [e] *The Day after that* Jeſus *with the three Apoſtles came down from the Mountain, a great Multitude flock'd to meet him; and he obſerv'd no leſs a Crowd about the reſt of his Apoſtles, who alſo, as ſoon as they ſaw* Jeſus, *came and ſaluted him.* Jeſus *ask'd the Doctors of the Law, what was the Subject of their Diſcourſe with his Apoſtles. After which there came to him, out of the Crowd, a Man, who falling down at his Feet, thus addreſs'd himſelf to him:* Maſter, I have brought my Son to thee, who is poſſeſs'd with a dumb Demon; I beſeech thee have Compaſſion on him and me, eſpecially ſince he is my only Son; for every full Moon he is moſt lamentably aſſaulted by the evil Spirit, who ſometimes throws him into the Fire, at other Times into the Water. The Youth makes grievous Outcries when he finds himſelf attack'd and cruelly tormented by the Demon, who violently hurls him on the Ground, cauſing him to foam at the Mouth, and gnaw with his Teeth, inſomuch that he is become a mere Skeleton; and ſo pertinacious is his Tormentor, that he ſcarce ever quits his Hold till the Youth's Strength is quite ſpent. I have indeed applied myſelf to thy Apoſtles, and they have attempted his Cure, but hitherto in vain.

IV. [f] Jeſus *having heard him, broke out into this Exclamation:* O perverſe and degenerate Race of Men! how unworthy are you to have my Miracles perform'd among you, who have ſuch mean Notions of the Divine Goodneſs and Power? How long ſhall I endure this Incredulity? *He then commanded the young Man to be brought to him, when the evil Spirit ſtraight aſſaulted him with ſuch Violence as to diſtort his Limbs, and threw him to the Ground, where he lay rolling and foaming at the Mouth.* Jeſus *then ask'd the Father how long he had been thus afflicted: Who replied, From his Childhood; and told him, that the evil Spirit had often thrown him into the Fire and Water, ſo that his Life had frequently been in Danger, which he would undoubtedly have loſt had he not been timely ſuccour'd: He therefore humbly intreated him to free him, if poſſible by any Means, and take Compaſſion on the miſerable Youth and his Relations.* Jeſus *anſwer'd,* If thou can'ſt but believe that God has endued me with an Authority over theſe evil Spirits, thou wilt eaſily have they Requeſt granted; for there is nothing ſo difficult which they ſhall not obtain, who have that Honour and Eſteem for the Power and Goodneſs of God, which is due to theſe his Attributes. *The Father proteſted with a loud Voice, that he truſted in God and him, and earneſtly beſeech'd him to ſupply by his Goodneſs whatever Defect he might obſerve in his Faith, of which he made ſo public a Profeſſion. Which Words he had no ſooner ſpoken, but the Multitude throng'd about them, deſiring to ſee the Event. But* Jeſus *rebuking the unclean Spirit, commanded him to depart out of the Body of the young Man, and never more return into it. The Spirit hereupon came out of him, having made a hideous Howling from the Mouth of the young Man, which was alſo ſtrangely diſtorted. On theſe Agitations the Youth lay upon the Ground as quite dead, inſomuch that many of the By-ſtanders thought he had been really ſo. But* Jeſus *taking him by the Hand, and commanding him to riſe, he immediately obey'd; and being from that Time wholly freed from the Inſults of the evil Spirit, was reſtor'd by* Jeſus *to his Father.*

V. [g] *Afterwards* Jeſus *being enter'd into the Houſe in which he deſign'd to lodge, his Apoſtles ask'd him privately the Reaſon why, having perform'd other Miracles by the Power he had given them, they were unable to caſt out this Demon.* Jeſus *told them, the great Obſtacle was, that both they themſelves, and the Relations of the ſick Perſon, had ſtill ſome Doubt, and did not rely ſo intirely as they ought on the Power and Goodneſs of God.* For, *ſaid he,* [h] if you truſt wholly upon God, tho' for never ſo ſhort a Space, there is no Miracle too difficult for you to perform. For Example, ſhould you command that Mountain yonder to be remov'd to ſome other Place, it ſhould be immediately tranſplanted; nor is there any Thing which you ſhall not obtain from God. But beſides, this Sort of Demon, God ſo ordering it, could not be caſt out by you without making uſe of Prayer and Faſting. *Now all that were preſent admir'd the wonderful Goodneſs and Power of God, manifeſted to Men by the Miracles* Jeſus *wrought among them.*

VI. [i] *After this,* Jeſus *travell'd through* Galilee *with his Apoſtles only, that there might not be too great a Concourſe of People in his Retinue. Mean while he inculcated the Neceſſity of his Sufferings, that he ſhould be deliver'd up to the Rage of the* Jews, *who would put him to Death, but that the third Day after he ſhould riſe again to Life. But the Apoſtles underſtood not what he meant by that Reſurrection on the third Day, becauſe they thought only of the laſt Reſurrection of all Men, and had never heard that the Meſſiah was to be put to death by the* Jews, *and to riſe on the third Day again. This therefore they little thought of; but hearing* Jeſus *make mention of his Death, they began to ſuſpect that he preſag'd ſome great Calamity that ſhould befal him; and this indeed made them very ſorrowful, though they were afraid to deſire their Maſter to explain himſelf, leſt he ſhould upbraid them with their Stupidity.*

VII. [k] Jeſus *afterwards with his Apoſtle enter'd into* Capernaum. *At that Time came certain Perſons, ſent by the Overſeers of the Temple of* Jeruſalem, *to gather the* [l] *Tribute in this Place,*

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[e] Matth. xvii. 14—16. Mark ix. 14—18. Luke ix. 37—40.

[f] Matth. xvii. 17, 18. Mark ix. 19—27. Luke ix. 41, 42.

[g] Matth. xvii. 19, 20, 21. Mark ix. 28, 29. Luke ix. 43.

[h] The Text is, If you had Faith *as a Grain of Muſtard Seed,* which Phraſe, Buxtorf ſays, was proverbially uſed by the Jews to denote a very little Thing

[i] Matth. xvii. 22, 23. Mark ix. 30, 31, 32. Luke ix. 44, 45.

[k] Matth. xvii. 24—27. Mark ix. 33.

[l] Every Jew, above twenty Years old, was obliged to pay half a Shekel per Annum to the Temple, towards the Expence of the daily Sacrifice. It was a Shekel, therefore, that Peter found in the Fiſh's Mouth, which was ſufficient for Jeſus and him.

which was wont to be demanded of every Perſon; who therefore meeting Peter, *asked whether his Maſter was wont to pay that Tribute, which was paid without Conſtraint by ſuch as were concern'd for the Honour of the Temple.* Peter *told them,* Yes; *and entring the Houſe where* Jeſus *lodged, to acquaint him with their Demands,* Jeſus *prevented him with this Queſtion, Peter,* what thinkeſt thou? from whom do Kings demand Taxes, from their own Children, or from others? From others, *anſwer'd* Peter. The Children then, *ſaid* Jeſus, are free from this ſort of Burden; and for this Reaſon might I juſtly plead Exemption, ſince it is my Father that is worſhipped in this Temple, and in whoſe Name this Tribute is collected; and for the ſame Reaſon might I acquit my Friends from any Obligation on this Score. Nevertheleſs, that we may give no Offence to theſe Men, who will be apt to think we ſlight their Temple, go thou to the Lake, and throw in thy Hook, and the firſt Fiſh thou takeſt ſhall have a Piece of Money in its Mouth ſufficient to diſcharge both thee and me.

VIII. [m] *After he was come Home, he aſked his Apoſtles what they diſputed of upon the Road. At firſt they held their Peace, being aſhamed to own they had contended for Priority in the Kingdom of Heaven, to which more than one of them thought he had a Right.* Jeſus *put this Queſtion, that he might obtain a Confeſſion from them, though he knew very well what had been the Subject of their Debate, and told them, that he that would be firſt in the Kingdom of Heaven, ought to behave himſelf here on Earth as inferior to all, in being ready to aſſiſt all to the utmoſt of his Power. The Apoſtles perceiving they were diſcovered, no longer demurr'd upon it, but plainly owned the Thing, and aſked him who of the twelve was to be moſt highly honoured in the Kingdom of Heaven.* Jeſus *then, that he might check the Ambition of theſe Men by ſomething that ſhould affect their Senſes, and therefore make the deeper Impreſſion on them, placed a little Boy in the midſt of them; and taking him up in his Arms, thus ſpoke to them:* I tell you for a certain Truth, that unleſs you caſt off all Ambition, [n] ſo as to be no more deſirous of worldly Honours than this Infant, you ſhall not partake of the Happineſs of the Kingdom of Heaven, much leſs ſhall you have the firſt Place in it. Whoſo ſhall behave himſelf with that Moderation, as to be as unconcerned for terreſtrial Honours as this little Child, that Perſon ſhall obtain the higheſt Dignity in the Kingdom of Heaven. Whoſoever ſhall kindly entertain any one upon the Account of his being my Diſciple, ſhall be looked upon as if he had entertained me; and whoever does me a Benefit, ſhall be judged to have done it to God himſelf. Take notice, that it is the moderate Perſon, who curbs his Deſires ſo as to be indifferent to all worldly Honours, that ſhall be rewarded with the greateſt Dignities in Heaven, provided he diſcharges as he ought all the other Duties of Religion.

IX. [o] I know very well that [p] theſe Men are frequently the Scorn of Mankind, and that their Conſtancy is not able to bear up againſt that Shock: But aſſure yourſelves, that whoever thus perverts another from his Obedience to my Goſpel, is guilty of ſo great a Crime, that it would have been a Happineſs for him to have been thrown into [q] the Sea with a Mill-ſtone faſtened to his Neck, before he had been guilty of it. Innumerable Calamities ſhall infeſt Mankind, becauſe ſome by their Impiety will draw off others from their Obedience to my Laws: For as the World goes, [r] it is impoſſible but Occaſions and Opportunities will happen to alienate Men's Minds from a virtuous and religious Courſe of Life; nor has God thought fit to obviate this Evil by any other Means than the Promulgation of his Laws. But, as I ſaid, great ſhall be their Puniſhment who thus pervert Men from their religious Duties. If any Thing therefore, which you eſteem as uſeful to you as your right Hand, interrupt you in your Courſe of Piety, it behoves you to part with it contentedly. For it is moſt certainly your Advantage to forego all the darling Conveniences of this Life, that you may partake of eternal Happineſs in the Life to come, rather then after having indulged yourſelves in all worldly Bleſſings, to be precipitated into the Place of Torment, a Place in which, [s] as the Prophet ſpeaks, *the Worm of thoſe miſerable Wretches that ſuffer never dies, nor is their Fire at any Time extinguiſhed.* If any Thing no leſs dear to you than your Limbs ſhould incline you to deſert my Doctrine, you ought not to be grieved at the parting with it, ſince it is certainly much more eligible to part with it that you may enjoy never-failing Bliſs when this Life is ended, than to be thrown into that Place of Puniſhment where the Wicked are gnawed with a never-dying Worm, and tormented in everlaſting Flames. If any Thing that you value equally with your Eyes, draw you from your Allegiance to me, you ought to caſt it from you, and not to hanker after it in this Life; for it is more profitable to be without this Pleaſure, than by indulging yourſelves in it to incur the juſt Judgment of God when this Life is ended, and ſo be condemned to the Place of Torment, where the Worm dies not, and the Fire is not quenched. Like as every Meal-Oblation is ſprinkled with Salt, and laid upon the never-failing Fire of the Altar; ſo whoever ſhall deſert my Doctrine, ſhall be as it were ſalted in the everlaſting Flames of the Place of Tormens, and ſuffer as a Victim to the Wrath of God.

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[m] Mark ix. 33—42. Matth. xviii. 1—5. Luke ix. 46, 47, 48.

[n] Jeſus ſpoke this, to drive away their falſe Notions of temporal Honours to be diſpenſed in his Kingdom, with which his Diſciples ſeem to have been all along very full.

[o] Matth. xviii. 6—9. Mark ix. 42—48. Luke ix. 48.

[p] *Theſe little ones* in the Text: But it is plain that Chriſt here ſpeaks only of the Weak in Faith; for a little Child is incapable of being ſcandalized, and driven from a Profeſſion of the Goſpel, which he cannot have made, by that Means.

[q] Sacrileg ous Perſons uſed to be caſt into the Dead Sea, or Lake of Sodom, with Mill-ſtones about their Necks.

[r] The Neceſſity that Offences ſhould come, which our Lord mentions, is only conditional, and not grounded on any Act of God's ordaining. 'Tis founded on the Suppoſition that the Wickedneſs of Men, if not hindered, and the Malignity of Satan, would cauſe much Scandal to ariſe from the Self-denial required of all who embrace the Goſpel.

[s] Theſe Words ſeem plainly taken from Iſaiah lxvi. 24. tho' the Evangeliſt refers not to the Prophet.

X. [t] Having made mention of Salt, I now put you in Mind of that Similitude I us'd [u] to you once before, when I told you, that if Salt Aſhes ſhould loſe their Saltneſs, they would become wholly uſeleſs: So you who are my Diſciples, whom alone I have ſelected out of all this People, who have been taught by me, and inſtructed in my Doctrine, that you might be commiſſion'd to declare the Neceſſity of a Reformation throughout the Word; if you, I ſay, ſhould neglect my Precepts, there is no Mortal can reclaim you, and direct you into the right Path, having once wander'd out of it. Make it your Buſineſs therefore to exerciſe your Office couragiouſly, and with a firm Truſt in God; and take ſpecial Heed not to quarrel among yourſelves: For who can you expect to mediate for you, if you chance to fall out one among another?

XI. [w] Do not deſpiſe thoſe of the meaneſt Rank, and the moſt abject Spirit, as if God only took care of the Rich and Wiſe. I tell you that God has given his Angels charge of them, thoſe very Angels whom he favours with his moſt glorious Preſence. Neither imagine that they are unworthy of our Converſation, becauſe many of them are ſometimes found to be looſe Livers, and of deprav'd Morals; for we are come into the World on Purpoſe to reclaim ſuch as have deviated from the Ways of Virtue. Hearken to a Parable on this Occaſion. Suppoſe a Man has a Flock of a hundred Sheep, and that one of the Number ſtrays, and is loſt among the Mountains: Will not that Shepherd leave his ninety-nine Sheep, and ſeek for that which is loſt, that he may bring it back to the Flock? Nay, he will be more pleas'd with the Recovery of that ſingle Sheep, than in the ſecure Poſſeſſion of the reſt which went not aſtray. In like Manner is God affected with the Reformation of one Sinner. Let it never enter into your Thoughts therefore, that he is pleas'd with the Deſtruction of any Man, even the vileſt upon Earth.

XII. [x] Neither let any one ſay, he has receiv'd an Injury from ſuch a One, and therefore he may juſtly neglect and ſcorn him. Rather expoſtulate the Matter in private with him. If he hearkens to you, and is convinc'd of his having done amiſs, and teſtifies his Sorrow for it with a Deſign never to do ſo for the future, you will have abundant Reaſon to be pleas'd in thus reclaiming a Brother from the Errors of his Ways. But if he makes no Account of this private Admonition, let the injur'd Party meet him before two or three Witneſſes, that it may appear he has tried all private Ways to obtain Satiſfaction before he publickly charges him with the Injury. If he relents not, and makes as little Account of the Preſence of theſe Witneſſes, [y] then at laſt declare the Injury to the Church, that all may condemn him for it, in hopes that a Senſe of this public Shame may make ſome Impreſſion upon him, and ſo he may return to his Duty, convinc'd by his own Conſcience, and the unanimous Conſent of all good Men. But if he ſtill continues obſtinate, give him over for one utterly loſt, like thoſe *Publicans* and Idolators, who can dare to own that they do not regulate their Actions by a Principle of Equity and Moderation. [z] Believe me, whoever by ſuch an Action, and neglecting theſe repeated Admonitions, ſhall incur your Cenſure, will be moſt certainly puniſhed for it by God himſelf. On the contrary, whoever, making a right Uſe of theſe Admonitions, ſhall reform his Manners, and is therefore abſolv'd by you, God himſelf will ratify that Abſolution. Moreover, be aſſured, that if two of you here on Earth agree to the Pardon of any Crime, the Criminal ſhall obtain Mercy of God, provided he be truly Penitent. For, whereſoever two or three ſhall be gathered together to pray to my heavenly Father, as my Diſciples, and not as *Jews* or Heathens, there ſhall I be in the Midſt of them, jointly interceding with God in Behalf of ſuch Delinquents.

XIII. [a] Peter *having attentively hearkned to what* Jeſus *ſaid, ask'd him how often he ought to pardon a Man that ſhould injure him?* Shall I forgive him, *ſaid he*, ſeven Times? Jeſus *replied*, [b] Not only ſeven, but alſo ſeventy Times Seven; *intimating that Men ſhould know no End of forgiving Injuries.* You who embrace my Doctrine, *continued* Jeſus, ought to ſet my heavenly Father before your Eyes, and imitate him in your Behaviour towards Men of the ſame Nature with yourſelves: Which I will illuſtrate to you by this Similitude. A certain King having intruſted ſome Officers with the Management of his Revenue, a Day came when they were call'd to make up their Accounts; on the caſting up of which, it appear'd that one was indebted ten thouſand Talents: Which he not being able to pay, the King commanded him, his Wife, and his Children, to be ſold for Slaves, and all his Goods to be confiſcated. The Man, upon this, proſtrated himſelf before the King, earneſtly beſeeching him to have pity on him, and to reſpite him for a while, promiſing to reſtore the intire Sum when that Time ſhould expire. The King hereupon had Compaſſion on him, and freely forgave the Debt. Neverthele ſs this ſame Officer, deliver'd from ſo great a Danger, was no ſooner out of the King's Preſence, but he met with one who owed him one hundred Pence, on whom he laid violent Hands, peremptorily demanding the Debt. The poor Man fell down at his Feet, in like manner as his Creditor had lately done before the King, and earneſtly intreated him to have Patience, promiſing to pay the whole Sum in a ſhort Time. But the inhuman Officer, not in the leaſt moved by the Supplication and Tears of the poor Man, impriſoned him till ſuch Time as he ſhould diſcharge the whole Debt, Principal and Intereſt. The reſt of the King's Officers taking Notice of this foul Action, which was aggravated by the Clemency he himſelf had met with from the King's Hands, came in a Body to him, and acquainted him with it. Upon which the King ſent for the Man, and thus upbraided him: Ungrateful Wretch! did not I remit a vaſt Debt to thee upon thy humble Supplication? oughteſt thou not in like Manner to have had Compaſſion on thy Fellow-Servant, by giving him Time to enable him to pay thee, and forgiving the Intereſt? [c] Then revoking his former Grace, he commanded him to be thrown into Goal, there to remain till he ſhould pay the whole Debt, with the Intereſt ariſing from it. Thus does my heavenly Father deal with Men, by freely pardoning their Offences againſt him, upon Condition, that they in like manner mutually forgive the Injuries they receive from one another.

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[t] Mark ix. 49, 50. [u] In the Sermon on the Mount, Matth. v. 13. [w] Matth. xviii. 10—14.

[x] Matth. xviii. 15—20.

[y] The Papiſts argue falſely from this Place, for the Infallibility of the Catholic Church, and its final Deciſions in Matter of Doctrine. But Chriſt ſpeaks only of a particular Church, and of Matters that regard not Faith, but the proper Affairs of the Parties concerned.

[z] We have given a much higher Senſe of this Paſſage in the laſt Diſſertation, which the Reader may conſult. But neither that Interpretation, nor this, can be of any Service to the Romaniſts, nor be extended to any but the Apoſtles themſelves.

[a] Matth. xviii. 21—35.

[b] The Rabbies determine, that three Offences are to be forgiven, but not the fourth. Jeſus therefore in this, as in all other moral Doctrines of the Jews, carries the Obligation much farther than they did; we may ſay infinitely farther.

XIV. [d] Jeſus *having thus expreſs'd himſelf upon this Subject,* John *the Son of* Zebedee *told him, that he, together with the reſt of the Apoſtles, had obſerved a Man who had caſt out evil Spirits by the bare mentioning of the Name of* Jeſus; *but inaſmuch as he never followed him, they forbad him to make uſe of that Name any longer. But* Jeſus *told him, that they ought not to forbid him,* ſince it is impoſſible, *ſaid he,* for that Man that works Miracles in my Name to ſpeak diſhonourably of me. Beſides, thoſe that do not contradict us in our Preaching of the Goſpel, may be juſtly ſuppoſed to be Fellow-workers in the ſame Cauſe: For all that we expect from Men, is an unprejudiced Attention to what we tell them. For the ſame Reaſon, not only they who ſhall heap their Benefits upon you, and aſſiſt you with their Favour and Authority, ſhall be rewarded by me; [e] but the ſlighteſt Duty of Humanity, ſuch as the giving a Glaſs of Water to a thirſty Diſciple, ſhall not be unrewarded, if it be done upon Conſideration of his being a Diſciple of the Meſſiah.

DISSERTATION.

In Defence of our Lord's miraculous Transfiguration, &c.

I. *What is meant in the Goſpel by being* transfigured. *The particular Reaſon and Uſe of this Miracle.* II. Moſes *and* Elias *appeared in Perſon. The Subject of their Diſcourſe with* Chriſt. III. *Defence of St.* Luke'*s Expreſſion. Proof that he ſpeaks of our Saviour's Deceaſe.* IV. *The Fact of our Lord's Transfiguration ſufficiently atteſted.* V. *No Poſſibility of Impoſture in this Miracle.* VI. *Why it was not wrought before the Multitude.* VII. *A Deſcription of Mount* Tabor, *ſuppoſed to be the Mount of Transfiguration.* VIII. *An Obſervation on the Places ſhewn for the Seats of ſeveral Goſpel Facts.* IX. *A Deſcription of the Country round about Mount* Tabor. *Several Places mentioned in the Goſpels.*

I. [a] WITH regard to the miraculous *Transfiguration of* Jeſus *on the Mountain,* Mr. *Woolſton* in his Remarks on it, has advanced very little in the Way of Objection but a profane Burleſque. The Meaning of the Word [b] *metamorphoſthe, was transfigured,* is cavilled at by him; but it is clearly enough explained by the [c] Evangeliſt that uſes it, when he immediately adds, that Jeſus'*s Face did ſhine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light:* That is, there was this glorious Appearance in his Aſpect and Clothes, though without ſuch a [d] Transformation as our Author firſt vainly ſuppoſes, and then ridicules with as much Levity as he could do one of the *Metamorphoſes* of *Ovid.*

However, ſince, after a pretended Conceſſion that this glorious Appearance was miraculous, he asks, though with the ſame ludicrous Air, [e] *What was the particular Reaſon and Uſe of this Miracle?* We anſwer, that if he had impartially conſulted the Context, he muſt have diſcovered ſo manifeſt an Uſe and Intention as is there very viſible. For if we look back to the [f] latter End of the preceding Chapter, we ſhall find, after *Peter*'s Confeſſion of *Jeſus*'s being the *Chriſt,* the Son of the living God, that [g] *from that Time forth began* Jeſus *to ſhew unto his Diſciples, how that he muſt go unto* Jeruſalem, *and ſuffer many Things of the Elders, and Chief Prieſts, and Scribes, and be killed, and be raiſed again the third Day.* We find too, that this [h] was miſunderſtood by *Peter* himſelf, for which he was reproved by his Maſter. After this *Jeſus* preaches to his Diſciples the diſcouraging Doctrines of Self-denial, of taking up the Croſs, and following him. Theſe Predictions and Doctrines muſt have had ſuch an Influence on *Chriſt*'s Diſciples, that it was neceſſary

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[c] From this we may learn, ſays Dr. Whitby, that Sins once forgiven, may, upon our Forfeiture of that Pardon by freſh Miſdemeanors, be again charged upon us, as God's Pardons in this Life are not abſolute, but anſwerable to our dealing with others.

[d] Mark ix. 38—41. Luke ix. 49, 50.

[e] See Pages 492, 493, &c. of this Work.

[a] Vind. Vol. i. p. 229, &c.

[b] μεταμορφώθη. See Diſc. i. p. 40.

[c] Matth. xvii. 2.

[d] Diſc. i. p. 41.

[e] P. 42.

[f] Matth. xvi. 16, 18.

[g] Ver. 21.

[h] Ver. 23, 24.

ſary for him to raiſe again their Courage, and revive their Faith and Truſt in him. And, accordingly, [i] *after ſix Days*, we find he took three of his principal Apoſtles with him, (as a competent Number of Witneſſes, even according to the Law of *Moſes*,) and not only convinced them by a Voice from Heaven [k] that he was the true *Son of God*, and was to be *heard*, that is ſubmitted to and obey'd, but gave them a miraculous *Specimen* of his future Glory, in order to balance the melancholy Account ſo lately laid before them of his approaching Sufferings and Deceaſe. Which *Deceaſe* was likewiſe confirmed to them by the Appearance [l] of *Moſes* and *Elias*, their two greateſt Prophets, who converſed with him upon that Subject. And that theſe Appearances had their proper Effect upon the Diſciples, namely, the infuſing new Courage into them, appears from *Peter*'s Acknowledgment and ſubſequent Requeſt; [m] *Lord, it is good for us to be here: If thou wilt, let us make here three Tabernacles; one for thee, and one for* Moſes, *and one for* Elias. This was not only occaſion'd by *Peter*'s Deſire to ſcreen his Maſter, by ſtaying in that Retreat, from thoſe Sufferings and Death, which would be the Conſequence of his *going up to* Jeruſalem, (as *Chryſoſtome* and others underſtand it;) but likewiſe that he was highly pleaſed with this Transfiguration and glorify'd Company, and reſumed freſh Spirits by this Miracle. And conſequently the Support of the deſponding Diſciples was the immediate Uſe of this miraculous Appearance; beſides the Atteſtation given to *Jeſus* by the Miniſtry of *Moſes* and *Elias*, and by God himſelf from Heaven. It was likewiſe emblematical of the glorious State of *Chriſt*, and indeed of all good Chriſtians, after his and their Reſurrection.

II. But Mr. *Woolſton* is pleaſed to ſtart ſome Difficulties of a more curious Nature, and asks, "[n] Whether *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared in their own proper Perſons, or were mere Apparitions?" We anſwer, that it is moſt reaſonable to believe they appear'd in their proper Perſons, ſince the Text ſpeaks of them as [o] *two Men appearing in Glory*, as the real *Moſes* and *Elias*, and as foretelling *Chriſt*'s enſuing Deceaſe. And indeed nothing but mere Cavils can be advanced to the contrary.

It is farther asked, "What did they talk about?" To which we anſwer with St. *Luke*, *About his Deceaſe, which he ſhould accompliſh at* Jeruſalem. This was *the moſt ſublime, uſeful, and edifying Subject* poſſible at that Juncture, and indeed at all Times: For ſuch the Sacrifice of *Chriſt* for the Sins of the World, and his Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, muſt be allow'd by all Chriſtians to be.

III. As to our Author's Cavils at the Expreſſions uſed by St. *Luke* on this Occaſion, which he pretends are a Barbariſm; it is ſurprizing to hear of ſuch an Objection from one that muſt be ſuppoſed to have learned that there are many Improprieties of Language in the ſacred Books; and indeed without going farther than the [p] preſent Chapter of St. *Luke*, he might have diſcover'd ſome other *Hebraiſms*. And as to the Word [q] *Exodos*, which he chiefly objects to, as not ſignifying *Death*, but a [r] mere Departure or Exit, as he ſeems to intimate in one Place; or [ſ] the Book of *Exodus*, as he mentions expreſſly in another; he muſt have known that each of thoſe Expoſitions of that Word in this Place is groundleſs and abſurd. As to the former Interpretation, that of Death, this Expreſſion muſt be granted to be a very natural and eaſy Figure, that commonly occurs both in the Old and New Teſtament. And *Grotius* on the Place has particularly ſhewn, that the Word *Exodos* was frequently uſed for *Death* by the *Helleniſtcal Jews*, as likewiſe that the Words *Exitus* and *Exceſſus*, literally anſwering to it, were ſo uſed by the beſt *Latin* Writers; and again, that the Word *Exodos* was often uſed for *Death* by the antient Chriſtians, *Irenæus*, *Clemens*, and others.

But referring the Reader to *Grotius*, we ſhall only add, that St. *Peter* [t] himſelf, who was preſent at this Transfiguration of *Chriſt*, and mentions it as an Eye-Witneſs of his Glory, does in the Verſe immediately preceding, ſpeak [u] of his own approaching Deceaſe, which he expreſſes by the very ſame Word *Exodos*. And that he there ſpoke of his Death, and not of a mere Departure from the Place he then reſided in, is evident from his own Expoſition of the Meaning of that Word in the very foregoing Verſe, by *the putting off his Tabernacle*, or leaving the Body; (in which Senſe the laſt Expreſſion was uſed by [w] St. *Paul*;) whence he ſays, he [x] *will endeavour that* thoſe he wrote to *might be able, after his Deceaſe, to have the Things* he had before ſpoke of *always in Remembrance*. And indeed as he wrote this general Epiſtle at large, he could not here ſpeak of any local Departure in this World, but of Death itſelf, or a Departure out of it. If then St. *Peter*, who here deſcribes what he ſaw himſelf, and atteſts it long after his Maſter's Death, may be allow'd to interpret the *Greek* Word, as uſed by St. *Luke* for Death, no pretended Barbariſm in the Uſe of that Word, or any other in this Paſſage, can excuſe the grave but uncritical Ridicule of our Author, when he ſays, that St. *Luke* [y] meant, in the Diſcourſe of *Moſes* and *Elias* with *Chriſt* on the Mount, not *Jeſus*'s *Deceaſe* at the Old *Jeruſalem*, but *Moſes*'s Book of *Exodus*, as Part of the *Prophecy of the Old Teſtament, and how he would fulfil it at the* New Jeruſalem.

Some Part indeed of the [z] Book of *Exodus* was fulfilled at *Chriſt*'s Death, and particularly the Type of the Paſchal Lamb, as interpreted by St. *John*. And perhaps [a] *Moſes*'s *ſhining Face on the Mount* was typical of that of *Chriſt* on this Occaſion. But all this was fulfilled, or accompliſhed, by *Chriſt*, at the *Old Jeruſalem*. For the Word [aa] *pleroun*, *accompliſh* or *fulfil*, is here properly and emphatically uſed by St. *Luke* with Reference to the Death of *Chriſt*, as the Sacrifice of him was a Completion of that of the Paſchal Lamb, as well as of the legal Sacrifices, and gave them what Virtue and Efficacy they had for Remiſſion of Sins. It is likewiſe not improbable, that in the Uſe of the Word *Exodos* there might be an Alluſion to the *Jewiſh Exodus*, or Departure out of *Egypt*; ſince that Word, as uſed by St. *Luke*, may refer not only to *Chriſt*'s Death, but conſequently to our Deliverance by it. But after theſe Conceſſions, it is ſtill ſufficiently evident, that it is *Jeſus*'s *Exodos*, and not that of *Moſes*, which is here mentioned. For we are told by St. *Luke*, that [b] Moſes *and* Elias *appeared in Glory, and ſpake of* his *Deceaſe*; which cannot poſſibly refer to any other than that of *Jeſus*; as is evident from the Conſtruction of the Sentence, and the whole Connexion of that Diſcourſe. This Deceaſe likewiſe of *Jeſus was to be accompliſhed by himſelf at* Jeruſalem, the *Jeruſalem* then in being and well known, and not a future and unknown *Jeruſalem*. And ſurely if they talked of the Prophecy of the Old Teſtament with Relation to *Jeſus*, as our Author thinks, theſe great Prophets would more judiciouſly have choſe the clear and literal Predictions of the *Meſſiah* by *Daniel* and *Iſaiah*, than the obſcurer Types of him as contained in *Moſes*'s Book of *Exodus*, for the Subject of their Converſation. But ſo trifling a Criticiſm does by no Means deſerve a ſerious Anſwer.

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[i] Matth. xvii. 1.
[k] Ver. 5.
[l] Luke ix. 31.
[m] Matth. xvii. 4.
[n] Diſc. i. p. 43.
[o] Luke ix. 30, 31.
[p] Ver. 51, 53.
[q] ἔξοδος.
[r] Diſc. i, p 43.
[ſ] P. 48.
[t] 2 Pet. i. 16, 17, 18.
[u] Ver. 14, 15.
[w] 2 Cor. v. 4, 6.
[x] 2 Pet. i. 14, 15.
[y] Diſ. i. p. 48.
[z] See Exod. xii. 46. and John xix. 36.
[a] Exod. xxxiv. 29.

IV. Our Author inſinuates farther indeed, [c] that this Diſcourſe about *Jeſus*'s *Exodos* is *not reported by the Apoſtles that heard it*. But, beſides that this pretended Difficulty holds equally againſt his own Expoſition of the ſuppoſed Diſcourſe, it is ſufficient that St. *Peter*, who was one of thoſe very Apoſtles, and the three former Evangeliſts, have reported the principal Things that happened at this Interview; namely, the Voice of God from Heaven in Confirmation of *Jeſus*'s Authority, and the glorious Appearance of himſelf, and *Moſes*, and *Elias*. St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* mention ſome Diſcourſe there in general. And as for the particular Subject of their Diſcourſe, it ſtands tranſmitted to us upon the firm Foundation of St. *Luke*'s authentic Goſpel. And no doubt this whole Tranſaction was omitted by St. *John*, as being ſo minutely related by the three preceding Evangeliſts, and particularly in the ſupplemental Account given by St. *Luke*, about the more immediate Subject of Converſation of the three glorified Perſons on the Mount.

V. As to the Cavil [d] about *Jeſus's Transfiguration* being wrought on a *Mountain* rather than in a *Valley*, as if ſome Fraud might have been carried on by a Cloud on the Top of it; it is ſo weak a Suggeſtion in itſelf, and at the ſame Time betrays ſo vitiated an Imagination, and ſo ſtrong a Biaſs to Infidelity, that it is ſufficient to expoſe it by conſidering the Account that is given by St. *Luke* of the accidental Occaſion of this Miracle: [e] Namely, that Jeſus *went up into a Mountain*, as he uſually did, *to pray*; *and that as he prayed, the Faſhion of his Countenance was alter'd, and his Raiment was white and glittering:* After which follows his Account of Moſes [f] *and* Elias, *as appearing in Glory, and talking with* Jeſus *about his Deceaſe at* Jeruſalem. So that here could be no premeditated Deſign to uſe any ſuch Artifice as is inſinuated, ſince the original Intention of Jeſus'*s going up into the Mountain* was *to pray*, to which the ſubſequent Transfiguration was merely incidental. Beſides, as ſuch a Suſpicion is unworthy of a Perſon, who is ſtill ſtyled by Mr *Woolſton the Holy* Jeſus; ſo neither was ſo groſs a Fraud practicable by him, (if he had been capable of ſo wicked a Thing:) Nor will the *Hypotheſis* of Impoſture ſolve all Appearances of the Cloud, the heavenly Voice, the Converſation of the Perſons in Glory, and the Teſtimonies of the Diſciples preſent, and of the Evangeliſts. Theſe are Things ſo connected, as not to be accounted for by the ſuppoſed Management of a Cloud in any aſſignable Situation of it.

VI. Mr. *Woolſton* likewiſe enquires with a vain Curioſity, "[g] Why this Miracle was not wrought before the Multitude?" We anſwer, that it was not deſigned for their Uſe, but, as has been ſhewn, for ſupporting the Courage of the chief Diſciples of *Jeſus* at a very critical Juncture. For we find that *Jeſus* [h] *charged* his three choſen Witneſſes, *as they came down from the Mountain*, that they ſhould *tell the Viſion to no Man*, that is, ſhould not openly declare what they had ſeen, till *after* his Reſurrection. *Before* that moſt illuſtrious Inſtance of his Power, this Glorification of him, which was not very ſuitable to his mean outward Circumſtances, would ſcarce have been credited by the *Jews*. But *after* his Reſurrection, that great Proof of his Authority, when he was actually to enter into that glorious State, of which this *Transfiguration* was emblematical, the Teſtimonies of three competent Witneſſes would be received with greater Conviction. And that this Miracle was emblematical is readily granted, without doing any Service to the Infidel Cauſe; ſince, as the Fact itſelf has been vindicated from all Objections, it becomes ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as to be believed very conſiſtently with the Suppoſition of ſome Emblem and Figure in it.

☞ Theſe are all the material Objections, that have been offered, in Form of Arguments, againſt this miraculous Transformation of our Lord; and as to the myſtical Expoſitions of the Fathers, we have often enough declared, that we ſhall take no farther Notice of them. Without adding any Thing farther therefore, in Anſwer to the Author of the *Diſcourſes on our Saviour's Miracles*, we ſhall conclude this Diſſertation with an Extract from Mr. *Maundrell*, containing a ſhort

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[aa] πληροῦν.

[b] Luke ix. 30, 31.

[c] Diſc. i. p. 43.

[d] Ibid. p. 44.

[e] Luke ix. 28, 29.

[f] Ver. 31, 32.

[g] Diſc. i. p. 44.

[h] Matth. xvii. 9.

Deſcription of Mount *Tabor*, the ſuppoſed Place of our Saviour's Transfiguration, and of the Country round about it, in which lie ſeveral Places that are mentioned in the Goſpels. We make no Apology for tranſcribing ſo often, and ſo largely, from this Writer, becauſe his Character is well known to the World.

VII. [i] *Mount Tabor*, ſays the ingenious Author, ſtands two Hours Diſtance from *Nazareth* Eaſtward. It is a high Mount, round and beautiful, ſtanding by itſelf in the Plain of *Galilee*, at a ſmall Diſtance from the other Hills hereabouts.

Its being ſituated in ſuch a ſeparate Manner has induced moſt Authors to conclude, that this muſt needs be that [k] *holy Mountain*, as St. *Peter* ſtyles it, which was the Place of our bleſſed Lord's Transfiguration. In the Account of it you read, that *Chriſt* took with him *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, into a Mountain *apart*; from which Deſcription they infer, that the Mountain there ſpoke of can be no other than *Tabor*. The Concluſion may poſſibly be true, but the Argument uſed to prove it ſeems incompetent: Becauſe the Term [l] *apart*, moſt likely relates to the withdrawing and Retirement of the Perſons there ſpoken of, and not to the Situation of the Mountain.

After a very laborious Aſcent, which took up near an Hour, we reached the higheſt Part of the Mountain. It has a plain Area at Top, moſt fertile and delicious, of an oval Figure, extended about one Furlong in Breadth, and two in Length. This Area is encloſed with Trees on all Parts, except toward the South. It was antiently environed with Walls, and Trenches, and other Fortifications, of which it exhibits many Remains at this Day.

In this Area there are ſeveral Ciſterns of good Water, but thoſe which are moſt devoutly viſited, are three contiguous Grotto's, made to repreſent the three Tabernacles, which St. *Peter* propoſed to erect in the Aſtoniſhment that poſſeſt him at the Glory of the Transfiguration.

VIII. I cannot forbear to mention in this Place, an Obſervation, which is very obvious to all that viſit the *Holy Land:* That almoſt all Paſſages and Hiſtories related in the Goſpel, are repreſented by them that undertake to ſhew where every Thing was done, as having been done moſt of them in Grottos, and that even in ſuch Caſes, where the Condition and Circumſtances of the Actions themſelves, ſeem to require Places of another Nature.

Thus if you would ſee the Place where St. *Ann* was delivered of the bleſſed Virgin, you are carried to a Grotto: If the Place of the Annunciation, it is alſo a Grotto: If the Place where the bleſſed Virgin ſaluted *Elizabeth*; if that of the Baptiſt's, or that of our bleſſed Saviour's Nativity; if that of the Agony, or that of St. *Peter*'s Repentance, or that where the Apoſtles made the Creed, or this of the Transfiguration; all theſe Places are alſo Grottos: And in a Word, wherever you go, you find almoſt every Thing is repreſented as done under Ground. Certainly Grottos were antiently held in great Eſteem, or elſe they could never have been aſſigned, in ſpight of all Probability, for the Places, in which were done ſo many various Actions. Perhaps it was the Hermits Way of living in Grottos, from the fifth or ſixth Century downward, that has brought them ever ſince to be in ſo great Reputation.

IX. From the Top of *Tabor* you have a Proſpect, which, if nothing elſe, well rewards the Labour of aſcending it. It is impoſſible for Man's Eyes to behold a higher Gratification of this Nature. On the North Weſt you diſcern at a Diſtance the *Mediterranean*, and all round you have the ſpacious and beautiful Plains of *Eſdraelon*, and *Galilee*, which preſent you with the View of ſo many Places memorable for the Reſort and Miracles of the Son of God.

At the Bottom of *Tabor* Weſtward ſtands *Daberah*, a ſmall Village, ſuppoſed by ſome to take its Name from *Deborah*, that famous Judge and Deliverer of *Iſrael*. Near this Valley is the Fountain of *Kiſhon*.

Not many Leagues diſtant Eaſtward you ſee *Mount Hermon*, at the Foot of which is ſeated *Nain*, [m] famous for our Lord's raiſing the Widow's Son there; and *Endor*, the Place where dwelt the Witch conſulted by *Saul*. Turning a little Southward, you have in View the high Mountains of *Gilboah*, fatal to *Saul* and his Sons.

Due Eaſt you diſcover the Sea of *Tiberias*, diſtant about one Day's Journey; and cloſe by that Sea, they ſhew a ſteep Mountain, down which [n] the Swine ran, and periſh'd in the Waters.

A few Points towards the North appears that which they call the *Mount of the Beatitudes*, a ſmall Riſing, from which our Bleſſed Saviour deliver'd his Sermon in the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Chapters of St. *Matthew*. Not far from this little Hill is the City *Saphet*, ſuppos'd to be the antient *Bethulia*. It ſtands upon a very eminent and conſpicuous Mountain, and is ſeen far and near. May we not ſuppoſe that *Chriſt* alludes to this City in thoſe Words of his Sermon, [o] *A City ſet on a Hill cannot be hid?* A Conjecture which ſeems the more probable, becauſe our Lord in ſeveral Places affects to illuſtrate his Diſcourſe by Compariſons, taken from Objects that were then preſent before the Eyes of his Auditors. As when he bids them, [p] *Behold the Fowls of the Air*, and [q] *the Lillies of the Field.*

From Mount *Tabor* you have likewiſe the Sight of a Place, which they will tell you was *Dothaim*, where *Joſeph* was ſold by his Brethren; and of the Field, where our bleſſed Saviour fed the Multitude, with a few Loaves, and fewer Fiſhes. But whether it was the Place where he divided [r] the five Loaves, and two Fiſhes, amongſt the five Thouſand; or [ſ] the ſeven Loaves amongſt the four Thouſand, I left them to agree among themſelves.

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[i] Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 112.

[k] 2 Pet. i 18.

[l] κατ' ἰδίαν.

[m] Luke vii. 14.

[n] Matth. viii. 32.

[o] Matth. v. 14.

[p] Matth. vi. 16.

[q] Ver. 28.

[r] Matth. xiv. 16, &c.

[ſ] Matth. xv. 32.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

I. *Jeſus,* after ſome Continuance in *Galilee,* goes privately to *Jeruſalem* to the Feaſt of Tabernacles. II. The *Samaritans* refuſe to entertain him, for which he denies to take any Revenge on them. III. *Jeſus* anſwers three ſeveral Perſons who talk of becoming his Diſciples. IV. He chuſes ſeventy Diſciples, and ſends them to preach the Goſpel, firſt giving them Inſtructions for their Behaviour. V. He pronounces a Malediction on ſeveral Cities, and ſpeaks farther to his Diſciples. VI. The *Jews* ſeek for him: He appears, and defends himſelf. VII. He vindicates his having cured a Man on the Sabbath-Day. VIII. The Citizens wonder at him. *Jeſus* declares his Miſſion from the Father. IX. The Rulers endeavour to apprehend him. He tells them his Time is not come. X. *Jeſus* invites the People to himſelf. XI. Different Opinions of *Jeſus.* The *Sanhedrim* in Conſultation concerning him. XII. His Judgment concerning a Woman taken in Adultery. XIII. *Jeſus* defends the Teſtimony which he bore of himſelf. XIV. He declares that the *Jews* know neither him nor his Father, *&c.* XV. He mentions leaving them. They miſunderſtand him. He reproaches them. XVI. He declares them to be Slaves, and that he alone can free them. XVII. He propoſes *Abraham*'s Example for their Imitation. XVIII. He denies their being Imitators of God, becauſe they believe not in him. XIX. He defends himſelf againſt more of their Calumnies. XX. He proves that *Abraham* foreſaw his Appearance, and deſired it. The *Jews* offended. XXI. *Jeſus* cures a Man who was born blind. XXII. The Man examined by the People and the *Sanhedrim.* XXIII. The Man's Parents ſent for. He perſiſts in aſcribing his Cure to *Jeſus,* &c. XXIV. *Jeſus* meets and converts the Man who had been blind, and inſtructs the People on that Occaſion. XXV. He calls himſelf the good Shepherd, *&c.* XXVI. He continues the ſame Allegory. The *Jews* divided in their Opinions.

I. FROM [a] *this Time* Jeſus *continued for the moſt part in the Confines of* Galilee, *and was but a ſhort while in* Judea [b], *knowing that the Chief among the* Jews *wanted only a convenient Opportunity to put him to death, whom they continually laid wait for, and look'd upon as a falſe Prophet. But the Feaſt of Tabernacles being at Hand, certain* Galileans, *the Relations of* Mary, *came to* Jeſus, *and endeavoured to perſuade him to live in* Judea, *and at* Jeruſalem, *rather than in an obſcure Corner of* Galilee, *that thoſe Diſciples of his who liv'd there, might be Eye-Witneſſes of his Miracles; alledging farther, that the Way to obtain Authority with the People, was to make as public Uſe of the Means conducing to it as might be.* For, *ſaid they,* if you deſign to be eſteem'd a Prophet, and for that End perform real Miracles, let it be in the moſt public and frequented Place. *His Relations ſpoke thus, becauſe they gave not intire Credit to him, and were deſirous to have the Matter examin'd at* Jeruſalem, *that they might follow the Determination of the Chief among the* Jews. Jeſus *told them, that they might at any Time repair to* Jeruſalem *without Danger, and conſequently be there at the Beginning of the Feaſt; but that for his Part it was not as yet ſeaſonable for him to undertake that Journey, not being willing to make any long Stay in* Judea; *that they had no way offended the* Jews, *but that he had incur'd a general Hatred for openly detecting their Vices, and freely reproving them for 'em: They therefore, he told them, might ſafely repair to* Jeruſalem, *and be there at the Beginning of the Feaſt; but he did not deſign to go ſo ſoon, it not being as yet convenient for him. Accordingly he ſtaid ſome Days longer in* Galilee, *while his Relations took their Journey to* Jeruſalem; *but not long after he ſet out for that Place alſo, none knowing beforehand whether he would be at the Feaſt or no. He himſelf knew very well, that the Time approach'd in which he was to be cut off; for which Reaſon, though he determin'd to ſpend a few Days in the City, yet he did not intend to continue there all the eight Days of that Feaſt, that the* Jews *might not have Time enough to execute their bloody Deſigns againſt him. He therefore went privately through* Samaria.

II. [c] *While he was upon the Road, it happen'd that having ſent ſome before him to take up Lodgings in an Inn for him, the* Samaritans *refus'd to entertain him, becauſe at that Time of the Year he ſeem'd to be going to* Jeruſalem *to celebrate the Feaſt of Tabernacles. Of which when the Men before ſent, namely* John *and* James *the Sons of* Zebedee, *told* Jeſus, *they asked him whether he would not revenge the Affront on theſe* Samaritans, *and pray God to pour down Fire from Heaven upon them, as* Elias *did formerly on the Officers that were ſent to ſeize him. But* Jeſus *turning himſelf about, told 'em,* [d] *they were not acquainted with that Temper of Mind with which the Miniſters of his Goſpel ought to be indued, ſince they were for deſtroying thoſe whom they ſhould endeavour to preſerve:* For, *ſaid he,* I am not come to bring Deſtruction on any one, but on the contrary to offer Salvation to all. *Upon this*

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[a] John vii. 1—10. Luke ix. 51, 52.

[b] Chriſt, by his Example here, inſtructs us not to irritate Men, or run into Danger without Neceſſity, upon Preſumption of the divine Protection; but to uſe all lawful Means that God hath put into our Hands, to avoid the Malice of our Enemies.

[c] Luke ix. 52—56.

[d] 'Tis juſt to obſerve the Contradiction of this Saying to the Popiſh Practice of perſecuting, deſtroying, and exterminating thoſe whom they call Hereticks, purely upon the Account of Religion. The Samaritans, undoubtedly, were Hereticks then, as much as any Sect of Chriſtians can be now.

Accident they turned aſide into another Village.

III. [e] *While they were on the Road, there came a certain Man to* Jeſus, *offering to attend him conſtantly whitherſoever he went; but his Aim terminating in the Enjoyment of worldly Conveniences, which he expected to meet with by being in his Retinue,* Jeſus *gave him this Anſwer, the ſame he had uſed formerly on a like Occaſion*; The Foxes have their Holes, and the Birds of the Air their Neſts, but I have not one Place that I can call my own, wherein to repoſe my ſelf, and entertain my Friends. *Another that was preſent, was commanded by* Jeſus *to follow him, and become his Diſciple; who made the ſame Reply which was formerly given by another Perſon to the like Command; That he had a decrepit old Father, with whom he deſired to continue till his Death, that he might perform the laſt Offices to him; and that after his Interment he would gladly become one of his Followers. To whom* Jeſus *thus replied:* Leave the Management of funeral Rites to thoſe who are unacquainted with the ſpiritual Life; as for thee, be thou a Meſſenger of the Kingdom of Heaven. *Another frankly offering himſelf, provided he might have ſufficient Time to ſettle his Affairs in the World, was put in Mind by* Jeſus *of the Proverb,* No one muſt look backward that has once ſet his Hand to the Plow: *Intimating, that they who have dedicated themſelves to the Miniſtry, ought never to forſake their moſt holy Vocation by betaking themſelves again to the Hurry and Buſineſs of their former Lives.*

IV. [f] *'Twas in this Journey that* Jeſus [g] *choſe ſeventy Diſciples beſides the twelve Apoſtles, and ſent them by two and two into all the Towns thro' which he himſelf deſigned to paſs, and gave them the ſame Inſtructions he had the Year before given to his Apoſtles, when he ſent them to declare the good Tidings of the approaching Reign of the* Meſſiah. *For he ſpoke to them to this Effect:* The Harveſt is great, but the Reapers few; many are prepared to receive the Goſpel, but there are very few that can be Meſſengers of it. Pray ye therefore to God, the Lord of the Harveſt, that he would ſend more Reapers, that is, Preachers of the Goſpel: In the mean time do you go on couragiouſly till God ſends Aſſiſtants to you; be not diſmay'd, but rely on him. I ſend you as Sheep to Wolves, that is, Men of an inoffenſive Carriage and plain Dealing, to a rapacious, crafty, undermining Race of Men, who will ſlip no Opportunity of doing you an Injury. Enter immediately on your Commiſſion, neither ſtay to provide yourſelves with any Conveniences for your Journey, but be aſſured that the divine Providence will take Care that nothing needful ſhall be wanting to you. Let no Pretence of paying Reſpect and Honour to any Perſon by the Way, make you delay the Buſineſs with which I now charge you. Into whatever Family you come, immediately deſire God to ſhower down his Bleſſings upon it; and if there be any deſerving Perſon in it, your Prayers ſhall undoubtedly be heard; elſe, you may offer up the ſame charitable Requeſts for others that ſhall be more worthy of them. While you ſtay in any Town, do not ſhift your Habitation, that you may give as little Offence as poſſible: And whatever is ſet before you to eat, ſcruple not the free Uſe of it; for as it is in the Proverb, *The Labourer is worthy of his Hire.* And be not nice in your Food, but whereſoever you come, content yourſelves with a frugal and ſpare Diet. Intercede with God in the Behalf of the Sick of all thoſe Places through which you paſs, and he will hear your Prayers as being my Diſciples; and declare ye the Approach of the heavenly Kingdom of the *Meſſiah.* But if the Inhabitants of any Town or Village refuſe to receive you, ſhake off the very Duſt of your Feet, and tell them that you do it as a Token that you will have no Manner of Intercourſe with them; but let them take Warning, inaſmuch as the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah* is at Hand. As for ſuch People, I tell you that the Inhabitants of *Sodom* ſhall be leſs ſeverely puniſhed at the laſt Day.

V. *Then* [h] *calling to Mind the Contumacy of ſome Cities ſituated on the Lake of* Genneſareth, *in the Country about which he had lived ſo long, and performed ſo many Miracles, he brake out into this Exclamation:* O what great Puniſhments remain for you, ye Inhabitants of *Chorazin* and *Bethſaida!* For if the Miracles wrought among you had been performed before the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians*, Nations over-run with Idolatry and Superſtition, they would long ago have repented, ſitting on the Ground covered with Sackcloth, and ſprinkled with Aſhes, though you have not been in the leaſt prevailed on to amend your Lives. The *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* therefore ſhall not be ſo ſeverely puniſhed as you, the Profeſſors of the *Jewiſh* Religion. And you, O ye Inhabitants of *Capernaum*, whom all Men have eſteemed the happieſt People on Earth, becauſe of my Continuance with you, you ſhall hereafter be accounted the moſt miſerable of all Men, by reaſon of your Contumacy and Impenitency. *Then turning himſelf again to his Diſciples, he thus continued:* Go on boldly, with a Courage becoming ſuch as know that I will account for the Uſage you meet with as done to me. Thoſe that hearken to you ſhall be in the ſame Eſteem with me as if they hearkened to me in Perſon; and they that ſlight what you preach to them, ſhall be judged to have contemned my Sayings, as my Father alſo will think himſelf neglected by thoſe who refuſe to receive my Doctrine.

VI. [i] *At the Beginning of the Feaſt of Tabernacles, the* Jews *ſought for* Jeſus *at* Jeruſalem, *well knowing he was wont to repair thither at every ſolemn Feſtival; and a great Rumour was ſpread concerning him among thoſe that came to celebrate*

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[e] Luke ix. 57—62.

[f] Luke x. 1—12.

[g] Grotius ſays, Theſe were choſen according to the Number of the Sanhedrim, and ſo were ſeventy two. But Selden, Lightfoot, and others, believe that neither the Sanhedrim, nor theſe Diſciples, were more than bare Seventy, excluſive of their Head, who in the latter Caſe was Chriſt himſelf.

[h] Luke x 13—16.

[i] John vii. 11—19.

the Feaſt, ſome looking on him as a moſt holy Perſon, while others branded him with Impoſture. But no one durſt publicly own his Eſteem of him, for Fear of the great Men among the Jews, *who they knew were his profeſs'd Enemies.* Jeſus *at laſt appear'd among them about the fourth Day of the Feaſt, and began to inſtruct the People in the Temple of* Jeruſalem. *Now this was Matter of Aſtoniſhment to the* Jews, *who aſk'd one another how it was poſſible for him to diſcourſe ſo learnedly about Religion, who had never ſtudied under any of their Rabbies. Which when* Jeſes *heard, he thus replied:* The Doctrine I propoſe is no Invention of mine, but given me by him that ſent me. The true Worſhippers of God will eaſily perceive whether this Doctrine proceeds from God or no, and they only are the proper Judges of this Matter. A falſe Prophet, who impoſes upon you with Fictions of his own, ſeeks only his own Glory in every Thing he ſaith and doth; but a true Prophet directs all to the Glory of God, and for that Reaſon ought to find Credit with you, ſince he is not to obtain any Advantage from Men by it. *Moſes*, as you boaſt, was indeed your Law-giver, but which of you lives up to the Rules he has preſcrib'd? And how can you defend thoſe Deſigns of yours to take away my Life?

VII. [k] *The Multitude about the Temple cried out, that ſurely he muſt be diſtracted to have ſuch Suſpicions of them, ſince no Body ſo much as thought of killing him.* Jeſus *anſwer'd:* The laſt Paſſover I did ſomething in your Preſence which you were all amaz'd at, as if I had violated the Law; and from that Time you have ſought an Opportunity of killing me. Hear ye then my Defence, unleſs you are reſolv'd to condemn me without hearing what I am able to ſay in my Juſtification. *Moſes*, among the Laws he gave you, has commanded you to obſerve the Circumciſion as it was obſerv'd in the Time of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, that is, to circumciſe the Males on the eighth Day after their Birth: Now if that Day happens on a Sabbath, you make no Scruple of breaking the Reſt upon that Day by performing this Ceremony. If then you violate the Sabbath by inflicting a Wound upon a human Body, and making uſe of Means proper for the Cure of it, why are you enrag'd again me for having made a Man intirely whole on that ſame Day? Judge not by the outward Appearance of that Action, which is invidiouſly term'd a Violation of the Sabbath, but make an exact Scrutiny, that you may not be guilty of a raſh and unjuſt Judgment.

VIII. [l] *Several of the Citizens hearing* Jeſus *diſcourſe on this Subject, inquir'd of ſome others whether he were not that* Jeſus *whom the Rulers had often talk'd of putting to Death. Of which when they were aſſur'd, they wonder'd that he talked with this Freedom in the Temple, and ſuſpected that the Chief among them began at laſt to be convinc'd that he really was the Meſſiah: But they could not tell how to reconcile his being a* Nazarene *to this Opinion;* For, *ſaid they,* the Learned in the Law aſſure us [m], that when the Meſſiah ſhall firſt appear in *Judea*, the Place of his Birth will be unknown *Then* Jeſus *cried out with a loud Voice:* You know me, as you ſay, and the Place of my Birth, and therefore deny that I am the Meſſiah; nevertheleſs I come not to you of my own Accord; and he that ſent me is a Lover of Truth, and worthy to be believ'd by you, but you know him not, nor what it is he expects from you: But I know him, and his Determinations, becauſe I am ſent by him, and have receiv'd my Inſtructions from him.

IX. [n] *When* Jeſus *had ſpoke thus, the Rulers of the* Jews *greatly deſir'd to apprehend him; but no one was willing to lay hold of him, the Time not being from yet come, in which God had decreed to deliver him up to the Fury of his Perſecutors. Now many of the common People believ'd on him, juſtly arguing his Miracles, and ſaying that the Meſſiah himſelf could not perform more than* Jeſus *had ſhewn to them. Which Argument when the* Phariſees *heard, having conſulted with the Chief Prieſts, they ſent the Keepers of the Temple to apprehend him.*—Jeſus *in the mean Time thus expreſſed himſelf:* Make uſe of all your Artifices; in ſpite of all I ſhall continue a while longer upon Earth: When that Time is expired, I will return to him that ſent me. If at that Time you ſeek for me, you will be fruſtrated; for I ſhall be where it will be impoſſible for Men of your Stamp to find me out. *They then aſk'd one another whither it was he deſign'd to go?* What, ſaid they, will he travel round the Earth, and go to the *Jews* diſpers'd among the Heathens? Or will he inſtruct the Heathens themſelves in the Knowledge of the true God? *So little did they underſtand that Saying of his,* If at that Time you ſeek for me, it will be in vain; for I ſhall be where it will be impoſſible for ſuch Men as you to come.

X. [o] *Upon the laſt Day of the Feaſt, a Day celebrated with great Rejoicings,* Jeſus *ſtood in the Temple, and cried out:* If any one thirſts, let him come to me, and I will give him Drink. *In which Words he invited all that were deſirous to learn of him, to come and ſatisfy their Deſire by liſtening to his Doctrine, having that* [oo] *Place of* Iſaiah *in his Eye, where we find the ſame Words, or at leaſt ſuch as expreſs the ſame Meaning. He then added,* Whoever believes on me ſhall be ſo far from thirſting, that, as the Scripture ſpeaks, out of his Belly ſhall flow Rivers of never-failing Water. *In which he chiefly had reſpect to another* [pp] *Place of that Prophet, where we have this Deſcription of good Men: The Meaning of which Similitude was, that whoever embraced his Doctrine, would find entire Satisfaction in it, and be able to afford the ſame Conſolation to others, inaſmuch as it was the only effectual Remedy to remove all the Diſorders of the Mind: For he knew that the true*

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[k] John vii. 20—24.

[l] John vii. 25—29.

[m] The Rabbies owned that their Meſſiah was to be born in Bethlehem, but imagined that he was preſently to be convey'd thence, and concealed till Elias came to anoint him.

[n] John vii. 31—36.

[o] John vii. 37, 38, 39.

[oo] Iſai. lv. 1.

[pp] Iſai. lvii. 11.

Believers ſhould after a few Months have the Holy Ghoſt ſhed upon them, which would be then given when Jeſus *ſhould be received up into Heaven.*

XI. [p] *Many that had heard theſe, and other Diſcourſes of* Jeſus, *concluded him to be that Prophet who was to be the Forerunner of the* Meſſiah; *while others took him for the very* Meſſiah; *which many alſo thought impoſſible, ſince, as it appeared by the Scriptures, the* Meſſiah *was not to be born in* Galilee, *but at* Bethlehem, *the Birth-place of* David, *from whom alſo the* Meſſiah *was to be deſcended. The* Jews *thus diſagreed, and were divided in Opinion concerning him. Some were for ſeizing him, and carrying him to the* Sanhedrim, *which others diſapproved of as unjuſt. But No-body had the Boldneſs to lay hold of him; and thoſe that looked to the Temple returned to the* Sanhedrim, *without performing what they were ſent for; and being aſked why they did not ſeize him, they replied, that they had* [q] *never heard any one talk with a Majeſty and Wiſdom equal to him. But the* Phariſees *rebuked them, ſaying,* What, are you alſo deluded by him? Have you ſeen any of the Rulers or *Phariſees*, Men ſkilled in the Law, and whoſe Example you may ſafely follow, give Credit to him? 'Tis only the injudicious Multitude that have been guilty of ſuch Impiety. *It happened, however, that* Nicodemus *was preſent at this Aſſembly, he who, as we have related, came two Years before to* Jeſus *by Night: This Man, being himſelf one of the* Sanhedrim, *deſiring to bring them to a better Temper, asked them whether by the Law they could condemn any Man without hearing him? Then ſaid they to him*, Art thou a *Galilean* alſo, and a Favourer of this Man, as the common People are? If thou believeſt him to be a Prophet, thou mayeſt be convinced of thy Miſtake, if thou enquireſt into the Country out of which the Prophets came; for thou wilt find that [r] none of them ever came from *Galilee*. *After theſe Debates the* Sanhedrim *broke up, without coming to any Reſolution in the Matter.*

XII. [ſ] *In the Night time* Jeſus *retired to the Mount of* Olives, *not far from the City, that he might avoid the Snares of the* Sanhedrim; *but every Morning he returned to* Jeruſalem, *and in the Temple was ſurrounded with a great Multitude, whom he acquainted with the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Rewards annexed to the Obſervance of them. In the mean time certain Teachers of the Law, and* Phariſees, *brought to him a Woman taken in the very Act of Adultery, and placed her in the midſt, that they might have his Judgment about her in the Hearing of all that were preſent. In order to get an Anſwer from him, they told him ſhe was taken in the very Fact, and that he very well knew ſuch Perſons* [t] *by the Law of* Moſes *were to be ſtoned to Death: But they deſired him to give his Opinion in the Caſe. Now they put this Queſtion, not to be informed by him, but to render him odious to the* Romans, *who had deprived the* Jews *of all Power of determining in capital Caſes, if he ſhould ſay they ought to ſtone her; and to the common People among the* Jews, *if he ſhould affirm they were not obliged to keep one of the Laws of* Moſes. Jeſus, *to avoid their Queſtion by Silence, ſtooped down, and made as if he wrote ſomething on the Ground, without anſwering a Word. But the Men continuing to preſs this Queſtion, he raiſed himſelf, and told them, that he who was without Sin ought to throw the firſt Stone at her. In which he obſcurely intimated, that ſince the* Romans *had deprived them of the Power of putting the Law of* Moſes *in Execution, they ought to be more indulgent, and allow her a Space to repent; eſpecially conſidering, that if God ſhould inflict on Sinners the Puniſhments they have deſerv'd without Delay, all Mankind muſt be cut off. Which Conſideration ought to make Men leſs ſevere in their Dealings towards one another, and not to do that to others which they would not have God to do to them; and to reflect, that as they themſelves deſired Time to repent, they would allow the ſame Indulgence to the Guilty.* Jeſus *having given this Anſwer, ſtoop'd again, and began to write upon the Ground, as if he was thinking of ſomewhat elſe. The Men having heard what* Jeſus *ſaid, being conſcious to themſelves of many Crimes, ſneak'd off one by one, the eldeſt firſt, and then the others, ſo that he remain'd alone with the Woman ſtanding before him. Then lifting himſelf up, and ſeeeing none with him but the Woman, he ask'd her what was become of her Accuſers, and whether any one had condemn'd her to any ſort of Puniſhment. The Woman replied, that her Accuſers were all gone off, while he was writing on the Ground; and that ſhe had not been condemn'd by any one. Then ſaid he,* [u] Neither do I adjudge thee to any Puniſhment; go thy Way, and for the future take Care not to be guilty of the like Sin.

XIII. [w] Jeſus *afterwards thus addreſs'd himſelf to the Multitude that flock'd about him:* I am a Light ſent to guide Mankind, that wanders in the Darkneſs of Ignorance: Whoever will become my Diſciple, ſhall have theſe Miſts diſpell'd, and be ſhewn the Way that leads to Life eternal. *The* Phariſees *hearing this, interrupted him, ſaying, that he bore Witneſs to himſelf, a Teſtimony on which no Body could rely; and that perhaps he was blinded with Self-love.* Jeſus *thus replied to their Objection:* The Teſtimony I bear to myſelf is worthy to be relied on, and you need not fear my judging otherwiſe than becomes me, out of a Principle of Vanity or Self-love; for I know who it is that has ſent me, and to whom I muſt return after I have executed my Office here; both of which are as yet unknown to you. You paſs your Cenſure on me from my outward Appearance, which makes you think I am not to be credited. The Judgment I make reſults from the Conſideration of Mens Words and Actions, and the Affections of the Mind. By the Laws that *Moſes* gave you, the concurring Teſtimony of two Witneſſes ought to be credited: In this Caſe you have two Witneſſes, and the Judgment I make concerning myſelf is confirm'd to you by the Miracles my Father has enabled me to perform among you. And thus it is that you give Credit to the Prophets, namely, by perceiving their Commiſſion ſeal'd with the Miracles God has given them the Power to perform, whoſe Authority is above all Exception.

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[p] John vii. 40—53.

[q] *Never Man ſpoke like this Man.* Here we may obſerve, 1ſt, The Power of Chriſt's Words to change the Frame and Temper of Men's Spirits; 2dly, The Honeſty of theſe Men, who tho' they went prejudiced againſt Chriſt, make no Scruple to confeſs their Conviction of his Holineſs and Wiſdom.

[r] It is wonderful, that not the Multitude only, who had heard the Shepherds declaring from an Angel, that Chriſt was born at Bethlehem, ſhould make this Objection, but that the Chief Prieſts and Phariſees, who knew of the Wiſe Men's going to Bethlehem to worſhip him, ſhould inſiſt upon it. This is an Inſtance of the great Power of Prejudice.

[ſ] John viii. 1—11.

[t] If ſhe who was taken in Adultery was a married Woman, the Law required ſhe ſhould *be put to Death*, Lev. xx. 10. Deut. xxii. 22. that is, ſay all the Jews, that ſhe ſhould be ſtrangled. But if ſhe were only a Damſel eſpouſed, the Law ſaith, *ſhe ſhall be ſtoned*, Deut. xxii. 23. Whence Interpreters conclude, that this Adultereſs was only eſpouſed.

[u] This Hiſtory of the Adultereſs was wanting in many Greek Copies; but the Reaſon of it ſeems to have been the Severity of the Antients againſt Adultery, which made them unwilling to admit a Paſſage in which Jeſus acquits a Woman convicted of that Crime: They thought he might be interpreted as giving a Permiſſion to Adultery, when he ſaid, *Neither do I condemn thee.* It is certain, however, that the Hiſtory is genuine, and therefore not to be omitted.

[w] John viii. 12—18.

XIV. [x] *The* Phariſees *then ask'd him where his Father was, not perceiving that it was God whom he ſo call'd. Then ſaid* Jeſus: You neither know me, nor him whom I call my Father. If you knew who I am, you would preſently underſtand who it is I ſtile my Father; *meaning, that if they had known him to be the Meſſiah, the Son of God, they would at the ſame Time have known who it was he called his Father. — This Diſcourſe had* Jeſus *in the Court of the* Gentiles, *not far from the Place where the Boxes are kept, in which is preſerved the Money contributed by religious Perſons for the Service of the Temple: Nevertheleſs, none of the Keepers of the Temple had the Boldneſs to ſeize him, tho' they had expreſs Order from the* Sanhedrim; *becauſe the Time was not yet come, in which God had determin'd to permit the* Jews *to exerciſe their Cruelty upon him.*

XV. [y] *He afterwards accoſted them again to this Purpoſe:* I ſhall go from hence in a ſhort while, and you will in vain ſeek for me to do me miſchief, and you will die in your Obſtinacy; for it will be impoſſible for you to come to the Place to which I ſhall go. — *The* Jews *therefore aſked one another, whether by theſe repeated Words he did not diſcover a Reſolution of making away with himſelf, which would verify what he had ſaid concerning their being unwilling to follow him.* Jeſus *perceiving their Debate, expreſs'd himſelf more clearly to them.* You, *ſaid he,* derive your Origin from theſe inferior Places; but I am deſcended from above. You are obnoxious to Paſſions that infeſt Mankind, and are agreeable to your Origin; but I am no way hinder'd by theſe Infirmities. I have ſaid that you ſhall die in your Unbelief: For if you will not give credit to my Teſtimony, much leſs will you believe others that ſhall teſtify concerning me, ſince they will not perform greater or more Miracles among you than I have; ſo that it will be impoſſible for any to reclaim you. *Then ſaid they,* Who art thou? Jeſus *anſwer'd,* I am the ſame I have all along profeſs'd myſelf to be, from the Time I firſt ſpake with you; upon which Occaſion I might accuſe you, and prove you guilty of inſufferable Incredulity; but at preſent I ſhall only remind you, that he who has ſent me is moſt worthy to be credited by you, and that I publiſh nothing but what I have received in Charge from him. *Still they were in the dark, and knew not that* Jeſus *ſpoke of his heavenly Father.* Jeſus *then continued;* After you have taken me off, many ſhall acknowledge that I was the very Perſon I profeſs'd myſelf to be. Whatever I do or ſay is by expreſs Order from my Father, and not of my own Will; ſo that he is the Author of all my Words and Actions, is perpetually with me, nor has at any Time forſaken me, becauſe I punctually execute the Orders with which he has intruſted me.

XVI. [z] *By theſe and the like Diſcourſes many were convinced, that he was ſent by God; to whom he thus addreſs'd himſelf:* If you conſtantly obey my Precepts, you will then deſerve the honourable Title of my Diſciples, and ſhall be more fully inſtructed in my Doctrine; which alſo will ſet you free from your preſent Slavery. *Theſe Men miſtaking his Meaning, replied,* [a] *That they were deſcended from* Abraham, *and had never been Slaves to any one; that therefore they could not conceive what Liberty and Freedom from Servitude it was he promiſed them.* Jeſus *remov'd their Miſtake, by aſſuring them there were no greater Slaves than thoſe that give themſelves up to a vicious Courſe of Life, and the gratifying their ſinful Appetites.* Having told you, *ſaid he,* how much you are the Slaves of Sin, I now tell you, that unleſs you are ſet free by my Means, your Condition will reſemble that of Servitude upon another Account alſo. As it is impoſſible for Slaves to be aſſur'd of their Maſter's Favour, ſo as to depend upon it that they ſhall never be diſmiſs'd the Family, ſince it is in his Power and his Heirs to ſell them as he thinks fit; ſo alſo if God looks upon you as Servants rather than Sons, whenever he ſees fit he will turn you out of his Family. On the contrary, if you become his Sons by that happy Privilege, you will be ſure of remaining for ever in the Family: But if the Son and Heir of the Family make you Coheirs with him, then ſhall you be made truly free, by being thoroughly cleanſed from your vicious Defilements. I know very well that you are deſcended from *Abraham*, but you are never the better for that, ſince ſeveral of you ſeek an Occaſion of killing me, for this very Reaſon, becauſe I require a greater Sanctity from you than you are willing to comply with. I ſpeak thoſe Things that I have received from my Father, like as you do what you have learned from yours.

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[x] John viii. 19, 20. [y] John viii. 21—29. [z] John viii. 30—38.

[a] The Jews ſeem not very conſiſtent with themſelves, in denying their having ever been in Bondage; ſince all their Writings confeſs the Slavery of their Forefathers to the Egyptians, and they frequently owned, in our Saviour's Time, their Dependance on the Romans. The Motive of this Aſſertion ſeems to have been their inveterate Pride.

XVII. [b] *They replied, that they had one common Father, namely* Abraham, *the Founder of the* Hebrew *Nation.* Jeſus *anſwer'd,* [c] If you boaſt of him for your Father, follow his Example, and ſo deſerve to be accounted of his Poſterity. But now you ſeek to ſlay me, who have only told you the Truth which I have received from God, merely becauſe this Truth does not ſquare with your vicious Habits; quite contrary to faithful *Abraham,* who ſincerely believ'd, and obey'd all the divine Revelations. There is another whom you imitate, who is the Author of all your Vices, and who encourages you in the Practice of them, and who may juſtly be called your Father. *The* Jews *perceiving* Jeſus *to talk, not ſo much of their Lineage by which they were actually deſcended from* Abraham, *as of the Example they propos'd to themſelves to imitate, replied, that they were neither Idolaters themſelves, nor deſcended from ſuch, and that the only true God, the Father of the Pious, was the Object of their Adoration, and the Patern they propoſed to copy.*

XVIII. [d] Jeſus *anſwer'd,* If God were indeed the Example you propoſe to imitate in your Actions, you would doubtleſs love me, who have been ſent by him to you: For it is not of my own Accord that I preach up a Reformation among you, but I am ſent to you by God himſelf on that very Errand. After all, what is the Reaſon that you do not think my Diſcourſe befitting him that ſent me, but becauſe you will not hearken to me attentively, and without Prejudice? Nay, you thirſt after my Blood, and are true [e] Imitators of the evil Spirits, who were the Enemies of Mankind from the Beginning, and have ever ſince endeavour'd by their Lyes to work their Ruin. Theſe having revolted from Holineſs, are alienated from Truth, and a Habit of Lying is become natural to them: For, as I ſaid, Lying is woven into their very Eſſence; and in this they are exact Followers of their Leader, who having firſt ſhook off his Allegiance to God, gave Encouragement to the reſt to follow his Example. Now it is no wonder that you detract from what I tell you, having this Diſpoſition of Mind about you. Is there any one of you who can demonſtrate, that I have not received my Commiſſion from God? No, not one; and therefore you have no juſt Reaſon to diſtruſt me. Every one that loves God, and owns him for his Father, will moſt chearfully hearken to his Doctrine; and the true Reaſon why you will not liſten to me, is, becauſe you do not reſpect God as your Father, by your Obedience to him.

XIX. [f] *Some of the* Jews, *exaſperated with this Speech of* Jeſus, *told him, that they could eaſily infer from his Diſcourſes, that he was not undeſervedly called a* Samaritan, *or an Enemy to the* Jewiſh *Nation, and that he proclaim'd himſelf to be poſſeſſed with an evil Syirit, by thus reviling the People of God.* Jeſus *ſaid,* I am not poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, but diligently obey my Father's Will; yet you ſlight what I ſay to you, and for that Reaſon make this Attempt to defame me. 'Tis not out of a Deſire of Reputation that I ſpeak to you, neither is it your Opinion that I value, but the Pleaſure of God himſelf, that they to whom I am ſent by him ſhould receive me as his Ambaſſador; and they ſhall be moſt ſeverely puniſhed, who act contrary to the Will of God in this Particular. Every one that believes my Sayings ſhall not die for ever, but partake of endleſs Happineſs: Whereas whoever deſpiſes my Doctrine, ſhall ſuffer eternal Puniſhment in the World to come.

XX. [g] *Theſe Men retorted, that it was plain from his Diſcourſe he was agitated with an evil Spirit, ſince tho'* Abraham *and the Prophets, who were moſt holy and acceptable to God, were all dead, yet he made a Tender of Immortality to the Obſervers of his Precepts. Then they ask'd him, whether he thought himſelf a greater Favourite of God than* Abraham *and the Prophets, who were dead.* Whom, *ſaid they,* makeſt thou thyſelf, that thus promiſeſt to thy Diſciples what God thought not fit to grant to thoſe pious and devout Perſons? — If I ſpoke honourably of myſelf, *ſaid* Jeſus, without any Arguments to corroborate my Pretenſions, ſuch boaſting would indeed be vain and trifling. But my Father, by the Miracles he has enabled me to perform, ſhews you who I am, and what Value you ought to ſet upon me; and him you call your God. Yet are you ignorant of that Worſhip which is acceptable to him: But I know it, and ſhould I diſown it, I ſhould be a Lyar like unto you. Now I profeſs to be acquainted with the Will of God in this Particular, and I faithfully execute his Commands. *Abraham* himſelf, whom you brag of as the Founder of your Nation, greatly deſired to ſee thoſe Times in which God had decreed to reveal himſelf to Men, which was to come to paſs in this Age by my Means; and theſe Days he foreſaw by the Good-will of God, and was greatly rejoiced at it. *Now* Jeſus *by this meant a prophetical Revelation of Things to come, which theſe unskilful and malignant* Jews *interpreted, as if he had, as a Man, made himſelf contemporary with* Abraham. *They ſaid therefore,* One may plainly ſee by thy Looks, that thou art not yet fifty Years of Age, how is it poſſible then that thou ſhouldſt have ſeen *Abraham? Whereas* Jeſus *had ſaid no ſuch Thing, but only that* Abraham *had ſeen theſe Times of the Meſſiah by the*

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[b] John viii. 39, 40, 41.

[c] Chriſt owns them to be Abraham's Seed according to the Fleſh, and only denies them to be ſo as to their Manners, Faith, and Obedience, in which a Reſemblance to Abraham was the only Means of obtaining the Bleſſing pronounced on that Patriarch.

[d] John viii. 42—47.

[e] *Ye are of your Father the Devil*; that is, by reſembling him in your Actions: For as he is a Son of Abraham, who doth the Works of Abraham, ſo he is a Child of the Devil, who doth the Devil's Works.

[f] John viii. 48—51.

[g] John viii. 52—59.

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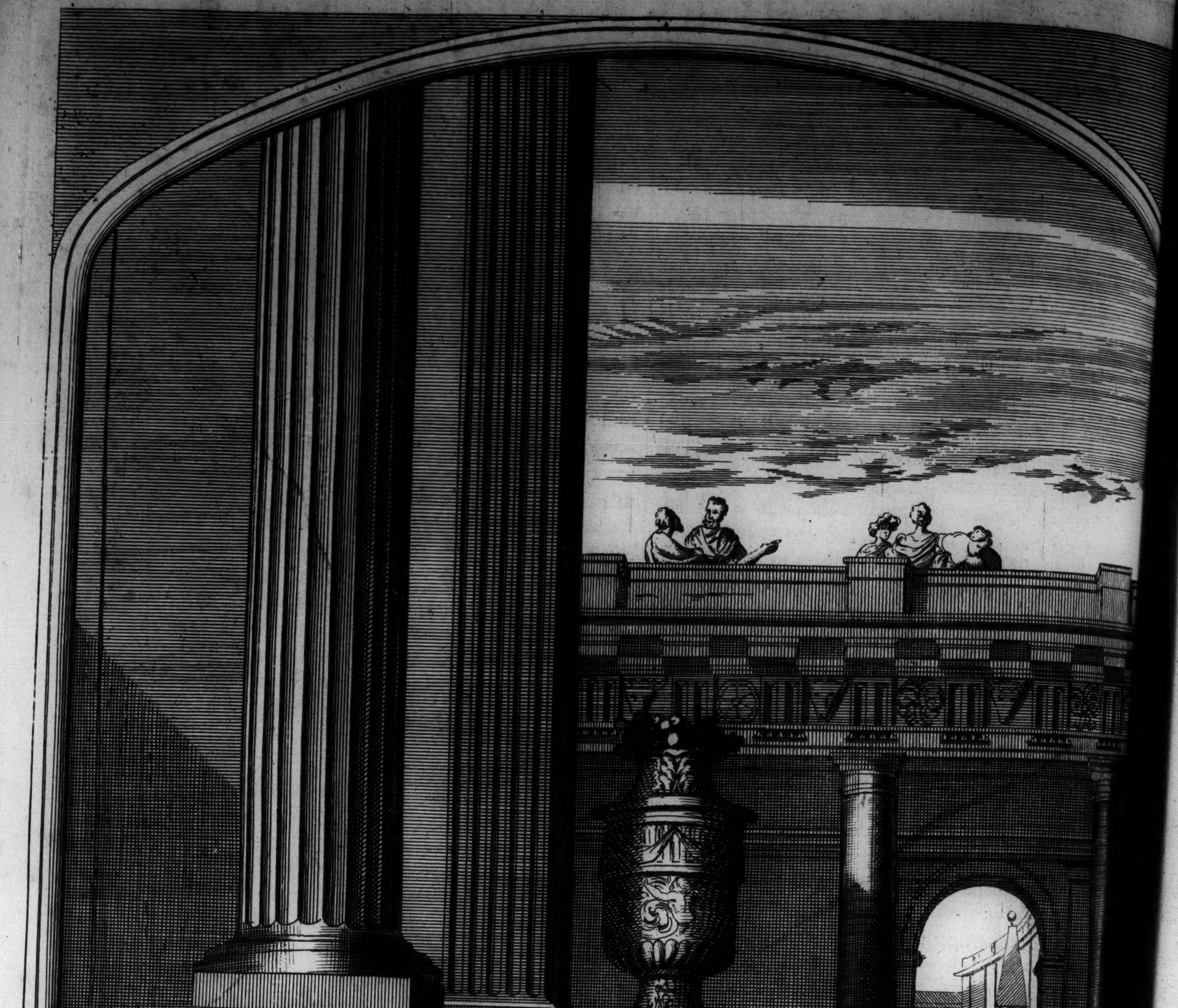

He that was born blind restored to Sight.

John. IX.

good Pleaſure of God, who revealed them to him. He therefore gave them this Anſwer: Wonder not, if I affirm that *Abraham* ſaw theſe Days; for [h] I exiſted, and God had decreed to ſend me to acquaint Mankind with his Laws, and the Rewards annexed to the Obſervance of them, long before *Abraham* had a Being. *With which Words the* Jews *were ſo very much offended, he ſeeming by them to prefer himſelf to* Abraham, *that they took up Stones to throw at him. But* Jeſus *having caſt a Miſt before their Eyes, ſaved himſelf through the midſt of them, and ſo eſcaped their Fury.*

XX. [i] *As* Jeſus *paſſed by, a certain Man was placed in the Way who was born blind. The Apoſtles taking Notice of him, aſked their Maſter the Reaſon of his Blindneſs;* Is it, *ſaid they,* the Puniſhment of ſome Sins [k] committed by his Soul in a precedent State, or of ſome Sin of either of his Parents? Jeſus *replied:* This Blindneſs is not the Puniſhment of his Parents Sins; but God did not hinder his being born blind, that my Power might one Day be manifeſted in the Cure of him. While the Time of my Miniſtry laſts, I muſt exert that Power of working Miracles with which he that ſent me has intruſted me; for the Time draws near, in which I ſhall not be corporeally preſent among Men, nor ſhew thoſe Miracles I now do in their Preſence. As Men therefore are ſolicitous to complete their Day's Work before the Night ſteals upon them, ſo muſt I while I am here on Earth lay hold on the Occaſion, if I would have my miraculous Power be obſerved by Men. While I am among them I muſt enlighten their Minds by my Doctrine, in like Manner as I ſhall beſtow the Senſe of Seeing on this Man in Preſence of you all. — *Having thus ſpoke, he ſpat on the Ground, and made a* [l] *Kind of Clay of the Duſt and Spittle mixt together, with which he anointed the blind Man's Eyes. Then ſaid he to him,* Go thy Way, and waſh thy Eyes in the Pool of *Siloam*, *(which ſignifies* ſent.) *The Man having done as he was ordered, returned from the Pool with the perfect Uſe of his Eyes.*

XXII. [m] *The Neighbours of the Man, and thoſe that had ſeen him before, and knew he was born blind, enquired of one another whether he was not that very Perſon who was wont to beg an Alms in the Road of thoſe that paſſed by? Some ſaid it was the very ſame: Others denied this, and would only have it that he very much reſembled him. But the Man himſelf plainly diſcovered who he was. They aſked him therefore after what Manner he had got his Eye-Sight, with which he had not been before endued. He replied, that he had been cured by* Jeſus, *and in the Manner we have related. They aſked then where* Jeſus *was. He told them, he knew not, becauſe as he parted from him, he went and waſhed in the Pool of* Siloam, *and had not beheld him ſince he had acquired his Eye-Sight. Upon hearing of this, they hurried him away with them to the* Sanhedrim, *that by this Man's Teſtimony they might accuſe* Jeſus *of having violated the Sabbath: For it was on the Sabbath-day he had anointed the Eyes of the blind Man with the Clay which he made. The* Phariſees *again demanded of him in the* Sanhedrim, *by what Means he had obtained his Sight; which the Man ingenuouſly related to them. Upon this Occaſion, ſome of the* Phariſees *argued that* Jeſus *could not be ſent by God, becauſe he had broke the Sabbath; while others contended that they could not conceive how a bad Man, and a Violater of the Laws of God, could perform ſo many and ſo great Miracles, as it was conſtantly reported had been done by* Jeſus. *Thus the Members of that Aſſembly were divided in their Opinions concerning him. Some of them then aſked him that had been born blind, what his Opinion was of him; who replied, He took him for a Prophet.*

XXIII. [n] *The Man having made this Profeſſion in the* Sanhedrim, *there were ſome who would not believe he was born blind, unleſs his Parents would vouch the ſame; who therefore were ſent for, and being aſked whether this were their Son that was born blind, and by what Means he acquired his Eye-Sight, replied,* [o] *That they knew very well this was their Son, and that he had been blind from his Birth, but that they were ignorant by whom and how he had been cured, being not preſent when the Cure was wrought: That they might examine their Son, who was of Age to anſwer for himſelf. Now the Parents of the blind Man ſpake thus, becauſe they were afraid of the* Sanhedrim, *who, as they knew very well, had come to this Reſolution, that if any owned* Jeſus *for the* Meſſiah, [p] *he ſhould be turned out of the Synagogue. For which Reaſon they were afraid of ſpeaking what they thought, but referred the* Sanhedrim *to the Examination of their Son, who, as they urged, was of Age to anſwer in his own Cauſe. The Man therefore was called into the Aſſembly again, and commanded to ſpeak the Truth; it appearing, as they ſaid, after a mature Examination, that* Jeſus *was a Contemner of the Law. The Man conſtantly replied, that truly for his Part he knew not whether* Jeſus *were a Contemner of the Law or not, but he knew very well, that he was perfectly*

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[h] The Oppoſition between the Characters of Chriſt and Abraham, is not between Chriſt's being the Meſſiah, and Abraham's being the Father of many Nations, but between the Birth of Abraham and the Being of Chriſt.

[i] John ix. 1——7.

[k] The Opinion of the Platoniſts and Pythagoreans, concerning the Tranſmigration of Souls from one Body to another, and being put into better or worſe Bodies according to their Merit, had obtained among the Jews, being perhaps derived to them from their Brethren of Alexandria.

[l] The Fathers obſerve that Chriſt, to illuſtrate his divine Power, uſed that to anoint the blind Man's Eyes which was the greateſt Impediment to ſeeing, and moſt pernicious to the Eyes; (tho' the Jews thought Spittle good for the Eyes, as we now do:) And he does this on the Sabbath-Day, on which it was not lawful ſo much as to anoint the Eyes, in Oppoſition to the Superſtition of the Phariſees in that Particular.

[m] John ix. 8——17.

[n] John ix. 18——34.

[o] The Parents here ſeem to have been faulty, in denying that which they had learned from their Son for Fear of the Jews.

[p] That is, He ſhould lie under the Sentence of Excommunication, which ſeparated him four Cubits from the Society of others; but left him free, at that Diſtance, either to expound Traditions, or to hear them expounded, in the Synagogue; but perhaps not to join with them in Prayers, or giving of Thanks.

blind before, he now enjoyed his Sight. They demanded of him again, what it was that Jeſus *did in order to cure him. The Man anſwered, that he had ſatisfied them as to that Point already, and could ſee no Reaſon for their putting the ſame Queſtion again to him, unleſs they alſo were inclined to be his Diſciples. The* Phariſees *upon this reviling him, told him; That he indeed was* Jeſus's *Diſciple, but as for them, they owned only* Moſes *for their Maſter: That they were ſure* Moſes *was ſent by God, but as for this* Jeſus, *they knew not whence he came, nor with what Authority he acted. The Man then told them, that it was ſtrange they ſhould not know from whence* Jeſus *was, who had performed ſuch a Miracle as the curing one that was born blind:* For, *ſaid he*, it is a Thing agreed on, that God never grants the Requeſts of the Wicked, and that he performs his Miracles in Behalf of them only that revere him, and obey his Laws. 'Twas never yet heard of, that the Eyes of [r] one born blind had been opened, nor can I conceive how *Jeſus* could do any Thing like it, unleſs by the divine Aſſiſtance. *The Members of the Aſſembly were vehemently offended at the Man's Speech, and ſaid with Indignation*; Doſt thou attempt to inſtruct us in Matters relating to the Law, thou who, as it appears from thy having been born blind, wert puniſhed in this Life for ſome heinous Offences committed in a precedent State? *Upon this they commanded him to be caſt out of the Synagogue with Ignominy.*

XXIV. [ſ] Jeſus *having heard of this Accident, and the Puniſhment inflicted on him, for having publicly owned before the* Sanhedrim *that he took* Jeſus *for a Prophet, and meeting with him not long after, asked him whether he believed on the Son of God, or the* Meſſiah? *The Man replied, that he was ready to believe on him, and deſired to know who he was.* Jeſus *perceiving him to ſpeak from his Heart*; Thou haſt now ſeen him, *ſaid he*, and it is he thou now talkeſt with. *The Man hereupon fell down at his Feet with this Exclamation*; Lord, I believe! *After which* Jeſus *having Regard to the Cure that had been wrought upon him, thus expreſſed himſelf before a numerous Auditory:* I came here on Earth with Deſign to do Good to all Men; but ſo it happens by the Obſtinacy of ſome Men, that they who were before blind ſhall become clear-ſighted, and thoſe that before ſaw, ſhall be intirely blinded. *Implying, that Men wholly ignorant, and as much in the Dark in what relates to the underſtanding of the Scriptures, as that blind Man was with reſpect to corporeal Light, ſhould now be enlightened with the bright Beams of the Goſpel; and that on the other Hand thoſe who were accounted learned and clear-ſighted in the Writings of the Prophets, ſhould in a ſhort Time be charged with Ignorance and Blindneſs. For which Reaſon ſome of the* Phariſees *who had heard* Jeſus, *imagining he had reflected upon them, asked him whether he thought they were blind? Then ſaid* Jeſus, If you were blind you would not be culpable in this Matter: Now, as you would have it believed, being ſo clear-ſighted, your Obſtinacy is altogether inexcuſable.

XXV. [t] *Then he ſpake to them in this Similitude:* [u] Whoever comes into the Sheepfold any other Way than at the Door, is to be accounted a Thief and a Robber; for the Door is never ſhut againſt the true Shepherd, but as ſoon as ever he knocks, the Door-keeper opens it to him, and the Sheep know his Voice, and follow him wherever he pleaſes. But a Stranger's Voice they will fly from, ſo far will they be from following him. *The* Jews *did not comprehend his Meaning in this Parable, though he repreſented to them, not obſcurely, that he was that Shepherd who had been inveſted with the Office by God himſelf, which he entred upon by performing his Miracles among them, quite contrary to the evil Spirits, and thoſe poſſeſſed by them, who invading the Miniſtry, uſe all their Tricks to ſurprize the Sheep. Farther, the true Shepherd was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the ſincere Lovers of Truth, who would alſo carefully avoid thoſe Counterfeits that would allure them out of the Sheepfold, vnd expoſe them to the Danger of being loſt in an endleſs Labyrinth of Error.*

XXVI. [w] *That the* Jews *might therefore perceive that he diſcourſed to them of himſelf, continuing the ſame allegorical Strain,* [x] I am, *ſaid he*, the only Gate at which the Sheep can enter; thoſe that have before pretended to it, have been mere Cheats and Robbers, whoſe Buſineſs it was to miſlead the Sheep, that is, to pervert the Good, who never gave ear to them. I only am the Gate; whoever embraces my Doctrine ſhall enter into the Sheepfold, and remain in Safety, and be nouriſhed with the Food of my Doctrine. The Thief comes only that he may ſteal and kill the Sheep, and the Impoſtor's Buſineſs is to make a Prey of thoſe he can impoſe on. I am come to Mankind, as the Shepherd viſits his Flock, not that they may have wherewith to ſupply the mere Neceſſities of Life, but a Plenty of it. I am that true Shepherd, who am ready to expoſe my Life in Defence of the Sheep. But the [y] Hireling, who feeds the Flock of another Man, ſeeing the Wolf coming, forſakes his Charge, and leaves them to be devoured and diſperſed by him, being only a Mercenary, and conſequently thinking it not worth while to run the Hazard of his Life for them. But I am, as I ſaid, the true Shepherd, who know my Sheep, and am known by them. My Father knows whatever I deſign, and I know what he expects from me; and whenever it is neceſſary, will not refuſe to lay down my Life for them, becauſe it is his good Pleaſure. But [z] other Sheep I have beſide thoſe of the *Jewiſh* Nation, whom I am to bring into one Sheepfold, together with the believing *Jews.* They, when acquainted with the Goſpel, will perceive its divine Original; and ſo it will fall out, that all my Sheep ſhall be gathered into one Sheepfold, and be under the Care of one Shepherd. And my Father loves me, becauſe I am diſpoſed to die, that I may bring Salvation to them: But the Life I ſhall loſe for their Sakes, I ſhall alſo recover. No one can take it from me, if I conſent not; but I will freely lay it down for a ſhort Time, for I have the Power conferred upon me of parting with it, and reſuming it again. Theſe Commands I have received from my Father. *Upon this Speech of* Jeſus, *the* Jews *were again divided in their Opinions concerning him; ſome ſaying he was over-run with Melancholy, or poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit; while others ſaid, that this was not the Speech of a Man out of his Wits, and asked one another whether the* Demons *could give Sight to the Blind?*

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[r] They who loſe their Sight by a Diſeaſe, may be cured; but no Man, no not Moſes, or the Prophets, ever did, or could, without the Aſſiſtance of a divine Power, give Sight to one who was born blind.

[ſ] John ix. 35——41.

[t] John x. 1——6.

[u] Chriſt directs this Parable to the Scribes and Phariſees, who took upon them to be Teachers of the People; but our Saviour proves them to be blind Guides, who had not received Authority from God for what they taught.

[w] John x. 7——21.

[x] Chriſt had repreſented himſelf before as the Door of the true Shepherds; here he declares himſelf the Door of the Sheep alſo, ſhewing that there is no Entrance into the Church but by Faith in him, and embracing his Doctrine.

[y] The Hireling here, is not he who receives Maintenance from his particular Flock; for this he may do by Virtue of Chriſt's Ordinance: But he who is an Intruder, *whoſe the Sheep are not*, and he who intends not their Good ſo much as his own Profit.

DISSERTATION.

In Defence of the Hiſtory of the Man born blind, that was cured by *Chriſt.*

I. *Objections againſt this Miracle. 'Tis certain that the blind Man was not curable by natural Means. St.* John's *Deſcription of his Caſe defended. Several Caſes pretended to be parallel to this, particularly that of* Adrian. II. *The Opinions of* Ariſtotle, Caſaubon, Aetius, Bartholine, Beverovicius, Schurman, Ader, *and* Grotius, *concerning natural Blindneſs.* III. *The Means uſed by* Jeſus *not medicinal, yet not vain and trifling. Symbolical Remedies uſed by the antient* Jewiſh *Prophets, and the primitive Chriſtians. Reaſons why* Jeſus *uſed ſo much Apparatus. The Opinion of the Fathers concerning this Cure.* IV. *No good Account that natural Blindneſs was ever cured. The Story of* Ophioneus *the Prophet.* Jeſus *could not haſten the blind Man's Cure without a miraculous Knowledge. No Fraud practicable in this Caſe. Want of moral Qualifications not to be compared with Want of natural.* V. Chryſoſtom *miſrepreſented. That Father's Arguments for the natural Impoſſibility of this Cure. For the Uſe of the Clay and Spittle,* &c.

I. [a] MR. *Woolſton* begins his fourth Diſcourſe with Remarks on a Miracle of *Jeſus*, recorded in the preceding Chapter, namely, that of his *giving Sight to a Man, who was born blind.* On this Miracle, as recorded in the ninth Chapter of St. *John*, and in our Paraphraſe, he makes, agreeably to his former Practice, ſome Animadverſions in Point of Reaſon, and afterwards reſolves the Whole into an allegorical Expoſition of the Fathers, which, as he pretends, favours his Scheme. Conformably, therefore, to the Method uſed in examining his other Diſcourſes, we ſhall here conſider the Difficulties he has ſtarted in Point of Reaſon againſt the literal Senſe of this Miracle, which are the only of his Objections that are worthy of Notice.

His Objections in Point of Reaſon againſt this Miracle are theſe; That [b] *by the Account given of the Cure of the blind Man in St.* John's *Goſpel, it is uncertain whether he was not curable by Art or Nature; and that* Jeſus *uſed human Means, and therefore the Cure was not* miraculous. And again, He asks ſome other Queſtions, in which not only his principal Difficulties, but the ſecond Objection here mentioned, are contained. Such as theſe: [c] *What was the Reaſon of* Jeſus's *Uſe of this Eye-Salve made of Clay and Spittle? Whether, if it was of Service to the Cure of the blind Man, it does not deſtroy the Miracle? And if it had no Effect in the Cure of him, whether* Jeſus *was not a vain and trifling Operator, making Uſe of inſignificant and impertinent Medicines, to the Diminution of his divine Power?"* And on this Occaſion he adds, that "*a grave, rational, and ſubſtantial Anſwer is expected to theſe Queſtions; ſuch as will be a Vindication of the Wiſdom and Power of* Jeſus, *without any Diminution of the Miracle.*

As to the firſt Objection, *That it is uncertain from the Account given in the Goſpel, of the Cure of the blind Man, whether he was not curable by Art or natural Means*; we anſwer, that it is expreſly aſſerted in that Account by the moſt competent Witneſſes, that is the Parents of the blind Man, after a ſtrict Examination of them by the *Phariſees* and other *Jews*, that the Perſon cured *was born blind.* Theſe are their ſignificant Words; [d] *We know that this is our Son, and that he was born blind.* And if ſo, it is not uncertain, as is pretended, whether he was curable by Art or natural Means. For what the cured Man himſelf ſaid, with a great Deal of good Senſe as well as Bravery, is generally allowed to be true by Phyſicians and Naturaliſts, and indeed all other impartial Enquirers; That [e] *ſince the World began was it not heard, that any Man opened the Eyes of one that was born blind:* That is, it has not been credibly ſo heard in any well-atteſted Hiſtory. And therefore the cured Man goes on, and infers rightly, that [f] *if* Jeſus *were not of God, he could do nothing*; that is, on ſuch an Occaſion.

This is ſo good an Account of the Cure's being miraculous, that we need not be at all ſurprized to find that Mr. *Woolſton* complains, that [g] *this Story is long, and would take up more Time than he has to ſpare at preſent, to go thro' all the Parts of it.* But tho' he has ſo cautiouſly declined the Conſideration of the Cured Man's Argument for a Miracle in the Caſe, namely his Appeal to the Experience of Mankind, we think it not improper to enlarge a little upon that Topic.

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[z] He calls the Gentiles Sheep by Way of Anticipation, becauſe as many of them as were docile, and fit to receive Inſtruction, would in Time be ſo, the Partition Wall between Jew and Gentile being juſt now ready to be broken down.

[a] Vind. Vol. ii. p. 2. &c.

[b] Diſc. iv. p. 7, 8, 10. &c

[c] P. 15, 16.

[d] John ix. 20.

[e] Ver. 32.

[f] Ver. 33.

However, in Vindication of the Evangelical Hiſtorian, St. *John*, as being here accuſed, together with the other Evangeliſts, of not being minute and diſtinct enough in the Account of the Diſeaſes that were cured by *Jeſus*, we ſhall previouſly ſay ſomewhat on this Occaſion. Mr. *Woolſton* ſeems to have expected in the ſacred Hiſtorian ſo particular an Account of the original Defect in the Eyes of the blind Man, as might gratify the Curioſity of a Phyſician or Surgeon; that is, whether the Fault was in the Optick Nerves, or in which of the Humours or Tunicks of the Eyes; or whether it was an original *Gutta ſerena*, or an impenetrable *Cataract* and *Suffuſion*, which obſtructed Viſion from the firſt Formation of the Eyes in the Womb. But the Evangeliſt was too wiſe to put the Credit of this Miracle of *Jeſus* on ſo diſputable a Theory of Sight and Blindneſs; and therefore prudently and juſtly placed it on the general Notions and Experience of Mankind, as to the incurable Nature of Blindneſs from the Womb. And indeed Mr. *Woolſton* would have done well to have informed his Readers, what other Hiſtorians there are extant, who mentioning Blindneſs, and the Cure of it, enter into anatomical and chirurgical Diſquiſitions on that Occaſion, and whether they are more copious than St. *John* is throughout his whole Narrative and Examination of this Cure. For if he had conſulted Hiſtorians, who have incidentally mention'd the Cures of blind Men, he would have found that none of them record ſo minute an Account of the Nature of their Blindneſs, as he rigidly exacts from St. *John*. And the Reaſon is obvious; for they wrote as Hiſtorians, and not as Naturaliſts or Phyſicians. And for the Truth of this Obſervation, we refer the Reader to [h] *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Dion Caſſius*, *Spartianus*, *Pauſanias*, and the Sophiſt *Ariſtides*.

Not only a particular ſort of Blindneſs is aſſerted by the Evangeliſt to been have cured by *Jeſus*, (in direct Contradiction to Mr. *Woolſton*'s Affirmation, that it is left uncertain what ſort of Blindneſs it was;) but it is added, by way of Confirmation of the Miracle, that the Man who was born blind, was cured of his Blindneſs when he was [i] *of Age*. And indeed by his Language and Behaviour he appears to have arrived at a Maturity of Underſtanding, as well as of Years. And conſequently, his natural Blindneſs at thoſe Years was too inveterate a Diſtemper, and too deeply rooted in ſome original Defect of his Eyes, either to be cured by natural Means, or to vaniſh of itſelf in ſome Time, as our Author [k] vainly argues from what ſometimes happens in other ſlight Diſtempers of the Eye, or other Parts of the Body. But this latter Suggeſtion ſhall be by and by farther conſider'd.

That there is the higheſt Improbability, (and the Proof of an abſolute Impoſſibility cannot be reaſonably expected in any Caſe of this kind,) that natural Blindneſs from the Womb, and eſpecially ſo inveterate and of ſo long a ſtanding as the preſent one, is capable of being cured by Art, appears not only from the general Senſe of Mankind, as appealed to by the Cured Man in the Hiſtory now in View, but from the Hiſtory of all Ages and Nations, and the declared Opinion of the moſt competent Judges, whether profeſſed Phyſicians or other learned Perſons, and thoſe too of the Laity, to whoſe Judgment Mr. *Woolſton* pays a peculiar Regard.

As for the [m] pretended Cures of blind Men by *Veſpaſian* and *Greatrack*, we have ſet them in a true Light before our Vindication of our *Saviour*'s firſt Miracle. And indeed they do not come up to the preſent Caſe of a natural inveterate Blindneſs. And as for the late Emperick *Read*, ſo vainly propoſed as a Rival of *Jeſus* in the Cure of Blindneſs, or any other more modern Emperick, that might be propoſed for the ſame Purpoſe, tho' theſe might couch a Cataract, or diſcuſs ſome vicious Humours and Films in the Eye, yet where do we find that they cured any Perſon of abſolute Blindneſs, or any one that was known to be born blind? Or what unexceptionable Inſtance of the artificial Cure of one born blind can any one produce, in order to oppoſe to conſtant Experience and the Nature of the Thing itſelf? We ſay, what unexceptionable Inſtance can they aſſign? For that there may be a few fabulous and ill-grounded Accounts of the Cure of even natural Blindneſs from the Birth by ſome pretended Gift or other, we are not ſo prejudiced as to deny. Mr. *Woolſton* has not indeed produced any one proper Inſtance of ſuch a pretended Cure; but we may venture to ſupply his Friends with the moſt plauſible Inſtance that is to be met with, together with a Detection of its Falſhood. It is the pretended Cure of one born blind by *Adrian* the *Roman* Emperor, recorded in *Spartianus* the Writer of his Life. But that the Story itſelf was not believed before *Spartianus* wrote, appears very clearly from *Spartianus* himſelf, who is ſo ingenuous as to acquaint us, [n] that the Truth of the Fact was formerly much doubted of by *Marius Maximus*, [o] who was one of the firſt and chief *Auguſtan* Hiſtorians among the *Romans*, and from whom *Spartianus* is well known to have generally copied his Account of *Adrian*. And therefore, ſince it does not appear that *Spartianus* had received any new Information that was capable of balancing the confeſſed Doubts of the original Writer *Marius Maximus*, what may be thought to be ſuggeſted by *Spartianus*, is of no Authority. And much leſs can it be pretended to be of any Credit, when *Salmaſius*, the celebrated Editor of the *Auguſtan Hiſtory*, aſſures us, [p] that the true Text of *Spartianus* is not one *born blind*, but one that had been *blind for a long Time*, as it is read in the *Palatine* Manuſcript; from which, as the beſt and moſt valuable Copy extant, *Salmaſius* informs us, he publiſhed *Spartianus* and the other *Auguſtan* Hiſtorians.

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[g] Diſc. iv. p. 22.

[h] Vid. Tacit. Hiſtor. 4. Sueton. & Dio. Caſſ. in Veſpaſ. Spartian. in Adrian. Pauſan. in Meſſeniac. Ariſtid. in Puteo Æſculap.

[i] John ix. 21. [k] Diſc. iv. p. 8. [l] p. 7. [m] p. 5, 6, [n] Salmaſius in loc. Spartian.

[o] Vid. Iſ. Caſaub. in loc. Spartian. in Adrian.

II. But Mr. *Woolſton* requires, that in order to aſcertain the Miraculouſneſs of this Cure of the Man born blind by *Jeſus*, ſuch a Repreſentation ought to have been made of it, as that *ſkilful and experienced Perſons may give it upon their Judgment that no Skill of Man could reach that Operation, but that it ought to paſs for the Work of a Divine and Almighty Hand and Power*. We ſhall therefore now ſhew that ſuch a Repreſentation of the preſent Caſe has been actually made, as has extorted from ſeveral Phyſicians and other ſkilful Perſons a full Acknowledgment of a ſupernatural or miraculous Cure of the Man born blind, as it is recorded in the Goſpel; and again, that it has in general been acknowledged by others of that Character, that the Cure of a Man born blind is above the Power of Nature, and therefore Miraculous. As a *Specimen* on this Occaſion, we ſhall here mention the Opinions of ſome learned Perſons.

Ariſtotle, (who muſt ever be conſider'd as a great Naturaliſt, if it were only for the ſake of his Hiſtory of Animals,) is cited by the moſt learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*, as ſomewhere ſaying, [q] that no Perſon that is born blind is capable of Sight. He does not indeed cite the Treatiſe where *Ariſtotle* ſays ſo; but that Philoſopher ſpeaks in the like Manner in his [r] *Logick*; tho' probably he may repeat the ſame as a known Truth, in his other voluminous Writings. And on this Occaſion we cannot but obſerve, that *Caſaubon* himſelf, whilſt he cites *Ariſtotle*, confirms the Truth of what he cites him for, by ſaying, *That it is evident to all Men, or is univerſally acknowledged, that no Perſon born blind is capable of Sight*. From which he juſtly infers, that *it is abſolutely neceſſary that he muſt be ſuperior to Nature, who can perform that Operation*, of giving Sight to a Perſon born blind. This additional Teſtimony of ſo illuſtrious a Perſon in the learned World ſhould have its juſt Weight.

Another ancient Writer that we ſhall cite, and he an eminent Phyſician, is *Aetius*, the well-known Abridger of all the ancient Phyſick. He ſpeaks thus; " [s] The exceſſive Weakneſſes, or Diſſolutions, or Ruptures of the whole Eye, are ſcarce curable, and eſpecially in Men advanced in Years. But if the Diſſolution of the Eye happen'd from the Nativity of the blind Man, it is impoſſible to cure it." Which is too applicable to the Caſe in View to want any Commentary.

The next Writer we ſhall cite is the famous *Bartholine*, ſo frequently quoted in this Work as an eminent Naturaliſt and Phyſician. On this Occaſion he firſt refers for the Reaſon of the Uſe of the Clay in *Jeſus*'s curing the blind Man [t] to *Beverovicius*'s Queſtion about it in his Epiſtles, and to *Schurmanna*'s Anſwer, as likewiſe to *Daniel Heinſius*'s learned Diſcourſe upon it. From theſe, *Bartholine*'s Senſe of this Matter may be learned, and more eſpecially from the former. He afterwards diſſents indeed from the Notion of many of the Fathers, That [u] *Jeſus* created entirely new Eyes for the blind Man; but then he acknowledges that *it was as eaſy for* Chriſt *to create as to open his Eyes*. He afterwards adds, that *the* Pagans *counterfeited ſome Miracles in imitation of this*; and he exemplifies that Aſſertion in the pretended Cure of a blind Perſon by *Veſpaſian* with Spittle; and conſequently, *Bartholine* acknowledged in general the Miraculouſneſs of the Cure of the blind Man by *Jeſus*; tho' it were to be wiſhed that the Diſſertation of ſo learned a Phyſician, on this Subject, had been larger and more particular than it is. However, we may more fully learn his Senſe from *Beverovicius* and *Schurman*, to whoſe Solution of the Caſe he refers.

Beverovicius, on the preſent Occaſion, conſults the celebrated *Anna Maria a Schurman*, as an Oracle of Learning, and at the ſame time delivers thus his own Opinion: [w] *Since our Lord could not only reſtore the Health of thoſe who laboured under incurable Diſeaſes, on all Occaſions, by his mere Touch, and by his mere Word, but even revived the Dead by the ſame, what Reaſon is there to be aſſigned why he choſe to uſe a ſort of Ointment in healing the blind Man? The great* Grotius *has judiciouſly obſerved, that it was not without good Reaſon that the blind Man is ſaid in the Goſpel to have been ſo* from his Birth, *becauſe it is certain that ſuch a Defect is incurable by the Art of Man. But had this Ointment any thing medicinal in it? What if we ſay, that the* Duſt ſprinkled with Spittle, *in* Auſtin's *Phraſe, had a digeſting, attenuating, and cleanſing Quality? Even our Quack-Doctreſſes acknowledge ſuch a Quality in Spittle. And as for Duſt, there is a Quality of drying up Moiſture in it, as was acknowledged by* Pliny. *But both theſe, ſingly or jointly, are a weak and inſufficient Remedy for curing Blindneſs.*

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[p] Salmaſ. in loc. Spart. Not *Natus cæcus*, but *vetus cæcus*. See alſo Gruterus in loc. eund. Spartiani.

[q] Vid. Iſaac. Caſaubon. in Johan. ix. 1.

[r] Vid. Ariſtotel. in Categoriis de Oppoſitis. Tom. I. p. 46. Par. 1654.

[s] Vid. Aëtii Tetrabibl. 2. Serm. 3. p. 264. Tom. II. Jano Cornario interprete. Lug. 1560.

[t] Cur Chriſtus in ſanando cæco linimento & pulvere ſputo conſperſo uſus ſit, quærit Jo. Beverovicius Epiſt. Quæſt. 3. reſpondetque Nobilis Virgo Schurmanna. De Pulvere vero —— eruditè diſſerit Dan. Heinſius Exercit, ſacr. c. 8.

[u] Vid. Tho. Bartholin. de morbis Biblicis, apud Cren. Faſcicul. 5tum, p, 493. Roterod. 1695.

[w] Vid. J. Beverovic. M. D. Epiſtol. Quæſt. & Schurmannæ Reſponſ. p. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. Roterod. 1644. 8vo.

To this *Anna Maria a Schurman* thus replies: *We may affirm in general, that our Saviour deſignedly uſed a Variety of Symbols and external Appearances, that the ſuperſtitious Temper of Mankind might not aſcribe to thoſe outward Signs, (as they would if the Symbols had always been the ſame, and uſed in the very ſame Manner,) an Efficacy which was juſtly to be aſcribed to the Divine Power alone. Again, what comes up nearer to the Point, and is very probable, is, that our Lord uſed ſuch contemptible and ſeemingly contrary Remedies for curing Blindneſs, partly to ſhew that he did not act in a natural, but a ſupernatural Manner; and partly to try the Faith and ſubmiſſive Diſpoſition of the blind Man himſelf by this ſort of Amuſements, and demonſtrate them to all Men.—But the Queſtion ultimately is, Whether this Ointment had any real Remedy in it?—However Phyſicians may diſpute about the Nature of Dirt or Clay, and whatever cleanſing, attenuating, and drying Quality they may pretend there is in it, yet they will always ſtick faſt in this Mire, if they are willing to find out ſome medicinal Remedy for Blindneſs in Dirt or Clay. For there appears no more medicinal Virtue in it, nor any more Congruity for producing effectually this Miracle, than in* Chriſt's *Curing the deaf and dumb Man merely by putting his Fingers into his Ears, and by ſpitting and touching his Tongue, as the Evangeliſt ſpeaks: Actions, that admit of no Pretence to a natural Remedy. If then I muſt decide this Controverſy, I cannot but approve of St.* Ambroſe's *Opinion of the Caſe, that the Cure of the Man born blind was not a Work of human Art, but of Divine Power: For our Lord beſtowed Health upon him, but did not practiſe Phyſick in the Operation.*

Another Phyſician, namely the learned *Ader*, cited before on ſeveral Occaſions, in his Treatiſe on the Diſeaſes mention'd in the Goſpels, writes thus about the Cures of Blindneſs by *Jeſus*. After he has there aſſigned the ſeveral Cauſes of Blindneſs, theſe are his remarkable Words: [x] *Which Cauſes, and all others, in Caſe of an inveterate and confirmed Blindneſs, it is certain and well known by Experience are not to be removed, but the Cure of ſuch a ſort of Blindneſs is to be depaired of. And I will take upon me to demonſtrate, that ſuch a Cure was impoſſible. Who can pretend to ſay, that in* Paleſtine *the Blind, long ſince deprived of all Light, and confirmed in their Diſtemper, were capable of any Cure by Art? Will it be ſuggeſted, that* Paleſtine, *which was a Country that abounded with all ſorts of Remedies, wanted Remedies for the Eye-ſight? Moſt aſſuredly Phyſick itſelf is blind in the Caſe of perfect Blindneſs.* Indeed when *Ader* aſſerts this, he ſpeaks immediately about the other blind Perſons who were cured by *Jeſus*, and not of this Cure of the Man that was born blind: For we have only extant the firſt Part of his Work. However, this Extract of his Opinion of the Impoſſibility of Curing by Art that inveterate Blindneſs, which was cured by *Jeſus* in ſeveral Inſtances, holds ſtrongly in the Caſe of the Cure of the Man born blind, and neceſſarily ſuppoſes the Miraculouſneſs of it.

To theſe Judgments of learned Men we ſhall now only ſubjoin that of the moſt learned *Grotius*, well known to be a Lay-man; and therefore one whoſe Evidence cannot in either Capacity, of State of Life, or Qualification of Learning, be excepted againſt. This great Man comments thus on theſe Words of the Hiſtory of this Cure; [y] *Blind from his Birth.* This is added very reaſonably; for it is certain that that Defect is incurable by any human Means.

And again, on the Words, [z] *One that was born blind*, he makes this Obſervation; "Theſe Words are uſed here *emphatically*. For otherwiſe there are many that loſe their Eye-ſight by ſome Diſtemper of which they are capable of being cured, as not being perfectly blind."

Now from theſe ſeveral Opinions of the moſt competent and ſkilful Judges, it appears clearly of what Kind this particular Blindneſs was, as likewiſe that it was incurable by any human Means. So that theſe learned Men, (and many others no doubt might be added,) concur on this Occaſion with the general Senſe of Mankind, in direct Oppoſition to Mr. *Woolſton*'s Aſſertion, and therefore give a juſt Anſwer to his firſt Objection.

III. This Author's other Objections are contained in the following Queſtions; [a] *What was the Reaſon of* Jeſus's *Uſe of this Eye-ſalve made of Clay and Spittle? Whether, if it was of Service to the Cure of the blind Man, it does not deſtroy the Miracle? And if it had no Effect in the Cure of him, whether* Jeſus *was not a vain and trifling Operator, making uſe of inſignificant and impertinent Medicines to the Diminution of his Divine Power?* Which Queſtions are reducible to this *Dilemma:* "Either the Compoſition of Earth and Spittle was medicinal, and cured the Blindneſs by its natural Virtue, and then the Cure was no Miracle, as being effected by a proper Remedy; or, that Compoſition did not cure the Blindneſs by its natural Virtue, and then it was a vain and trifling Remedy." That it was not a natural Remedy is univerſally confeſſed; and conſequently, it is vain and trifling to pretend that *Jeſus*'s Uſe of it deſtroys the Credit of the Miracle. As to the latter Part of this *Dilemma*, the Words *vain* and *trifling* in it are ambiguous, and the Conſequence drawn from them is falſe. For as a natural Means, the Compoſition of Dirt and Spittle was ineffectual in working the Cure, and therefore may be ſaid to have been *vainly* uſed in this Senſe of the Word *vain:* But it was not uſed by *Jeſus* in a vain and trifling Manner, ſince the following good Reaſons are to be given for his Uſe of that Method, conſiſtently with the Truth of the literal Senſe of the Miracle.

Firſt, By the Uſe of an inſufficient Remedy it was demonſtrated, that the Cure of the blind Man was not performed by any natural Means, and conſequently that it was truly Miraculous.

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[y] Grot. in com. 1.

[z] Id. in com. 32.

[a] Diſc. iv. p. 15, 16.

So that the Uſe of an ineffectual Compoſition was not vain in this Reſpect, as it aſcertain'd the Reality of the Miracle.

Secondly, The Fact having thus been proved miraculous, a ſymbolical Uſe of an ineffectual Remedy is readily allow'd as proper and reaſonable; ſince that is very conſiſtent with the Suppoſition of a literal Miracle; but is inconſiſtent with Mr. *Woolſton*'s Pretenſions, which deſtroy the Miracle and the ſymbolical Uſe of the Means at once. But it may be ſhewn on Occaſion of other Miracles, proved to be literally true, that they were likewiſe deſigned to be ſymbolical. For Inſtance, the Fig-tree literally dried up in Conſequence of *Jeſus*'s Imprecation, was a Symbolical Repreſentation of the Deſtruction to which the *Jews* were devoted by *Jeſus*.

Thirdly, The Uſe of ſuch a Symbolical, tho' naturally ineffectual, Remedy, was agreeable to the Practice of the moſt eminent Prophets among the *Jews*; and therefore was no more a vain and trifling Operation of *Jeſus*, than others of the like Nature were in *Moſes*, *Elijah*, *Eliſha*, and *Iſaiah*. For Inſtance, [b] the Separation of the Waters of the Red-Sea for a Paſſage of the *Iſraelites*, and the Return of thoſe Waters to drown the *Egyptians* that purſued them, were attended with the lifting up of *Moſes*'s Rod, and the ſtretching out of his Hand over the Sea: But tho' theſe were not natural Means of dividing and reſtoring the Sea, yet the Event ſhew'd that they were not vain and trifling Operations. And thus more directly, [c] the bitter Waters of *Marah* were made ſweet by *Moſes*'s caſting a Tree into them; which ſurely of itſelf was not a natural Remedy of thoſe Waters, tho' it was not a vain and ineffectual one. Or will it be pretended, that [d] *Elijah*'s ſtretching himſelf three times on the dead Child at *Zarephath* was a natural Means of reſtoring his Life, tho' we find in the Event it was not a vain one, ſince he revived on the Uſe of it? Or again, was [e] *Eliſha*'s Cruſe of Salt, which was caſt at his Command into the Spring of Waters at *Jericho*, a natural Remedy for curing the Unwholſomneſs of thoſe Waters, and the Barrenneſs of the Land about them? tho' it is certain that this was not a vain Operation, ſince the Waters and Land were effectually healed by it. Or was the [f] *Shunamite*'s Child, which was reſtored to Life by the Application of the Parts of the Body of the ſame *Eliſha* to the correſponding Parts of the Child, revived by natural Means? And if not, was this a vain Attempt to recover the Life of the Child, when ſuch a Recovery was the Conſequence of that Application, and the Prayer attending it? Or, was the [g] *Waſhing* of *Naaman* ſeven Times in *Jordan*, by Order of the ſame Prophet, a natural Remedy of his Leproſy? And if not, was the Waſhing of the blind Man's Eyes in *Siloam* any more a vain Operation than the Waſhing of the leprous *Naaman* in *Jordan* was, when each of their Waſhings effectually recovered their reſpective Sight and Health? And once more, [h] was the Lump of Figs, which was preſcribed by *Iſaiah* to be put on the Boil of *Hezekiah*, when he was ſick unto Death, an entirely natural Means of his Recovery, and that ſo ſoon as the third Day? And if it was not, was it vainly preſcribed after God had promiſed to heal him, and to add to his Days fifteen Years?

Theſe Inſtances ſurely are ſufficient to convince any Man living, that *Jeſus's* ſymbolical Cure of the blind Man was no more vain and trifling, tho' not founded on any natural Means, than the Methods of Cure ſhewn here to have been uſed by the Old *Jewiſh* Prophets: And conſequently, the Reaſon aſſigned by the famous [i] *Abarbanel* for the ſymbolical Methods uſed by the aforeſaid *Jewiſh* Prophets, holds equally firm of the miraculous but ſymbolical Cure of the Man born blind by *Jeſus*; namely, that their reſpective Operations were evinced by ſymbolical Methods not to have been performed by natural Means; and that therefore they were truly miraculous, ſince they were performed effectually. It is evidently then a vain and trifling Objection againſt the ſymbolical Method of Cure of the blind Man, that, if not a natural Cure, it was a vain and trifling Operation. And here we cannot but obſerve farther, that not only ſome of the forementioned ſymbolical Operations of the ancient *Jewiſh* Prophets, did more exactly reſemble the Uſe of natural Means, than the Method uſed by *Jeſus* in the Cure of the Man born blind; but that thoſe Operations are here as juſtly retorted on Mr. *Woolſton*, as the Practice and Acknowledgements of the *Jews* were ſo upon *Celſus* himſelf by *Origen*: For both of them borrow the *Jewiſh* Objections upon all Occaſions, and are therefore equally anſwerable for the Weakneſs and Abſurdities of them.

But we may add to thoſe Inſtances, as a proper Argument with Chriſtians, the Method of the miraculous Cures of the Sick, as appointed by St. *James*, and in many Inſtances practiſed by the Apoſtles themſelves, namely, that of the Uſe of Oil in healing the Sick. St. *James* ſpeaks thus; [k] *Is any ſick among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with Oil in the Name of the Lord. And the Prayer of Faith ſhall raiſe the Sick, and the Lord ſhall raiſe him up.* And of the twelve *Apoſtles* it is recorded by St. *Mark*, that [l] *they caſt out many Devils, and anointed with Oil many that were ſick, and healed them.* Now here we deſire to be informed, whether the Uſe of Oil was a natural Means of Recovery of Health, when it is expreſly ſaid that *the Lord*, in conſequence of *the Prayer of Faith, raiſed up the Sick*, that is, in a miraculous Manner, and as diſtinguiſhed from the Uſe of any magical Means of Recovery. And again, whether the ſymbolical Uſe of Oil in this Caſe was a vain and trifling Operation, when it was attended with the Recovery of the Sick. This is a parallel Caſe with the other, and therefore a Solution of the one will be equally applicable to the other.

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[b] Exod. xiv. 16, 27.

[c] Exod, xv. 23, 25.

[d] 1 Kings xvii. 21, 22.

[e] 2 Kings ii. 19, 20, 21, 22.

[f] Ibid. iv. 34, 35, &c.

[g] Ibid. v. 10, 14.

[h] Ibid. xx. 5, 7. Iſaiah xxxviii. 1, 5, 21.

[i] Vid. Abarban. in Exod. & lib. Reg.

[k] Jam. v. 14, 15.

[l] Mark vi. 13.

Fourthly, Tho' it has been ſhewn in general, that the Uſe of an inſufficient Remedy in the Cure of the blind Man is a good Proof that the Cure of him was miraculous, yet ſince Mr. *Woolſton* demands, why all this Apparatus was uſed in this Miracle, when, if it were a real one, it might have been wrought by the *ſingle Word of our Lord*, we will give a more particular Anſwer to his Objection. Here it ought to be recollected that *Jeſus* was a free Agent; and therefore he muſt be allowed to perform this beneficial Miracle, and indeed all others, in what Manner he thought moſt proper. And as to the Method actually choſe by him, there are ſeveral very good Ends conſpicuous in it. Such, for Inſtance, are theſe; The Trial of the ingenuous Temper of the blind Man, and his Freedom from Superſtition about the Sabbath, the Day on which the Cure was performed; The Diſcovery of it to the People of *Jeruſalem*, at a Time when *Jeſus* was [m] threatned to be ſtoned by them; The publick Notice that muſt unavoidably have been taken of the blind Man, when his Eyes were cover'd with Clay at *Jeſus*'s Command, and he was oblig'd to go ſo far as the Pool of *Siloam* was from the Temple, which in thoſe Circumſtances could not probably be performed, thither and back again, under an Hour or two: In which Time, and that too in a Place of Concourſe, many Spectators muſt have been met, and many Queſtions no doubt have been asked about the Occaſion of ſo uncommon a Spectacle. Theſe Reaſons, together with others, (as why the Clay was uſed, and why the Spittle,) are much inſiſted on by St. *Chryſoſtome* [n] in his Homilies on this Chapter: As likewiſe the blind Man's being ſent to *Siloam* in particular for a Cure; the Preference of which to any other Water, would naturally put both the blind Man and his Spectators in Mind of the *Shiloh*, the diſtinguiſhed Prophet that was to be ſent by God, and was then actually ſent by him, for the greateſt Ends, agreeably to the well known Prophecy of *Jacob* concerning him.

As to the *Spittle*, it ſeems to have been uſed by *Jeſus* on this Occaſion, both as it had the reſemblance of a natural Remedy ſuppoſed to have been uſed in the ſlighter Caſes of weak and diſorder'd Eyes, and likewiſe as it was forbid by the *Jewiſh* traditional Conſtitutions to be put on the Eyes as a Remedy on the Sabbath-day. And for both theſe we refer to *Druſius*'s and *Lightfoot*'s Authorities. But tho' Spittle might be thought by the *Jews*, and poſſibly may ſo by others, to be good for weak and indiſpoſed Eyes, it was never pretended by the *Jews*, or any others, to be a ſufficient Remedy to remove ſo perfect a Blindneſs as that from the Birth.

And again, as the foreſaid Uſe of Spittle was canonically forbid on the Sabbath-day, our Lord ſeems to have uſed it in a ſymbolical Manner, on that Day, at once to cure the blind Man of his inveterate Diſtemper, and the blinder *Jews* of their Superſtition in keeping the Sabbath, even to the Prohibition of ſuch a Work of Mercy and Compaſſion. And this End is confirmed by a due Reflection on *Jeſus*'s Cures of ſeveral other Diſeaſes on the Sabbath-day, as Things by which he laid his Claim to the Authority of a Prophet, to whom the Breach of the Sabbath was not thought ſinful by the *Jews*; and as if he had thereby deſigned to reform the ſuperſtitious Notions of the *Jews* concerning the Sabbath, as a Work introductory to that better Covenant he was about to eſtabliſh with all Mankind.

And as to the Clay made uſe of by *Jeſus* in this Cure, it appears that as it was not any natural Means of giving ſight to the Blind, ſo neither was the Uſe of it Vain and Inſignificant, as the Cure was effectually performed, tho' by the uſe of ſymbolical Means. Here is therefore no Diminution of *Jeſus*'s Divine Power, ſince the Miracle was wrought by the very ſame Divine Power as it would have been on Suppoſition that the ſymbolical Means had not been uſed. And conſequently, when Mr. *Woolſton* pretends, that [n] *if* Jeſus *had uſed no Medicines, and if with only a Word of his Mouth he had cured the Man, and he had inſtantaneouſly recover'd as the Word was ſpoken, here would have been a real and great Miracle, let the Blindneſs or Imperfection of the Man's Sight before, be of what kind or degree ſoever*;" the Reaſon of this Aſſertion is not only groundleſs, but the ſeeming Conceſſion made is inſincere. For has he not in Fact denied the Miraculouſneſs of other inſtantaneous Cures; for inſtance, thoſe of the Woman with an Iſſue of Blood, and the Woman with a Spirit of Infirmity, and that of the Paralytic at the Pool of *Betheſda*? Or, conſiſtently with his Principles, will he acknowledge the Miraculouſneſs of the Cures of the Other blind Men that are recorded in the Goſpels? tho' their Caſes ought to be put upon a Par with him in this Reſpect, as moſt of them were cured inſtantaneouſly; ſince he would, as he declares, acknowledge the Miraculouſneſs of this Cure, if it had been inſtantaneous, *Let the Blindneſs or Imperfection of the Man's Sight before be of what Kind or Degree ſoever.*

But *Laſtly*, what ought, upon Mr. *Woolſton*'s Principles, to be deciſive in this Caſe, is the Authority of the Fathers. To them he appeals, and pretends to ſubmit his Judgment on this and all other Occaſions. Now it is certain that, notwithſtanding any of their allegorical and myſtical Interpretations of this Cure of Blindneſs, they not only aſſerted that a real Miracle was performed in this Caſe, but many of them carried the Point ſo far as to raiſe that Miracle to

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[l] Mark. vi. 13.

[m] John viii.

[n] Vid. tom. 2. p. 785, 787, &c. Savil.

[o] Diſc. iv. p. 9.

the higheſt Degree of Poſſibility. That is, they ſuppoſed that the blind Man had not merely an original Defect in his Eyes, which was incurable by human Means, but had in effect no Eyes at all, till *Jeſus* formed new Eyes for him out of his own Compoſition of Earth and Spittle. Several of them, and particularly *Irenæus*, *Cyprian*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Auſtin*, *Theophylact*, and *Nonnus* the poetical Paraphraſt, not only maintain'd a literal Miracle in this Cure, but a Miracle within a Miracle; namely, that no leſs a Power than that which originally formed the Body of Man out of Clay, did now create new Eyes for the blind Man out of the Clay made of Duſt and Spittle. So that according to this Notion, *Jeſus* actually exerted his Creating Power, and thereby evinced himſelf to be the Creator of all Things. This is an *Hypotheſis*, which whether it be well or ill founded, Mr. *Woolſton*'s Advocates cannot in Honour decline to abide by; ſince he has informed us, that [p] *the Authority of the Fathers is alone his Safe-guard againſt an ill Opinion of* Jeſus's *Miracle*, that is, with regard to the Compoſition uſed by him. So that unleſs theſe Perſons ſhall think fit to deſert the Authority of the Fathers on this deſperate Occaſion, they cannot but acknowledge not only the Truth of this Miracle in its literal Senſe, but likewiſe that it implied an Act of Creation. Other Perſons indeed may poſſibly doubt of this Opinion of the Fathers, that *Jeſus* created new Eyes out of the Clay which he made, and more eſpecially ſince the ſacred Hiſtorian expreſly mentions, [q] that *Jeſus* put Clay on the blind Man's Eyes, and open'd his Eyes: Two Actions, which ſuppoſe that the blind Man had real Eyes before theſe Operations, but which were incapable of Sight by ſome original Defect, incurable by any human Means, but which was abſolutely removed by the Power of *Jeſus*, tho' in a ſymbolical Manner. But Mr. *Woolſton* by his repeated Profeſſions of the deepeſt Veneration for the Opinions of the Fathers, tied down himſelf and his Admirers to an Acknowledgment of a literal Miracle in the Cure of this blind Man, and that too in the Formation of new Eyes for him out of the Clay made by *Jeſus*. And that many of the Fathers entertained this Opinion might be particularly ſhewn, were it neceſſary.

IV. Having taken Notice in this Diſcourſe, of Mr. *Woolſton*'s Pretence, that *Time*, *Nature*, *and Art might give Relief to this Man who was blind from his Birth*, *ſince ſome ſlighter Indiſpoſitions of the Eye*, *after Birth*, *will abate of their Malignancy*; we would here obſerve that this is not only groſly inconſequential, but when applied to the natural Vaniſhing of Blindneſs from the Birth in proceſs of Time, or to any effectual Aſſiſtance given by Art towards ſuch a ſort of giving Sight, it is pronounced without any good Authority. As to the Uſe of any Art in this Caſe, it has been ſhewn above to be vain, in the Opinion of the moſt competent Judges. And, tho' Mr. *Woolſton* does not ſupport his Pretence by any Authority at all, we are not afraid to acquaint him that there are ſome Accounts of the Vaniſhing of a natural Blindneſs in *Pauſanias*, and perhaps ſome other Authors; but that they will do him no Service, as being too fabulous and ill ſupported to be at all depended on. However, the Story we will now collect for him is that of *Ophioneus* the Prophet, as mentioned in *Pauſanias*, to this Effect: [r] *It happened that* Ophioneus *the Prophet, or Diviner, who was blind from his Birth, began to enjoy his Sight in a very ſurprizing Manner. And by other Prodigies too God foretold to the* Meſſenians *what was about to happen to them.* And as this Recovery of Sight by *Ophioneus* is here recorded among ſeveral other fabulous Prodigies, portending the Deſtruction of the *Meſſenians*; ſo it is added, that whilſt *Ariſtodemus*, their General, was confounded with Dreams and Prodigies, and was then going out to War, *Somebody told him that* Ophioneus, *the Prophet, ſaw no longer, but was become blind on a ſudden as he originally was. The true Meaning of the Oracle was then underſtood, which mention'd two Perſons riſing out of their Ambuſh, and returning to their former State; namely, that by theſe the* Pythian *Propheteſs ſignified the Eyes of* Ophioneus. So that whether the Story of *Ophioneus*'s Eyes, or the Meaning of the Oracle, be moſt fabulous and ambiguous, is very diſputable. But tho' we have recited the chief of theſe Stories, it is not to the preſent Purpoſe; ſince in this and the other Caſes referr'd to, we muſt add, that the Blind are ſuppoſed to have obtained the Benefit of Sight merely by Time and Chance; whereas in the Caſe of the blind Man now before us, his Cure was obtained immediately, by Waſhing his Eyes agreeably to the expreſs Command of *Jeſus*.

And if it be ſaid farther, that *Jeſus* by his Art did only haſten and help forward what would have been more gradually cured by Nature itſelf; it is eaſy to reply, that the Method uſed by *Jeſus* is acknowledged by all to have been no natural Remedy, and therefore no Art could in any Degree be effectual; and again, even on the Suppoſition, precarious as it is, of *Jeſus*'s haſtening the Cure by the Method which he uſed, it muſt be allow'd that he knew miraculouſly the very Time of the natural Cure of the Blindneſs of a Perſon, whom he caſually met, and accordingly, whilſt the Obſtructions of Sight were removing, applied himſelf to him by the Uſe of what is confeſſed to be an inſufficient Remedy, and ſo anticipated a little the natural Cure of him by that inſufficient Remedy.

But ſince the whole Suppoſition is either too abſurd to be admitted, or a Miracle both with regard to Knowledge and Power muſt be granted, Mr. *Woolſton* was obliged to recur to another

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[p] Diſc iv. p. 14, 15.

[q] John ix. 6. 14.

[r] Vid. Pauſaniam in Meſſeniac. l 4. p. 240, 241. Ed. Xyland. Hanov. 1613.—— Vid. etiam eundem Pauſaniam, de recuperatione Viſûs cujuſdam Phormionis per morbum amiſſi, impletione Somnii. At tota Hiſtoria fabuloſa eſt, nec eſt ad rem.—— Apud Achaica, ſiv. l. 7. p. 405, 406. ibid.

Suppoſition, not leſs vile and impious than weak and precarious. He firſt [r] acknowledges himſelf under a Difficulty about the Inſufficiency of the Remedy uſed by *Jeſus*; and then inſinuates another Suppoſition for the Uſe of Infidels; *That* Jeſus *only made a Shew of what he would cure the blind Man with; but in reſerve he had a more ſanative Balſam, that he ſubtilly ſlipt in the room of the Clay*; or, as he explains himſelf, *that* Jeſus *imperceptibly had in his Mouth a proper, unctuous, and balſamic Subſtance, which he diſſolved into Spittle, and repeatedly to good Purpoſe anointed the Man's Eyes with it.* But as Mr. *Woolſton* has owned in this Suppoſition the Inſufficiency of the Method of Cure which is ſaid in the Goſpel to have been uſed by *Jeſus*, ſo is he not at all helped out of his Difficulty by Profaneneſs, in reducing *Jeſus* to a mere Juggler with his Balls, unleſs he can oblige both *Phyſicians*, and the reſt of the World, with ſuch a ſanative Balſam, ſuch a ſpecific Remedy for Blindneſs from the Birth, as has not yet been diſcovered either by ſkilful and modeſt Phyſicians, or even pretended to have been diſcovered by any Quack-Doctors among all their infallible Remedies, whatever Diſcovery may be now pretended by an Enthuſiaſtical and Quack-Divine. But a mere Suppoſition of ſuch a Specific, is no Diſcovery of it; and till ſomebody has actually made ſuch a Diſcovery, all farther Diſcourſe about it ſhall be deferred.

We may here obſerve farther, that it is a falſe Parallel which is drawn by Mr. *Woolſton* between Caſes of Blindneſs that are within the Reach of Phyſicians or Chirurgeons, and the Caſe of Incapacity to have been cured by *Jeſus* from want of Faith in him. For no Conſequence can poſſibly be drawn from the want of a natural Capacity of Cure to the want of a moral Qualification of Cure. And ſince, as our Author has elſewhere confeſſed, *Jeſus* was not obliged to cure whole Hoſpitals at once, or all ſick Perſons throughout all *Judæa*; he ſhewed no Defect of Power, if he did not cure any blind or other ſick Perſons, but agreeably to his own Will and Pleaſure.

V. Having offered theſe Objections againſt the literal Senſe of this Miracle, Mr. *Woolſton*, previous to his allegorical Authorities of the Fathers, [s] cites St. *Chryſoſtome*, as ſaying that *this Eye-ſalve of* Jeſus *would ſooner put a Man's Eyes out than reſtore a blind one to his Sight*. And for this he quotes our *Greek* Father in his *Latin* Tranſlation thus; *What Neceſſity was there for anointing the blind Man with Clay? This was the Way rather to make one blind: Who ever was cured by ſuch a Method?* Now it is evident that *Chryſoſtome* is here abuſively cited: For the good Father is ſo far from ſaying ſo himſelf, that he expreſly wrote this about the blind Man, to commend him for not making ſuch Objections againſt *Jeſus*'s Method of Cure. For *Chryſoſtome* himſelf on the Place ſpeaks thus; [t] “But the blind Man was not incredulous, as was *Naaman*, neither did he contradict *Jeſus*, nor reaſoned he thus with himſelf; What kind of Proceſs is this? What Neceſſity was there for putting on Clay? This is rather the Way to make one blind. Whoever before received Sight by ſuch a Method?——If he had any miraculous Power, he ſhould have cured me immediately, and on the Spot.— But the blind Man did not at all reaſon after the ſame Manner. But you ſee in him a firm Faith, and a ready Compliance.” Now if, as *Chryſoſtome* obſerves, the blind Man had no ſuch Diſpute in himſelf about the Method of his Cure, nor ſtarted any Objections, but believed *Jeſus*, and acquieſced in his Preſcription; and if his Faith is here applauded by *Chryſoſtome*; with what Truth can any one affirm, that *Chryſoſtome* himſelf thought there was no occaſion for this Compoſition, that it would rather give than cure Blindneſs, and that no one was ever cured this Way? It is clear then that *Chryſoſtome* and the blind Man are here miſrepreſented.

And indeed, from the numerous Paſſages of *Chryſoſtome* in his Homilies [v] on this very Miracle, it is demonſtrable that Mr. *Woolſton* has as falſly repreſented his Senſe as he has that of other Fathers, when he pretends that he and they were merely allegorical Interpreters of our Saviour's Miracles. For *Chryſoſtome*, in theſe very Homilies on the Cure of the blind Man, not only explains this Miracle throughout in the literal Senſe, and that too in its minuteſt Circumſtances, but he likewiſe aſſigns ſeveral Reaſons why *Jeſus* uſed the Compoſition of Dirt and Spittle in this Cure, and anſwers Objections againſt the Uſe of it. Which Anſwers of this ſingle Father, if ſeriouſly conſidered, and rightly applied, would have been ſufficient to have ſatisfied all the Doubts and Difficulties raiſed by Mr. *Woolſton* againſt the Truth of the literal Senſe of this Miracle. For Inſtance, *Chryſoſtome*, in his firſt Homily on this Cure, with immediate Reference to the Text, [u] *ſince the World began, was it not heard that any Man opened the Eyes of one that was born blind*, comments thus; [w] *Perhaps ſomebody has opened the Eyes of the Blind, but no one has opened the Eyes of one that was born blind.* So again in the ſame Homily he ſpeaks thus: *Thus does God repair and ſupply the Defects of our Body, as of an Houſe that is decayed, healing the dried-up Hand, and ſtrengthening the paralytic Members, making ſtraight the Lame, cleanſing the Lepers, recovering the Sick, giving Soundneſs to thoſe that are weak in their Feet, calling the Dead to Life, opening the Eyes that were ſhut, and giving Eyes to thoſe that had none. By rectifying all which natural Weakneſſes in this Manner, he demonſtrated his Power. —When he ſaid*, that the Glory of God might be manifeſted, *he ſpoke of himſelf, and not of the Father; for his Glory was already manifeſt. For ſince Men had heard, or knew, that* God formed Man of the Duſt of the Ground, *therefore* Jeſus *alſo formed him in like*

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[r] Diſc. iv. p. 10, 14.

[s] Diſc. iv. p. 11.

[t] Vide Chryſoſtom. in loc. tom. 2. p. 787. *Savil.*

[u] John ix. 32

[w] Vid. Chryſoſtom. ibid.

Manner. For to ſay, that I am he who took the Duſt of the Ground, and formed Man, would ſeem ſomewhat hard to thoſe that ſhould hear it. But this being ſhewn by what he performed, the reſt was of courſe underſtood. Therefore he himſelf likewiſe took ſome Earth, and mixing it with his Spittle, in like manner maniſeſted his concealed Glory. For it is no ſmall Glory for him to be conſidered as Creator of all Things.

And as to the Uſe of Earth and Spittle, *Chryſoſtome* thus anſwers, in the ſame Homily, Mr. *Woolſton*'s Objection: [x] *Thus, that you may not think that he wanted Matter for working this Miracle, and that you may be inſtructed that over and above his bare Command he had no need of Earth, (for he that brought into Being the greater Subſtances, could much more have made this of the Eye without any Matter;) and that therefore you may learn that he did not form this Clay for want of Matter, but to teach us that he was originally the Creator.*" We have here tranſcribed the ſeveral Miracles mention'd by *Chryſoſtome*, as wrought by *Jeſus*, to evince that this Father did, without all Controverſy, believe the ſeveral Miracles here repeated by him, to be real Facts in the literal Senſe. And that he did not pretend to account for the Mode or Manner of performing them, as being Things ſupernatural, as appears thus in this Miracle: [y] "If any one asks, ſays he, how the Man born blind upon waſhing off the Clay from his Eyes received his Sight, he ſhall hear no other Anſwer from us than that we do not comprehend the Manner of it. And what Wonder, if we do not comprehend it? For neither did the Evangeliſt, nor the Perſon himſelf that was cured, doubt of it; but tho' each of them acknowledged the Fact, neither of them could comprehend the Manner of the Cure." The Reader will excuſe the Length of theſe Quotations of *Chryſoſtome* on the Place, becauſe they not only ſet right the Senſe of that eminent Father with regard to the Paſſage cited by Mr. *Wooloſton*, but they fully confute his main Aſſertion, that *Chryſoſtome* and the reſt of the Fathers believed the Miracles of *Jeſus* to be true only in the myſtical Senſe, as contradiſtinguiſhed from that which is literal, or as they are Facts: Than which that there cannot be framed a more falſe Propoſition, moſt evidently appears from theſe Quotations of *Chryſoſtome*, and might appear from all the ſubſequent Fathers whom he quotes for an allegorical Interpretation, on this and other Occaſions, if we thought it neceſſary to make uſe of their Authorities, and rectify the Falſifications of this allegorical Writer. But we have promis'd to inſiſt no more on theſe Abſurdities.

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[x] Ibid.

[y] Vid. Chryſoſtom. ibid.

CHAP. V.

I. The ſeventy Diſciples return. *Jeſus* diſcourſes with them of their Power. II. *Jeſus* thanks the Father for their Succeſs, and ſpeaks of the Happineſs they enjoy'd. III. He anſwers a Lawyer who enquired the Way to be happy. IV. The Parable of the good *Samaritan*. V. *Jeſus* applies the Example to the Lawyer's Queſtion. VI. He goes to *Bethany*; reproves *Martha*, and commends *Mary*. VII. He teaches his Diſciples to pray; and encourages them by Similitudes. VIII. He drives an evil Spirit out of a dumb Perſon, and anſwers his Calumniators. IX. He ſpeaks againſt Indifference in his Cauſe. A Similitude. X. *Jeſus* declares who are bleſſed, and refuſes to ſhew the *Jews* a Miracle, *&c.* XI. He diſcourſes of inward Defilement at the Houſe of a *Phariſee*. XII. An Invective againſt the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*. They are enraged. XIII. *Jeſus* cautions the People againſt Hypocriſy, and encourages his Apoſtles. XIV. Of poſſeſſing the Goſpel boldly; the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, *&c.* XV. *Jeſus* refuſes to be a Judge of Property. The Parable of the rich Fool. XVI. Cautions againſt Covetouſneſs. Several Examples. XVII. Of Treaſure in Heaven. The Duty of Watchfulneſs. XVIII. The Similitude of a Lord and his Servants. XIX. *Jeſus* declares what will be the Effects of his Goſpel. XX. He addreſſes the People. XXI. That great Misfortunes happen to Men not worſe than others. The Parable of the Fig-tree. XXII. *Jeſus* cures a Woman of a Spirit of Infirmity, *&c.* XXIII. Similitudes concerning the Kingdom of Heaven. XXIV. That a few only ſhall be ſaved, and thoſe not *Jews* alone. XXV. *Jeſus*'s Anſwer concerning *Herod*, and his Lamentation over *Jeruſalem*.

I. [a] T*HE Feaſt of Tabernacles being ended,* Jeſus *departed from* Jeruſalem, *and the ſeventy Diſciples, who, as we ſaid, were ſent out into divers Places to publiſh the Approach of the Kingdom of the* Meſſiah, *returned to him. They were filled with Joy, becauſe God had been ſo propitious to them, as to caſt out the evil Spirits at their invocating him.* Jeſus *told them, that while they had been publiſhing the Goſpel, his Deſign was to deſtroy the Empire of thoſe evil Spirits, which he foreſaw was nigh, and that he had ſeen them precipitated like Lightning from*

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[a] Luke x. 17—20.

[b] *Heaven, into which they had as it were exalted themſelves, by the general Impiety of Mankind.* But, *ſaid he,* to encourage you to go on courageouſly in your Miniſtry, [c] I give you the Power of treading upon Serpents and Scorpions, without receiving any hurt from them, a Power which will ſecure you againſt all the Attempts of the evil Spirits and other Enemies of the Goſpel. However, rejoice [d] not ſo much becauſe the *Demons* are ſubjected to you, as becauſe your Names are regiſtered in the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah.*

II. [e] Jeſus *having ſaid this, and conſidering what ſort of Men they were whom he imployed in publiſhing his Goſpel, broke out into this joyful Exclamation:* I thank thee, O Father, the Lord of all Things, and acknowledge thy Wiſdom in [f] the Method thou haſt choſen for the propagating thy Goſpel among the *Jews,* whoſe divine Original is not perceiv'd by thoſe that are vulgarly eſteem'd wiſe and learned; whereas it is clearly manifeſted to Men of far leſs Learning and Politics, who are wont to be directed by them: Even ſo Father, becauſe it has pleas'd thee for thy own moſt wiſe Deſigns, which it is impoſſible for Men to fathom. *Then addreſſing himſelf to the Auditory, he ſpake thus:* Whatſoever I ſay, I have received from the Father, nor does any one know my Purpoſes beſides him; ſo alſo no one knows the Pleaſure of the Father but the Son, and they to whom the Son will reveal it. *Then taking the Apoſtles aſide, he told them in private, that they were highly bleſs'd who ſaw the Things that they then ſaw, namely himſelf, and the Miracles perform'd by him.* For, *ſaid he,* many Prophets and religious Princes have deſired to ſee theſe Times, in which ſo many are reclaim'd from their Vices by the Miracles wrought among them, and to hear thoſe Diſcourſes by which you are inform'd of the Means of obtaining eternal Happineſs, and yet never ſaw or heard any thing like them.

III. [g] *Upon this, a certain Lawyer, to try whether he would ſay any thing contrary to the Law, put this queſtion to him:* Maſter, what Advice do you give me to obtain this eternal Happineſs? Jeſus *knowing his Deſign, ask'd him what the Law of* Moſes *preſcrib'd in this Caſe? bidding him quote ſome Paſſage out of it. The Lawyer cited theſe Words, which comprehend the Subſtance of the whole Law:* [h] Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Strength, and thy Neighbour as thyſelf: *Which Words, if taken in that large Senſe the Goſpel puts upon them, and not in the* Jewiſh *Interpretation of them, contain the Summary of the whole Duty of Man.* Jeſus *therefore replied;* Thou anſwereſt right; Do this, and thou ſhalt obtain eternal Happineſs. *The Lawyer, to ſhew his Probity and Devotion, asked* Jeſus, [i] *who might by the Law be accounted our Neighbour; that, upon hearing his Anſwer, he might profeſs he had obſerv'd the Law in this Particular alſo: For he made no queſtion but he ſhould eaſily be believed to have obſerved the former Part, which enjoins the Love of God, ſince it was certain that not he only, but many others of the* Jews, *rejecting the fictitious Deities and Idols of the* Gentiles, *applied themſelves wholly to the Worſhip of the true God.*

IV. [k] Jeſus, *to ſhew he was far from loving his Neighbour like himſelf, ſince that Appellation belonged to ſuch alſo as the* Jews *thought they might juſtly hate, made this Anſwer:* A *Jew,* travelling from *Jeruſalem* to *Jericho,* was ſet upon by Robbers, who not only ſtript him, but left him on the Road half dead with the Wounds they had given him. It happen'd that a Prieſt came by that Way, and after him a *Levite,* who both ſaw the poor Man in that Condition, but gave him no Aſſiſtance, and purſued their Journey. A *Samaritan* that paſſed by not long after, ſaw him alſo, and had Compaſſion on him; and going to him, dreſſed his Wounds with Oil and Wine, and carefully bound them up: Then ſetting him on the Beaſt on which he himſelf rode, he convey'd him to the next Inn, where he continued to apply every Thing neceſſary for his Recovery. The next Day, being obliged to continue his Journey, beſides the Charges he had been at the Day before, he left Money in the Inn-keeper's Hands to complete the Cure, with a Promiſe, that if that were not ſufficient, at his Return he would defray the whole Coſt; ordering him withal to take care of him, and ſee he wanted nothing.

V. [l] *Having told this Story,* Jeſus *asked the Lawyer, which of the three Travellers, the Prieſt, the* Levite, *or the* Samaritan, *might be thought the Man's Neighbour that was ſtript and wounded by the Thieves? The Lawyer anſwer'd, that he was to be eſteemed his Neighbour who performed the Offices of Humanity to him. Then ſaid* Jeſus, Go thy ways, and imitate him whoſe Action thou haſt commended. *In which Words he repreſented to his Hearers, that they were to account all Men their Neighbours, as ſuch to whom they were linked by the common Tie of human Nature; and that there ought to be a mutual Intercourſe of*

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[b] *Chriſt* caſt out Devils by a Virtue reſiding in himſelf; his Diſciples only in his Name: His Preſence therefore was neceſſary to them every where; and ſuch a Preſence is an Indication of his Divinity.

[c] Theſe Words ſeem plainly to give a new Inſtitution to the Seventy, relating not to the Cities of *Iſrael* only, as the former, but to their Preaching among all Nations. The Power given in theſe Words hath a manifeſt Alluſion to *Pſal.* xci. 13. where a like Protection is promiſed to the pious Man, under the Metaphor *of treading on the Scorpion and the Baſilisk.*

[d] That the Devils were ſubject to the Apoſtles, as it tended to the Glory of God, and the Promotion of the Goſpel, was juſt Matter of Joy: But becauſe to be thought worthy of Salvation by God, was a Bleſſing proper to the Saints, which the caſting out of Devils was not, this was to the Apoſtles Matter of much greater Joy.

[e] Luke x. 21, —24.

[f] Our Saviour here doth not thank God that he had *hid thoſe Things from the Wiſe and Prudent,* but that having done ſo, he had *revealed them unto Babes,* that is to humble and modeſt Perſons, who give themſelves up to be governed by the Divine Wiſdom.

[g] Luke x. 25,—29.

[h] Deut. vi. 5. Levit. xix. 18.

[i] The corrupt Traditions of the *Jews* had reſtrained the Word *Neighbour* to Men of their own Nation and Religion: But *Chriſt* here demonſtrates, that any Perſon that ſtands in need of our Help, muſt be accounted our Neighbour.

[k] Luke x. 30 — 35.

[l] Luke vi. 36, 37.

the Offices of Humanity between Men, of what Nation or Religion ſoever they were, and not only among the Jews; *a Doctrine very different from what they vulgarly taught; and yet the Lawyer had no Reaſon to be offended at it, ſince he could not ſay that it was unlawful for a* Jew *to do that to a* Samaritan, *which he himſelf acknowledged was praiſe-worthy from a* Samaritan *to a* Jew.

VII. [l] Jeſus, *being now upon his Return to* Galilee, *paſſed thro'* [m] Bethany, *a Village but two Miles diſtant from* Jeruſalem, *where lived* Martha *and* Mary, *two religious Women, together with their Brother* Lazarus. Jeſus *being known to them, was received and entertained in their Houſe, in which, as ſoon as he entered, he ſat down, and according to his Cuſtom began to preach to them.* Mary *was ſo delighted with his Doctrine, that laying all other Buſineſs aſide, ſhe ſat down at his Feet, diligently liſtening to him. Now* Martha, *who was in the mean Time buſied in providing things neceſſary for the Reception of her Gueſts, ſeeing* Mary *ſit idly by him, deſir'd him to command her to aſſiſt her.* Jeſus *anſwered, Martha,* thou art diſturb'd with much Care about thy worldly Concerns; whereas one Thing only is neceſſary, namely *the Knowledge of my Doctrine, which will inſtruct thee in the Way to obtain eternal Happineſs.* Thy Siſter *Mary*, who has made this her great Buſineſs, has choſen that Part which ſhall be attended with an everlaſting Reward; whereas the Fruit of all other things is periſhing, and of ſhort Continuance.

VII. [n] Jeſus *being gone from hence, one Day after he had ended his private Devotions, one of his Diſciples, who was not preſent when he gave that Form of Prayer to them which* [o] *we have before related, thus addreſt himſelf to him:* Maſter, *John* the Baptiſt inſtructed his Followers after what manner it became them to offer their Supplications to God; do thou alſo teach us ſome Form of Prayer. Jeſus *therefore repeated it to them, and upon this Occaſion added ſeveral Reflections on the Neceſſity and Efficacy of Prayer.* If a Friend, *ſaid he*, come to any of you at Midnight, intreating you to lend him three Loaves, that he may have wherewith to entertain an unlook'd-for Gueſt; 'tis likely you will tell him he comes at an unſeaſonable Hour, that the Doors are all made faſt, and you and all your Family in bed; nevertheleſs if he continues his Suit to you, tho' he could not obtain that Kindneſs on the ſcore of Friendſhip, yet he will at laſt prevail by his Importunity, and thus extort from you as many Loaves as he wants. So alſo in your Petitions to God, you ought not to deſpond becauſe your Prayers are not heard immediately, but continue conſtant and perſevering in that Duty. Whatever you ſtand in need of to carry you thro' your holy Courſe of Life, pray to God for it, and you ſhall not fail of his Aſſiſtance. Knock, as I may ſay, at the Gate that ſhuts you out from what is convenient for you to poſſeſs, and it ſhall be opened to you: For whoever asks as becomes him, ſhall have his Requeſts granted; and whoever with an unfeigned Zeal for Truth ſearches after ſomething neceſſary for him, ſhall ſurely find it; and whoever knocks as he ought againſt the Door that is between him and what he is in queſt of, ſhall have it opened to him.— Do not diſtruſt the Good-will of God towards you, when you pour out your Petitions to him: For who among you, if a Son asks for a Loaf of Bread, or a Fiſh, will in lieu of them give him a Stone or a Serpent, or inſtead of an Egg put a Scorpion into his Hand? If you then, who are defiled with ſo many Vices, are wont to give things profitable to your Children, and to remove whatever may be hurtful to them, how much rather will your heavenly Father beſtow upon thoſe that ask it of him, that moſt happy Diſpoſition of Mind which will incite them to the Practice of every Virtue?

VIII. Jeſus *having thus expreſs'd himſelf on this Subject, there was brought to him one poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, which had deprived him of his Speech.* Jeſus *commanded the* Demon *to go out of him, who immediately obey'd, and the Man recovered the perfect Uſe of his Speech, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Spectators, who knew how difficult it was to diſlodge theſe evil Spirits. But ſome were ſo inveterate againſt him, as to attribute this miraculous Power, not to Divine Aſſiſtance, but to* Beelzebub, *Chief of thoſe evil Spirits. Others demanded a Miracle of him, not out of any Zeal for the Knowledge of Truth, but only to try what he would do, and upon Occaſion to make uſe of it againſt him. But* Jeſus, *who was not unacquainted with the moſt hidden Deſigns, defended himſelf againſt the Calumny of the former in the ſame Manner he did againſt a like Accuſation, as we have already delivered, by repreſenting to them, that every State and Family divided into ſeveral Parties and Factions, was in a fair way of being ruined:* So, *ſaid he*, if the Empire of the evil Spirits be diſtracted by inward Diſſenſions and mutual Oppoſitions, how ſhould it continue to the End of all Things, according to your Opinion? But this would be the Caſe, if, as you pretend, I caſt the evil Spirits out of the Bodies of Men by the Aſſiſtance of the Chief among them. If I, whoſe Doctrine contains nothing but moſt holy Rules for the Direction of Men in the way of Happineſs, am accus'd of having expell'd the *Demons* by magic Arts, what Judgment ſhall we paſs on your own Countrymen, who endeavour to do the ſame? So that I need not appeal to any other Judges. But on the Contrary, if I caſt out theſe *Demons* by a Power confer'd upon me by God himſelf, as is evident, you muſt needs own that I have truly acquainted you with the Approach of the Kingdom of God. A ſtout Man, dextrous, and well arm'd, is provided and ſecure againſt the Attempts of the Thief, till a ſtronger than himſelf overpowers him, and diſarming him, makes Plunder of his Goods. Thus do I drive the Demons out of the Bodies of Men, which they had ſeized on as ſo many Dwelling-places; and from hence 'tis plainly inferr'd, I act by a ſuperior, and conſequently a divine Power.

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[l] Luke x. 38—42.

[m] Bethany, as St. John informs us, Chap. xi. 18. was nigh unto Jeruſalem, being about fifteen Furlongs, or almoſt two Miles off. We ſhall ſpeak more of it elſewhere.

[n] Luke xi. 1—13.

[o] See Book iv. Chap. i. of this Work, and Diſſ. iv. on the ſame Chapter.

[p] Luke xi. 14—22.

IX. [q] Jeſus *then, in Anſwer to thoſe that demanded a Miracle, pretending they were not againſt his Doctrine, ſpake to this Effect:* Whoever believes not in me, I ſhall account as an Adverſary; and whoever increaſes not the Number of my Diſciples, will be looked on by me as if he endeavoured to ſeduce them from me; according to that proverbial Saying, *He that is not with me, is againſt me; and he that gathereth not with me, ſcattereth.* Do not therefore imagine it is lawful for you to be Neuters in the Caſe, or that you will gain my Favour by not being Enemies to me. Now obſerve what the Condition of thoſe will be on whom my Miracles have made no Impreſſion. When the evil Spirit has been baniſhed from ſome human Body, he wanders into ſolitary and dry Places, to find out ſome Place to reſt in; but being diſappointed, he bethinks himſelf of returning to that Body, from which he was expelled, to ſee if by any means he can get a Re-admiſſion. If it happens that the Man who had been freed be not induced to reform his Life, being by God left to the Power of the *Demon*, his Body becomes like a Houſe cleanſed and fitted for the Entertainment of a wiſhed-for Friend. The evil Spirit perceiving this, carries with him others worſe than himſelf, and with them takes Poſſeſſion of the Man's Body: And thus this latter Condition of the Man is made vaſtly more miſerable than the former. So you who have been made happy with the certain Knowledge of the Way to Bliſs, and a Sight of my Miracles, if inſtead of a greater Purity of Life, (the Condition to be performed on your Part,) you go on to indulge your ſelves in your former Vices, and prove ungrateful to your Benefactor, know that God will leave you to your Vices, and that you will be more ſeverely puniſhed than if I had never appeared among you.

X. [r] *After he had ſpoke thus unto them, a certain Woman cried out with a loud Voice:* Bleſſed is the Woman that bare thee, and brought thee up! *But* Jeſus *replied,* Bleſſed are they who believe in me, and who ſtudy to conform their Actions to the Rules of my Goſpel, and not thoſe that are allied to me by Conſanguinity, unleſs they alſo believe my Doctrine. *And there being at the ſame Time a Concourſe of People round about him, in Expectation of ſeeing ſome Miracle performed by him, as if he had not wrought enough among them, he cried out;* O degenerate Age, which after the many Miracles I have performed in the midſt of them, ſtill require more! But they ſhall not have their Expectation anſwered, and hereafter they ſhall ſee none equal to that which will befal me, and which in ſome ſort reſembles what happened of old to the Prophet *Jonas:* For as he was a Sign to the *Ninivites*, ſo ſhall I be to the *Jews* of this Age, though they do not diſtinguiſh me from any of the Vulgar. However, this will make no Impreſſion on them; for which Reaſon the Queen of the *Sabæans* at the laſt Day ſhall be compared with theſe Men, who will be condemned on that Compariſon: For ſhe, though a Sovereign Princeſs in the remoteſt Part of [s] *Arabia*, ſcrupled not to take a long Journey to *Jeruſalem*, that ſhe might hear the wiſe Diſcourſes of *Solomon*, whoſe Fame was at that Time celebrated over all the Eaſt; and having heard him, returned fully ſatisfied, and in Admiration of his Wiſdom. The *Jews* have now one with them vaſtly preferable to *Solomon*, and a Preacher of far weightier Things, and yet they will ſcarce give Ear to him, or, if they hear him, they deſpiſe him. The *Ninivites*, who repented at the Preaching of *Jonas*, ſhall be compared with them, and condemn them, who have no Regard to the Doctrine of a Prophet of far greater Authority than *Jonas*. I am not however to leave off preaching the Goſpel, nor are my Diſciples; it being the very End for which I choſe them, and am myſelf come into the World; the Goſpel being like a Lamp, which is not lighted to be hid, or put under a Buſhel, but to be placed on high, to give light to all that enter. The Eyes, like a Lamp, enlighten the whole Body: If they therefore have no ill Aſpect, or envious Glance, there will be no Mark of Baſeneſs in the other Parts; but all will ſhine with a promiſing Sweetneſs and Generoſity. But if they betray a ſordid Temper, if you look repiningly upon other Mens Happineſs, the whole Body will ſeem clouded with theſe Vices. Take Heed therefore, that that which ought to be clear and bright with the Rays of Virtue, be at no time thus obſcured. Thus it is in your Power to ſhine out like a Light placed on high, if you are all of a Piece, and your Virtues not ſhaded with Vice.

XI. [t] *After* Jeſus *had thus recommended his Doctrine, a certain* Phariſee *came and invited him to Dinner.* Jeſus *accordingly went, and ſat down with him. The* Phariſee *was ſurpriz'd to ſee him ſit down without the uſual Ceremony of waſhing before Meal; which* Jeſus *obſerving, took that Occaſion to rebuke thoſe ſort of Men for their Hypocriſy.* The Generality of you *Phariſees, ſaid he,* take great Care about an external Cleanlineſs, while at the ſame Time you neglect the inward Purity of the Mind, ſo that very often a rapacious ſordid Diſpoſition is cover'd with a demure and ſtarched Appearance to the World; though this be altogether as abſurd as to make clean the Outſide of your Veſſels, without taking Care to waſh away the Filth within. O unthoughtful Men! does not the Author of your Being, whom you think to pleaſe by theſe ceremonial Waſhings, take as much Notice of your Minds which he would have in like Manner pure from all vicious Defilements, as being the Creator of both Soul and Body? Wherefore, without this great Concern for an external Cleanlineſs, purge your Minds firſt from Avarice, and every other Vice: Give Alms of your Subſtance, and ſanctify by Charity what God hath beſtowed upon you; and in ſo doing, however you may appear to the Eyes of Men, you will be truly clean, that is, acceptable in the Sight of God. In the mean time, conſider how great Puniſhments you contract, by endeavouring to appear religious in the Obſervance of thoſe leſſer Duties, ſuch as the paying Tithe of Mint and Rue, and other Herbs, if at the ſame Time you are void of Juſtice and ſincere Devotion. Firſt therefore, as I ſaid, you are to love God, and exerciſe Juſtice towards Men, and then theſe external Rites need not to be neglected. But as the Caſe now ſtands, you highly provoke the Juſtice of God, by feigning yourſelves Men of Moderation, while you are unmeaſurably ambitious of honourable Poſts, and Salutations from the People; and real Virtue is ſet aſide as an indirect Means for obtaining the Applauſe you court. O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees!* in thus playing the Hypocrites, you make God your Enemy, and are truly like thoſe Sepulchres under Ground, which are filled with Bones and Rottenneſs, though the Men that walk over them cannot diſcern it. This is in ſhort your Condition, while all your Aim is to ſeem good Men, though your Hearts are filled with all Manner of ſinful Luſts and Vices.

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[q] Luke xi. 23—26. [r] Luke xi. 27—36.

[s] Some imagine the Queen of *Sheba* to have been a Queen of *Ethiopia*. The *Ethiopians* of this Day maintain, that the Progeny of this Princeſs reigned a long Time over them, and that the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, who was converted and baptized by *Philip*, was Officer to one of this Race. There ſeems however moſt Ground to believe that the Queen of *Sheba* was an *Arabian*; and the *Arabians* of this Day have a Tradition, which mentions the Journey of Queen *Balkis* from the City of *Sheba*, otherwiſe called *Marib* or *Mareb*, in the Country of *Yemen*, to viſit *Solomon*.

[t] Luke xi. 37—44.

XII. [u] *A certain Lawyer there preſent told him, that in this general Reproof he reflected on the whole Order. But* Jeſus, *not moved by this Admonition, and very well perceiving their ill Intentions which were not to be removed by gentle Means, began to inveigh againſt them with greater Vehemency.* O pretended Interpreters of the Law, you draw down a ſevere Puniſhment upon yourſelves, by impoſing a heavy Burden of Rites and Ceremonies upon other Men, which you will not in the leaſt undergo yourſelves. Great ſhall be your Puniſhment for the Cruelty you have ſhewn towards thoſe whom God has ſent to you, though you take Care to repair the Monuments of thoſe whom your Anceſtors have put to Death. Imprudent Men; in that very Action you betray your Approbation of thoſe Crimes, by perpetuating the Memory of them, which it ſo much concerns you to have quite aboliſhed. Notwithſtanding all this Obſtinacy, the divine Wiſdom has determined to ſend his Meſſengers and Prophets to you, though he knows they will be perſecuted and murdered by you. Thus it will come to paſs, that ſince you are not to be deterred by repeated Inſtances of God's juſt Judgment, and the many Threats in the holy Scriptures, from this cruel Temper, you will not undeſervedly be reckoned to have conſented to thoſe impious Actions of your Anceſtors: So that all the Puniſhments ſhall be repeated upon this Age for the Cruelty exerciſed to God's Meſſengers by your Predeceſſors, from the Slaughter of *Abel* the Son of *Adam*, to the Murder of *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar. I tell you, a moſt ſevere and juſt Judgment ſhall paſs upon you, who by your Actions plainly give your Approbation of all the Inhumanities practiſed by your Anceſtors. You ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, O ye Interpreters of the Law, who have as it were the Key of Knowledge, and yet [w] make no Uſe of it for the explaining the Myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, which you neither enter yourſelves, nor ſuffer others to do. —*Theſe Words greatly provoked the Lawyers and the* Phariſees, *who made Uſe of all their Artifices to catch at ſomething that they might accuſe him of before the* Sanhedrim, *or the* Roman *Governor.*

XIII. [x] *In the mean time there was ſo great a Concourſe of People to hear him, that they trod one upon the other, while he preached to his Diſciples, and cautioned them particularly againſt the Leven of the* Phariſees, by which, *ſaid he,* I mean their Hypocriſy; and take Care that all the Actions of your Life be not corrupted by it. As for theſe Men, the Maſk will fall off ſooner or later; for as it is in the Proverb, *Nothing is hid that ſhall not be revealed, nothing ſecret that ſhall not be diſcovered.* Wherefore take notice, that whatever you ſay in private, and do as it were whiſper in the moſt retired Part of your Houſes, ſhall one Day be divulged and proclaimed from the Houſe-top: For which Reaſon be careful not to do any thing in private which you ſhall be aſhamed to own in public. But as for you, whom I have made Choice of for my Apoſtles, go on boldly in your holy Miniſtry, and be not diſcouraged by thoſe whoſe Power extends no farther than to the Deſtruction of a mortal Body. I will tell you whom you ought to fear; namely, the Almighty Being, who can not only deſtroy the Body, but alſo thruſt the Soul into the Place of Torment. Stand in Awe of him, who is able to puniſh your Souls to all Eternity. Aſſure yourſelves nothing can happen without God's Knowledge and Permiſſion: The very Sparrows, which are of ſo ſmall Value, do not eſcape his all-ſeeing Eye. His Providence then ought to be your Conſolation, and be not afraid of his not obſerving the Dangers you will encounter. He knows the very Number of your Hairs, nor can the leaſt Alteration be made in your Condition without his taking Notice of it.

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[u] Luke xi. 45——54.

[w] Now the Kingdom of the Meſſiah is preached among you, and you ought to be ſenſible of it from a Compariſon of my Life and Doctrine with the Prophets, you ſtill continue not only to ſhut your Eyes againſt theſe Convictions yourſelves, but hinder the People from believing on me by the falſe Gloſſes which you put upon the ſacred Writings.

[x] Luke xii. 1——7.

XIV. [y] Whoſoever ſhall [z] undauntedly own his being my Diſciple before any Perſons whatever, I alſo will own him in the Preſence of God's holy Angels. On the other hand, whoever ſhall be afraid of profeſſing himſelf my Diſciple before Men, ſhall likewiſe be diſclaimed by me before the Angels of God. If any one who is unacquainted with the Miracles I have wrought, ſhall detract from me, ſuch a one acknowledging his Error ſhall obtain Forgiveneſs for it: But woe to thoſe that attribute the Miracles which I perform by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, for a Confirmation of my Doctrine, to the Power of the *Demons!* Theſe Men are irreclaimable, and conſequently ſhall never obtain Forgiveneſs of that Blaſphemy. *Then turning about he ſaid,* O my Diſciples, you will be hurried before the Magiſtrates, and forced to plead in your Defence at their Tribunals: Be not at that Time afraid of not defending the Cauſe of the Goſpel as you ought, neither meditate before-hand what you ſhall ſay in Anſwer to their Objections: For the Holy Spirit, which ſhall be given you, ſhall at that Time ſuggeſt whatever is proper for you to reply to the Calumnies of your Adverſaries.

XV. [a] *One of his Followers interrupted him, ſaying,* Maſter, [b] ſpeak to my Brother, that he may make an equal Diviſion of our Patrimony. *But* Jeſus *told him, he was not come upon the Earth to act as a Judge in Affairs relating to this Life, or to perſuade any to make a Diviſion of their Goods. Then laying hold of this Opportunity to inveigh againſt Avarice,* Do not imagine, *ſaid he,* that the Happineſs even of this Life conſiſts in an Affluence of good Things; a few only are neceſſary to ſupport it: *Which he illuſtrated in the following Parable.* The Ground of a certain rich Man yielded an extraordinary Crop, which made him think with himſelf what he ſhould do with all that Plenty, which was ſo much greater than his Barns could hold. His Reſolution at laſt was, to pull the old Barns down, and build new ones larger, and lay up all in them, pleaſing himſelf with the Thoughts of being a happy Man, as having Wealth enough for himſelf and his Friends, to ſupport a voluptuous jolly Way of Living for many Years. But a divine Admonition daſhed all theſe airy Projects, by warning him that he was to die that very Night. So unexpected a Summons brought him to his right Wits, by making him conſider how ſhort a Time he was to be Maſter of all that Wealth, and that in a few Hours it would all paſs into other Hands. This is the very Caſe of thoſe who ſpend their Days in amaſſing Riches, and neglect to lay up a Treaſure in Heaven by their good Actions here on Earth.

XVI. [c] *Then turning to his Diſciples,* [d] Take Care therefore, *ſaid he,* not to be over-ſollicitous about the Neceſſaries of this Life, whilſt you are imployed in my Service, ſo as to break any of my Commands by looking out for Food and Raiment: God, who has already beſtowed much greater Benefits upon you, will not leave thoſe deſtitute of what is neceſſary for their Support, who perform their religious Duties as they ought. Reflect upon the Condition of the Birds, who neither ſow nor reap, nor have any Store-houſes for Proviſions, and yet the divine Providence has abundantly provided for their Subſiſtence. By how much you are of greater Value, ſo much greater Care will he take of you. And this you may be convinced of by conſidering, that you are not able with all your Thoughtfulneſs and Sollicitude to prolong your Lives but for one Moment, if God thinks fit to take them away. For ſince you are not able by your own Prudence to provide for the Conſervation of your Life, you have no Reaſon to be anxious about Things of leſs Importance, ſo as to neglect the neceſſary Duties of your Miniſtry. Conſider the Lillies and other Flowers, how faſt they thrive, and how beautiful they appear: Theſe ſpin not, nor take any Pains to provide themſelves this gay Attire, and yet I aſſure you *Solomon* in his moſt magnificent Robes did not equal them. If the Providence of God concerns itſelf therefore ſo much for the Plants, which are but of a few Days Duration, how much rather will it take care to provide you with Neceſſaries for Life, if you duly perform the Injunctions I lay upon you, O ye who have ſuch narrow Conceptions of the divine Beneficence? Neglect not therefore the leaſt Tittle of your Duty, out of an anxious Concern for Food or Raiment. It is true, the general Practice of the ignorant World is againſt this Doctrine; but as for you, to whom your heavenly Father has revealed himſelf, reſt ſatisfied that you are under his Eye, and rely firmly upon his Providence. Let your main Buſineſs therefore be, to acquaint Mankind with the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to enlarge its Borders: But as for all other Things, they ſhall be added to you over and above the Benefits you have already received. Fear not becauſe you are but a Hand-full in reſpect of the Bulk of Mankind; for it is God's good Pleaſure to make you Deniſons of his Kingdom, which he will uphold againſt all the Attempts of the Wicked.

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[y] Luke xii. 8——12.

[z] This Paſſage is a manifeſt Confutation of that pernicious Doctrine, which teaches that Subjects, being commanded by their Sovereign, may deny Chriſt. The Precept of taking up the Croſs for Chriſt's Sake, would command nothing, if we were to deny Chriſt for Fear of every Croſs that comes in our Way.

[a] Luke xii 13——21.

[b] Matters of this Kind were uſually decided by *the Conſiſtory of Three*, or by Perſons choſen for Arbitrators by the Parties concerned. It is probable that Chriſt refuſed to take this Office on him, not only to avoid the Envy of the Jewiſh Rulers, but becauſe he had little Time left, and choſe rather to ſpend that in promoting the eternal Salvation of his Followers, than in determining Matters of Property between them.

[c] Luke xii. 22——32.

[d] See B. iv. c. 1. of this Work, and the *Diſſert.* thereon.

XVII. [e] Thoſe that abound with this World's Goods, let them part with them, that they may have wherewithal to ſupply the Neceſſities of the Miſerable. In thus doing you will ſecure yourſelves a real Treaſure, not in Bags; that will wear out, or are liable to be ſtolen; but in Heaven, where neither Moth nor Ruſt can conſume your Wealth, nor Thieves break in and ſteal it. If you ſet your Heart upon theſe never-failing Riches, you will be always eaſy and contented; but if you hanker after theſe deceitful Goods, your Mind muſt be continually tormented with endleſs Care and Sollicitude: For where your good Things are placed, there will your Heart be alſo. Be ye [f] girded, and have your Lights burning, (as Servants attending their Maſters Buſineſs, ready whenſoever he commands them any Thing;) that at my Return I may find you diligently imployed in the Offices I entruſt you with. Happy are thoſe Servants whom their Maſter at his Return finds intent upon their Buſineſs; ſuch Men may be aſſured their Diligence ſhall not be unrewarded; nay, he will not refuſe upon Occaſion to perform the moſt ſervile Offices in their Behalf, if he finds them not unprepared againſt his Arrival, though he ſurpriſes them in the ſecond or third Watch of the Night, at never ſo unexpected an Hour. Like as a Maſter of a Family, if he be forewarned of the Thief's coming at a certain Time to break open his Houſe, will ſecure it againſt the Danger he is threatned with; ſo alſo it behoves you to be continually imployed in your religious Duties, as having been foretold that I ſhall return in a ſhort Time, though you know not withal the very Moment in which I ſhall be with you.

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[h] The Difference of Knowledge being one of the moſt material Differences between the Paſtors of the Church and their Congregation, this Declaration of our Lord ſeems peculiarly levelled againſt thoſe Paſtors who lead not exemplary Lives.

[i] Luke xii. 49—53.

[k] Luke xii. 54—59.

XIV. [y] Whoſoever ſhall [z] undauntedly own his being my Diſciple before any Perſons whatever, I alſo will own him in the Preſence of God's holy Angels. On the other hand, whoever ſhall be afraid of profeſſing himſelf my Diſciple before Men, ſhall likewiſe be diſclaimed by me before the Angels of God. If any one who is unacquainted with the Miracles I have wrought, ſhall detract from me, ſuch a one acknowledging his Error ſhall obtain Forgiveneſs for it: But woe to thoſe that attribute the Miracles which I perform by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, for a Confirmation of my Doctrine, to the Power of the *Demons!* Theſe Men are irreclaimable, and conſequently ſhall never obtain Forgiveneſs of that Blaſphemy. *Then turning about he ſaid*, O my Diſciples, you will be hurried before the Magiſtrates, and forced to plead in your Defence at their Tribunals: Be not at that Time afraid of not defending the Cauſe of the Goſpel as you ought, neither meditate before-hand what you ſhall ſay in Anſwer to their Objections: For the Holy Spirit, which ſhall be given you, ſhall at that Time ſuggeſt whatever is proper for you to reply to the Calumnies of your Adverſaries.

XV. [a] *One of his Followers interrupted him, ſaying*, Maſter, [b] ſpeak to my Brother, that he may make an equal Diviſion of our Patrimony. *But* Jeſus *told him, he was not come upon the Earth to act as a Judge in Affairs relating to this Life, or to perſuade any to make a Diviſion of their Goods. Then laying hold of this Opportunity to inveigh againſt Avarice*, Do not imagine, *ſaid he*, that the Happineſs even of this Life conſiſts in an Affluence of good Things; a few only are neceſſary to ſupport it: *Which he illuſtrated in the following Parable.* The Ground of a certain rich Man yielded an extraordinary Crop, which made him think with himſelf what he ſhould do with all that Plenty, which was ſo much greater than his Barns could hold. His Reſolution at laſt was, to pull the old Barns down, and build new ones larger, and lay up all in them, pleaſing himſelf with the Thoughts of being a happy Man, as having Wealth enough for himſelf and his Friends, to ſupport a voluptuous jolly Way of Living for many Years. But a divine Admonition daſhed all theſe airy Projects, by warning him that he was to die that very Night. So unexpected a Summons brought him to his right Wits, by making him conſider how ſhort a Time he was to be Maſter of all that Wealth, and that in a few Hours it would all paſs into other Hands. This is the very Caſe of thoſe who ſpend their Days in amaſſing Riches, and neglect to lay up a Treaſure in Heaven by their good Actions here on Earth.

XVI. [c] *Then turning to his Diſciples*, [d] Take Care therefore, *ſaid he*, not to be over-ſollicitous about the Neceſſaries of this Life, whilſt you are imployed in my Service, ſo as to break any of my Commands by looking out for Food and Raiment: God, who has already beſtowed much greater Benefits upon you, will not leave thoſe deſtitute of what is neceſſary for their Support, who perform their religious Duties as they ought. Reflect upon the Condition of the Birds, who neither ſow nor reap, nor have any Store-houſes for Proviſions, and yet the divine Providence has abundantly provided for their Subſiſtence. By how much you are of greater Value, ſo much greater Care will he take of you. And this you may be convinced of by conſidering, that you are not able with all your Thoughtfulneſs and Sollicitude to prolong your Lives but for one Moment, if God thinks fit to take them away. For ſince you are not able by your own Prudence to provide for the Conſervation of your Life, you have no Reaſon to be anxious about Things of leſs Importance, ſo as to neglect the neceſſary Duties of your Miniſtry. Conſider the Lillies and other Flowers, how faſt they thrive, and how beautiful they appear: Theſe ſpin not, nor take any Pains to provide themſelves this gay Attire, and yet I aſſure you *Solomon* in his moſt magnificent Robes did not equal them. If the Providence of God concerns itſelf therefore ſo much for the Plants, which are but of a few Days Duration, how much rather will it take care to provide you with Neceſſaries for Life, if you duly perform the Injunctions I lay upon you, O ye who have ſuch narrow Conceptions of the divine Beneficence? Neglect not therefore the leaſt Tittle of your Duty, out of an anxious Concern for Food or Raiment. It is true, the general Practice of the ignorant World is againſt this Doctrine; but as for you, to whom your heavenly Father has revealed himſelf, reſt ſatisfied that you are under his Eye, and rely firmly upon his Providence. Let your main Buſineſs therefore be, to acquaint Mankind with the good Tidings of the Approach of the Kingdom of Heaven, and to enlarge its Borders: But as for all other Things, they ſhall be added to you over and above the Benefits you have already received. Fear not becauſe you are but a Hand-full in reſpect of the Bulk of Mankind; for it is God's good Pleaſure to make you Deniſons of his Kingdom, which he will uphold againſt all the Attempts of the Wicked.

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[y] Luke xii. 8——12.

[z] This Paſſage is a manifeſt Confutation of that pernicious Doctrine, which teaches that Subjects, being commanded by their Sovereign, may deny Chriſt. The Precept of taking up the Croſs for Chriſt's Sake, would command nothing, if we were to deny Chriſt for Fear of every Croſs that comes in our Way.

[a] Luke xii. 13——21.

[b] Matters of this Kind were uſually decided by *the Conſiſtory of Three*, or by Perſons choſen for Arbitrators by the Parties concerned. It is probable that Chriſt refuſed to take this Office on him, not only to avoid the Envy of the Jewiſh Rulers, but becauſe he had little Time left, and choſe rather to ſpend that in promoting the eternal Salvation of his Followers, than in determining Matters of Property between them.

[c] Luke xii. 22——32.

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[i] Luke xii. 49—53.

[k] Luke xii. 54—59.

Matter as ſoon as you can, rather than expect the Determination of the Court, which you know ends in Impriſonment, till you have paid the intire Sum. Why are you not as diligent in making your Peace with God by a timely Repentance, before he condemns you to that Place of Torment, where it will be impoſſible for you to redeem your ſelves from the Puniſhment you have deſerved?

XXI. [l] *After* Jeſus *had done ſpeaking, ſome of his Hearers told him of certain* [m] Galileans, *who had been murdered at the very Altar, while they were ſacrificing, by* Pilate *the* Roman *Governor, inſomuch that their Blood was mingled with that of the Beaſts that had been ſacrificed. Having heard this, he retorted thus upon them:* Suppoſe ye that theſe *Galileans* were permitted by God to be thus butchered, becauſe they were more criminal than the reſt of their Countrymen? If you do, you paſs a wrong Cenſure upon them. Theſe Men were Sinners, 'tis true, but not more than others; and if God ſuffered them to be thus cruelly deſtroyed, 'tis for an Example to you, that being thus forewarned by it, you may by a ſeaſonable Reformation appeaſe his moſt juſt Vengeance. What think you of thoſe eighteen Perſons that were killed by the Fall of the Tower of *Siloe?* Do you ſuppoſe they were greater Sinners than all the other Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem?* No; God has ſuffered them to be thus deſtroyed, that the Reſt taking Warning by their Misfortune, may avoid the like by a timely Repentance.—— *To which Purpoſe he added this Similitude:* A certain Man had a Fig-tree in his Vineyard, which for [n] three Years ſucceſſively bore no Fruit. He therefore called the Dreſſer of his Vineyard to him, and told him it had been barren for three Years together, ordering him to cut it down, that it might not take up the Ground, which might be planted with a more fruitful Tree. The Man intreated him to let him try one Year more, whether he could not bring it to bear by manuring the Ground about it; but if after all his Care it continued barren, he would willingly obey his Orders.

XXII. [o] Jeſus *being at a certain Time in a Synagogue of* Galilee *on the Sabbath-day, it happened that a Woman was there alſo, who had been afflicted for eighteen Years with a ſore Diſeaſe by the evil Spirit, ſo that ſhe was not able to ſtand upright.* Jeſus *ſeeing her, called her to him; and laying his Hands upon her, ſaid,* Woman, be thou freed from thy Infirmity. *Theſe Words were no ſooner pronounced, but the Woman recovered; and ſtanding up, gave Thanks to God. The Ruler of that Synagogue obſerving it, rebuked the Multitude with Indignation for flocking to* Jeſus *on the Sabbath-day, which they knew was a Day of Reſt, and not on the other ſix Days, in which it was lawful for every one to follow their Employment, and conſequently for* Jeſus *alſo to cure them of their Diſtempers.* Jeſus *over-hearing him, ſharply rebuked him for his Hypocriſy:* O thou Pretender, *ſaid he,* why doſt thou diſſemble what thou canſt not but know full well, namely, that there are ſome Works which it is not unlawful to perform on the Sabbath-day? Do not all Men know it is lawful to looſe an Ox or an Aſs, and lead him to Water? and is it not a general Practice? Might not I then, as I may ſay, looſe this Woman, who is a Daughter of *Abraham,* from that Bond with which the Devil had held her faſt for theſe eighteen Years? *This Defence confounded all his Adverſaries; but the Generality of the People glorified God for the Wonders which they ſaw performed by* Jeſus.

XXIII. [p] *At that Time* Jeſus, *reflecting on the ſmall Number of Converts and true Believers, in Compariſon of the Multitude he foreſaw ſhould believe on him, began to ſay, as he had done in another Place before;* To what is the Kingdom of God like, and with what ſhall I compare it? It is like a Grain of Muſtard-ſeed, which being planted in a Garden, becomes a [q] large Tree, ſo that the Birds find Room to build their Neſts in it. To what elſe ſhall I reſemble it? It is like a little Lump of Leven, which being mixed with three Meaſures of Wheat, the Whole is augmented by it. So alſo ſhall the Goſpel, whoſe Limits at preſent are ſo confined, be ſpread far and near throughout the Univerſe, and a very great Multitude be added to the little Flock of thoſe that are as yet true Believers.

XXIV. [r] *Thus he inſtructed the People in every Village and Town of* Galilee, *through which he paſſed by ſhort Marches, on the Road to* Jeruſalem, *againſt the Feaſt of Dedication. At that Time being aſked by a certain Perſon, whether many or few only ſhould be ſaved, he replied:* That the Gate was narrow that led to Life, and that therefore Men ought to uſe their utmoſt Diligence to endeavour to enter in at it. But the Time, *ſaid he,* will come, when the Maſter of the Family ſhall make faſt the Doors, and then many of you ſtanding without ſhall knock, and earneſtly intreat to have Admiſſion; but he will tell you he knows you not. Then ſhall ye reply in your Defence: Lord, we have eaten at the ſame Table with thee, and have heard thee preach in our Streets; but he will ſtill tell you that he knows you not, and ſend you from him together with the Workers of Iniquity. Then ſhall you lament, and be oppreſſed with incredible Anguiſh, when you ſhall behold *Abraham, Iſaac,* and *Jacob,* the Founders of your Nation, and all the Prophets, enjoying the Glory of the Kingdom of Heaven, from which you will be excluded. Moreover, many ſhall come from the remoteſt Parts of the Earth, from the Eaſt, the Weſt, the North, and South, and ſhall feaſt with your Anceſtors in the Kingdom of God. At that Time you will ſee ſome that received the Goſpel laſt, and ſeemed to be the moſt averſe to it, obtain the firſt Seats of Happineſs: On the contrary, thoſe to whom the Goſpel was firſt preached, and whom it concerned in the firſt Place, ſhall be poſtponed as leſs deſerving than the others.

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[l] Luke xiii. 1——9.

[m] The Sedition of Judas Gaulonites, as it had its Riſe in Galilee, found many Abettors there, who coming up to Jeruſalem, inſinuated that they were the Lord's People, and therefore were not to pay Tribute to Cæſar: Probably therefore theſe Galileans, whoſe Blood Pilate mingled with their Sacrifices, were Promoters of this Sedition.

[n] Three Years ſeem to be expreſly mentioned here, becauſe ſome Fig-trees came not to Maturity till the third Year.

[o] Luke xiii. 10——17.

[p] Luke xiii. 18—21.

[q] That a Grain of Muſtard Seed grows into a Tree is mentioned Matth. xiii. 32. In the Babyloniſh Talmud there is Mention of three Boughs of Muſtard, one of which being taken off from the reſt, yielded nine Kabs of Seed, and the Wood thereof was ſufficient to cover a little Houſe. There are ſeveral other-like Paſſages in the Jewiſh Writers.

[r] Luke xiii. 22——30.

XXV. [f] *On the ſame Day, ſome* Phariſees *came to him, and adviſ'd him to depart out of* Galilee *with the firſt Opportunity, becauſe* Herod *the Tetrarch of* Galilee *ſought an Occaſion of putting him to Death, as he had before done to* John the Baptiſt. Jeſus *bid them acquaint that* [t] *Fox, for ſo he called* Herod *by reaſon of his Craft, that he would for a ſhort Time caſt out evil Spirits, and heal the Sick, and that he knew he ſhould be put to Death afterwards; and that for this Reaſon he deſigned to go to* Jeruſalem, *which City had as it were by long Preſcription claimed the Privilege of murdering God's Prophets. Then turning his Diſcourſe to the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *he cried out:* O ye miſerable Men, who are wont to kill and ſtone thoſe that God ſends unto you! how often have I endeavoured [u] to gather you all to me, that being made my Diſciples you might obtain Salvation, and that I might cover you from the Dangers you are threatned with, as a Hen ſecures her young ones under her Wings? But you would not attend to my Admonitions: Therefore is your Houſe left deſolate and laid waſte. For my Part, when I am once gone from you, I ſhall not return to be ſeen by you, till that Time in which you would with all your Heart receive me in the Name of God, with loud Acclamations of Joy, in Hopes of being delivered from the Puniſhments that ſhall be inflicted on you.

DISSERTATION.

In Defence of our Saviour's miraculous Cure of the Woman that had a Spirit of Infirmity.

I. *What is meant by the Woman's being bowed down, and lifted up. Criticiſms on two or three* Greek *Words.* II. *That the Woman here ſpoken of had a real bodily Diſtemper. The Teſtimonies of St.* Luke *and* Ader *the Phyſician.* III. *The true Meaning of the Phraſe, A Spirit of Infirmity. Quotations from* Ader, Bartholine, Grotius, *and* Arnobius. IV. Woolſton *cenſured for an unneceſſary Excurſion. That Author guilty of a Contradiction in his Diſcourſe on this Miracle.* V. *He denies the real Exiſtence of* Satan *and Hell. The Scripture always ſpeaks of theſe as of what really exiſts.* VI. *That the Devils were known, and even worſhipped, before the Time of* Chriſt, *A Paſſage of* Arnobius *ſet right. A Quotation from* Origen. VII. *Reaſons from* Bartholine *why the Devils were more known in our Saviour's Time than before. Another Reaſon. The reſt of* Woolſton's *Hypotheſis concerning Hell extravagant.*

I. [a] WE now proceed to another miraculous Cure of *Jeſus*, that is reflected on by Mr. *Woolſton*, and recited in the preceding Chapter, namely, that of *the Woman that laboured for eighteen Years under a Spirit of Infirmity.* [b] His Objections againſt this Miracle are reducible into a narrow Compaſs. For his chief Pretence is, that nothing more is to be underſtood of this Infirmity, than that the Woman was dejected and drooped; and that ſhe was cured by being made chearful with the comfortable Advice and Admonition of a Perſon ſhe had entertained a good Opinion of. But this Hypotheſis of the Woman's Diſeaſe and her Cure, is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Account of them both in the Goſpel. For the Woman is there repreſented as a Perſon that was [c] *ſo infirm for eighteen Years*, that her Body was contracted and *bowed together*, and that to ſuch a Degree, that *ſhe could in no wiſe lift up herſelf*; that is, ſhe could not ſo much as raiſe up her Head, and look upwards; as [d] *Eraſmus* juſtly explains thoſe Words.

And that ſuch a fixed and continued Poſture of her Body, as bending downwards, is the true Meaning of the Paſſage, appears moſt evidently from the Phraſes of being *bound*, and then *looſed*; which laſt Word is literally interpreted by the equivalent Expreſſion of her being *made ſtraight* by *Jeſus*. And the original Words anſwer exactly to our common Ideas of a fixed bending Poſture of a deformed Body, and its being made again ſtraight and erect. The Nature of the Diſtemper, whatever the Infirmity was occaſioned by, is ſo far clear in general, that it was an habitual Weakneſs and an inveterate Deformity of Body; and it is likewiſe clear, that the Woman was cured immediately of her Infirmity by the mere Word and Touch of *Jeſus*, and therefore was cured miraculouſly. And if, according [e] to *Grotius* on the Place, the Word which we render [f] *bowed down*, does not ſignify what we call Hump-ſhoulder'd, but a Perſon that bends down the Head forwards, and whoſe Breaſt is deformed and prominent, all Mr. *Woolſton*'s low Raillery on the poor Woman's Hump-back and Shoulders is entirely loſt. And indeed, beſides a few barbarous Jeſts on that miſerable Object, he has advanced nothing worthy of Notice. For the Oppoſition here between the Words *bowed down*, and to *lift or raiſe up*, fixes the Signification of the Woman's Deformity in a Manner not capable of being eluded. And *Grotius* well obſerves, that the ſame [g] Word which we render *lifted up*, is elſewhere uſed by [h] St. *Luke* in an equivalent Senſe, to *lift up the Heads*; and he adds, St. *John* uſes it in the ſame Senſe. We ſhall omit the other Criticks that concur with him in the ſame Expoſition.

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[f] Luke xiii. 31——35.

[t] To impoſe this ignominious, but ſuitable, Name on Herod, was not, contrary to the Command, to ſpeak evil of Dignities; it being the Office of a Prophet not to ſpare Kings, when he reproves their Offences, as we learn from ſeveral Paſſages of the Old Teſtament. Chriſt therefore here uſes his prophetical Power.

[u] *To gather under the Wings*, was a proverbial Phraſe among the Jews, for admitting of Proſelytes.

[a] Vind. Vol. i. p. 313, &c.

[b] Diſc. ii. p. 27, &c.

[c] Luke xiii. 11, 12, 13.

[d] Vide Eraſ. in loc.

[e] V. Grot. in loc.

[f] συγκύπτουσα.

With regard to the Phraſe which [i] we render *in any wiſe*, or *at all*, it is very juſt and proper in this Place: It is ſo render'd in the antient *Syriac* Verſion, and is the very ſame Way of ſpeaking that is uſed by the Author [k] of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and is accordingly render'd in our own Tranſlation *to the uttermoſt*, or altogether. But though the original Phraſe is capable of different Significations, ſuch as, *for ever*, and *fully*, and *perfectly*; yet it is impoſſible that it ſhould be underſtood here in the Senſe aſſigned by Mr. *Woolſton* in favour of a myſtical Expoſition. He pretends that it ſhould be render'd, *till all be perfected, or till the Perfection of Time*. But this is ſo very abſurd an Expoſition, that it does not merit any other Confutation than a bare Repetition of the whole Paſſage, which, according thereto, would run thus: *And behold there was a Woman, who had a Spirit of Infirmity eighteen Years, and was bowed together, and could not lift up her ſelf till all was perfected, or till the Perfection of Time.* Every Reader muſt no doubt at firſt View perceive, that this is egregious Nonſenſe, a more monſtrous Deformity than that of the Woman in this Story, and a moſt unnatural Mixture of an hiſtorical Matter with what is not a Fact, but a merely myſtical Notion.

II. Mr. *Woolſton* farther pretends that this Expreſſion, [l] *a Spirit of Infirmity, is not properly ſignificative of any bodily Diſtemper*; and again, [m] *that according to the Letter, the Cure of it is no Miracle at all.* We ſhall therefore now lay before the Reader the Judgment of a Phyſician or two on this Occaſion. The firſt Authority we ſhall mention is that of St. *Luke* himſelf, conſidered in the Capacity of a Phyſician, as well as of a contemporary Hiſtorian: He very plainly aſſures us, [n] that this *Woman*, who had been unalterably *crooked for eighteen Years, was immediately made ſtraight by* Jeſus, and that even that Body which *Satan* had contracted for ſo long a Time, was reſtored to an erect and upright Poſture by one powerful Word and Touch of *Jeſus*; and that therefore her Health was recovered in a really miraculous Manner, and without any Aſſiſtance borrowed from Phyſic or Surgery. And of St. *Luke*'s Accuracy of Style, in the phyſical Way, enough has been ſaid under a [o] preceding miraculous Cure.

The next Teſtimony of a Phyſician is that of *Ader*, who after thirty Years Study and Experience in his Profeſſion, ſpeaks thus on Occaſion of this very Cure by *Jeſus*: [p] *It is dubious indeed of what particular Kind the Woman's Diſtemper was; but I am perſwaded that ſhe was really in a convulſed Condition, ——and that the Convulſion was actual and confirmed; which is a deſperate Caſe.—She was convulſed by a Tenſion of the Muſcles that bend the Body forwards; in which Poſture ſhe had long ſince continued bent and crooked:—— She was therefore decayed, and being deſtitute of all Nouriſhment, became hectical. And* Hippocrates *judged it impoſſible to cure ſuch a conſumptive Dryneſs, as was attended with a Convulſion.* And he farther ſays, *that if it were ſuppoſed that the Woman had only been preternaturally diſtorted and crooked for ſo many Years, without a Convulſion, ſuch Perſons, according to the Judgment of* Hippocrates, *who derive their ſad Deformity from an* Aſthma *or Cough before they come to Age, die of it; and you may juſtly add, that Perſons that fall into thoſe Circumſtances after they arrive at Maturity, do not live long; and that few Perſons in that Condition were known to ſurvive their ſixtieth Year.* So that here was a ſtupendous Miracle; without the weak Suppoſition of [q] *the Woman's having been fifty or ſixty Years old, when ſhe began to droop.* And on this Occaſion we will likewiſe add out of *Ader*, That [r] *it would certainly have been a great Miracle in the Caſe of one labouring under a ſmaller Sort of Diſtemper, to have wrought his Cure, by ſaying to him,* Ariſe, take up thy Bed, and walk; *but it is ſurely a more wonderful Cure that is wrought, in a deſperate Caſe, on a Patient that is given over by Phyſicians as incurable by any Remedy.*

III. As to the true Meaning of the Phraſe, *a Spirit of Infirmity*, which the Woman is ſaid to have had, we have Reaſon to believe that this Infirmity was inflicted by an evil Spirit: And we ſhall now produce a Teſtimony or two in Proof of that Aſſertion. The forementioned Phyſician, the learned *Ader*, acknowledges, with immediate Regard to the Woman that was bowed together by a Spirit of Infirmity, [ſ] *that a Demon, or evil Spirit, was the Author of her Grief and Diſeaſe.* And *Bartholine* himſelf, on occaſion of another Diſtemper equally incurable with this, ſpeaks thus: [t] *An evil Spirit, or Demon, ſo accompanied both that and other Diſeaſes recorded in the Goſpels, as to make them worſe than they naturally were.* And to this we will ſubjoin the Senſe of a moſt learned and impartial Layman, though not a Phyſician; we mean the celebrated *Grotius*. Says he on this Cure in St. *Luke*, [u] *The Word which we render a Spirit, might indeed be underſtood of the Diſeaſe itſelf, agreeably to the* Jewiſh *Way of ſpeaking; but ſince afterwards it is plainly ſaid that this Evil was inflicted by* Satan, *it is the better Way to underſtand this Matter in the ſame Senſe as* [w] *St.* Mark *uſed the Expreſſion,* a dumb Spirit, *as meaning an evil Spirit that obſtructed the Power of ſpeaking. It was an antient Opinion of the* Jews, *that many Diſeaſes were occaſioned in Mankind by evil Spirits, without any Regard to natural Cauſes; as we may alſo*

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[g] ἀνακύψαι.
[h] Luke xxi. 28.
[i] εἰς τὸ παντελὲς
[k] Heb. vii. 25.
[l] Diſc. ii. p. 33.
[m] Ibid. p. 47.
[n] Luke xiii. 11, 12, 13, &c.
[o] That of the Woman with the Iſſue of Blood.
[p] Gul. Ader. de Morb. Evang. apud Critic. ſacr. p. 3369. &c. Tom. ix. Lond.
[q] Diſc. ii. p. 30.
[r] Ader. ibid. p. 3660.
[ſ] Ader. ibid.
[t] Barthol. de Morb. Bib. p. 48.
[u] Vide Grot. in Luc. 13.
[w] Mark ix. 17.

learn from Joſephus, *and the* Jewiſh *Rabbins that comment on the ninety firſt Pſalm. And that Opinion is confirmed by the Hiſtory of* Job *and* Saul, *and the numerous Accounts recorded in the Goſpel.* So that in the Opinion of very competent Judges, this Diſtemper was ſo far from being the mere Effect of Hippiſhneſs, Vapours, or Melancholy, as Mr. *Woolſton* pretends, that it was a real and inveterate Diſeaſe, of a very long ſtanding, occaſioned by the Influence of an evil Spirit; and which therefore, as being cured by the mere Command of *Jeſus*, was cured in a miraculous Manner.

For that it is a moſt ridiculous Suppoſition, that a Woman, deſcribed as really crooked for eighteen Years together, could be made ſtraight in a Moment by mere Fancy, needs no other Proof than what we have given under a foregoing miraculous Cure, about the limited Power of Imagination. And to the Authority of the Phyſicians now cited, we will only ſuperadd that of one of the Fathers, namely *Arnobius*, who aſſures us, [x] *that Multitudes of ſick Perſons, that had the greateſt Honour poſſible for* Æſculapius, *and were moſt devout Worſhippers of him, either died of their Diſeaſes, or became old with them, as grown worſe than they were, notwithſtanding all their Bigotry.* So that mere Fancy, which muſt be ſuppoſed to have made as ſtrong Efforts in that Caſe as any other aſſignable, could do no Manner of Service towards reſtoring the Health of ſo many thouſand ſick Perſons as frequented the Temple of the ſuppoſed God of Health himſelf; among whom no doubt the Imagination of ſeveral Worſhippers was raiſed to the higheſt Degree. The Application of this Caſe is ſo very eaſy, that we ſhall leave it to the Capacity of the meaneſt Reader.

IV. It is a ſurprizing Excurſion that Mr. [y] *Woolſton* makes, when on occaſion of the Woman's being cured on the Sabbath-day, he quotes ſome myſtical Interpretations of ſeveral of the Fathers about the ſeventh Millenary, or the Great Sabbath. That ſome of them, (for inſtance, *Lactantius*, *Auſtin*, and *Bede*, here cited,) did acknowledge ſuch a Sabbatiſm, is readily granted: But this Opinion of theirs is entirely foreign to the preſent Purpoſe, and does no Way affect the Truth of the literal Senſe of this miraculous Cure, that is acknowledged by them to have been wrought on the Sabbath-day, to which that myſtical Sabbatiſm is only ſuperadded. And conſequently, that myſtical Senſe may be here juſtly diſmiſſed, as not excluding that which is literal.

However, we cannot but here take Notice of a Contradiction incurred by Mr. *Woolſton* on this Occaſion. He objects, that though it is expreſly mentioned in the Goſpel, that *The Ruler of the Synagogue was moved with Indignation at this charitable Work of* Jeſus *in healing the Woman, becauſe it was done on the Sabbath-day; yet, in his Opinion, this cannot be literally true. And he particularly excepts againſt this Part of the Story: For he pretends to think that human Nature is incapable of ſuch baſe and unnatural Reſentment. But, he adds, that in the Myſtery of this Part of the Story there is clear Senſe and Truth.* The Myſtery in it ſhall not be ſpoke to at all. But we cannot but take Notice, that it is very obvious to obſerve from all profane as well as ſacred Hiſtory, that in the preſent depraved State of human Nature, Malice and Envy are ſo very powerful Paſſions, that they might poſſeſs the Breaſt of this Ruler of the Synagogue to ſuch a Degree, in Conſequence of the Performance of this Miracle by *Jeſus*, as to overcome all the milder Sentiments of human Nature. And whoever reads attentively the Hiſtory of the Paſſion and Death of *Jeſus*, cannot poſſibly doubt of the predominant Power of thoſe wild Affections. And when we likewiſe conſider that the Superſtition of the *Jews*, with regard to all Sorts of Reſtraint of Labour on the Sabbath-day, prevailed ſo far, that in that very Generation in which *Jeſus* lived, it exerted itſelf even againſt Self-preſervation; and that they finally loſt their City, and were deſtroyed by the *Romans*, for not defending it againſt their Attacks on the Sabbath-day; when we recollect all this, and that they were ſo unreaſonably rigid in the Obſervation of it, that they would not attempt to preſerve themſelves in the greateſt Extremity, and from abſolute Ruin upon that Day; no one can then juſtly doubt but that ſome of theſe very Perſons, when inflamed with Rage and Madneſs by *Jeſus*'s Miracles, might be very capable of loſing all Impreſſions of Humanity, Compaſſion, and Charity.

But to ſhew the ſuperior Force of Truth, and how it will ſometimes break out againſt the moſt artful and reſolute Oppoſition, this very Writer acknowledges within a Page or two that *there is Force in the Argument of* Jeſus, *according to the Letter, in his Reproof of this Ruler of the Synagogue.* Now conſequently, if the Reproof given by *Jeſus* was ſo literally juſt and right, and of ſuch Force and Weight, as to extort this Acknowledgment from Mr. *Woolſton*, the Bigotry and Indignation of the Ruler of the Synagogue againſt *Jeſus* for healing the Woman on the Sabbath-day, muſt likewiſe be literally true, as one Part of the Story bears a neceſſary Relation to, and has a ſtrict Connexion with, the other: The one therefore eſtabliſhes the literal Senſe of the other. But it is ſufficient to repeat this Acknowledgment in our Author's own Words, in order to ſhew the Contradiction they bear to what has been now cited from him. After he has reported *Jeſus*'s ſevere but juſt Reproof of the Ruler of the Synagogue, theſe are his remarkable Words: [z] *There is Force in this Argument according to the Letter; and the Ruler of the Synagogue, and other of* Jeſus's *Adverſaries hereupon, might well be aſhamed for finding Fault with ſuch a merciful and beneficent Work done on the Sabbath, when they themſelves did Works on the Sabbath of much leſs Conſequence.*

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[x] Vide Arnob. lib. i. p. 29. L. Bat: 1651.

[y] See Diſc. ii. p. 35, 36, &c.

[z] See Diſc. ii. p. 38.

V. But becauſe Mr. *Woolſton* found ſome Difficulties in the Hiſtory of this Cure, from *Satan*'s being mentioned in it as a real Agent, he therefore ſtarts this Objection, *How hath* Satan *bound and bowed down the Church?* Now to ſolve this myſtical Difficulty, he found it neceſſary to his Scheme, as well as agreeable to Infidelity, to imitate Mr. *Hobbs*, in depriving *Satan* and *Hell* of all real Exiſtence, by ſuppoſing the former and his Angels to be merely Creatures of Imagination, *Mormo's* and *Hobgoblins*; and Hell to be nothing more than a cabaliſtical Notion, without any actual Being and Foundation. The chief Authorities offered for theſe Pretences, though they are a wide Excurſion from the immediate Subject of the Woman's miraculous Cure, yet as they are introduced by the incidental Mention of *Satan* on that Occaſion, ſhall here be examined. This indeed in ſome Meaſure becomes neceſſary, as, under this myſtical Interpretation, Mr. *Woolſton* has not only betrayed the Honour of the Fathers, to whom he appeals, but has laboured ſo much to ſerve the Cauſe of Infidelity, as to baniſh all Dread of Hell and Devils out of the World, as chimerical Things, or rather as mere Ideas.

But it is ſufficient on this Occaſion previouſly to recollect, that *Satan* and his Angels are ſpoke of throughout the Goſpels, and indeed the whole Body of Scripture, as real Beings, that are implacable Enemies of God and Mankind; and that particularly in the Goſpels, a Sort of Language, and certain Deſigns, and Actions, peculiarly ſuited to the State of their rival Kingdom of Darkneſs, are every where aſcribed to them; which therefore cannot with any Propriety be aſcribed to mere Ideas, or be ſuppoſed to belong to any but real Perſons, without converting the Goſpel itſelf into one unintelligible Figure, and therefore a vain and uſeleſs Speculation.

VI. He begins his Ridicule of Devils and Hell with ſome very offenſive Inſinuations. He has the Aſſurance to aſſert, [a] *That if the Stories of* Satan, Beelzebub, *and other impure Spirits, with which the Writings of the Evangeliſts ſo much abound, were literally to be underſtood, Hell firſt broke looſe in the Age in which* Chriſt *came, and then primarily infeſted Mankind: And that upon the Propagation of the Goſpel, the Devils accompanied the Apoſtles in their Travels.* But could this Author be ſo very ignorant, as not to have diſcovered in the antient Philoſophy, as well as the vulgar Mythology, thoſe inferior Gods, that, though they were really Devils in Diſguiſe, aſſumed to themſelves divine Worſhip, and were ſtyled *Demons?* And had he forgot that the *Son of God came into the World to deſtroy the Works of the Devil*, and to *overcome the ſtrong* one, and *divide his Spoils?* Or again, that the Apoſtles triumphed every where in their Travels, for the Propagation of the Goſpel, over thoſe evil Spirits, that had long exerciſed their Tyranny upon Mankind, but were now *become ſubject to them*, and were *caſt out* of human Bodies, and indeed their own Temples, by the Name of *Jeſus.*

If therefore *Arnobius* ſaid, [b] *that the infernal Torturers, or Devils, were unknown before* Chriſt, *and were only diſcovered by his Omniſcience*; he muſt either mean, that their true Original and Nature were generally unknown to the World, though the Gentiles both learned and barbarous did acknowledge ſome Sort of infernal Tortures; or that they had taken ſo long and ſure a Poſſeſſion of a great Part of Mankind, as to be ſo far from being detected in the Capacity of evil Spirits, that they were worſhipped as Gods.

But on this Occaſion we cannot think it improper to explain one Father by another, *Arnobius* by *Origen*, the particular Favourite of Mr. *Woolſton*: For *Origen*, in his Homily on the very Chapter we are now concerned with, gives an Account of *Demons*, before and ſince our Saviour's Advent, to this Effect. [c] *All thoſe Devils had quiet and ſecure Poſſeſſion of the Souls of Men, and reigned in their Minds and Bodies, before the Coming of our Lord and Saviour. — But as ſoon as the Grace and Mercy of our Saviour appeared upon Earth, teaching us that we ſhould live godly and holily in this World, and as a peculiar People redeemed from all Iniquity, that every Soul might recover its native Liberty, and be reſtored to that Image of God in which it was originally created; from that Time Combats and Battles began to ariſe in the Souls of Men, occaſioned by thoſe antient unjuſt Poſſeſſors of them.—And perhaps thoſe old Uſurpers conſpired in making a greater Oppoſition, in Proportion to the Growth and Multiplication of the Chriſtian Church.*

VII. To this explicit Judgment of *Origen* about *Satan* and other unclean Spirits, as having more than ordinarily infeſted Mankind after our Saviour's Advent, it cannot be improper to add the Sentiments of a profeſſed Phyſician, and an excellent Naturaliſt, on this very Occaſion, and more particularly with regard to the *Jews. Bartholine*, ſo frequently cited in this Work, ſpeaks thus, about the Poſſeſſions of ſeveral Perſons by evil Spirits that are recorded in the Goſpel. [d] *The Number of Demoniacks among the* Jews *was then much greater than uſual, and they often occur in the holy Goſpel; either becauſe the* Jews, *being extravagantly addicted to magical Arts, called in the Devil among them, in an uncommon Manner; or becauſe they deſerved this Puniſhment of their enormous Impiety from the avenging Hand of* Jehovah, *their federal God.*

And to theſe may be ſubjoined a third Reaſon; namely, *that the Devil might have been permitted by God to exert himſelf in an unuſual Manner at and after* Jeſus's *Advent, in order to be the more ſignally triumphed over by the Saviour of the World, and thoſe that were delegated by him to convert Mankind to his Religion.* It is true indeed, the Devil has not acted in ſo open and undiſguiſed a Manner after the Eaſtbliſhment of Chriſtianity, by which his Power has been much reduced: But though we do not know the Laws of the inviſible World, and under what Regulations evil Spirits may be now reſtrained, or how and for what Reaſons they may have varied the outward Appearances of their former Conduct in their Tranſactions with Mankind; yet there is too much Reaſon to apprehend, from the prodigious Growth of all Sorts of Vice and Impiety, that evil Spirits are even now more concerned with the ſpiritual Affairs of Men than is generally imagined, though perhaps their Commerce with a very wicked though a refined Age, at leaſt in the Chriſtian World, may be carried on in a more clandeſtine and artful Manner than in more antient Times.

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[a] Diſc. ii. p. 40, &c.
[b] Arnob. l. ii. p. 53. L. Bat.
[c] Orig. in loc. ſc. in Hom. iv. f. 163. Ed. Mer. 1512.
[d] Vide T. Barthol. de Morb. Bib. p. 484. ap. Cren. tom. v.

We might now return to Mr. *Woolſton*, who, as he has endeavoured to reduce *Satan* and all his Train of evil Spirits to merely myſtical and cabaliſtical Notions, and to deprive them of all literal and real Exiſtence; ſo he goes on to give us a cabaliſtical Notion of Hell itſelf, that is, to make it a merely imaginary Thing; a Notion which he pretends to have learned of the Fathers. He accordingly ſays, though he does not quote any one Father for it, that [e] *they ſignify, that the bewilder'd State of* Chriſt's *Church may be called Hell, becauſe, as the Word* Hades *does import, it is a State without Viſion.* But as what he adds on this Occaſion is wholly of the myſtical Kind, and as we have promiſed to paſs over, as much as poſſible, every Thing of this Nature, we ſhall take no farther Notice of his wild and extravagant Hypotheſis, having already anſwered all that he has offered, with the Face of Argument, againſt the literal Senſe of this Miracle.

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[e] Diſc. ii. p. 41, 42, &c.

CHAP. VI.

I. *Jeſus* goes to dine at a *Phariſee's* Houſe, on a Sabbath-Day, and by the Way cures a dropſical Man. He defends the Action. He reproves the Gueſts for coveting the uppermoſt Place, and tells the Maſter of the Feaſt for whom he ſhould make Entertainments. III. The Parable of the Feaſt, to which thoſe that were invited did not come. IV. A Profeſſion of the Goſpel to be preferred to all worldly Conſiderations. Similitudes reſpecting thoſe who take on them a Profeſſion. V. The Parables of the loſt Sheep and the loſt Piece of Money. VI, VII. The Parable of the prodigal Son. VIII. The Parable of the unjuſt Steward, concerning the true Uſe of Riches. IX. The Impoſſibility of joining true Religion with exceſſive Covetouſneſs. X. The *Phariſees* reproved for their Covetouſneſs and Hypocriſy. The Sanctity of the Goſpel above the Law. XI, XII. The Parable of the rich Man and *Lazarus*, propounded as a Caution againſt the Abuſe of Riches. XIII. Concerning Offences, and pardoning of Injuries. XIV. Of the Increaſe of Faith, and of unprofitable Servants. XV. *Jeſus* cures ten Lepers in his Way to *Jeruſalem*, one of whom only returns Thanks. XVI, XVII. Of the unexpected Coming of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of God's Judgments on the *Jews*. XVIII. The Parable of the unjuſt Judge and the importunate Widow. XIX. The Parable of the *Phariſee* and the Publican, who prayed at the ſame Time in the Temple. XX. *Jeſus* comes to *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of Dedication, and diſcourſes to the *Jews* of himſelf and of their Infidelity. They endeavour to ſtone him, but he avoids their Fury.

I. [a] ON *a Sabbath Day it happened, that* Jeſus *was invited to dine with a certain* Phariſee, *a Member of the* Sanhedrim; *where were alſo preſent many of that Sect, who narrowly watched* Jeſus, *whether he would do any thing not agreeable to the Law of* Moſes. *Being therefore on the Way to the* Phariſee's *Houſe, there was laid before him one ſick of the Dropſy, who beſeeched him to have Mercy on him.* Jeſus *taking notice of the Man, asked the* Phariſees *and Doctors of the Law, whether it were not lawful to cure him on the Sabbath-Day. But they held their Peace, for fear of being put to the Bluſh by ſome unwary Anſwer, as others had been ſerved. But* Jeſus *taking hold of him, healed him, and diſmiſſed him: Yet knowing withal, that though they ſaid nothing, they did not approve of that Action, he ſhewed them he had done nothing in the leaſt repugnant to the Law*; ſince, *ſaid he*, it is a Practice allowed of, for which No-body is blamed as acting againſt the Law: For if an Ox or an Aſs fall into a Ditch on the Sabbath, you'll do your utmoſt to take him out on that ſame Day: How much rather is it agreeable to the Law, to reſcue a Man from a lingring and dangerous Diſtemper on the Sabbath-Day? *To which the* Phariſees *had nothing to object.*

II. [b] *Being now come to the* Phariſee's *Houſe, and in the Room of Entertainment, he took notice with what Contention every one* [c] *ſtrove for the uppermoſt Seat, and began thus to admoniſh them:* When you are invited to a Wedding, do not immediately take the higheſt Place, leſt a more honourable Perſon comes after, and thou be turned down with Shame to make Room for him. Rather ſeat yourſelves in the loweſt Place, that when he that invited you comes in, he may himſelf advance you in the Sight of the Gueſts, which will gain you Reſpect among them. So in all other Actions of your Life, not only with reſpect to Men, but God alſo, behave yourſelves with that Modeſty, as rather to attribute too little than too much Honour to yourſelves. For the Proud ſhall moſt certainly be debaſed by God and Men, while on the contrary the modeſt Man [d] will be in Favour with, and exalted by them. *Then addreſſing himſelf to the Maſter of the Houſe:* As often, *ſaid he*, as thou makeſt an Entertainment, if thou deſigneſt to have it pleaſing in God's Sight, [e] do not invite thy Friends, thy Brothers, thy Relations, or rich Neighbours, who can retaliate thy Kindneſs. It will be a greater Inſtance of Generoſity to feaſt thoſe that want more, and can make thee no Return; ſuch as the Poor and Miſerable, the Lame, and Blind, and Maim'd, who are indigent, and ſtand in need of thy Charity. Then bleſſed ſhall you be for your Liberality; for though theſe poor Wretches have not wherewith to recompenſe you, God himſelf will ſee you rewarded in that Day, when the Juſt ſhall after the Reſurrection be admitted into the Seats of endleſs Bliſs.

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[a] Luke xiv. 1—6. [b] Luke xiv. 7—14.

[c] The Phariſees were thus ſolicitous for the upper Seats on account of their reputed Wiſdom, becauſe Solomon ſays, *Exalt the Wiſe.* Prov. iv. 8.

III. [f] *One that was at Table with him, hearing what* Jeſus *ſaid, cried out:* Happy certainly muſt he be who ſhall be feaſted in the [g] Kingdom of God. Jeſus *therefore took this Occaſion to upbraid the* Jews *with their Obſtinacy in this Parable.* A certain Man prepared a magnificent Entertainment, to which many were invited. The Banquet being ready, and none of the Gueſts come, he ſent his Servant to every one of them to acquaint them with it. It happened that they all refuſed to come, upon various Pretences; one had bought a Farm, another five Yoke of Oxen, and a third was married, and in like manner they deſired all to be excuſed. The Maſter of the Feaſt, vexed to be thus diſappointed, and deluded by thoſe for whom he had prepared it, commanded his Servant to go immediately into the Streets and public Places, and invite the Lame, the Blind, and the Beggars he ſhould meet with. The Servant punctually obeyed his Orders, but ſtill there was Room for more than he had picked up; of which having informed his Lord, he commanded him to go out once more to the moſt frequented Places, and if need were, [h] to preſs them by all Manner of Intreaties to come and fill his Table. For, ſaid he, none of thoſe that were invited were worthy, and I deſign to have all my Proviſions ſpent, that if any of them ſhould come afterwards they may be diſappointed. *In which Parable he plainly denoted the Condition of the* Jews, *to whom the Goſpel had been firſt preached, and by whoſe Obſtinacy the Heathens ſhould enjoy thoſe Benefits of which they had the firſt Tender.*

IV. [i] Jeſus *was followed all the Way he went to* Jeruſalem, *by a vaſt Multitude, who thronged about him to hear him; for he always taught in every Town and Village through which he paſſed. Obſerving them, and turning to his Diſciples, he told them, that every one that deſigned to embrace his Doctrine ſhould do it with a Reſolution to prefer it to all worldly Conſiderations; and that rather than neglect the leaſt Branch of their Duty, he ought* [k] *to forſake Parents, Children, Brethren, and Siſters, and have no more Regard for them upon the Compariſon, than if he actually hated them.* No one can be truly my Diſciple, *ſaid he*, or deſerve that Name, who does not bring this Diſpoſition along with him. Whoever embraces not my Doctrine with a Reſolution of induring the greateſt Hardſhips rather than diſown it, does in vain profeſs himſelf to be my Diſciple, and unjuſtly claims that honourable Title. If you deſign therefore ſeriouſly to be my Diſciples, let it be with ſuch a fixed Determination; for otherwiſe, in Time of Perſecution, you will baſely deſert that Courſe of Life which you have taken up at a venture. It will be with you as in the Caſe of Building, in which if you do not well conſider what the whole Charge comes to, but lay the Foundation of it at random, you may perhaps be forced to leave off, as not having a ſufficient Stock to defray the whole Expence, and ſo be obnoxious to the Scorn and Laughter of all that ſhall take notice of it, as a Man whoſe Deſigns were ſo diſproportioned to his Abilities to put them in Execution. A Prince that is attacked by a neighbouring Potentate, who is able to bring twice the Number of Forces into the Field, is wont to deliberate timely with himſelf whether he may ſafely depend upon the Number of his own Troops, to oppoſe the Army of his Enemy; that, if upon duly weighing all Circumſtances, he finds Reaſon to think he ſhall be over-power'd, he may endeavour by a ſeaſonable Embaſſy to compoſe the Difference on the beſt Conditions. So you, who propoſe to yourſelves to become my Diſciples, muſt fully determine [l] to part with whatever is deareſt to you, to renounce your Friends and Relations, and to give up your whole Eſtate, rather than do any thing unbecoming the Character of my Diſciples. Salt Aſhes, which are made uſe of for the manuring of Land, if they once loſe that Saltneſs which made them valuable, are not uſeful to any Manner of Purpoſe, and for that Reaſon are thrown away and trod under Foot in the high Road. This is well worthy of your ſerious Conſideration, if you deſign to make a right Uſe of the Faculties you have received from God; for, as I have told you elſewhere, it concerns you in a ſpecial Manner.

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[d] The being exalted ought not to be our chief Deſign in appearing humble; but as Honour commonly reſults from Humility, a View to it may well be one Motive of our virtuous Actions.

[e] Chriſt doth not abſolutely forbid the inviting of theſe, but only our doing it out of a Proſpect of Compenſation from them again.

[f] Luke xiv. 15——24.

[g] The Kingdom of God here, as in other Places, ſignifies not Heaven in the higheſt Senſe, but only the Kingdom of the Meſſiah.

[h] This Paſſage is vainly brought to prove that Men may be compelled by the ſecular Arm to embrace the true Faith. 1ſt. From the Nature of a Banquet, to which no Man is compelled, but by the Importunity of Perſuaſion; 2dly, From the Scope of the Parable, which reſpects the Calling of the Gentiles, whom none but the Mahometans pretend to compel to their Faith.

[i] Luke xiv. 25——35.

[k] To hate Father, Mother, &c. in this Place, can ſignify only comparatively, that we ſhould love them leſs than God: For it is certainly impious to hate our Parents and near Relations.

[l] Chriſt doth not require that we ſhould actually renounce the Neceſſaries of this Life, for then we muſt renounce Life itſelf; but that our Hearts and Affections ſhould not be ſet upon theſe Things, ſo as to withdraw them from Chriſt.

V. [m] *The* Phariſees *and Doctors of the Law, taking notice of the Crowd of* Publicans *and Sinners that reſorted to hear his Doctrine, and were kindly received by* Jeſus, *were enraged againſt him, and defamed him, for keeping them Company, and not ſcrupling to eat with them.* Jeſus *therefore, to ſhew how unjuſt their Cenſure was, uſed theſe Similitudes.* If one of you, who has a hundred Sheep, loſe one out of his Flock, he will preſently leave the ninety nine in the Wilderneſs, and go in Queſt of that which is gone aſtray, and not leave off till he has found it: And when he has found it, he lays it upon his Shoulders, that he may the ſooner reſtore it to the Flock, and full of Joy acquaints his Friends and Neighbours with his good Luck, and expects to be congratulated by them. Thus do the Angels in Heaven rejoice at the Repentance of one Sinner, more than at the ſteady Virtue of ninety and nine good Perſons, who for that Reaſon ſtand in no Need of any ſuch Repentance.——If a Woman, out of her little Hoard of ten Pieces of Money, ſhall loſe one in the Night, ſhe will preſently light her Candle, and ſweep her Houſe, and pry into every Corner till ſhe recovers it, with a greater Concern for the Loſs of that one Piece, than Pleaſure in the ſecure Poſſeſſion of the remaining nine. When ſhe has found it, ſhe will acquaint her Friends and Neighbours with the happy News, and expect they ſhould alſo teſtify their Gladneſs on that Account, though ſhe diſcovered no unuſual Joy when ſhe had the whole ten in Safety. Thus, in the like Degree, do the Angels in Heaven expreſs their Pleaſure, when they take notice of the Recovery of but one Sinner from the Error of his Ways.

VI. [o] *Afterwards he ſpake this Parable to them:* A certain Man had [p] two Sons; the younger being full of Fire, and unmanageable, and eager to have at his own Diſpoſal wherewith to ſupport his Extravagance, and gratify to the full his ſenſual Appetites, was never at reſt till he had perſuaded his Father to divide his Eſtate between them. Which the Father at laſt complied with, though without any Injury to his eldeſt Son. The jolly Youth, having gained this Point, and a few Days after got his Equipage ready, went a travelling into a remote Country under Pretence of merchandizing, where he quickly ſquandered away the intire Sum. Being thus by his Luſts reduced to the utmoſt Beggary, and in a Country where that Year the Scarcity of Corn was next to a Famine, he was compelled, that he might preſerve himſelf from ſtarving, to hire himſelf to one who daily employed him in the vile Drudgery of looking to his Swine. In this Employment he was ſo ſeverely ſtinted, that he had not the Liberty of ſatisfying his Hunger with the very Husks he gave the Swine. This exceſſive Miſery brought him at laſt to his right Wits, and to this Reflection; That his Father had many hired Servants who had Bread as much as they would eat, while he who was his Son, was ready to ſtarve in the baſeſt Servitude imaginable. He reſolves therefore to return Home, and there intreat his Father to forgive him that Offence, which he had committed againſt God and him, when out of a youthful Confidence of his own Diſcretion he prevailed with him for his Share of the Eſtate, which he had ſo wretchedly abuſed; owning himſelf unworthy to be called his Son, and deſiring no greater Favour than the Allowance of the meaneſt of his Servants.

VII. [q] Accordingly he undertook the Journey, and being not far from the Houſe, his Father ſeeing him at a Diſtance in ſo ſad a Condition, pitied him, and ran towards him, and embrac'd him with a very ardent Affection. The young Man, now thoroughly ſtruck with Shame, cried out: Father, I have ſinned againſt Heaven and thee, and no more deſerve to be accounted thy Son, uſe me as a hired Servant. But the Father, inſtead of the juſt Reprimand his Son might have expected, commanded his Servants to bring out the beſt Apparel, to put a Ring on his Finger, and Shoes on his Feet. Then, ſaid he, let us kill the fatted Calf, and ſpend this Day in Mirth and Gladneſs, ſince this our Son, who was as it were dead, is reſtored to me. At which Words the whole Family teſtified their Joy on the Occaſion. It happened in the mean time that the elder Son, who had been in the Country, was now returning Home; and being at ſome Diſtance from the Houſe, he heard the Muſick and Dancing; and being informed by a Servant, whom he met accidentally, of the Reaſon of it, he was filled with Anger againſt his Father, and would not go in, till he hearing of it, came out, and earneſtly entreated him to rejoice with them. This Son began to upbraid his Father with his Unkindneſs to him, who had been all along with him, and had conſtantly obeyed him, reproaching him that whereas he has killed the fatted Calf, and made a great Feaſt for the Sake of his younger Brother, who had ſquandered away all his Patrimony in riotous and luxurious Living, he had never been ſo liberal to him, nor allowed him to entertain his Friends in ſo ſumptuous a Manner. The Father then replied, that he had been always at home, and had the uſe of his whole Eſtate, to which he alſo was Heir; that therefore laying aſide all Envy, he ought rather to rejoice at his Brother's Return, who was ſo ſtrangely reſtor'd to them, when he was given over by all as loſt. *In which Parable he plainly enough told the* Phariſees, *and others of the* Jews, *who ſet up for a ſtricter ſort of Life, that they ought to be ſo far from repining at his Friendſhip and Familiarity with* Publicans, *and others of their Stamp, whoſe Reputation was none of the beſt, that they ought rather to rejoice at ſo certain a Token of their Repentance, as being delighted with his Diſcourſes and Company, who injoin'd them a much ſtricter Courſe of Life than formerly.*

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[m] Luke xv. 1—10.

[n] God and his Angels are ſpoken of in theſe Parables after the Manner of Men, in the Characters of the Shepherd, the Woman, and the Father, as being filled with Joy at the Repentance of a Sinner. Theſe Similitudes are uſed by our Saviour to encourage us to Repentance, as well as to ſhew the Phariſees their Duty, in regard to thoſe egregious Sinners that were converted by him and his Diſciples.

[o] Luke xv. 11—19.

[p] The elder Son in this Parable repreſents, not the Juſt or Righteous, for they are not angry either that Sinners return to God, or that God receives them graciouſly, but the Jews; that is, either the Phariſees in particular, who murmured at Jeſus's Converſation with Publicans and Sinners, agreeably to the immediate Occaſion of the Parable; or the Nation of the Jews in general, who were offended that the Gentiles, who by Nature were far off from God, were brought nigh to him by Faith, without Circumciſion, or Obedience to the Law.

[q] Luke xv. 20—32.

VIII. [r] Jeſus *afterwards ſpoke many Things concerning the true Uſe of Riches, which ought to be employ'd in relieving the Neceſſities of the Poor; and on this Occaſion he ſaid unto them,* [s] A certain rich Man had a Steward, who was accus'd of waſting his Goods; upon which he ſent for him, and order'd him to make up his Accounts, and withal told him, He had no farther need of him. The Steward perceiving he ſhould be diſmiſs'd from his Employment, began to conſider how he might be able to ſubſiſt, ſince he had learned no Trade, and could not endure the Thoughts of begging, or working for a Livelihood. To ſecure himſelf a Retreat therefore, after being turn'd out of the Family, he calls ſeveral of his Lord's Debtors to him, and ask'd one how much he was indebted to his Lord, who replied, One hundred Meaſures of Oil. Then, ſaid he, take thy Bill, and ſet down fifty. Another being ask'd the ſame Queſtion, and having anſwered that he ow'd a hundred Meaſures of Wheat, was directed to alter the Figures, and ſet down eighty. Hereby he got himſelf the Good-will of his Maſter's Debtors. [t] This being told his Lord, though he did not approve the Fact, yet he could not forbear praiſing the Steward's Craft, for having thus purchas'd Friends againſt a Time of need out of another's Stock. The Truth of it is, Men who have addicted themſelves intirely to the Buſineſs of this World, are more skill'd in the Management of it, than the *Jews*, who have a divine Light to guide them, are in reference to Things of another World. And I adviſe you to get yourſelves Friends by means of thoſe Goods which are very often unjuſtly acquir'd, that when you and your Riches ſhall be parted by Death, your good Deeds may convey you to the the Seats of endleſs Bliſs.

IX. [u] We are wont by degrees to advance him, whom we have found faithful in ſmaller Matters, to the Adminiſtration of Things of greater Importance; nor are we ſo unwary as to prefer him to a Place of greater Truſt, and where the Temptation is the ſtronger, by how much the Profit accruing to him by his Treachery is the greater, whom we have experienced unfaithful in an inferior Poſt. If you then have been bad Stewards of thoſe terreſtrial Riches with which God has entruſted you, there is no Reaſon to ſuppoſe you will make a more juſt uſe of the true Riches, that is, the Revelation of the Goſpel. If you have been faulty in the Adminiſtration of theſe periſhable Riches, you will not make a better Uſe of thoſe more valuable ones, ſuch as is the Manifeſtation of my Goſpel to you. Beſides, no Man can ſerve two Maſters as he ought; for he will certainly pay a readier Obedience to the Commands of him he loves beſt, while he will negligently obſerve the other's Orders. He will pay him a greater Reſpect whoſe Favour he courts; and if he obeys the other, it will be unwillingly and with Reluctance. In like manner it is impoſſible for you to ſerve God as you ought, and at the ſame Time indulge a greedy Deſire of heaping up Riches.

X. [w] *The* Phariſees, *who under the Mask of Religion, endeavour'd to conceal their avaritious Diſpoſitions, derided him, as one who expected from them what in their Opinion they ſhould be very fooliſh to comply with. But* Jeſus *thus rebuked them for their Pride:* You, *ſaid he*, ſet yourſelves up for holy Perſons in the Sight of Men, who are apt to be impos'd on by a Pretence to Religion; but God ſearches the remoteſt Corners of your Heart, and ſees your Pride and overweening Conceit of yourſelves, which makes you lay claim to thoſe Virtues to which you are perfect Strangers. He ſees this, and abhors your Hypocriſy. If I have been familiar with Publicans, and am not afraid of being polluted by their Company, I have a very good Reaſon for it; for the ceremonial Precepts both of the Law and the Prophets, which concern the Pollution of the Body, were not deſign'd to be obligatory any long than to the Time of *John the Baptiſt*, who was the Forerunner of the Meſſiah's Kingdom, and who requir'd from Men but one Condition, that of an unfeigned Virtue. From that Time therefore the Publicans, and others whom you call Sinners, by a ſincere Reformation do as it were force themſelves into the Kingdom of Heaven, and obtain God's Favour, though they do not obſerve the Ceremonies of the Law. Miſtake me not however; I do not ſay that Men are to neglect any one Virtue commanded in the Law, the Obligation of which will remain while Heaven and Earth ſhall laſt, nor ſhall the leaſt Tittle of it be abrogated. Nay, I expect a greater Degree of Sanctity from my Diſciples than the Law requires, as is manifeſt in the Caſe of Divorce, which is not prohibited by it, and which I abſolutely forbid, and declare thoſe Adulterers againſt whom there lies no legal Indictment. Whoever after Divorce ſhall marry another during her Life, is guilty of Adultery, as alſo whoever ſhall marry her that is thus diſmiſſed from her Husband.

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[r] Luke xvi. 1——9.

[s] The Scope of this Parable ſeems to be this, that we are to look upon ourſelves not as Lords of the good Things of this Life, ſo as to get and uſe them at our Will and Pleaſure; but only as Stewards, who muſt be faithful in the Adminiſtration of them.

[t] The Text ſays, *The Lord commended the unjuſt Steward, becauſe he had done wiſely*; that is, *diſcreetly*, according to the Wiſdom of this World: He commended him, as we do ſome Perſons, when we ſay, *Such an one is a ſhrewd Fellow, he underſtands the World.* For we cannot ſuppoſe our Lord would intimate, that he commended him for his Fraud, as a fit Example for any one to follow.

[u] Luke xvi. 10——13. This Paragraph contains a Sort of Intimation to the Jews, That they ought not to think it ſtrange if the Goſpel was not confined to them alone, becauſe their Behaviour in Matters of leſs Importance proved them unworthy of ſo great a Truſt.

[w] Luke xvi. 14——18.

XI. [x] Jeſus *having thus reproved the* Phariſees, *returned to the Subject he was diſcourſing of, namely the true Uſe of Riches, which conſiſts in Liberality to the Poor; and to ſhew of how great Conſequence this Virtue is, he ſpake the following Parable to them, which may alſo ſerve for Conſolation to good Men in their greateſt Wants and Calamities.* [y] There were two Men vaſtly different in their Conditions; the one abounded in Wealth, and treated himſelf daily with all the Effeminacy and Luxury imaginable; the other a poor deſpiſed Wretch, called *Lazarus*, ſick and covered all over with Sores and Boils, who was wont to lie at the rich Man's Door, and implore his Charity. He would have thought himſelf happy with the meaneſt Scraps, and the very Crumbs of Bread that fell from a Table ſpread with ſuch Profuſion: But his Wants and Prayers were unregarded, and none of the Family came to give him the leaſt Relief. The Dogs ſometimes would come and lick his Sores, as if they had been touched with Compaſſion for a Man that was thus wholly neglected by his Fellow Creatures. The good, though miſerable *Lazarus*, not long after died, and his Soul was by the Angels conveyed into thoſe happy Seats, where the Souls of *Abraham* and other devout Perſons expect the Reſurrection, and was there placed next to *Abraham* himſelf. The rich Man alſo died, whoſe Carcaſe was attended with all the uſual Pomp, and laid in the Grave; but his Soul condemned to the Place of Torment, from whence he beheld *Abraham*, and *Lazarus* [z] next him, who while he was alive had been the Object of his Scorn and Contempt.

XII. [a] In this miſerable Situation, the rich Man loudly cried out to *Abraham* the Father of his Family, to have ſo much Pity as to ſend *Lazarus* to him, that having dipt but the Tip of his Finger in Water, he might give him at leaſt a momentary Eaſe, and aſſuage that intolerable Thirſt he felt in the Flames to which he was condemned. But *Abraham* commanded this Son of his to remember, that during his Life he had been ſatiated with all Manner of Delicacies, and that *Lazarus*, though a good Man, had ſtruggled with grievous Calamities; adding, that the Time was now come in which the Conditions of both were changed, and that it was his Turn now to mourn, and that of *Lazarus* to rejoice: Beſides, that there was a vaſt Abyſs between the Place of the Bleſſed and that of the Damned, which made a mutual Intercourſe between them impracticable. The rich Man then intreated *Abraham* to ſend *Lazarus* to his Family, that he might admoniſh his five Brothers to repent, and take care by his Example to avoid that Place of Torment. *Abraham* replied, that they had the Writings of *Moſes* and the other Prophets to direct them; and that by obſerving their Precepts they might eſcape the Puniſhment inflicted on him. They have indeed, ſaid the rich Man, theſe Means to guide them, but they are not affected with Things as they ought: But if one were ſent to them from the Dead on Purpoſe to reclaim them, it is impoſſible that ſuch a Warning ſhould prove ineffectual. *Abraham* replied, That thoſe who by an evil Affection, and an habitual Courſe of Vice, neglected to obſerve the Precepts of *Moſes* and the other Prophets, would for the ſame Reaſon be deaf to the Admonitions of one that went from the Dead on Purpoſe to reclaim them.

XIII. [b] *Afterwards he began to repeat many Things which he had formerly ſpoke to them, becauſe there were ſome who were not preſent when he firſt mentioned them, and alſo that they might make the deeper Impreſſion on the Memories of thoſe who had already heard them.* Conſidering, *ſaid he*, the untoward Diſpoſitions of Men, it is not to be expected but ſome will deter others, and pervert them from their Obedience to the Goſpel. But whoever is guilty in this Particular, ſhall be moſt ſeverely puniſhed. It were better for him to be thrown into the Sea with a Millſtone faſtened to his Neck, than thus to ſeduce the leaſt of my Diſciples from his Allegiance to me, which otherwiſe he would have preſerved inviolable. Take heed, if you have received an Injury, not to fly out immediately into a Paſſion: Inſtead of revenging the Affront, convince the Offender mildly of his Fault; and if he acknowledges it, and repents, forgive him; nay, if he ſhould relapſe, and do you an Injury ſeven times in a Day, forgive him, if he teſtifies his Sorrow for it by Repentance.

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[x] Luke xvi. 19—23.

[y] That this is only a Parable, and not a real Hiſtory, is evident from the Circumſtances of it; ſuch as the rich Man's lifting up his Eyes in Hell, and ſeeing Lazarus in Abraham's Boſom; his Diſcourſe with Abraham, and his Complaint of being tormented with Flames. Thoſe Antients who believed it to be a real Hiſtory, held the Soul to be corporeal, and that it had the Shape or Reſemblance of a Man after Death; and this made their Opinion conſiſtent with itſelf: But thoſe who hold the Soul to be immaterial, can no ways reconcile the Ideas given in this Relation with what they maintain for Truth in general.

[z] His being in Abraham's Boſom, intimates his ſitting next him, and leaning on his Boſom, as St. John did on our Saviour's, agreeably to the Cuſtom of the Jewiſh Nation at that Time.

[a] Luke xvi. 24—31.

[b] Luke xvii. 1—4.

XIV. [c] *The Apoſtles not comprehending how it was poſſible for human Nature to be affected with ſuch tranſcendent Clemency, unleſs a Man expected the Rewards God had promiſed to the Faithful with a ſteady Aſſurance and Dependence on him, intreated* Jeſus [d] *to encreaſe their Faith.* Jeſus *ſaid to them,* If you did firmly rely on the divine Promiſes, though but for a little Time, you ſhould not only have this Temper of Mind you ſo much admire, but be able to command Obedience from inanimate Things; inſomuch that at a Word's ſpeaking, *(pointing to a Sycamore Tree that was there,)* you might cauſe that Tree to be rooted up, and planted in the Sea.——None of you having a Servant plowing in the Field, or feeding Cattle, will call him from his Work to take his Repaſt, before you have eaten yourſelves; but rather command him to wait on you, and after that you think it Time enough for him to provide for himſelf. So in the Service of God, prefer his Commands to all inferior Buſineſs of this World.——No Man reckons himſelf obliged to his Servant for performing the Orders he enjoined: So likewiſe you, when you have executed whatever God has commanded you, [e] do not challenge to yourſelves any Merit on that Score, but frankly own that you have done no more than was your indiſpenſible Duty to perform.

XV. [f] Jeſus *in the mean time, as we ſaid, purſued his Journey to* Jeruſalem, *not in the direct Road through* Samaria, *but round about by the Confines of* Samaria *and* Galilee. *Being arrived at a certain Village in that Country, ten Lepers met him, who ſtopped ſhort at ſome Diſtance from him, (for they are not permitted to come near thoſe that are free from that Diſtemper,) and with a loud Voice beſeeched him to have Compaſſion on their miſerable State.* Jeſus *looking on them, ſaid,* Go immediately, and ſhew yourſelves to the Prieſt: In doing this you ſhall be cured. *They accordingly went, and upon the Way perceiv'd they were cleanſed from their Leproſy. Nevertheleſs they all continued their Journey, except one, who perceiving himſelf cur'd, gave Thanks aloud to God, and return'd to* Jeſus, *and fell down at his Feet, in token of his Gratitude. Now this Man was a* Samaritan, *and all the others* Jews. Jeſus *taking notice of him, ſaid,* There were ten Lepers cleanſed; where are the other nine? There is none come to own the Bleſſing they have received from God by my Means, ſave this one, who is not deſcended from the Family of *Jacob. Then addreſſing himſelf the* Samaritan; Ariſe, *ſaid he,* and depart with Joy; thy Faith was the Reaſon of thy Recovery.

XVI. [g] Jeſus *having often ſaid, That the Kingdom of Heaven was near, as his Diſciples alſo had every where proclaimed, certain* Phariſees *came to him with this Queſtion:* When ſhall this Kingdom come, of which we have ſo often heard? Jeſus *anſwered to this Effect:* The Kingdom of God ſhall not come with Pomp and Pageantry, to dazzle the Eyes of the Beholders, and make itſelf be obſerved by all; nor ſhall any one be able to ſay he has any where ſeen ſuch Signs of its Approach. [h] It has already begun to manifeſt itſelf in *Judea*, though ſcarce any have taken notice of it. *Then turning himſelf to his Diſciples, he ſaid,* The Time will ſhortly come, when you ſhall earneſtly deſire to ſpend one Day in my Company, (though moſt cannot diſtinguiſh me from the common Sort of Men,) and you ſhall not be able to obtain your Wiſh. Then will many pretend to ſhow you the Place where the Meſſiah ſojourns; but take heed that you be not deluded by their Impoſtures. The Meſſiah ſhall demonſtrate his Sovereignty when it ſhall be the leaſt expected; and the Brightneſs of his Coming ſhall be like the Lightning, which darts itſelf on the ſudden through ſo great a Space of Heaven. Yet he muſt ſuffer many Indignities, and be diſowned by the preſent Generation of the *Jews*.

XVII. [i] As it happened in the Days of *Noah*, ſo alſo ſhall it be in the Days that this *Plebeian*, as you eſteem him, ſhall manifeſt his Kingdom. The Contemporaries of *Noah* feaſted themſelves, and married, and lived together ſecure, and were not aware of any impending Danger, till that Day in which *Noah* entered into the Ark, and the Deluge by God's Appointment deſtroyed all the reſt of Mankind. So alſo, in the Days of *Lot*, the Inhabitants of that low Country, ſituated near the River *Jordan*, feaſted themſelves; they bought and ſold Houſes that were ſhortly to be deſtroyed; they built and planted for their Poſterity, as if all had been ſecure, and in no Manner of Danger: But the very Day that *Lot* went out of *Sodom*, Lightning from Heaven burnt the very Soil, deſtroying the whole Country with its Inhabitants. With as ſwift Perdition ſhall the Obſtinate be deſtroyed in that [k] Day, wherein this vulgar Perſon, as he is accounted, ſhall demonſtrate that he reigns by moſt undeniable Arguments. Whoever ſhall be then on the Houſe-top, though all his Goods be lodged in that Houſe, let him not amuſe himſelf with removing them to a Place of more Security. Let him make what haſte he can, and be contented if he eſcapes with Life. Whoever ſhall happen to be in the Country; let him retire from his Farm to a more ſecure Place, and farther in the Country, without returning into the City to take care of his Concerns. Remember the Death of *Lot*'s Wife, who by hankering after the City from which they were to fly, was ſuddenly ſtruck dead in a moſt exemplary Manner. [l] Whoever ſhall then repair to the City for their Security, becauſe it is ſtrongly fortified and gariſon'd, ſhall be very much miſtaken, and meet with Deſtruction there, where they leaſt of all expected it. On the contrary, thoſe ſhall be ſafe who betake themſelves to open Towns and defenceleſs Villages. At that time, of two that ſhall happen to be in one Bed, one ſhall be deſtroyed in the general Calamity, and the other eſcape. Of two Women that ſhall be grinding their Corn together, one ſhall be involv'd in that univerſal Ruin, and the other eſcape. Two Men ſhall be in the Field together, the one ſhall periſh and the other eſcape, according to the ſeveral Places they fly to. *The* Phariſees *then ask'd* Jeſus *in what Part of* Judea *there ſhould be the greateſt Danger; who gave them this Proverb for an Anſwer,* Whereſoever the Carcaſe is, there would the Eagles be gathered together; *ſignifying that whereever the rebellious* Jews *ſhould meet, there would the* Roman *Legions purſue them, and put all they found in Arms to the Sword.*

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[c] Luke xvii. 5——10.

[d] Since Faith is wrought in the Heart, which God alone can ſearch, and immediately work upon; the Diſciples, by applying to Jeſus for Increaſe of Faith, aſcribe to him a divine Virtue; which being proper to the Deity, and incommunicable to a finite Nature, muſt conſequently ſhew that Chriſt had in him a divine Nature.

[e] Chriſt here deſtroys the Doctrine of the Schools concerning the Merit of good Works, and Works of Supererogation: For being in reſpect of God unprofitable Servants, we cannot merit from him by doing that which is unprofitable to him: And as it is the Duty of Servants to do all that is their Maſter's Pleaſure, and God requires of us univerſal Obedience, we cannot certainly do more than is our proper Duty.

[f] Luke xvii. 11—19. [g] Luke xvii 20—25.

[h] Our Lord, by ſaying, *The Kingdom of God is within you,* can only mean that it was *amongſt them* by his Miniſtry; for he could not ſpeak of the Power it had gained over the Hearts of the Jews, and much leſs of the Phariſees to whom he ſpoke, few of whom received him in his true Character.

[i] Luke xvii. 26—37.

[k] That Chriſt here ſpeaks of the Deſtruction of the Jewiſh Nation by the Romans, ſeems manifeſt from the whole Paſſage.

XVIII. [m] Jeſus *then repreſented to his Diſciples in the enſuing Parable, that they ought to be conſtant in Prayer, and not to deſpond, though their Requeſts were not granted immediately.* There was a certain Judge, who had no Senſe of Religion, and was unconcern'd for his Reputation among Men, but was wholly ſelfiſh, minding only his own Advantage. There was alſo, in the ſame Town, a Widow, that had receiv'd an Injury, who came to him, and begged him to do her Juſtice againſt her Adverſary. The Judge for a while gave no Ear to her Complaints; but at laſt, tir'd with her Importunity, he reſolved to right her, not out of any Principle of Conſcience, but merely to get rid of her. Jeſus *then making Reflection upon the Story,* You perceive, *ſaid he,* how that unjuſt Magiſtrate was at laſt prevail'd on by the Widow's Aſſiduity: Make no Queſtion then but God will deliver thoſe that ſerve him from the Perſecution of the Wicked, if they pour out their conſtant Prayers to him; though he may ſeem to delay it, that he may afford the Wicked a longer Space to repent in. Nay, aſſure yourſelves that this Controverſy between the Good and the Bad ſhall be ſpeedily decided; though the Son of Man, when he comes to execute this Vengeance on the *Jewiſh* Nation, ſhall find few in that Nation to believe he comes for that Purpoſe.

XIX. [n] *He ſpake alſo this other Parable, concerning ſuch as ſet a mighty Value on their own Perfections, and eſteem themſelves ſingularly good Perſons, but treat others with Contempt and Scorn.* Two Men went together to the Temple to pray, the one of that auſtere Sect the *Phariſees*, and the other a *Publican*, that had indulg'd himſelf in a freer Way of living. The *Phariſee* ſtanding with an erect Countenance, ſpoke to this Effect: I thank thee, O God, that I am not like to the generality of Men, that I am not rapacious, unjuſt, or a Defiler of another's Bed; nor yet like this *Publican*; (for it happen'd they were both in the ſame Court of the Temple:) I faſt twice a Week, and pay Tithes of every thing I have, without the leaſt fraudulent Deduction. But the *Publican* ſtanding at a Diſtance from the Sanctuary, durſt not ſo much as lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, but ſmiting his Breaſt, ſaid in a low Voice, God be merciful to me a Sinner! This Man's modeſt Demeanor was, I aſſure you, more acceptable to God, than all thoſe Virtues the *Phariſee* boaſted with ſo much Arrogance and Diſdain. Hence learn that the true Way to riſe, is to be humble-minded; and that the Proud ſhall be miſerably deceiv'd in their Expectations.

XX. [o] Jeſus *at laſt arriv'd at* Jeruſalem *to celebrate the* [p] *Feaſt of Dedication, which happen'd on the Nones of* December; *and it being Winter, he walk'd in the* [q] *Porch of* Solomon, *and was immediately ſurrounded with a Multitude of* Jews, *who thus accoſted him:* Why doſt thou keep us ſo long in ſuſpence? If thou art really the Meſſiah, why doſt thou not plainly own it? Jeſus *anſwer'd;* I have ſufficiently ſhewn who I am, but you will not believe me, though the Miracles I have perform'd by the Authority my Father has confer'd upon me, are unexceptionable Witneſſes to the Truth of what I ſay, and demonſtrate my divine Commiſſion. Yet you do not believe me, becauſe (as I told you the laſt Feaſt of Tabernacles) you are none of my Sheep; for theſe, namely ſuch as are ready to embrace the Truth whenceſoever it comes, preſently diſtinguiſh my Voice from the Impoſtor's; that is, they clearly perceive that my Doctrine is of a divine Original. I alſo know my Sheep, and obſerve the Steps they make in Imitation of me; and I will reward them with eternal Life in my Sheepfold, and ſecurely guard them from the Inſults of their Enemies. My Father is over all, and none can force them out of his powerful Protection. Now my Father and I [r] are one, and you may as well think of wreſting them out of his Hand as mine. *The* Jews *therefore, as they did in the former Feaſt, took up Stones to caſt at him. But with an undaunted Preſence of Mind he told them, he had accumulated his Benefits upon them:* Now for which of my good Deeds, *ſaid he,* do you intend to ſtone me, for you can't accuſe me of any one Crime? *Then ſaid the* Jews; 'Tis not for any good Deed that we throw Stones at thee, but for Blaſphemy; becauſe thou, being a Man, makeſt thyſelf a God by ſtiling him thy Father. *To which Accuſation he thus replied:* Is it not written in your Books, which you eſteem the Rule of your Words and Actions, in the Perſon of God ſpeaking to Magiſtrates, [f] *I have ſaid, ye are Gods?* If then theſe Books, in which 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be any Error, call thoſe Gods who act in God's Name, Magiſtrates for Inſtance, whoſe Authority is originally deriv'd from God, with what Pretence can you accuſe me of Blaſphemy for calling myſelf the Son of God, who am immediately conſecrated by God himſelf, and appointed to bring the good Tidings of Salvation to Men? I require you not to believe me merely for my ſaying ſo; conſider the Miracles I perform, which are inconteſtable Proofs of the Truth of it. Since I do theſe Miracles, though you diſtruſt my Sayings, yet your Faith is due to thoſe Works of God my Father wrought by me, by which 'tis evident the Father is in me, and I in him. *On this the* Jews *attempted to lay hold of him, to bring him before the* Sanhedrim; *but he went out, and eſcap'd their Violence as eaſily as he had done before.*

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[l] This Interpretation of the Words, *Whoſoever ſhall ſeek to ſave his Life ſhall loſe it*, is preferred by ſome before that which refers this Paſſage to thoſe who apoſtatize from Chriſtianity with a View to Self-Preſervation, and thoſe who die rather than renounce their Faith. We ſhall not determine which is beſt, but muſt juſt obſerve, that the Paraphraſe we have inſerted, if it can be well maintain'd, make this Part of our Saviour's Diſcourſe more of a Piece with the reſt than the other Interpretation.

[m] Luke xviii. 1—8. The Meaning of this Parable is ſufficiently obvious.

[n] Luke xviii. 9—14.

[o] John x. 22—39.

[p] The Feaſt of Dedication here mentioned, reſpects not the Dedication of the Temple made by Solomon, and repaired by Zerubbabel, but the Dedication of the Altar and Temple celebrated by Judas Maccabæus, of which we read 1 Macc. iv. 56. For the former Dedications there was no annual Feaſt appointed.

[q] In the Porch that was new-built in the Place where Solomon erected his.

[r] Chriſt here ſpeaks not of an Unity of Will and Concord only, but of an Unity of Nature.

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[f] Pſal. lxxxvi. 6.

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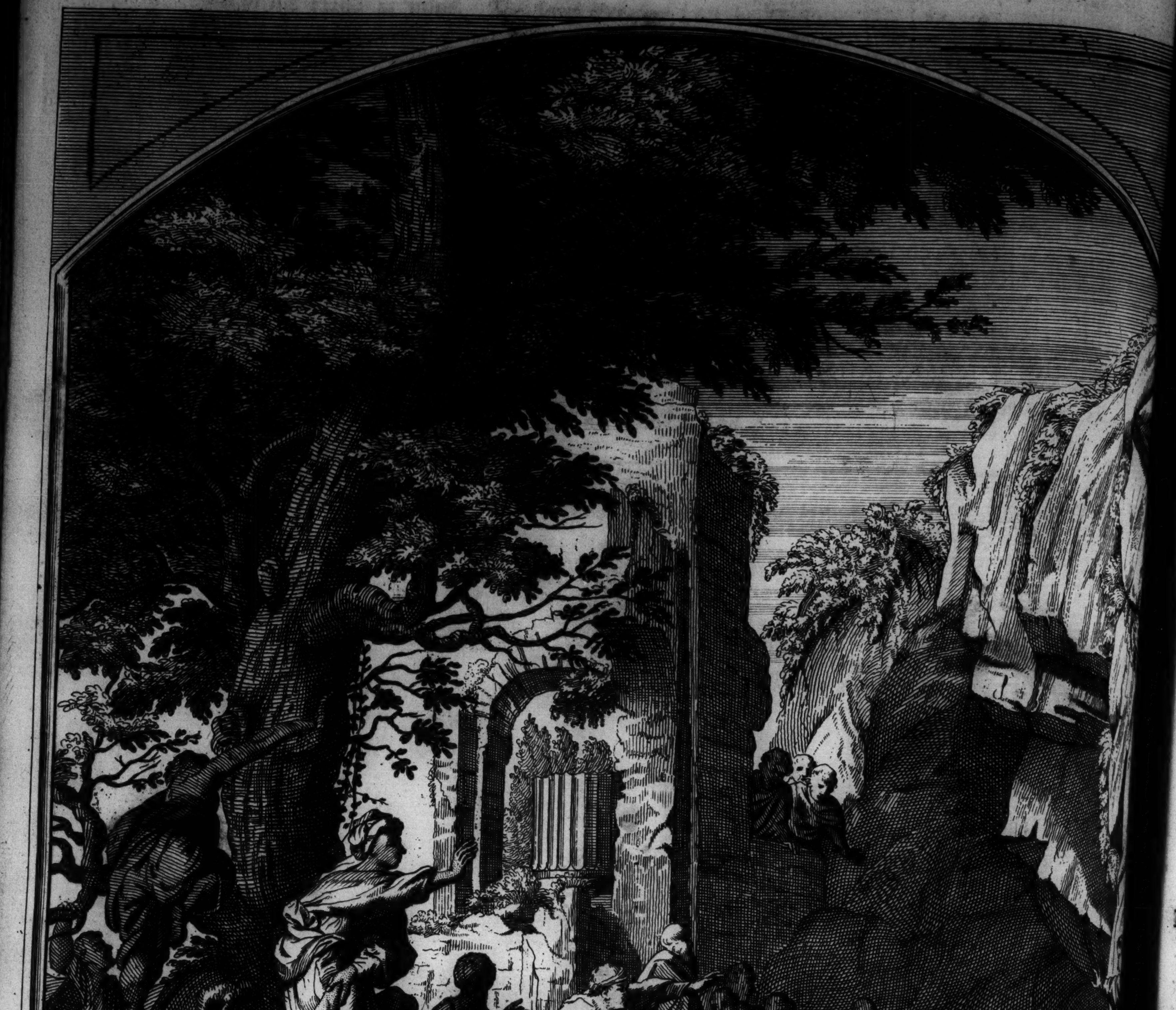

Lazarus rais'd from the dead.

John XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and DEATH OF OUR Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR *JESUS CHRIST.*

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

I. *Jeſus* departs into *Galilee*. Great Numbers follow him. II. The Unlawfulneſs of Divorce, Why *Moſes* permitted it. III. *Jeſus* explains what he had ſaid to his Apoſtles. IV. He receives and bleſſes little Infants. V. He anſwers the Queſtion of the young Man, who enquired the Way to eternal Life. VI. Riches a great Obſtacle in the Purſuit of Happineſs. VII. The Rewards of Diſciples who had left all to follow *Jeſus*. VIII, IX. The Favours of God diverſe, which is illuſtrated in the Similitude of a Man hiring Labourers into his Vineyard. X. Application of the Similitude. XI. *Lazarus* of *Bethany* falls ſick. *Jeſus* is informed of it. XII. He returns into *Judea*, and tells his Apoſtles that *Lazarus* is dead. XIII. He comes to *Bethany*, and is met by *Martha*, *Mary*, and the *Jews*. XIV. *Jeſus* weeps. The Reſurrection of *Lazarus*. XV. A Conſultation in the *Sanhedrim* about apprehending *Jeſus*. XVI. The prophetical Opinion of *Caiphas*, which the whole Aſſembly comes into.

I. WHEN *the Feaſt of Dedication was over*, Jesus *returned from* Judea *into* Galilee; *but continued not long there; for leaving that Country, which was under the Government of* Herod, *he went towards the Confines of* Judea, *through that Part of the Country ſituated nigh the Banks of* Jordan; *and, in the Beginning of the fourth Year of his Miniſtry, ſettled in that Place where* John *at firſt baptized the Penitents. To this Place many repaired to hear him, and ſome alſo to be cured of their Infirmities: For, according to his Cuſtom, he expounded the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven to his Hearers, and cured all the Sick that were preſented to him. Thoſe therefore that remembered they had ſeen* John *baptizing there, and heard his Doctrine, ſaid one to another*; *John* indeed did no Miracle, but every Thing he foretold of *Jeſus* is confirmed by the Event. *For which Reaſon many believed in him.*

II. [b] *Whilſt* Jesus *was in theſe Parts, ſeveral* Pharisees *came to him; who having been told that he did not admit of Divorce, hoped to have an Opportunity to catch at ſomething that might create him Envy and Hatred, as one who condemned what was not prohibited by their Law, and fixed the odious Name of Adultery upon a common and allowed Practice.* Is it then lawful, *ſaid they,* for a Huſband to put away his Wife on every ſlight Occaſion, as is commonly done? Jesus *knowing their Intention, yet not afraid of it, replied:* Have you not read how in the Beginning God created one of each Sex, and tranſmitted this Law to their Poſterity, that as thoſe firſt Perſons were made out of one Subſtance, the

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[a] Matth. xix. 1, 2. Mark x. 1. John x. 40, 41, 42.
[b] Matth. xix. 3—9. Mark x. 2—9.

Husband ought to live in ſo ſtrict a Union with his Wife, that forſaking his own Parents, they might ſeem to be united into one Subſtance? Thoſe therefore whom God has ſo nearly allied, cannot be parted by Man without the Breach of that original Law; and the Breach of that Law is a notorious Sin, of which conſequently they are guilty who affirm it lawful for a Man to be divorced from his Wife. *Upon this the* Phariſees *imagining he had contradicted the Law of* Moſes, *he asked them what it was that* Moſes *commanded in this Caſe? They replied, that* Moſes *allowed them to repudiate their Wives, provided they gave them a Certificate of the Divorce.* It is true, *ſaid he, Moſes* permitted it, becauſe he ſaw you obſtinately bent upon your Luſts, though it is plainly contrary to God's primitive Inſtitution. But I declare to you, that whoever puts away his Wife for any other Reaſon than that of Adultery, and afterwards marries another, is guilty of Adultery in the Sight of God; as he alſo is that marries a Woman thus divorced.

III. [c] *After theſe Diſcourſes, being returned Home, his Apoſtles asked him in private concerning that Matter, which they thought they did not well underſtand, ſince he ſeemed to be more ſevere than he needed. But* Jeſus *repeating what he had ſaid before the* Phariſees, *aſſured them, that whoever married another, after having put away his Wife, was guilty of Adultery; as likewiſe was that Woman who ſhould marry another Huſband during the Life of the former, ſince the Law had reſpect to both. The Apoſtles, who had been bred up in* Jewiſh *Cuſtoms, then told him, that in this Caſe it was* [d] *much more eligible to live a ſingle Life. On this* Jeſus *minded them, that it was not in every one's Power to live chaſtly in a ſingle State, without God's ſpecial Aſſiſtance; for which Reaſon Marriage was neceſſary, as the ſureſt Means to reſtrain an exorbitant Luſt.* Some indeed, *ſaid he,* can be contented in ſuch a State; others have been abuſed, and made Eunuchs; a third Sort have ſhook off this unmanly Weakneſs, and are happy in a ſingle State, which they employ wholly in Piety and Devotion. If a Man on due Conſideration judges he can live in ſuch a State, without endangering his Virtue, he is not forbid to chuſe it; but if he finds it neceſſary to marry, let him not think of altering his Condition afterwards, though it be attended with Inconveniences, which he muſt reſolve to bear with Patience, and a Reſignation to the Will of God.

IV. [e] *At that Time certain little Infants were brought unto him, whom the Parents deſired him to lay his Hands on, and bleſs: But the Apoſtles, thinking they were unneceſſarily troubleſome to their Maſter, chid them, and would have turned them away: Which* Jeſus *perceiving, and taking this Occaſion to repeat an Admonition to them, to which they ſeemed not to have ſufficiently attended;* [f] Take heed, *ſaid he,* that you do not prohibit theſe little Children to be brought to me: I am to remind you, that they only whoſe Diſpoſitions reſemble the Innocence and Simplicity of theſe Babes, ſhall partake of the Rewards that will be diſtributed in the Kingdom of Heaven. I declare to you, that whoever does not ſhake off his Prejudices, evil Habits, and Vices, when he profeſſes himſelf my Diſciple, ſhall not be reckoned as a Deniſon in that Kingdom. *Then taking the Infants in his Arms, he laid his Hands on them, and bleſſed them.*

V. [g] *After this he departed from that Place, and upon the Road was met by a young Man of a noble Family among the* Jews; *who falling down at his Feet,* Good Maſter, *ſaid he,* inſtruct me what I ſhall do to obtain eternal Life. *Then ſaid* Jeſus, [h] Why calleſt thou me Good? There is one good, namely God, who is to be believed in all Things, and for whoſe Sake thou oughteſt to believe me, alſo for the Miracles I perform by his Authority, which teſtify concerning me. But in Anſwer to thy Queſtion, be informed, That there is one [h] certain Way to obtain eternal Life, namely, an univerſal Obedience to his Commands. *The young Man asked him, what particular Commands he meant?* Jeſus *replied;* Thoſe that are contained in the Decalogue, which forbid Murder, Theft, bearing Falſe-witneſs, all Manner of defrauding; and enjoin Reverence towards one's Parents; all which are comprehended in that general Rule of loving our Neighbour as ourſelf. *The young Man made Anſwer, that he had obſerved all theſe from his Youth, and demanded whether there was any thing elſe wanting.* Jeſus *looking on him with* [i] *great Affection, told him that there was ſtill one thing more, and that if he would complete his Obedience, he ought to go immediately, for ſome certain Reaſons, and ſell all his Eſtate, that with the Money he might be able to relieve the Neceſſities of abundance of poor Wretches; and in ſo doing he ſhould have an ample Reward in the divine Favour, a Treaſure infinitely more valuable than that he ſhould thus part with, and ſecure from all Danger of being loſt: That then, becoming his Diſciple, he ſhould be imployed in publiſhing the good Tidings of the Kingdom of Heaven, having prepared himſelf for ſo holy a Calling by a fixed Determination to undergo the greateſt Calamities for the Sake of it. The young Man upon this went away melancholy, not being able to digeſt the Thoughts of thus parting with a great Eſtate.*

VI. [k] Jeſus *obſerving this Diſpoſition, and looking round to ſee whether his Diſciples had taken*

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[c] Matth. xix. 10, 11, 12. Mark x. 10, 11, 12.

[d] If under the Prohibition of Divorce, that of Polygamy was not contained, there would have been no Cauſe for this Inference; ſince they might have had a Remedy by taking one or more other Wives, whom they loved better.

[e] Matth. xix. 13, 14, 15. Mark x. 13——16. Luke xviii. 15, 16, 17.

[f] See the following Diſſertation.

[g] Matth. xix. 16——22. Matth. x. 17——22. Luke xviii. 18——23.

[h] See the Diſſertation below.

[i] Chriſt loved, not only Virtues, but even the Seeds of them: The one, ſo as to reward them; the other, ſo as to encourage, and miniſter to their Growth.

[k] Matth. xix. 23, 24, 25. Mark x. 23——26. Luke xviii. 24, 25, 26.

any Notice of the young Man's Conſternation; How hard a Matter is it, *ſaid he*, for rich Men to become Members of the Kingdom of Heaven! *This Exclamation proved as great a Surprize to his Diſciples, who imagined that Riches got in an honeſt Way were Arguments of the divine Favour, and that in the Kingdom of the Meſſiah they ſhould abound in Wealth, and an Affluence of all Things.* Jeſus *then repeating it, but more clearly*; O my Sons, *ſaid he*, it is difficult indeed for thoſe who place their Happineſs in this World's Goods, and ſet their Hearts upon them, to make themſelves capable of enjoying the Felicity of the Kingdom of Heaven. It is eaſier for a [kk] Camel to paſs through the Eye of a Needle, than for theſe Men to taſte the Happineſs of that Kingdom, while they are preſſed down by theſe degenerate baſe Deſires. *The Diſciples admired ſtill more and more at a Doctrine ſo contrary to their preconceived Opinions, and ſaid to one another*, Who then can be ſaved, ſince almoſt all Men at leaſt deſire to be rich?

VII. [l] *Then ſaid* Jeſus, Though Men are not able by mere human Means to lay aſide theſe narrow Affections, yet by God's Aſſiſtance, and thoſe effectual Motives of eternal Rewards and Puniſhments, they may be enabled to raiſe themſelves above theſe earthly Conſiderations, and make the Love of God and Virtue the great Objects of their Endeavours. Peter *then replied*, We, who are thy Apoſtles, have left all, that we might conſtantly attend thee; for what Rewards may we hope? Jeſus *anſwered*, As for you, who have left all for my Sake, when the Face of Nature ſhall be changed, and this deſpiſed Man ſhall appear in his Glory to judge Mankind, you ſhall be placed upon twelve Seats next his Throne, to judge together with him the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, from whoſe Sentence there ſhall be no Appeal. And as for all thoſe beſides, who have forſaken their Eſtates and neareſt Relations, rather than violate my Laws; if in this Life, after the Times of Perſecution are over, they do not receive a Retribution, and much more than they have loſt, they ſhall moſt certainly in the next Life be rewarded with eternal Happineſs.

VIII. [m] At that Time, many to whom the Goſpel was firſt propoſed ſhall be poſtponed to others, who though they embraced it later, yet did it with a ſincere and hearty Application to it; for which Reaſon they ſhall be deſervedly preferred. That you may more eaſily underſtand this, you have a [n] Reſemblance of it in a Maſter of a Family, who went out early into the Market-Place, where Day-Labourers are wont to ſtand expecting Employment, to hire ſome for his Vineyard; and ſome he agreed with for a ſet determinate Wages of Seven Pence Half-penny a Day. Afterwards, about the third Hour, he ſaw ſome others ſtanding idle, whom he alſo ſent into the Vineyard, promiſing to pay what their Labour ſhould juſtly deſerve. Theſe alſo went into the Vineyard, while the Maſter of the Family returning again at the ſixth and ninth Hour, hired others on the like Terms. He went alſo a fourth Time about the eleventh Hour, when there was but one Hour of the Day remaining, and ſeeing ſome ſtanding idle, he aſked them the Reaſon of it, who told him they had not as yet been hired: The Maſter therefore taking Pity on them, ordered them into his Vineyard, promiſing to ſatisfy them for their Labour.

IX. [o] Night being come, and the Workmen ſtaying to receive their Wages, the Maſter ordered his Steward to call them all to him, and pay them off, beginning with thoſe he had hired laſt of all. Thoſe therefore that were hired at the eleventh Hour, came and received each a *Denarius*, or Seven Pence Half-penny: The firſt perceiving this, were in hopes of a much greater Recompence, by how much they had worked harder than the reſt; but they alſo received no more; which made them murmur againſt the Maſter of the Houſe, complaining that it was not fair to give thoſe who came but in the Evening the ſame Pay with themſelves, who had borne the Heat and Toil of a whole Day. But he ſaid to one of them; Friend, what is the Reaſon of this Complaint? I do thee no Wrong, ſince I pay thee punctually for what we bargained: Be content with receiving what is due to thee, and go thy Way; thy Muttering is not like to make me alter my Reſolution of rewarding theſe laſt Comers equally with thee. Is it not in my Power to beſtow my Money as I ſee fitting? and doſt thou envy my Liberality to others?

X. [p] So alſo as to what relates to the Rewards of the Kingdom of Heaven; thoſe who laſt of all have been made acquainted with my Goſpel, and have not taken Pains in propagating it, as living in thoſe Times in which it ſhall have ſpread itſelf far and near, ſhall receive the ſame Recompence with thoſe that were firſt called to the Knowledge of it, and have laboured hard to encreaſe the Number of my Diſciples, in Times of Perſecution for my Name's Sake: And thus the laſt ſhall receive an equal Diſtribution with the Reſt. It is true, many are now called, who have been made acquainted with the Myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, yet very few excel others by an exemplary Virtue. Think it not ſtrange therefore, that in the Day of Retribution, many to whom the Goſpel will be laſt of all revealed, ſhall be made equal Sharers with theſe firſt Converts in the Rewards of Heaven.

[kk] Some read *a Cable-rope*, which agrees better than a Camel with the Idea of going through the Eye of a Needle.

[l] Matth. xix. 26——29. Mark. x. 27——30. Luke xviii. 27——30.

[m] Matth. xix. 30. xx. 1—7.

[n] Something like this Parable being to be found in the Jeruſalem Talmud, as are many others of our Lord's Parables in the Jewiſh Books, it has been thought, that the Jews uſed them afterwards in Imitation of Chriſt. But whoever conſiders the Hatred which the Jews bore to Chriſt, and that Chriſt took almoſt the whole Lord's Prayer from the Jewiſh Prayers, and alſo that he often made Uſe of Jewiſh Proverbs in his Diſcourſes, will think it more reaſonable to believe, that he here uſed a Parable that was before known among them, than that his uſing of it ſhould make them afterwards receive it into their Writings: And ſo of all the other Jewiſh Parables that are to be found in the New Teſtament.

[o] Matth. xx. 8—15. [p] Matth. xx. 16.

XI. [q] *While* Jeſus *was returning from* Judea *into* Galilee, *it happened that* Lazarus *of* [r] Bethany, *whom he greatly loved, fell ſick. Now he was the Brother of* Martha *and* Mary, *at whoſe Houſe* Jeſus *formerly lodged; the latter of which, as we ſhall relate* [s], *anointed his Feet with a precious Ointment, and wiped them with the Hair of her Head. Theſe Siſters, knowing how much their Brother was beloved by him, ſent to acquaint him with his Sickneſs, that if he ſaw fit he might reſtore him to his Health.* Jeſus *having heard it, comforted them, by aſſuring them they ſhould not by this Diſtemper be deprived of their Brother* Lazarus; *but that he would not as yet cure him, that the Power of God might be the more conſpicuous by a remarkable Miracle, which would raiſe the Wonder of many, to a no ſmall Admiration of the Son of God. Wherefore, though* Jeſus *had a very great Kindneſs for the whole Family, and eſpecially for* Lazarus, *yet he continued in thoſe Parts two Days after he had received the Meſſage.*

XII. *When theſe were expired, he acquainted his Apoſtles with his Deſign of returning into* Judea; *who endeavoured to deter him from it, by repreſenting that the* Jews *took all Occaſions, as he well knew, to ſtone him, and therefore it was not ſafe to truſt himſelf among them.* Jeſus *replied in this Similitude:* As there are twelve Hours in the Day, in which a Man is in no Danger of ſtumbling, having the Light of the Sun to guide him, but is very liable to it in the Night by reaſon of the Darkneſs; ſo alſo I have nothing to be afraid of, while the Time laſts in which God has determined to ſecure me againſt all the Attacks and Underminings of the *Jews*; and I ſhall only be in Danger when that Time is expired, and the dark Powers of the Wicked unreſtrained. *When he had thus ſpoke, he ſaid to his Apoſtles,* Our Friend *Lazarus* ſleeps, but I am going into *Judea* to awake him. *The Apoſtles anſwered, that if he ſlept, he would in all Likelihood recover, and ſo there would be no Occaſion for his Journey; for* Jeſus *having ſpoke concerning the Sleep of Death, they miſunderſtood his Words of taking Reſt in Sleep. He then plainly told them, that he was dead; and that he was glad he had not been at* Bethany *during his Sickneſs, becauſe at his Siſter's Intreaty he ſhould have cured him; whereas now he had an Occaſion of ſhewing a remarkable Miracle, which would confirm their Faith. For which Reaſon, he told them, he was reſolved to go thither.* Thomas, *ſurnamed* Didymus, *ſaid to the reſt of the Apoſtles;* Let us go alſo with him, that if it be neceſſary, we may die together with him, rather than betray our Truſt.

XIII. [u] *When* Jeſus *arrived at* Bethany, *the Body of* Lazarus *had been four Days buried, and many of the Citizens were come from* Jeruſalem, *which was but about two Miles diſtant, to condole with* Martha *and* Mary *for the Loſs of their Brother.* Martha, *when ſhe heard* Jeſus *was coming, went to meet him; but* Mary *remained behind with the Company.* Martha, *as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, cried out,* O Sir, if you had been here four Days ago, my Brother had not been dead; but I know very well that whatſoever thou [w] wilt ask of God, he will grant thee: *Not daring to add, that at his Requeſt God would not refuſe to reſtore a Man to Life that had been four Days dead, which he was not wont to grant. But* Jeſus *knowing her Thoughts, comforted her, by aſſuring her he would raiſe her Brother again to Life.* Martha *replied, that ſhe doubted not but he ſhould be raiſed again at the general Reſurrection.* But, *anſwered* Jeſus, I have received Power from my Father of reſtoring every one to Life that believes in me; and whoever lives and believes on me, ſhall not die eternally. Believeſt thou what I ſay to thee? *She replied,* Lord, I believe whatever thou haſt ſaid, ſince I make no Doubt but thou art the *Meſſiah*, the Son of God, which was to come among us. *Having ſaid this, ſhe returned Home, and told her Siſter, that the Maſter was returned out of* Galilee, *and would ſpeak with her.* Mary *immediately aroſe, and leaving the Company, repaired to* Jeſus, *who was ſtill in the ſame Place where* Martha *met him. The Company with her perceiving her run out in that Haſte, and imagining ſhe was going through Exceſs of Grief to her Brother's Sepulchre, to ſhed ſome Tears over it, and lament her Loſs, followed her; but ſhe went directly to* Jeſus, *and falling down at his Feet, cried out with the ſame Exclamation as her Siſter* Martha, Sir, if thou hadſt been here, my Brother would not have been dead.

XIV. [x] Jeſus *perceiving her bewail her Brother's Death with ſo much Concern, and the* Jews *themſelves that came to comfort her lamenting,* [y] *was touched with the like Paſſion, and aſked where they had laid him; whereupon they carried him to the Sepulchre. In the mean time conſidering the*

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[q] John xi. 1—*6*.

[r] Mr. Maundrell informs us, that coming out of Jeruſalem by St. Stephen's Gate, and having croſſed the Valley of Jehoſaphat and Part of Mount Olivet, he came in half an Hour to Bethany; at preſent only a ſmall Village. At the firſt Entrance into it, ſays he, is an old Ruin, which they call Lazarus's Caſtle, ſuppoſed to have been the Manſion Houſe of that Favourite of our Lord. At the Bottom of a ſmall Deſcent, not far from the Caſtle, is ſhewn the Sepulchre out of which he was raiſed to a ſecond Mortality, by that enlivening Voice of Chriſt, Lazarus *come forth*. You deſcend into the Sepulchre by twenty five ſteep Stairs, at the Bottom of which you arrive at firſt in a ſmall ſquare Room, and from thence you creep down into another leſſer Room about a Yard and a half deeper, in which the Body is ſaid to have been laid. This Place is held in great Veneration by the Turks, who uſe it for an Oratory, and demand of all Chriſtians a ſmall Caphar for their Admiſſion into it. About a Bow-ſhot from hence you paſs by the Place, which, they ſay, was Mary Magdalene's Habitation; and then deſcending a ſteep Hill, you come to the Fountain of the Apoſtles; ſo called becauſe, as the Tradition goes, thoſe holy Perſons were wont to refreſh themſelves here in their frequent Travels between Jeruſalem and Jericho. And indeed it is a Thing very probable, and no more than I believe is done by all that travel that Way; the Fountain being cloſe by the Road Side, and very inviting to the thirſty Paſſenger.

[s] See what we have ſaid concerning the ſeveral Women who anointed our Saviour's Feet at Page 144. of this Work.

[t] John xi. 7——16.

[u] John xi. 17——32.

[w] The Faith of Martha, according to Grotius and others, was weak, in that ſhe only believed, that Chriſt was prevalent with God, but not that the Fulneſs of divine Power reſided in him.

[x] John xi. 33——44.

[y] We may learn hence, that human Affections and Commotions are not to be condemned as ſinful, if they do not incline us to do any thing repugnant to Piety or Reaſon, but only to expreſs our Affection to our Friend, or our Compaſſion to Mankind.

miſerable Condition of human Life, and the great Sorrow the Death of Lazarus *had occaſioned to his Siſters, he* [y] *could not refrain from weeping. The* Jews *obſerving his Tears, and the great Friendſhip he had for* Lazarus, *ſaid to one another, with a ſort of a Wonder;* Could not this *Jeſus*, who was able to give Sight to him that was born blind, by his Power preſerve his Friend from the Grave? *They came at laſt to the Sepulchre, which was in a Cave, the Entrance into which was cloſed with a great Stone, which he ordered them to remove; though* Martha *told him it was impoſſible but he muſt needs by this Time ſtink, having been four days dead.* Jeſus *aſked, whether he had not told her, that if ſhe relied on him ſhe ſhould ſee a remarkable Miracle, which would afford her an eminent Occaſion of adoring the Goodneſs of God. Upon this they removed the Stone from the Mouth of the Cave in which the Corpſe lay. Then* Jeſus, *who ſilently had prayed to his Father for the Reſurrection of* Lazarus, *lifting up his Hands to Heaven, ſpoke thus:* I thank thee, O Father, that thou haſt granted my Petition: I know, indeed, that thou always heareſt my Prayers; but I thus ſpeak for the Sake of the Multitude about me, that by obſerving this wonderful Effect of my Prayers they may be convinced that thou haſt ſent me. *Having thus ſpoke, he cried with a loud Voice:* Lazarus, ariſe, and come out of the Sepulchre. *The Corpſe immediately having recovered Life and Strength, roſe up, his Legs and Arms being bound, which* Jeſus *ordered to be looſened.*

XV. [z] *Many of the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem *ſeeing this Miracle, believed on him; but ſome repaired to the Chief of the* Phariſees, *and informed them of it, that they might take care their Authority did not ſuffer by it, if it once came to be divulged. The chief Prieſts therefore and* Phariſees *aſſembled to the* Sanhedrim, *and made this Report to them. Many Propoſitions were debated in the Aſſembly about this Emergency, and ſeveral Expedients offered to ſecure the State from any Damage that might accrue to it; it being certain that* Jeſus *had performed many Miracles, and many would believe him to be the* Meſſiah, *whom they expected to reſcue them from the Tyranny of the* Romans; *and that if they neglected the Matter, it might be attended with a general Inſurrection of the* Jews; *which, if it happened, it was to be feared the* Romans *would ſend an Army, and utterly deſtroy the City and the Temple, and put the whole* Jewiſh *Nation to the Sword.*

XVI. [a] Caiaphas *was* [b] *at that Time the High Prieſt, who having heard the Debates on both ſides, ſtood up and ſaid, That they were unacquainted with their own Intereſt who refuſed to condemn* Jeſus, *becauſe he did not appear criminal; and that they ought to take notice, that it was much more adviſable that one Man ſhould be deſtroyed than the whole Nation cut off. Which Words were truer than he imagined: And being High Prieſt, it was with a divine Impulſe he predicted, that* Jeſus *was to be offered as a Victim to expiate the Sins of the People; and that by this Sacrifice it ſhould come to paſs, that all who deſired to be reckoned in the Number of God's People, ſhould be united into one Body. The* Sanhedrim, *moved by theſe Words of* Caiaphas, *from that Time ſought an Opportunity of putting him to Death. For which Reaſon* Jeſus *appeared no more openly, nor in the frequented Places of* Judea, *but remained in a Part of the Country near the Wilderneſs of* Jericho, *not far from a little Town called* Ephraim, *where he continued with his Apoſtles till the next Paſſover.*

DISSERTATION I.

Explaining two of the Hiſtories contained in the preceding Chapter.

I. *Of the Children that were brought to* Jeſus, *what they were, by whom brought, and to what End.* II. *Anſwer to the Objection, that* Jeſus *did not baptize them.* III. *In what Caſes our Lord ſaid, there is none good but one, that is God. The Father, the Fountain of the whole Deity.* IV. *That Obedience to God's Commands is the Way to eternal Life.* V. *An Objection anſwered.* VI. *A ſecond Objection anſwered.* VII. *What is that Perfection which* Chriſt *mentions as neceſſary to the young Man. That Precept of ſelling all that he had, was a particular Command to this young Man.*

I. THE Story of the Children, *who were brought to* Jeſus, *that he ſhould put his Hands upon them and pray*, being the Goſpel uſed by our Church at the Celebration of Infants Baptiſm, it cannot be improper in this Place [a] to ſhew the Fitneſs of it for that purpoſe. In order to this, the following Things require our Conſideration.

Firſt, That as theſe Children are ſtiled [b] *little Children*, or [c] *Infants*, and as they were taken up into *Chriſt*'s Arms, it follows, that they were Children not yet come to Years of Diſcretion: For, according to *Euſtathius* and *Phavorinus*, the [d] original Word ſignifies a *new-born Child, nouriſhed from the Breaſt, from his Birth till he be four Years old.* Whence they are not repreſented as coming to *Chriſt*, but as being brought to him.

Secondly, Theſe Children are brought to *Chriſt* by Perſons who believed him to be a Prophet ſent from God, not by Perſons who had mean and diminutive Thoughts of him: For why ſhould they deſire his Prayers for their Children, or the Impoſition of his Hands on them, if they had not a Confidence, that both theſe would be effectual to ſome good Purpoſe?

Thirdly, As they were not brought to be healed of any Diſtempers, but that he ſhould lay his Hands on them, and pray over them, we may gather from hence, that they were deemed capable of ſpiritual Bleſſings, and of receiving Advantage from Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands. Now this Impoſition of Hands could not be to prepare them for any Office, nor ſeems it deſigned to procure to them [e] any Remiſſion of Sins; but to obtain for them ſome ſpiritual Bleſſing belonging to the Kingdom of God; or, by this Rite, to admit them into the Number of his Diſciples, and to own them as Members of his Kingdom.

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[z] John xi. 45—48.

[a] John xi. 49—54.

[b] The High-Prieſthood, by God's Inſtitution, was to continue during Life; but when the Power came into the Hands of the *Romans*, they changed them at Pleaſure.

[a] See Whitby on Matth. xix. 13, 14.

[b] Luke xviii. 15.

[c] Mark x. 16.

[d] Βρέφος.

Fourthly, From the Reaſon why *Chriſt* would have the little Children ſuffered to come to him, namely, becauſe *of ſuch is the Kingdom of God*, it appears, that there is ſomething in little Children, for which they ſhould not be hindered from coming to *Chriſt*, beſides their being Emblems of Humility; (for ſuch they are when they come not, as much as when they come:) Now what can that be, but their Fitneſs to be early dedicated to the Service of God, and to enter into Covenant with him by Rites which he hath appointed for that End? And hence the Antients looked upon this as a ſufficient Ground for [f] Infant Baptiſm; as appears from [g] *Tertullian*, even whilſt he ſhews his Diſlike of the Cuſtom.

II. But here it is objected, by thoſe who are againſt the Baptiſm of Infants, "That *Chriſt* neither did baptize theſe Infants himſelf, nor command his Apoſtle to do it". To this it is anſwered,

Firſt, That this is not to be wonder'd at, if we conſider, That they already had entered into Covenant with God by Circumciſion, and Chriſtian Baptiſm was not yet inſtituted; and, That the Baptiſm then uſed by *John*, and *Chriſt*'s Diſciples, was only the Baptiſm of Repentance, and Faith in a *Meſſiah* to come; of both which Infants were incapable; but not of being conſecrated to God from their Infancy, as [h] *Sampſon* and [i] *Samuel* were, or of entering in Covenant with God, as [k] all the Male Infants of the *Jews* did by Circumciſion.

Secondly, That *Chriſt* ſpeaks not here of thoſe Children only, who were now brought to him, but of Children in general, *Suffer little Children to come unto me*; and adds a Reaſon common to them all, *For of ſuch is the Kingdom of God*: Which, if it imports, that they are fit to be admitted into *Chriſt*'s Church and Kingdom, as they were into the *Jewiſh*, it follows, they muſt alſo be fit to receive Chriſtian Baptiſm, that being the only Means of entering into *Chriſt*'s Kingdom. If it means only, that they were Emblems of Humility fit for Imitation, what Reaſon can be hence given, why they ſhould on this Account be brought to *Chriſt*, that he might lay his Hands upon them? or, why ſhould *Chriſt* be ſo diſpleaſed, becauſe they were forbidden by the Diſciples to come to him?

III. Another Thing in the foregoing Chapter, that deſerves peculiar Notice, is the Conference between *Jeſus* and the young Man, that came to enquire of him how he ſhould obtain eternal Life: And *firſt* of all, the Remark of *Jeſus* on the young Man's calling him *Good Maſter*, in his Addreſs to him; *Why calleſt thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God.*

Moſt of the [l] antient Fathers, in this Place, read *God my Father*. Now, hence the *Socinians* argue thus againſt the Divinity of *Chriſt*: "He to whom the Title of *good* doth not belong, cannot be God moſt High: By our Lord's own Words, this Title belongs not to him, but only to God the Father: Therefore God the Father muſt be God alone." And whereas ſome of the Poſt-*Nicene* Fathers anſwer, that the young Man ſaid *Good Maſter* out of Flattery or Ignorance, looking upon *Chriſt* as a mere Man; and ſo *Chriſt* anſwers, *Why calleſt thou me good, whom thou doſt not acknowledge to be God?* To this the *Socinians* reply, "That this is an Addition to the Text, without any Ground from *Chriſt*'s Words; nay, that it is in Oppoſition to *Chriſt*'s Words, when he ſays, that *one Thing only was lacking to the young Man, namely, that he ſhould ſell all, and give to the Poor*: Whereas the Knowledge that *Chriſt* was God muſt alſo be lacking to him, and conſequently *two Things*; according to the Trinitarian Hypotheſis."

But to this it might be anſwered, either *firſt*, That when our Lord ſaith, *One Thing is lacking to thee*, he reſpects not his Knowledge, but his Practice; intending not to ſay what was lacking to him as to the Knowledge of himſelf; for it appears not that this young Man owned him as the promiſed Meſſiah; but to inſtruct him in what was yet lacking to perfect his Obedience to the Commandments of God.

Or, *ſecondly*, that the Deity of *Chriſt*, being not then ſo fully revealed as it was afterwards, might not then be neceſſary to be believed in order to Salvation. But not to inſiſt on theſe, we reply,

Thirdly, That *Chriſt* may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak to this young Man thus: *Thou giveſt me a Title, which is never given to your moſt renowned Rabbies, and which agrees to God alone: Doſt thou therefore think there is any thing in me more than human, or that the Father dwelleth in me? This thou oughteſt to believe, if thou conceiveſt that this Title truly belongs to me, ſince there is but one that is good, namely God.*

To confirm this Interpretarion, let it be conſidered, that *Chriſt* in preaching to the *Jews* aſſerted two Things of himſelf. *One* was, That he was a Prophet ſent from God, even that Prophet that ſhould come into the World. The *other*, That he had given them clear Evidence of his Commiſſion from the Father, by the Works done through his Power, which manifeſtly ſhewed that God dwelt in him, [m] *That he was in the Father, and the Father in him, and that he and the Father were one.* Which Words the *Jews* took in ſuch a Senſe, that they [n] pronounced him guilty of Blaſphemy, *for that, being a Man, he made himſelf God.* He therefore might well ſay to this young Man, *Why calleſt thou me good Maſter*, unleſs thou believeſt I am a Teacher ſent from God? ſince he who falſely pretends this, cannot be a good Maſter, or a Teacher of Truth: Nor canſt thou own me as a Prophet ſent from God but from my Works, from which I have proved, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me, that I am one with the Father, and that therefore I partake with him of the Title of *Good*. But to proceed, it may be anſwered,

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[e] The Jews did not conceive Infants guilty of any Sin: But if they had conceived this, and had brought their Children for Remiſſion, this bringing them proves them capable of ſome Means by which that Remiſſion was to be obtained.

[f] Conſt. Apol. l. vi. c. 15.

[g] Tertull. De Baptiſmo, c. 18. & alibi.

[h] Judg. xiii. 17.

[i] 1 Sam. i. 11.

[k] Deut. xxix. 11, 15.

[l] Ita Juſt. Mart. Iren. Clem. Alexand. Orig. &c.

Fourthly, That the Father being the Fountain of the whole Deity, muſt in ſome Senſe be the Fountain of the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of the Son. *The Son*, ſaith Dr. *Bull*, *is rightly ſtiled, the perfect and adequate Image of his Father's Goodneſs, becauſe he derives that Goodneſs, as he doth all his other Attributes, together with the divine Nature, from the Father:* And thus to be the Fonntain of Good, may belong only to the Father. Hence even the Heathens have declared, That of all the Perfections of the Deity, that of *Good* was the moſt proper; [o] he only being by them ſtiled *Good, who gave all to others, but derived nothing from them:* And thence they placed Goodneſs *in him only who was unbegotten.* And in this Senſe many of the Ante-*Nicene* Fathers owned, that the Word *Good* did ſignally, and moſt excellently, agree to the Father, and to *Chriſt* only by reaſon of the Goodneſs derived with the divine Nature to him, as being God of God; or, *from the eſſential Relation they had to each other.* Hence *Clemens Alexandrinus* thus explains the Matter; [p] *The Father alone is good and juſt; and yet the Son, as he is in the Father, is juſt, and what is juſt is good:* Concluding thus, *There is one only God, good, juſt, the Maker of all Things, the Son in the Father.* And *Novatian* [q] anſwers them, who objected to the Orthodox, that they owned two Gods, *That if* Chriſt'*s being Lord hinders not that of the Apoſtle,* There is one Lord, *ſo neither did* Chriſt'*s being good, and God, hinder there being one God, and one that is good.*

IV. A *ſecond* Thing in this Converſation that deſerves to be conſidered, is our Lord's general Solution of the young Man's Queſtion; *But if thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments.* From which we would obſerve, how improbable it is, that *Chriſt* ſhould direct the young Man into that Way for obtaining eternal Life, which neither was, nor could be, ſufficient for that End. And we know that *Chriſt* elſewhere ſays the ſame Thing upon a like Occaſion: For to [r] the Lawyer, enquiring, *What ſhall I do to inherit eternal Life?* he anſwers, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and thy Neighbour as thy ſelf: This do, and thou ſhalt live.*

Now when Men came ſeriouſly to enquire of him the Way to Life eternal, who can imagine he would deceive them, by directing them to a Way which was inſufficient for that End? Certainly therefore, a ſtrict Obedience to the Commandments of God, was by *Chriſt* declared a ſufficient Means for obtaining eternal Felicity.

Beſides, it is very evident that God, in the Old Teſtament, promiſes [s] Life to them who obſerve his Commandments; which Commandments he pronounces to be ſuch, [t] *as that he that did them ſhould live by them.* It is alſo certain, That they who walked before God, as [u] *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth* did, *in all the Commandments of God blameleſs*, were righteous in his Sight, and were ſaid to [w] walk before him with *a perfect and upright Heart*, and to [x] *love him with all their Heart and with all their Soul.* Conſequently it is as certain, That all pious Perſons, under the old Diſpenſation, obtained a Right to Life eternal, by this Obſervance of the moral Precepts of the Law.

And whereas when the young Man declares, *All theſe have I kept from my Youth, Chriſt* yet requires him *to ſell all that he had, that he might be perfect, and have Treaſure in Heaven*; we may obſerve, that this one Thing was contained in the Precept of loving, honouring, and obeying God, with all his Heart, and therefore was wanting to an uniform Obſervance of this Duty: For certainly he loves not God above all Things, who will not, when required, part with all Things that he may enjoy God in Heaven.

V. But it is objected, "That the Law required perfect Obedience, and could not abſolve the Sinner from the Guilt of Sin."

To this we anſwer, That to require perfect Obedience to his Laws, is a Thing abſolutely neceſſary on the Part of God, both under the old and new Covenant: For Sin being the Tranſgreſſion of the Law, and perfect Obedience and unſinning Obedience being the ſame Thing, if God requires under the new Covenant that we ſhould not tranſgreſs any of his Laws, as he certainly muſt do, he muſt require us not to ſin againſt them, and ſo he muſt require perfect, that is unſinning Obedience. And as ſincere Obedience, which is the Condition of our Acceptance with God, doth not, under the new Covenant, procure the Pardon of our Sins committed under that Covenant, but the *Blood of* Chriſt *cleanſeth us from all Sin* upon our Repentance; ſo though the Obedience to the moral Law required under the old Covenant, could not abſolve the Sinner from the Guilt contracted by his Violations of that Law, yet doth God there alſo promiſe expreſly the like Pardon to the Penitent; that [y] *when the wicked Man turneth away from his Wickedneſs, he ſhall not die, but live*; that [z] when *he ceaſeth to do evil, and learneth to do well,*

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[m] John x. 30. See alſo Verſes 37, 38 and Chap. xiv 9, 10, 11.
[n] John x. 31, 32, 33.
[o] Herm. Triſmegiſt. in Pæmandro. c. ii. n. 8. & c. vi. n. 2.
[p] Pædag. l. i.
[q] Cap. xxx.
[r] Luke x. 25—28.
[s] Ezek. xviii. 21. xxxiii. 15.
[t] Lev. xviii. 5. Ezek. xx. 1.
[u] Luke i. 6.
[w] Pſalm xviii. 21. 24.
[x] Luke xxii. 37.
[y] Ezek. xviii. 21.
[z] Iſaiah i. 17, 18.

though his Sins were as Crimſon, he ſhall be white as Wool; that their Offerings, which before were vain Oblations, ſhould become Sacrifices of ſweet Savour, and procure an Attonement for their Sins; if not by Virtue of their Inſtitution, yet certainly by Virtue of the *Lamb who was ſlain from the Beginning of the World*.

And that God required no Obedience to his Law, as neceſſary to Salvation, but that which pious *Jews*, by Virtue of that Grace which he was ready to afford them, might be able to perform, is hence apparent, that he not only promiſes Life to them who did obey this Law, but by the ſacred Penman pronounces them bleſſed who ſo obeyed it. [a] *Bleſſed is the Man who meditates in this Law Day and Night.* [b] *Bleſſed are they who keep his Judgments, and he that doth Righteouſneſs at all Times.* [c] *He that keepeth the Law, happy is he.* [d] *In keeping of them*, the Judgments of the Lord, *there is great Reward*.

This Bleſſing therefore, and Reward, all pious Perſons did, and with juſt Reaſon, expect. And yet it is certain they could not expect it on the Performance of what it was impoſſible for them to do. Therefore, though God ſaid to them, *Curſed is every one that continueth not in all Things written in this Law, to do them*; they might be certain, from the Expiation and Attonement which he had appointed to be made for Sin, and from the gracious Promiſes made by him to the Penitent, that they ſhould be exempted from the Guilt of, and conſequently from the Curſe due to, thoſe Tranſgreſſions; though they might not expreſly know, that this Redemption was to be procured by the Death of their Meſſiah.

VI. There is another Objection taken from the Words of St. *Paul*, who intimates, that *the Law could not give Life*, by ſaying, [e] *If there had been a Law which could have given Life, verily Juſtification ſhould have been by the Law.* He alſo ſays, elſewhere, that [f] *the Law worketh Wrath*, and that [g] *as many as are under the Law, are under the Curſe*.

The Anſwer is, All theſe Things prove, that the Tranſgreſſions of this Law, rendered them obnoxious to Puniſhment for the Guilt of it; and that the Law itſelf, which only required Obedience, could not abſolve the Sinner from the Guilt of his Diſobedience to it; and therefore could not procure Juſtification unto Life for the Sinner, without an Act of Grace temperating the Rigour of the Law: But yet this proves not that there was no Pardon to be obtained for the Sinner, upon his Repentance and Faith in God, allowing an Attonement for his Sin; for then there could have been no Place for Repentance, or a propitiatory Sacrifice, under the Law, and ſo not only no Juſtification by the Law, which is all that St. *Paul* aſſerts, but no Juſtification by any other Means, no Freedom from the Penalty which the Law denounces.

As therefore under the Goſpel our Juſtification, that is, our Abſolution from the Guilt of Sin, ariſeth not from Works, but from Grace, through Faith; and yet good Works, and ſincere Obedience, are the Conditions requiſite to Salvation, and the Means neceſſary to obtain it; wherefore of Love to God and to our Neighbour, it may ſtill be ſaid, *Do this and live*: So under the Law, Obedience to the moral Precepts of it were the Conditions of, and the Means requiſite to obtain, the ſame Life; and therefore of ſincere Obedience to the Law it might well be ſaid, *Do this and live*, eſpecially ſince, under the Law, Faith and Repentance were requſite for the Remiſſion of the Violations of it.

And as it is neceſſary from the Perfection of the divine Nature, and his Relation to us as a Governor, to require that we ſhould not tranſgreſs any of his Laws; ſo it is alſo neceſſary, through the Imperfection of human Nature, that if God will enter into Covenant with lapſed ſinful Men, that Covenant ſhould be a Covenant of Grace, or ſhould admit of Favour upon his Repentance; ſince all other Covenants would depend, on Man's Part, upon an impoſſible Condition, which is apparently equivalent to none at all; it being, in effect, the ſame to promiſe or engage for nothing, as only to promiſe ſomething upon a Condition which we cannot perform.

VII. The *laſt* Thing in this Converſation that we ſhall take notice of, is our Lord's Inſtruction to the young Man concerning the one Thing which he lacked: *If thou wilt be perfect, ſell what thou haſt, and give to the Poor.*

To *be perfect* here, ſignifies to be fully inſtructin one's Duty. [h] *We ſpeak Wiſdom*, ſays the Apoſtle *Paul*, *among them that are perfect*: That is, ſays *Theodoret*, *among them whoſe Faith is ſincere and intire.* Hence [i] *to know in Part* is oppoſed to perfect Knowledge: And hence the [k] *Rabbins* ſpeak of conſtituting a Judge, who was not perfect, that is, not fully inſtructed in the Knowledge of the Traditions of his Fathers; and tell us, that one came to *Hillel* to be made a *Proſelyte*, who ſaid, *Do not that to another, which is odious to thy ſelf; that is the whole Law; go thy Way perfect*, or fully inſtructed in thy Duty.

From this we may diſcern the Vanity of the Popiſh Gloſs upon this Text: *If thou wilt be perfect*; *that is*, ſay they, *if thou wilt obtain an higher Degree of eternal Life, I give thee this Counſel, not ſimply neceſſary to Salvation, but to obtain an higher Meaſure of it.* For certainly the young Man needed not to have went away ſo ſorrowful, if without obeying this Counſel, as they are pleaſed to call it, he might have obtained that eternal Life which he enquired after, and which contained the whole of his Deſire. But the Perfection which *Chriſt* directed him to what was wanting to complete his Duty, and to give him a Title to any Degree at all of eternal Life; and this occaſioned the Sorrow with which he departed from *Chriſt*.

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[a] Pſalm i. 6.

[b] Pſalm cvi. 3.

[c] Prov. xxix. 18.

[d] Pſalm xix. 11. See alſo Pſalm cxix. 1, 2. Prov. viii. 32. 34.

[e] Gal. iii. 21.

[f] Rom. iv. 15.

[g] Gal. iii. 10.

[h] 1 Cor. ii. 6.

[i] 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10.

[k] Cod. Talm. Shabbath. f. xxxi. 1.

But then, ſince *Chriſt* requires him not only to withdraw his Heart from his inordinate Love of his Poſſeſſions, but actually to ſell all, and give the Money to the Poor, we may be ſure that this was only a particular Command to this young Man, to convince him of the Inſincerity of his pretended Love to Life eternal, and not a Precept common to all Chriſtians. For that there were rich Men in the Church, we learn from [l] ſeveral Texts of Scripture. The Apoſtle *John* had his own Houſe: *Peter* [m] permits the Chriſtian to retain his own: Nor doth *Paul* [n] require the *Corinthians* to ſell all they had, and give Alms, but only requeſt them to give of their Abundance. So that if Riches fall into the Hands of one, who knows how to uſe them to God's Glory, and the Relief of indigent Chriſtians, as well as the Supply of his own Neceſſities, it ſeems a Contradiction to conceive, that God requires him to part with them, and thereby diveſt himſelf of any farther Means of promoting his Glory, and doing good to his needy Children. We are, therefore, to do this only upon an Occaſion like that of the young Man, that is, either when we have an expreſs Command for it from God, or when we find them an Impediment to the ſecuring our eternal Intereſts; for then we muſt part with our Right Eye, and our Right Hand.

DISSERTATION II.

In Defence of the Hiſtory of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection by our bleſſed Lord.

I. *Why* Jeſus *groaned in Spirit, and wept, when he went to raiſe* Lazarus. *St.* Baſil *vindicated.* II. *Our Lord's weeping not derogatory from his Honour.* II. *Why* Jeſus *called* Lazarus *with a loud Voice*, &c. *An Abſtract of the* Jew's *Invective againſt this Miracle.* III. *The Inhumanity of the* Jews *to* Jeſus *no Argument againſt the Reality of this Miracle. Their Uſage of* Moſes, Elijah, *&c. The Reaſons of their Hatred to* Jeſus. IV. *The Retreat of* Jeſus *and* Lazarus *no Proof that they were conſcious of a Fraud in this Miracle. The Repetition of ſuch a Miracle now not likely to have a better Effect on the preſent* Jews. V. *No Fraud detected or reported by the* Phariſees *who went from beholding this Miracle to the* Sanhedrim. VI. *The not taking the Napkin from the Face of* Lazarus, *no Mark of Impoſture.* VII. *The Writings of* Jews *and* Heathens *againſt* Chriſt *anſwered before they were loſt. The Writings of the Chriſtians loſt with them.* VIII. *A Fraud in the Reſurrection of* Lazarus *no Part of the Indictment againſt* Jeſus. IX. *The Suppoſition, that* Jeſus *was required to repeat this Miracle upon another Subject, and that his Refuſal was the Cauſe of the Magiſtrates Anger againſt him, proved to be entirely groundleſs.* X. *Confirmation of the Reaſons before given for the Omiſſion of this Miracle by the three firſt Evangeliſts. The* Jews *Deſperſion an Evidence of the Divine Vengeance reſting on them.*

I. WE have [a] before conſidered Mr. *Woolſton*'s general Objections againſt the three Reſurrection Miracles of our Saviour, and in particular have been very large upon the Order of Time in which they are related by the Evangeliſts, and the probable Reaſons why this Hiſtory of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* was omitted by *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*. There is no need to repeat what has been already ſaid, and therefore we ſhall here proceed immediately to anſwer the reſt of his Objections againſt this miraculous Reſurrection in particular; which we ſhall do, without paying any regard to his abuſive Language, and warm Declamations, on this Occaſion.

The *firſt* Cavil he offers, is [b] againſt *Jeſus*'s *weeping and groaning at the Death* of *Lazarus*, whom he was about to raiſe *again* to Life. But this Objection is founded on a groſs Miſtake of Mr. *Woolſton* himſelf. For it no where appears in the Story of *Lazarus*, that *Jeſus wept or groaned* for the Death of *Lazarus*; but it does ſo, that out of a ſympathetic Goodneſs, he *wept with them that wept*. This is clearly expreſſed in St. *John*'s [c] Account of that Tranſaction; in which it is ſaid, that *when* Jeſus *therefore ſaw* Mary, one of his Friends, *and the* Jews *alſo weeping which came with her, he groaned in the Spirit, and was troubled*; and it is preſently added, [d] *Jeſus wept*. It is true, thoſe *Jews* who attended on that Occaſion, miſtook the *weeping* of *Jeſus* as if it were for the Dead, in the ſame Manner that our perſonated *Jews* do at preſent: For it is mentioned, [e] *Then ſaid the* Jews, *behold how he loved him*. But this Miſtake about the Cauſe of *Jeſus*'s Tears, was occaſioned by their Ignorance of his Intention to raiſe him again to Life.

After this immediately follows, [f] *And ſome of them ſaid, Could not this Man, which opened the Eyes of the Blind, have cauſed that even this Man ſhould not have died? Jeſus therefore again groaning in himſelf, cometh to the Grave.* And conſequently, the Reaſon of this ſecond Groaning was different from that of the firſt; which has been ſhewn, as well as his Tears, to have been occaſioned by a compaſſionate Sorrow for the Living, and not for the Dead. But the Word, *therefore*, in the Text, inſtructs us, by its Connection with what goes before it, that *Jeſus*'s ſecond Groaning was occaſioned by the malicious Turn that was given by ſome of the *Jews*, then preſent, to his miraculous Cure of the Man born blind; which was no leſs than an Inſinuation, that he had not really performed that Miracle,

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[l] 1 Tim. vi. 17. Jam. i. 13. ii. 2.
[m] Acts v. 4.
[n] 2 Cor. viii. 13.
[a] See Page 442, &c. of this Work.
[b] Diſc. 5. p. 39. See alſo Vind. Vol. ii. p. 369.
[c] John xi. 33.
[d] Ver 35.
[e] Ver. 36.
[f] Ver. 37.

racle on a Stranger, ſince he did not ſave the Life of his Friend, *Lazarus*. It ſeems then, that it was upon this perverſe and ſceptical Language of the *Jews*, that *Jeſus* is ſaid *again* to have *groaned in himſelf*; and indeed it is expreſly ſaid here, that he *therefore* groaned again. So that as Mr. *Woolſton* was miſtaken in the Cauſes of *Jeſus*'s weeping and groaning on this Occaſion, his reproachful Imputations on our Lord, as acting an unreaſonable Part in doing ſo, vaniſh all at once; ſince they are founded on his own Miſinterpretation of this Paſſage.

And as he has been ſhewn to miſrepreſent our Lord, ſo likewiſe does he a faithful Servant of his, St. *Baſil*, in the following Words; *But why ſo? ſays* St. *Baſil*, (that is, why did *Jeſus* weep and groan?) *Was not this an Abſurdity to weep at all for him whom he could, and was about to recover to Life again?* But not to inſiſt, that, as Mr. *Woolſton* deals much in *Latin* Tranſlations of the *Greek* Fathers, he has here taken great Liberty in putting his own *Engliſh* Paraphraſe on the *Latin* Tranſlation of this Paſſage, we ſhall ſet this Matter in a true Light from the Words of *Baſil* himſelf, which are theſe; [g] *How therefore could he, who was about to perform theſe Things, judge that what had happened was worthy of Tears?* Here *Baſil* is ſo far from hinting at any thing of an Abſurdity in the Caſe, that he gives an Anſwer to his own Queſtion, and aſſigns a Reaſon, which is unfairly ſuppreſſed by Mr. *Woolſton*, to ſhew *why* Jeſus *wept*. For, in the immediately following Words, St. *Baſil* anſwers the former Queſtion by another, *Or is it not manifeſt*, ſays he, *that* Jeſus, *on all Occaſions bearing our Infirmities, circumſcribed our unavoidable Paſſions by certain Meaſures, and with proper Bounds.* And preſently after *Baſil* has ſhewn the Errors uſually committed in our Extremes of an abſolute Unconcern and exceſſive Grief, as they are condemned by our Lord's Practice, he goes on thus; *And therefore, by weeping over his Friend, he ſhewed clearly that he did partake of the human Nature.* And he adds, that he hereby taught us both to moderate our Affections, and not to be inſenſible of Sorrow. And again, after *Baſil* has pointed out ſome other human Infirmities of *Jeſus*, he ſays, *And thus weeping became him, as he permitted that to happen which was founded in human Nature.* So that upon the whole, Mr. *Woolſton* has not acted ingenuouſly with St. *Baſil*, when he cited this Queſtion, and placed it in a wrong Light before his Reader, as if it were not anſwerable, or were agreeable to the true Senſe of St. *Baſil*; and this too, without giving *Baſil* leave to anſwer it himſelf, as he very well knew how to do. This is a Practice that too exactly reſembles the Prevarication of *Pilate*, when he asked our Lord *what is Truth*, and would not ſtay for an Anſwer from him.

And as to thoſe antient Catholicks, mentioned by *Epiphanius*, and again by Mr. *Woolſton*, who eraſed the weeping of *Jeſus* on this Occaſion out of their Copies of the Goſpel, they muſt have been weak Men, though otherwiſe perhaps ſound in the Faith, who could imagine that the ſympathetic Tears of our Saviour derogated in the leaſt from the Honour of him, who came down from Heaven out of mere Compaſſion, and ſhewed that Temper to be his proper Character throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, and indeed his Death, which has always been an eminent Diſtinction of Men of the moſt generous Souls. By his Example he has taught us, as well as by his Apoſtle's Precept, to *weep with them that weep.*

Beſides theſe miſtaken Catholicks, we know there were antient Hereticks who denied that *Chriſt* was come in real Fleſh, and had aſſumed the true human Nature; which, according to them, he only ſeemed to be clothed with, but was indeed only a Phantaſm, or the Apparition of a Man. In order to obviate this pernicious Opinion, that derogated ſo much from the Reality of his Sacrifice for the Sins of the World, it was juſtly recorded by the Evangeliſt that *Jeſus wept*, and by ſo doing demonſtrated that he had aſſumed the whole human Nature with all its innocent Paſſions. This Behaviour then was more worthy of him, whoſe Characteriſtic it was that he *bore our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows*, in ſeveral Senſes, than a *Stoical* Apathy, and an Affectation of a ſort of Philoſophy ill-ſuited to the Infirmities and Miſeries of human Nature. Jeſus *wept*, ſays [h] *Theophylact* on the Place, *aſſuring us thereby of his true human Nature.*—*To be uncompaſſionate, and without Tears, is the Property of Beaſts; but to abound with Tears, and to be fond of Lamentation, is the Property of Women.*

II. Mr. *Woolſton* objects in the ſecond Place againſt *Jeſus*'s [i] calling *Lazarus* with a *loud Voice* out of his Grave, as if this had been adapted only to the Capacities of the Vulgar; and he offers ſuch ludicrous Reaſons on that Occaſion, as only deſerve to be paſſed over in Silence. But here again he is miſtaken; for the *loud Voice* of *Jeſus*, in calling *Lazarus* out of his Grave, does not ſeem ſo much to regard *Lazarus* as a numerous Audience; who perhaps would not have been ſo well-qualified Witneſſes, if they had not diſtinctly heard as well as ſeen the whole Tranſaction. And it is not improbable likewiſe, that ſo loud a Voice was uſed in order to prevent all Suſpicions that might ariſe from that low Mutter or Whiſper, which was commonly uſed in magical Performances; an Imputation, which the malicious Adverſaries of *Jeſus* were too ready upon all Occaſions to faſten upon him.

The other Objections, which Mr. *Woolſton*, in his own Perſon, offers againſt the litteral Senſe of this Miracle, are repeated in the ſubſequent Invective of a *Jewiſh* Rabbi, on whom, with a falſe Modeſty, he devolves the invidious Taſk of arguing upon the Circumſtances of this Miracle.

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[g] Vid. *Baſil.* M. de gratiarum actione p. 309, 310. Tom. I Par. 1638.

[h] Vid. Theophylact. in loc. Johan.

[i] Diſc. v. p. 40.

Now the Subſtance of this Invective, whether of a perſonated or real *Jew* is not very material, is reduceable to the following Abſtract; which we are not afraid to make, ſince it is capable of a juſt Anſwer. [k] *Why*, ſays our *Jew*, *were the chief Prieſts and* Phariſees *ſo incenſed, upon the ſuppoſed Reſurrection of* Lazarus, *as to take Counſel to put both* Jeſus *and* Lazarus *to Death for it? Where was the Provocation? This*, ſays the *Jew*, *could only ariſe from Fraud detected.* And it is pretended, that *it could not be mere Inhumanity or Barbarity in the* Jews, *and particularly with regard to* Lazarus; *ſince this is impoſſible to human Nature, unleſs he had been conſidered as a Confederate with* Jeſus *in this ſuppoſed Impoſture.* And again, ſuppoſing this Barbarity of the *Jews*, it is aſked, *Why did* Jeſus *and his Diſciples abſcond? This*, ſays the *Jew*, *is a Sign of Guilt, and of a Diſcovery of the Cheat; or they had faced their Enemies.* And from theſe Suppoſitions it is inferred, that *the Fraud was detected by the* Jews, *and that the Parties concerned were juſtly perſecuted for it*; as likewiſe, that *ſomething muſt have been ſuppreſſed in the Goſpels about the real Occaſion of the Inveteracy of the* Jews *both to* Jeſus *and* Lazarus: For otherwiſe ſuch a Hatred is ſaid to be impoſſible. Again, our *Jew* dares to ſay, that *if ſuch a Miracle were performed at this Day in Confirmation of Chriſtianity, it would bring all the* Jews *into the Belief of it; at leaſt they would not break forth into a Rage againſt any Perſons concerned in it.* It is ſaid too, that *ſuch a Miracle, if true, would ſtrike Men with Awe and Reverence, leſt he who could raiſe the Dead ſhould exert his Power againſt themſelves, and ſmite them dead with it.* Again, they are ſtiled *ignorant People, who are ſaid by St.* John *to have ſeen theſe Things, and to have conſequently believed on* Jeſus. But when that Evangeliſt ſays, that ſome who ſaw it did not believe the Miracle, but went and told the *Phariſees* what Things *Jeſus* had done; it is to be underſtood, ſays the *Jew*, that *they told them how the Intrigue was managed, and complained of the Fraud in it.* On which Occaſion, ſome Marks of Fraud are fancied to have been diſcovered, either in the Sepulchre, or the riſing Body of *Lazarus*; and particularly, as the *Napkin* was left about his Face, and not taken off before he appeared. It is lamented here, that *no Memorials of theſe Matters are left but thoſe of the Goſpels*; and it is complained of, that *the Chriſtians deſtroyed the old* Jewiſh *Writings, as well as thoſe of* Celſus *and* Porphyry, which it is pretended *they could not anſwer*; *otherwiſe*, ſays the *Jew*, *this Impoſture would have been clearly diſcovered.* He adds, that *this Fraud about* Lazarus *was probably one Article of the Indictment againſt* Jeſus; *for from the Date of it the Chief Prieſts and* Phariſees *took counſel to put him to Death* in a judicial Manner. And a Tradition is here pretended, that *Jeſus was deſired to repeat this Miracle on another Perſon, for the greater Satiſfaction of ſome; but that he refuſed, and therefore there was a general Cry for his Crucifixion.* And once more, it is ſaid, that *the three firſt Evangeliſts did not report this Miracle, becauſe the Witneſſes of the Fraud in it were then living; but that* John *reported it when they were dead, who could have confuted him.*

III. Now in anſwer to all this Inſolence, we ſay, *firſt*, That whereas it is pretended in the former Part of this *Jewiſh* Invective, "That *Jeſus*, the Performer of the ſuppoſed Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, could not poſſibly have been treated with ſo much Inhumanity by the *Jews* on that Occaſion, if it had been a real Miracle; and likewiſe, that it cannot be believed that the Deſtruction of *Lazarus* ſhould have been deſigned by them, if his Confederacy in that Impoſture as it is ſtiled, had not been detected; and that, conſequently, without that Suppoſition, no Account is to be given of ſo great a Provocation of the Chief Prieſts and *Phariſees*, or that they ſhould be ſo highly incenſed upon it as to take counſel to put both *Jeſus* and *Lazarus* to Death:" In order to reſolve this *Phænomenon*, our *Jew* is deſired to conſider, in a more ſerious Manner, how grievous an Eye-ſore *Lazarus* muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to have been to the unbelieving *Jews* at that Time, upon the Proof given of his Reſurrection by ſo many Witneſſes, when we are expreſly aſſured, that [l] *by reaſon of him many of the* Jews *believed on* Jeſus. As therefore *Lazarus* was a living Monument of *Jeſus*'s miraculous Power, and conſequently of the *Meſſiahſhip* to which he laid claim, it is not at all ſurprizing that the Adverſaries of *Jeſus* were ſo exaſperated, as to attempt to deſtroy ſo important a Teſtimony as that of *Lazarus*, together with his Life.

And to evince that the *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time, were capable of ſo great a Barbarity and Wickedneſs as to take away the Life of *Jeſus*, and attempt that of *Lazarus*, for quite different Reaſons from the pretended one of their having been diſcovered to be Confederates in an Impoſture, it is very proper to recollect that the *Jews* of that Age were not better than their Fathers; and therefore it is requiſite to remit our *Jew* to the Hiſtory of his Anceſtors, in order to take a more exact View of their Obſtinacy, Perverſeneſs, and conſummate Wickedneſs, and more particularly of the Oppoſition they all along made to their own Prophets. Let him conſider their repeated Murmurings and frequent Rebellions againſt *Moſes* himſelf, notwithſtanding they were conſtantly ſupported by thoſe numerous Miracles, which were performed by him for forty Years together in the Wilderneſs. And more particularly with regard to the Reſurrection of the Dead, let him reflect on the Inhumanity of his Anceſtors to the [m] Prophet *Elijah*, and all that Train of Perſecutions which he ſuffered, even though *he raiſed a Child from the Dead*: For after this, and other great Miracles, wrought by him, we find that he was the [n] *only*

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[k] Diſc. v. p. 43, &c.

[l] John xii. 11.

[m] 1 Kings xvii. 20, 21, 22.

[n] 1 Kings xix. 10, &c.

Prophet of the Lord *that was left* among them, that all the reſt had been *ſlain with the Sword*, and that both *Ahab* and the Children of *Iſrael ſought his Life, to take it away*; as he himſelf acquaints us.

And by the Way, our *Jew*, who muſt be ſuppoſed to believe the Story of *Elijah's raiſing the Dead*, will do well to obſerve, that there was not one Perſon preſent with *Elijah* when he reſtored the Life of the Widow of *Zarephath*'s Child; and likewiſe, that [n] *he ſtretched himſelf three Times upon him, before he revived, and the Soul of the Child came into him again.* Here, ſurely, it muſt be allowed, are much ſtronger Grounds of Suſpicion of ſome Artifice, than in any Inſtance of *Jeſus*'s raiſing the Dead. But yet the *Jew* believes this Story of *Elijah*, and objects to thoſe of *Jeſus*, though far more credible in all their Circumſtances.

But what we chiefly aim at, is to ſhew from the Scriptures, that as the *Jews*, and indeed their King, were wicked enough to endeavour to deſtroy *Elijah*, ſo in conſequence of his Belief of this their Conduct, our *Jew* cannot but grant, that his other Anceſtors in *Jeſus*'s Time, were capable of being equally wicked with their Fathers, in labouring the Deſtruction of *Jeſus*, notwithſtanding all his Miracles, and this of *Lazarus* in particular. For not to inſiſt farther on the Barbarity of the *Jews* from Time to Time in killing their Prophets, notwithſtanding the Miracles of ſeveral of them; nor to ſhew in particular, how *ſome of* them *were ſtoned, were ſawn aſunder, were ſlain with the Sword, and how others wandered about in Sheep-ſkins and Goat-ſkins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented*; it deſerves a more exact Enquiry of the *Jew*, how ſeverely thoſe his Anceſtors are ſtigmatized by their own Hiſtorian, [o] *Joſephus*, of whom ſome no Doubt were living at the Time of our Lord's Crucifixion, who are deſcribed by that contemporary Writer, as the moſt profligate and abandoned Generation that ever lived; even that Generation, which was *not to paſs away till Jeſus*'s Predictions of the terrible Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of the abſolute Ruin of the *Jewiſh* Nation, were *fulfilled*. Such Perſons as he deſcribes, moſt certainly were capable of Acts of the greateſt Barbarity, when they were incapable of Conviction by repeated, public, and well-atteſted Miracles. And as to our *Jew*'s affected Pretence, that human Nature itſelf is incapable of ſuch Barbarity, it is not improper to ſuggeſt to his Memory, that the polite *Athenians* murdered *Socrates*, and baniſhed *Ariſtides*; and therefore it may be fairly preſumed, that the more uncultivated *Jews* might be capable of the moſt wicked Attempts upon *Jeſus* himſelf.

But beſides theſe general Prejudices againſt the pretended Humanity of the *Jews*, it is eaſy to aſſign ſome particular Reaſons for the inveterate Hatred of the *Jews* to *Jeſus Chriſt*. Such, for Inſtance, as the following, many of which have been before mentioned upon other Occaſions. *1ſt*, The Meanneſs of the Birth of *Jeſus*, and the poor Appearance of his outward Circumſtances; whereas the *Jews* expected external Greatneſs, and a temporal Royalty. *2dly*, His not aſſuming the Character of a triumphant *Meſſiah*, in delivering them from the *Roman* Yoke; and his not giving them the leaſt Sign or Hopes of the Recovery of their Liberty, but the very Reverſe. *3dly*, His Vindication of the Law of *Moſes* from the falſe Gloſſes which they put upon it, and his Improvements of, and Refinements on, thoſe Precepts which they conſidered as abſolutely perfect. *4thly*, His prophetical Diſcourſes about the approaching Deſtruction of their City, and Temple, and Polity; and even of the Evacuation and Ceaſing of their Law, which they thought was of perpetual Obligation, and was to laſt for ever. *5thly*, His inſiſting on inward Righteouſneſs, as the true Diſtinction of his Diſciples; whereas that of the ſtricteſt Sect among them was merely outward and ceremonial. *6thly*, His repeated Charge of Hypocriſy, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, on the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, though the moſt zealous and learned Perſons among them. *7thly*, The Rage ariſing from being confuted by his repeated Miracles, and particularly by that of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection. *8thly*, The great Influence of ſo reverend a Sect as that of the *Phariſees* on the common People, in their aſcribing the Miracles of *Jeſus* to the Power and Arts of *Beelzebub*, the Prince of the Devils.

Theſe are only Hints of Reaſons that might be enlarged upon; and ſeveral others might be added to them, but they are ſuperfluous, and therefore ſhall be omitted, ſince theſe are ſufficient to evince, that *the Prejudices of the* Jews *againſt* Jeſus *were inſuperable, and they hated him but the more for the Number and Greatneſs of his Miracles*. And conſequently, it is a vain Pretence, that it was Fraud detected in the Miracle of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, which provoked the Indignation of the *Jews*, when ſo many Reaſons have been now aſſigned for the implacable Hatred of *Jeſus* by them.

IV. In the next Place, we cannot but obſerve the Weakneſs of the Inference that is drawn by our *Jew*, from the Retreat that *Jeſus* and *Lazarus* made from the Rage and Perſecution of the *Jews*, in conſequence of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, when he ſays, that “ ſuch a Flight was occaſioned by Conſciouſneſs of Guilt, and the Proſecution of them by the *Jews* was owing to a Detection of Fraud.” But, as we frequently have ſhewn before, this Rerirement is to be entirely reſolved into the great Principle of Self-Preſervation, till the proper Time was come for performing that Sacrifice which *Jeſus* came into the World to make; which when it was come, as *Origen* [p] long ago replied to *Celſus*, [q] *Jeſus, knowing all Things that ſhould come upon him*, confronted the Rage of his Enemies, aſked them whom they ſought, owned himſelf to be that Perſon, and with a perfect Reſignation to the Will of God offered himſelf up to the moſt bitter and unparallel'd Sufferings, and an ignominious Death. It is therefore a mere begging of the Queſtion, to imagine that any Fraud in the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* was detected, when no ſuch Diſcovery was then pretended, nor can be now inferred from the Provocation of the *Jews*, nor indeed any thing elſe but the blind Rage of an infatuated People, and the falſe Politicks of *Caiaphas*, and the Rulers of the *Jews*, who, as appears fully from the Context, acknowledged the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, as well as many other Miracles of *Jeſus*, and therefore apprehended, in Conſequence of an univerſal Belief of them, that the *Romans would come, and take away both their Place and Nation.*

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[o] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. ſub fin.—Nec non Orig. c. Celſ. l. i. p. 3. & l. ii. p. 106, &c.

[p] Vide Orig. con. Celſ. l. ii. p. 64.

[q] John xviii. 4, 5, 6, &c.

As for the Effect of the [t] Repetition of ſuch a Miracle, as that of *Lazarus*, upon the preſent *Jews*, we are not ſanguine enough to believe it would be more conſiderable than that Fact itſelf was in the Days of their Fore-fathers, till their inveterate Prejudices againſt *Jeſus*, and their Miſinterpretations of their own Prophets, are laid aſide; ſince it would be now as eaſy to elude the Fact of another Reſurrection, and to put the ſame ſpiteful Commentary upon it, as their Anceſtors did on that of *Lazarus*. And indeed their barbarous Treatment of the *Chriſtians*, where they have had any Opportunity of exerting their Rage effectually, is a ſufficient Commentary on the Perſecution of *Jeſus* and *Lazarus* by their Anceſtors.

V. Again, our *Jew* pretends, that, as *John* ſays, *many of the* Jews *that had ſeen the Things that* Jeſus *did, believed on him*; ſo when it is ſaid by him, that *ſome of them went to the* Phariſees, *and told them what Things* Jeſus *had done*, it is to be underſtood, *that they told them after what Manner the Intrigue was managed, and complained of the Fraud in it.* But that this is a forced and unnatural Interpretation, appears very clearly, when we conſider that they told them *what Things* Jeſus *had done*; that is, had actually done, not what Things were only pretended to have been done. This could not poſſibly be St. *John*'s Meaning of *what was done*, ſince he aſſures us that *Jeſus* actually did perform this Miracle, which is an Aſſurance perfectly inconſiſtent with this Suppoſition. But ſuch a Suppoſition of his Meaning is not only a direct Contradiction to his awow'd Deſign and repeated Aſſertions, but is moſt abſurd and ſenſeleſs in itſelf; for a Miracle in the preſent Caſe was acknowledged by the Chief Prieſts and *Phariſees* in Council, in Conſequence of the Information that was given them about *the Things that* Jeſus *had done* on this Occaſion. This is very evident from the Context of St. *John*, to any one not quite blinded with Rage and Malice. For when ſome of of the *Jews*, who were preſent at the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, and [w] *had ſeen the Things which* Jeſus *did, went and told the* Phariſees *what Things he had done, the Chief Prieſts and* Phariſees *gathered a Council, and ſaid, What do we? for this Man doth many Miracles: If we let him thus alone, all Men will believe on him.* Words, which plainly imply, by the ſtrict Connection of them with the Fact itſelf, an Acknowledgment made by the Chief Prieſts and *Phariſees* of the miraculous Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, and therefore evince that they had made no Diſcovery of any Intrigue, nor had received any Information or Fraud in carrying it on.

And if it be objected farther, that thoſe Spectators, who informed the *Phariſees* of the Fact, did no more believe it than the *Phariſees* themſelves; we anſwer, that the Obſtinacy of them both in the preſent Caſe is no more difficlt to be accounted for, than that with which they were blinded with regard to the other Miracles of *Jeſus*, when, becauſe they could not deny the Facts, their Malice prevail'd ſo far over their Reaſon, and indeed their Senſes, that they aſcribed them all to a Confederacy with evil Spirits.

Again, it is not to be doubted, but that if they had received any Information of Fraud detected, it would have been a principal Part of the Indictment of *Jeſus*; of its being which there is not the leaſt Intimation to be found any where. And the very ſame Anſwer is to be given to the wretched Hypotheſes that are ſtarted on this Occaſion; namely, that *Perhaps they diſcerned ſome Motion in* Lazarus*'s Body before the Word of Command, to come forth, was given; or Perhaps they diſcovered ſome Fragments of the Food that for four Days in the Cave he had ſubſiſted on.* Now theſe bold and precarious Perhaps's are ſubſtantially confuted by the univerſal Silence of Antiquity, in regard to their not having been once recurred to in the moſt critical Juncture, nor produced in evidence ariſing from ſuſpicious Circumſtances, either in the Trial of *Jeſus*, or at the Attempt on *Lazarus*.

VI. As for the other Pretence of our *Jew*, that the [x] *Napkin about the Face of* Lazarus *was not taken off, which* Jeſus *ſhould have ordered to have been done, to prevent all Suſpicion, before the miraculous Change of it was wrought*; that has [y] been ſufficiently conſidered already. However, tho' to avoid tedious Repetitions, we might only refer the Reader to the Anſwer ſo lately given to it, we ſhall here make this additional Reflection; That though ſuch a View of the mortified Countenance of *Lazarus* by removing the Napkin from it, as the *Jew* pretends ought to have been exhibited to the Company before the Change was made, might have gratified a vain Curioſity of the Spectators, yet it would have been ſo far from convincing thoſe that were diſpoſed to Infidelity, that the taking off the Napkin which was bound about his Face would have infuſed a multitude of Suſpicions of Fraud, and have created Doubts of ſome ill Arts being uſed by him or his Friends, who would not permit the Corpſe to be raiſed in the ſame Manner it was buried.

On the contrary, the Integrity of the Reviver of *Lazarus* is firmly eſtabliſhed by not taking off the Napkin that was bound about his Face, ſince his Reſurrection with thoſe very Grave-clothes, bound cloſely about him, in which he had been buried, demonſtrates that nothing new had intervened from the Time of his Burial, and conſequently that no Artifice could have been uſed on that Occaſion. So that, to uſe the Words of our *Jew*, though *Jeſus durſt* have ordered the Napkin to be taken off, yet he wiſely thought fit not to do ſo; ſince he hereby obviated all Marks of an Impoſture, by reſtoring Life to the Body juſt as it was buried.

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[t] Diſc. v. p. 46.

[u] P, 49.

[w] John xi. 45, 56, 47, 48.

[x] P. 49. 50.

[y] In the Diſſertation before referred to. See p. 453.

Since therefore ſuch a Removal of the Napkin would have been far from giving *Satisfaction to all Spectators there preſent*, the Omiſſion of *Jeſus* to order it is ſo far from being a *laſting Objection to the Miracle*, as the *Jew* pretends, that it for ever confirms the Credibility of it, as well as ſhews the ſuperior Wiſdom of *Jeſus* in uſing this Precaution, and his Power in commanding a fetter'd Corpſe to revive in a Moment, and come forth from its Grave.

VII. However, ſince our *Jew* was conſcious that he had given a falſe and unnatural Turn to the Words of St. *John*, about thoſe Spectators who informed the *Phariſees what Things* Jeſus *had done*; and that the very reverſe of his Inference of any Suſpicion of Fraud, is the real Reſult of the Napkin's not being taken off the Face of *Lazarus*, he thought it proper to retreat to a Lamentation of the Loſs of all other Memorials of the Miracles of *Jeſus* but thoſe of the Goſpel, which are Things ſo inflexible as to overthrow his pretended Suſpicions. Here he tells us, that[a] *the Chriſtians, when they had got the Power into their Hands, wilfully deſtroy'd many Writings of his* Jewiſh *Anceſtors, as well as of* Celſus *and* Porphyry, *and others, which they could not anſwer: Otherwiſe, he doubts not, they would have given us clear Light into the Impoſture of* Lazarus's *Reſurrection*. But was our *Jew* really ſo ignorant, as not to be apprized, that by the ſame common Calamity we are equally deprived of many of the Writings of Believers and Infidels? Or did he not know, with regard to *Celſus*, that *Origen* himſelf has preſerved the beſt and greateſt Part of his two Books againſt the Chriſtian Religion, in the very large Extracts he had made from them in his noble Anſwer to him? Or has he not read enough to know that the elaborate Anſwers of *Porphyry*'s Treatiſe *againſt the Chriſtians*, which were made by *Euſebius*, *Methodius*, and *Apollinaris*, (the laſt of whom wrote an Apology of *Thirty* Books, and the two former no ſmall Volumes,) are entirely loſt, as well as the original Libel of *Porphyry*? And though it be owned, that *Theodoſius the Great*, out of a pious Indignation, commanded the Books of *Porphyry* to be burnt, yet it ought likewiſe to be obſerved that thoſe Books were firſt anſwered by thoſe learned *Fathers*: So that they *could anſwer* them, though thoſe Anſwers are now loſt.

But if the Chriſtians, when in Power, deſtroyed the more antient *Jewiſh* Writings, how has it happened that the two voluminous *Talmuds* eſcaped their Zeal, ſince theſe, in Concurrence with their *Miſhna*, are their principal Books, and are indeeed of Authority equal, if not ſuperior, with them, to the Bible itſelf? And though theſe ſhould be allowed to have been compoſed pretty early at *Tiberias*, and their Schools about *Babylon*, yet what Light is given in them about the pretended Impoſture of *Lazarus*?

VIII. But the Falſhood of the *Rabbi*'s Suggeſtion is very viſible, when he ſays, *that*[b] *what makes it very likely that this Piece of Fraud in* Lazarus *was one Article of the Indictment againſt* Jeſus, *is, that the Chief Prieſts and* Phariſees, *from the Date of this preſent Miracle, took counſel together to put him to Death in a judicial Manner*. For whoever conſults the Hiſtory of that Fact with any Degree of Impartiality, will find that the Series of theſe Affairs ſtands thus:

Upon Information of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* by ſome Spectators, a Council of the Chief Prieſts and *Phariſees* was then held, in which the ſaid Reſurrection, as well as many other Miracles, were acknowledged by them to have been performed by *Jeſus*; the Belief of which by the World would have been deſtructive of their moſt important political Intereſts: For the Preſervation of which *Caiaphas* the High-Prieſt propoſed to the Council, as a Thing expedient for them, that *one Man*, meaning *Jeſus*, *ſhould die for the People, rather than the whole Nation ſhould periſh*, that is, by the *Romans*, on account of *all Mens believing on* Jeſus for the Sake of his Miracles. After which, and a ſmall Parentheſis of *Caiaphas*'s Propheſying on that Occaſion, it immediately follows; *Then from that Day forth they took Counſel together for to put him to Death*. So that it is moſt clear from the Connection of the Word *Then*, that it was not *from the Date of the Miracle, but from the Date of the Council*, or rather of *Caiaphas*'s wicked Advice given in it, that they conſulted how, or rather reſolved, to put *Jeſus* to Death. And conſequently, it is far from being probable, as the *Rabbi* aſſerts it is, that the pretended Fraud of *Lazarus* was one Article in the Indictment againſt *Jeſus*.

IX. From this falſe Suppoſition our *Jew* proceeds to form another of the very ſame Nature. For from the going away of ſome of the *Jews*, who had been Spectators of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, to the *Phariſees*, and from their informing them *what Things* Jeſus *had done*, the *Rabbi* would firſt infer, that ſome of the By-ſtanders diſputed the Reality of the Miracle; and from that imaginary Diſpute he gravely infers, by another wild Suppoſition, that[c] *the chief Prieſts and civil Magiſtrates of* Bethany, *for the Determination of this Diſpute, required that* Jeſus *ſhould re-act the Miracle upon another Perſon there lately dead and buried; and that* Jeſus *declining this Teſt of his Power, the whole Multitude of Believers and Unbelievers queſtioned the Reſur-*

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[a] P. 50.

[b] P. 51.

[c] Ibid.

rection of Lazarus, *and were accordingly incenſed both againſt* Jeſus *and him. And this,* adds he, *was one Reaſon of the univerſal Demand of* Jeſus's *Crucifixion.*

But what Streſs ſoever is laid upon this fine Story, that is recommended to the World under the Notion of a *Jewiſh* Tradition, it is a merely fictitious Suppoſition, for which there is not the leaſt Colour of any Authority; and therefore is really of no other Uſe, but to ſhew the great Want of proper Arguments to invalidate the Reſurrection of *Lazarus.* And no doubt, if there had been any Manner of Ground for ſuch a Story, it would have been thought worthy, for the Virulence of it, to have been preſerved in that Heap of Blaſphemies, the [d] *Toldos Jeſchu*: But in neither of the Editions of that impious Libel is it to be found, though the Reſurrection of the Dead by *Jeſus* is there expreſly acknowledged, in Virtue of the Name *Jehovah,* that is, when rightly interpreted, by the Power of God.

And indeed it appears that the whole Story is a Fiction, beſides the Want of any external Evidence to ſupport it, from the ſeveral Inconſiſtences ſpread throughout it. For Inſtance, it is ſaid that all the Believers, as well as Unbelievers, queſtioned the Reſurrection of *Lazarus,* upon *Jeſus*'s declining to raiſe another buried Perſon. This is not only abſurd in itſelf, but is expreſly contradicted by St. *John,* when he ſays, that [e] *Many of the* Jews *which came to* Mary, *and had ſeen the Things which* Jeſus *did, believed on him.* And again, after the Conſultation of the *Jews* to deſtroy *Jeſus* and *Lazarus,* he ſays, [f] *By reaſon of him many of the* Jews *believed on* Jeſus. It is clear then as to the Believers, that they continued to believe on *Jeſus,* notwithſtanding any fabulous Accounts of the Reſentments of the chief Prieſts and civil Magiſtrates of *Bethany,* on *Jeſus's* declining a ſecond Reſurrection. And ſurely the Reſentments of the civil Magiſtates of ſo mean a Village as *Bethany,* could not, even on this Suppoſition, be ſo very formidable.

And as for the Unbelievers, whom our *Jew* ſuppoſes to have been thoſe Spectators of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, [g] *who went their Ways to the* Phariſees, *and told them what Things* Jeſus *had done*; it has been already ſhewn that theſe unbelieving Spectators muſt be allow'd, from the immediately following Acknowledgment of the [h] many Miracles of *Jeſus* by the chief Prieſts and *Phariſees* met in Council, to have acknowledged the Fact which they ſaw with their own Eyes, and informed the *Phariſees* of; [i] but at the ſame Time to have laboured under ſuch inveterate Prejudices againſt *Jeſus,* and to have given ſo malicious a Turn to *Jeſus*'s miraculous Performance, as to impute that Fact to Magic, or ſome other odious Pretence of that Nature, in order to raiſe a new Storm againſt *Jeſus.* And that theſe very Perſons whom our *Rabbi* ſtiles Unbelievers, though they informed the *Phariſees* of the Fact, bore Witneſs afterwards of that Fact, in common with thoſe other Perſons that openly believed on *Jeſus,* is very probable: For we find that at *Jeſus*'s triumphant Progreſs into *Jeruſalem,* which was not long afterwards, it is ſaid by St. *John,* that [k] *the People that were with him when he called* Lazarus *out of his Grave, and raiſed him from the Dead, bare record.* Under which Stile of *the People* at large, both the open Believers, and the pretended Unbelievers of *Lazarus's* Reſurrection, are comprehended, without any Diſtinction. And conſequently, thoſe Spectators who informed the *Phariſees,* acknowledged the Fact of that Reſurrection; though they ſo implacably hated *Jeſus* as to refuſe to ſubmit to his Authority in conſequence of it, but put falſe Imputations upon that acknowledged Fact.

And as *all the People* that were with him at *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection *bare Record* of the Fact, though ſome of them gave a ſpiteful Turn to it; ſo the Effect of their Teſtimony upon the reſt of the People preſent at the Entrance of *Jeſus* into *Jeruſalem,* was of great Force and Efficacy; for it immediately follows, that *for this Cauſe,* that is, for the Sake of the Teſtimony of the People who had been Spectators of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, *the People alſo met him, for that they heard that he had done this Miracle.*

So that, upon the whole, it is evident that neither the Magiſtrates nor the People deſired, nor *Jeſus* declined, the Reſurrection of another Perſon at *Bethany*; and therefore this Fiction could not poſſibly be one Reaſon of the univerſal Demand of *Jeſus*'s Crucifixion, as is pretended by our *Rabbi.* And indeed if it were poſſible to entertain any Doubt about the Reality of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus,* it would have been impoſſible to have given fuller Satisfaction of the Truth of any other Reſurrection, that may be ſuppoſed to have been demanded; though it muſt be owned there was little Reaſon for any ſuch Demand, not only from the Concurrence of Circumſtances which proved the Reality of that great Tranſaction, but likewiſe becauſe *Jeſus* performed ſeveral other Reſurrections; which by their Repetition might have ſatisfied the moſt incredulous Perſons, and have juſtly prevented the Demand of a new one.

X. As to the Omiſſion of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* by the three former Evangeliſts, here and elſewhere repeated, we have already accounted for it [m] in ſo copious a Manner, that we ſhall only add, that as it is very probable that ſome of the Spectators of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection were living, when St. *John* publiſhed his Account of that Reſurrection; ſo the Suppoſition of the Omiſſion of it by the three firſt Evangeliſts, as deſigned in Favour of *Lazarus* then living, is farther confirmed by conſidering what has been the modern Practice in Caſes of the like Nature. For Inſtance: Was not the Publication of *Cla-*

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[d] *The Generations of* Jeſus: A ſcandalous Libel writ in Oppoſition to the Goſpels. We have already given a Character of it in this Work.

[e] John xi. 45.
[f] John xii. 11.
[g] John xi. 46.
[h] Ver. 47.
[i] Orig. in Joan. c. xi. p. 396. Baſ.
[k] John xii. 17, 18.
[l] John xii. 18.
[m] See the Diſſertation laſt referred to.

rendon's noble *Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* deferred, till the Generation of Men concerned in that tragical Scene were gone off the Stage of Life? Not to mention a late Prelate's *Hiſtory of his own Times*, the latter Part of which, eſpecially, was long ſuppreſſed with the very ſame View, namely, to avoid the Reſentments of any Perſon then alive, that might have been concerned and reflected on in it. And if ſuch a Delay has been often, and even lately practiſed, in order to avoid Danger, as the Reſult of Provocation, Why ſhould the like Delay be any Imputation on the Evangeliſts, in the Caſe of provoking the *Jews* to revive their Rage againſt *Lazarus*; who is juſtly preſumed to have been living when the three firſt of them wrote their Goſpels, but not to have been ſo when St. *John* wrote his.

And as to the [n] pretended Loſs of the *Jewiſh* Records at the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, it is ſtarted here with a very ill Grace by a *Jew*, who profeſſedly lays ſo great a Streſs on oral Tradition: Not here to repeat what has been already mentioned about the voluminous Collections of the *Jewiſh* Affairs and Doctrines in a traditional Manner in both their *Talmuds*, compiled in ſome of the former Ages of Chriſtianity, and before their great Diſperſion throughout the World. A Diſperſion which of itſelf is a ſtanding Evidence, for ſo many Ages, of the Divine Vengeance abiding upon them for the barbarous Murther of the Holy *Jeſus*, notwithſtanding all the Miracles he wrought, and particularly this of *Lazarus*, for the Conviction of their Fore-fathers. Which *Blindneſs of their Eyes*, and *Hardneſs of their Hearts*, though our *Jew* treats with Ridicule; yet the Invective now confuted is a Demonſtration, that ſuch a judicial Blindneſs and Hardneſs are even yet in being. For if he was a real *Jew* that wrote this Invective, he ought to recollect that ſuch Blindneſs of Eyes, and Hardneſs of Heart, as the Scripture ſpeaks of, are clearly illuſtrated by the unparallel'd Calamities of the *Jews* during the Courſe of near ſeventeen Centuries, though they have not been able as yet to reduce them to the Chriſtian Faith. And if it be ſuppoſed that Mr. *Woolſton* was a perſonated *Jew* in this Invective, he himſelf was a very great Inſtance of a judicial Blindneſs of Eyes and Hardneſs of Heart, when from a particular Fondneſs for Allegories, conſidered as mere Illuſtrations of Matters of Fact, he ſubſtituted thoſe Allegories in the room of the Facts themſelves, which he ridiculed with equal Obſtinacy and Profaneneſs, ſubverted his own Faith, and lapſed into downright Infidelity.

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[n] Page 53.

CHAP. II.

I. *Jeſus* goes towards *Jeruſalem*, and foretels his Death. II. The Requeſt of the Sons of *Zebedee*. Our Lord's Reproof of them. III. Inſtructions for the Apoſtles Behaviour. IV. *Jeſus* cures the Son of *Timæus*, and another blind Beggar. V. His Converſation with *Zaccheus* the Publican. VI. VII. The Parable of the Talents. VIII. The *Jews* ſeek *Jeſus* at *Jeruſalem*. He goes to *Bethany*, where *Mary* anoints his Feet. He anſwers the Objection of *Judas*. IX. X. XI. He rides to *Jeruſalem* on an Aſs, amidſt the Acclamations of the People. The *Phariſees* enraged at it. Their Advice to the *Sanhedrim*. XII. *Jeſus* laments over *Jeruſalem*. XIII. He enters *Jeruſalem*, and a ſecond Time drives the Traders out of the Temple. XIV. The Diſeaſed brought to him. The Prieſts queſtion him. His Anſwer. XV. The Curioſity of ſome *Greeks* to ſee *Jeſus*. His Diſcourſe on that Occaſion. XVI. A Voice from Heaven. He reſolves the People concerning it, *&c.* XVII. Speaks to them of his approaching Death. XVIII. He applies to the *Jews* ſome Words of *Iſaiah* the Prophet. XIX. He admoniſhes the *Jews* to believe on him, and returns to *Bethany*.

I. [a] A *Little before the Paſſover*, Jeſus *left the Deſert near* Jericho, *and went for the laſt Time towards* Jeruſalem: *But his Diſciples followed him at a Diſtance, not liking the Journey, as being convinced of the Rage and Malice of the* Jews *againſt their Maſter. He therefore took his twelve Apoſtles apart, and began to foretel what ſhould happen at his Arrival.* We go now, *ſaid he*, to *Jeruſalem*, where all thoſe Things ſhall be accompliſhed which the Prophets have foretold concerning me: For I ſhall be delivered into the Hands of the *Sanhedrim*, who will condemn me to Death as a falſe Prophet: But becauſe the *Romans* have deprived them of paſſing a final Sentence in capital Cauſes, they will accuſe me before a *Roman* Governor, and ſo after I have been made the Object of their Scorn and Deriſion, and ſpit on, and ignominiouſly ſcourged, I ſhall breathe my laſt upon a Croſs, but on the third Day ſhall riſe again.

II. [b] *Notwithſtanding* Jeſus *had more than once foretold what ſhould happen to him, and now again declared it to them in expreſs Terms, yet the Apoſtles could not conceive how the* Meſſiah, *the great Deliverer of the* Jews, *ſhould be put to Death, and riſe again; a Doctrine they never heard a Syllable of from the Doctors of the Law: And their Prejudices concerning the Terreſtrial Monarchy of the* Meſſiah, *were the Occaſion of that Controverſy between the Sons of* Zebedee, *which happened in*

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[a] Matth. xx. 17, 19. Mark x. 32, 33, 34. Luke xviii. 31, 32, 33.
[b] Matth. xx. 20—23. Mark x. 35—40.

Journey. For as they were on the Road, in the Retinue that accompanied Jeſus, *they perſuaded their Mother to fall down at his Feet, and intreat a Favour of him. Being asked by* Jeſus *what her Requeſt was, ſhe anſwered, She deſired he would grant her two Sons the Privilege of ſitting on each Side of his Throne; meaning, that he would prefer them to the greateſt* [c] *Places of Dignity in that Kingdom, which they expected he was going to eſtabliſh among them.* Jeſus *addreſſing himſelf to them,* You know not, *ſaid he,* what you deſire, who thus dream of a terreſtrial Empire. Can you drink of the ſame [d] Cup that I muſt drink of, and be baptized with the ſame Baptiſm that I ſhall be baptized with? *Which Words were a Deſignation of the Sufferings he was to undergo. They replied, They did not refuſe to ſuffer any thing, provided they might obtain what they ſued for. Then ſaid* Jeſus, You ſhall indeed endure Afflictions like to mine; but as for ſitting on my Right-hand or on my Left, I am not to diſpoſe of any otherwiſe than as my Father has predetermined.

III. [e] *The reſt of the Apoſtles, obſerving this Ambition of the two Brethren, were much diſpleaſed at it. On which* Jeſus *calling them to him, thus beſpake them:* Kings and Princes among the Heathens tyrannize over their Subjects with an arbitraty Sway, and the Grandees domineer over and brow-beat their Inferiors. But the Caſe ſhall be quite otherwiſe with you: For he that would excel others, muſt know, that the Way is to make himſelf as generally uſeful as he can, and to neglect his own Intereſt rather than not advance the Welfare of others: And thus the true Means to obtain a Priority over others, is to become the Servant of all. So far muſt he be from any ambitious Hopes of lording it over his Fellow-Creatures. Set me before your Eyes, who declare to you that I am come into the World for the general Good of Mankind, not expecting any ſervile Devoirs from them: So far from it, that I ſhall offer up my Life to redeem them from the Slavery they are in.

IV. [f] Jeſus *being not far from* Jericho, *attended with his Apoſtles, and a great Multitude beſide,* [g] *two blind Men met him, the one a noted Beggar, the Son of* Timæus, *called in the* Hebrew *Language* Bartimæus. *Theſe were laid near the Road, and begged Alms of the Paſſengers; and hearing now a greater Noiſe than uſual, they inquired into the Occaſion of it, and were told that* Jeſus *of* Nazereth *paſſed by: Upon which, they cried aloud,* O *Jeſus,* deſcended from King *David,* have Compaſſion on us! *Being thus clamorous and troubleſome to the People that paſſed by, they rebuked them for it: But the blind Men reiterated their Cries, and vehemently urged him to pity their Caſe. When therefore he was come to the Place where they ſat, he ordered them to be brought to him; of which being informed by others, and likewiſe exhorted to be of good Comfort on that Account, the Son of* Timæus, *that he might come the ſooner to him, let fall his upper Garment.* Jeſus *asked them, What they deſired of him. They anſwered, that they might recover their Sight. Then taking pity of them, he touched their Eyes, and commanded them to go away, with a full Aſſurance that they ſhould be cured, by reaſon of the Faith they had in him.* Jeſus *had no ſooner made an End, but they recovered their Sight in an Inſtant, and followed him, giving Thanks to God for the great Benefit he had conferred upon them. Upon this the whole Multitude, who had been Eye-witneſſes of the Miracle, joined with them in praiſing and glorifying God.*

V. [h] *As* Jeſus *paſſed through* Jericho, Zacchæus, *an Overſeer of the* Publicans *of thoſe Parts, a very wealthy Man, an Inhabitant of that City, being geatly deſirous of ſeeing* Jeſus, *and unable to ſatisfy his Curioſity by reaſon of the Crowd, and his being low of Stature, ran before the Company, and climbed up a Sycamore Tree planted by the Road's Side, that from thence he might get a Sight of him as he paſſed by.* Jeſus *being come to that Place, lifting up his Eyes, ſpied* Zacchæus *in the Tree, and bid him immediately come down, telling him that he deſigned to go home with him.* Zacchæus *forthwith obeyed, and received him joyfully. Now all that took notice of it, murmured againſt* Jeſus, *as if he had been guilty of ſome immoral Action, in permitting himſelf to be entertained by a* Publican, *which Sort of Men were generally decried for debauched Principles and ſcandalous Lives.* Zacchæus, *to wipe off the Stain they endeavoured to fix on him, ſtanding before* Jeſus, *ſaid aloud,* Lord, I beſtow the Half of my Goods upon the Poor; and if I am guilty of any Extortion, I am ready to reſtore four-fold. *Which was a voluntary Offer of his; for the* [i] *Law could not compel him.* Jeſus *hereupon told him, That that Day Salvation was come to him, and to his Family, if they followed his Example, ſince it was evident that he was to be accounted a Son of* Abraham, *the Father of the Faithful, who was capable of making ſo generous a Reſolution from the Hopes of Reward*

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[c] Thus Solomon placed his Mother on his Right-hand when he ſat on his Throne. 1 Kings ii. 19. To which the Pſalmiſt alludes. Pſal xlv. 9. And this among the Perſians was to have the firſt Seat after the King.

[d] The Word Cup, both among ſacred and prophane Authors, ſignifies the Portion, whether of Good or Evil, which befals Men in this World.

[e] Matth. xx. 24——28. Mark x 41——.

[f] Matth. xx. 29——34. Mark x. 46——52. Luke xviii. 35——43.

[g] See what we have ſaid to reconcile the Variations in this Story, as related by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, at Page 153 of this Work.

[h] Luke xix. 1——10.

[i] When what was purloined, or taken by Fraud from another, was voluntarily reſtored, the Tranſgreſſor was to add a fifth Part to the principal Sum, Numb. v. 7. When it was found in his Hands, after he had perſevered to conceal what he had ſtolen, the Penalty was, That he ſhould reſtore double, Exod. xxii. 4. When an Ox or a Sheep was killed or ſold after it was ſtolen, the Thief was to reſtore five Oxen for an Ox, and four Sheep for a Sheep, Exod. xxii. 1. The Merit of Zacchæus, compared with this laſt Law, ſeems to conſiſt in this, That he reſtored for Money or Goods, what the Law required only for a living Creature; thereby carrying the Senſe of the Precept as high as poſſible.

in another World, [k] *though he was not lineally deſcended from him.* Nor, *ſaid he,* did I enter into this Houſe without Deſign, ſince I am come into the World on Purpoſe to reclaim Men from their Errors, and ſet them right in the Way to Salvation.

VI. [l] *The Multitude having heard this, imagined that* Jeſus, *when come to* Jeruſalem, *the Seat of their antient Kings, would publickly own his being the* Meſſiah, *and take the Government of the* Jewiſh *Nation upon him.* Jeſus *therefore ſpake this Parable to them; from which it was not hard to infer, that the* Jews *were not ready to receive the Kingdom of the* Meſſiah *as they ought, nor prepared to make a right Uſe of God's Benefits; nay, that they ſhould oppoſe the* Meſſiah, *and bring moſt heavy Judgments upon their Heads.* The [m] Son of a certain King, who was obliged to do homage to a more powerful Potentate, took a Journey to his Court, to perform this Condition, that at his Return he might be owned as undoubted Sovereign in his Kingdom. Mean while, he calls ten of his Servants to him, and divided ten Talents equally among them, commanding them to make what Profit they could by them in his Abſence. Whilſt he was upon the Road, ſome factious Perſons ſent Deputies to prefer an Accuſation againſt him, that ſo they might get him laid aſide. But the Prince having obtained his End, and being returned, in the firſt Place ſent for thoſe Servants in whoſe Hands he had left the ten Talents, to ſee what Advantage they had made of them.

VII. [n] The firſt therefore that appeared, preſented to him ten Talents, the Product of what he had gained by the Management of the one he was intruſted with. The King, convinced of the Man's Fidelity in this his Trial, not only publickly commended him, but reſtored the ten Talents to him, and alſo made him Governor over ten Cities. Another came, and brought him five Talents; whom the King having likewiſe commended, he made him Governor over five Cities. A third, not to mention the reſt, came and offered the ſingle Talent he had left with him, wrapt up in a Cloth, with this Excuſe; That he had been afraid of making any Venture with it, by reaſon of the many Accidents in the Way of Trade, and knowing withal that he was a ſevere Exactor, and wont, according to the Proverb, to *take up that which he had not depoſited, and reap what he had not ſown.* His Lord having heard him, replied, that he could convince him of his Fault out of his own Mouth. For ſince he was ſo well acquainted with his Temper, he ought at leaſt to have put it into ſome Banker's Hands, that at his Return he might receive his own again with Intereſt; and then ordered the Talent to be taken from him, and given to him that had gained the ten. His Officers put him in Mind that he had already been munificently rewarded with the ten Talents, and that it would be more proper to beſtow it on him that had none. But the King told them, that he would not alter his Decree, and that they who had made a right Uſe of what they were intruſted with, ſhould receive the more from him; but that he who abuſed, or made no Uſe of, what was left to his Charge, ſhould loſe that very Thing which was given him upon thoſe Terms only.——*In this Parable* Jeſus *ſet forth the future State of the* Jews, *who would not make a right Uſe of God's Bounties to them, but would reject him, and not be convinced by any Method of his being the* Meſſiah: *For which Reaſon they ſhould hereafter be brought to a moſt ſtrict Account, and ſeverely puniſhed by him in his Kingdom. At that Time, however, none of the* Jews *hit upon the true Meaning and Deſign of this Parable.*

VIII. [o] *Mean while the Paſſover drawing near, many were departed from that Country in which* Jeſus *had been laſt, to* Jeruſalem, *in order to* [p] *purify themſelves againſt the Celebration of the Paſſover. Theſe ſought for* Jeſus *at* Jeruſalem, *and aſked one another whether they thought he would come to the Feaſt. Now the* Sanhedrim *had ordained, that if any knew where* Jeſus *was, they ſhould diſcover him to the Council, that he might be apprehended.* Jeſus *nevertheleſs went on reſolutely towards* Jeruſalem, *and ſix Days before the Feaſt arrived at* Bethany, *where* Lazarus *dwelt whom he had reſtored to Life. Here he was entertained by* Martha *and* Mary: *And* Lazarus *ſat down at Table, while* Martha *attended on them. During the Entertainment,* [q] Mary *came behind* Jeſus *with a Box of the richeſt Ointment, made of the true Spikenard, and with it anointed his Feet, and wiped them with the Hair of her Head; and the whole Houſe was filled with the Odour of it.* Judas Iſcariot, *who was to betray him, as we ſhall hereafter relate, exclaimed againſt this unneceſſary Profuſion, as he pretended; ſaying, That the Ointment might have been ſold for above three hundred* Denarii, *that is, between nine and ten Pounds of our Money, and diſtributed among the Poor. This he ſaid, not out of any Pity for the Poor; but being intruſted with the common Purſe, which contained the Benevolences of well-diſpoſed Perſons, he was wont to embezzle Part of the Money, and convert it to his own Uſe. Then ſaid* Jeſus; Diſturb her not in this her pious Office: She has performed this as a fit Ceremony to ſolemnize my approaching Death, after which Men uſe to be embalmed with Perfumes and Spices. [r] You will have Opportunities enough of ſhewing your Charity to the Poor: But this was the laſt Opportunity ſhe could have had of expreſſing it to me, who am ſuddenly to be gone from you.

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[k] Others ſuppoſe our Lord to mean, that he was a Son of Abraham, not only by Faith, of which Sonſhip the Jews had then no Notion, but by Birth: "For, ſay they, the Phariſees do not murmur againſt Chriſt, that he eats with one uncircumciſed, but that he eats with a Sinner." Many of the Publicans indeed were Jews by Birth; and it is probable Zacchæus was one of theſe. We leave the Reader to take that Senſe which pleaſes him beſt.

[l] Luke xix. 11—15.

[m] The Riſe of this Parable ſeems to be taken from a Cuſtom of the Kings of Judea to go to Rome, and receive their Kingdom from Cæſar. This was practiſed by Herod the Great, and Archelaus his Son; and the Caſe of Archelaus has ſome Reſemblance of this Parable in its Circumſtances: For the Jews ſent their Complaints after him, ſhewing their Unwillingneſs that this Nobleman, or Son of a King ſhould reign over them, though the Kingdom was aſſigned him by his Father's Teſtament: Notwithſtanding which, Archelaus received the Kingdom, and ruled, or rather tyrannized, over them for ten Years; after which, upon a ſecond Complaint, he was baniſhed to Vienna.

[n] Luke xix. 16——27. [o] John xi. 55, 56, 57. xii. 1——8.

[p] Either from ſome Defilement which was to be expiated by Sacrifice, or by Reaſon of ſome Vow of Nazaritiſm which was upon them. See Acts xxi. 23, 24.

[q] See what we have ſaid of this anointing the Feet of Jeſus by Mary at Page 144 of this Work.

IX. [s] *The News of* Jeſus's *Arrival at* Bethany, *and lodging in the Houſe of* Mary *and* Martha, *being divulged throughout all the neighbouring Country, abundance of People came thither, not only to ſee him, but to ſee* Lazarus *alſo, whom he had reſtored to Life: Of which the* Sanhedrim *being informed, it was debated whether they ſhould cauſe* Lazarus *to be put to Death; becauſe many, by the Miracle* Jeſus *had wrought upon him, were convinced that he was indeed ſent by God to the* Jewiſh *Nation.* Jeſus *having reſted at* Bethany *on the Sabbath-day, the next Day, being the firſt of the Week, he continued his Journey towards* Jeruſalem, *and paſſed over that Part of Mount* Olivet *which belonged to* Bethany *and* Bethphage. *From this Place he ſent two of his Diſciples into the* [t] *oppoſite Village; where, he told them, at their coming into it, they ſhould find an Aſs tied with its Fole, which had not yet been backed; commanding them to looſe them, and bring them to him:* And if any Man, *ſaid he*, aſk you the Reaſon of it, tell him the Maſter has Occaſion for him, and he will immediately let them go. *Now* Jeſus *determined to make his Entrance into* Jeruſalem *on this Manner, that the Prophecy* [u] *of* Zachariah *concerning the* Meſſiah *might be fulfilled:* Say ye to the Daughter of *Sion*, Behold thy King cometh, meek, and riding upon an Aſs, or the Fole of an Aſs. *The Diſciples according to Order went, and found the Aſs and the Colt tied by the Door without, in a Place where two Ways met. While they were untying them, ſome of the By-ſtanders aſked them the Reaſon of it, who replied as* Jeſus *had commanded them; upon which they let them go, the Owner of them lending them freely upon this Occaſion, being known to* Jeſus. *They brought them therefore to him, and having caſt their Garments on* [w] *the Colt, he ſat upon it.*

X. [x] *In the mean time, a great many of thoſe who were come to* Jeruſalem *to celebrate the approaching Feaſt of the Paſſover, having Notice that* Jeſus *was coming towards the City over Mount* Olivet, *met him with Branches of Palm-trees in their Hands, to demonſtrate their Joy upon this Occaſion by that outward Ceremony. The Multitude having met him, congratulated his coming with joyful Acclamations, in theſe or the like Words:* All hail! Bleſſed is he that cometh to us from God, the King of *Iſrael!* *Now* Jeſus, *as we ſaid, rode upon an Aſs to fulfil the Prophecy of* Zachariah; *but his Diſciples knew not why he choſe to make his Entrance in that Manner, till after his Aſcenſion reflecting upon the Prophecy, it was no hard Matter to comprehend the Reaſon of it. While* Jeſus *was upon his March to the City, accompanied with abundance of People, they inquired of one another concerning the Reſurrection of* Lazarus, *which Miracle was atteſted by many that were preſent at it: And their Curioſity to ſee one who had given ſuch Demonſtration of the divine Authority by which he acted, occaſioned a vaſt Reſort to him; and all* [y] *the Way he went, they ſtrewed the Ground with the Boughs of Trees, and their Garments, as a Mark of their Joy on this Occaſion.*

XI. [z] *Being come to the Foot of Mount* Olivet, *the whole Multitude of his Diſciples that went before and after, brake forth into joyful Acclamations, giving Thanks and Praiſe to God for all the Miracles* Jeſus *had wrought among them, and ſaying,* All hail to the *Meſſiah* of the Family of *David*, who comes to *Jeruſalem* by God's Appointment! May his Reign be proſperous, which is thus eſtabliſhed by the Authority of God and not of Men; and let the Angels join with us in giving Thanks and Praiſe to God. God from on high continue to be propitious to us. *Some* Phariſees *in the Retinue, heinouſly offended with theſe repeated Acclamations, came to* Jeſus, *and adviſed him to ſilence the Multitude, and put a Stop to theſe Praiſes, which they looked on as undeſerved and ſeditious. But* Jeſus *replied,* If I ſhould ſilence theſe Men, the [a] very Stones would cry out. The *Phariſees hereupon adviſed the* Sanhedrim, *to defer no longer the putting in Execution what they had reſolved againſt him, inaſmuch as the Number of his Diſciples augmented daily.*

XII. [b] Jeſus *being not far from* Jeruſalem, *and reflecting on the grievous Calamities which would befall that City through the Obſtinacy of its Inhabitants, could not forbear* [c] *weeping, and brake forth into this Exclamation:* O that thou eſpecially, of all the Cities of *Judea*, wouldſt lay to Heart the Things that make for thy Salvation, now that thou art admoniſhed of the Neceſſity of a Reformation, which even yet may be thy Safeguard againſt the impending Ruin! But alas! thy Corruption has rendered thee unable to diſcern them; and the appointed Hour draws near, in which thy Enemies ſhall ſurround thee, and aſſault thee on every Side; nor ſhall they deſiſt till they have put thy Inhabitants to the Sword, and thou be made a Heap of Ruins. All theſe Evils ſhall befall thee, becauſe thou negligently didſt let ſlip the Time in which God by his Miniſters has invited thee to repent.

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[r] Hence it appears, that the Obligation of giving Alms, and being charitable to the Poor, hinders not our free Expences in doing Honour to good Men; as this Woman doth here, in beſtowing her Box of Ointment, and Joſeph of Arimathea and Nicodemus afterwards, in buying Spices for the Interment of our Lord. See John xix. 38, 39.

[s] John xii. 9, 10, 11. Matth. xxi. 1—7. Mark xi. 1—7. Luke xix. 28—35.

[t] According to Bochart, a little Village two Miles diſtant from the Mount towards the South.

[u] Zach. ix. 9.

[w] St. Matthew ſays, They caſt their Garments *upon them*; but St. Luke mentioning the Colt in particular, and it being improbable that in ſo ſhort a Journey he ſhould ride upon them both, it ſeems neceſſary in St. Matthew's Text to admit a Figure called *Enallage Numeri*. So the Ark is ſaid to reſt upon the Mountains of Ararat, that is, upon one of them, 1 Gen. viii. 3. And we read of the Cities in which Lot dwelt, for City, Gen. xix. 29.

[x] John xii. 12—18 Matth. xxi 8. Mark. xi. 8. Luke xix. 36.

[y] The ſtrewing of Branches, Flowers, and Clothes, in the Way, were Ceremonies uſed toward great Men, and eſpecially Kings and Emperors. We have Inſtances of it in Herodotus and Plutarch: And thus, when the Captains proclaimed Jehu King, they put their Garments under him. 2 Kings ix. 18.

[z] Matth. xxi. 9. Mark xi. 9, 10. Luke xix. 37—40. John xii. 19.

[a] This is a proverbial Expreſſion, ſignifying, That if theſe Followers of Chriſt ſhould hold their Peace, ſome more unlikely Way ſhould be found out for proclaiming the Meſſiah, even by thoſe who were reckoned by the Jews the moſt ſtupid People, namely the Gentiles.

[b] Luke xix. 41—44.

[c] See what we have ſaid of our Lord's weeping in the laſt Diſſertation. P. 582.

XIII. [d] Jeſus *then entered* Jeruſalem, *followed by a vaſt Crowd; inſomuch that the whole City was in an Uproar, and enquired who this was that made his Entry with ſo numerous a Retinue, that flocked to him from all Parts. The Multitude that came along with him replied, It was* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *the Prophet, that came from* Galilee. *Now* Jeſus *went directly to the Temple, and perceiving a great Number of Traders there, that had brought Doves, and Beaſts for Sacrifice, which they expoſed to Sale in a Place conſecrated to the Worſhip of God, began to drive them out, as he did* [e] *once before, and overthrew the Tables of the Money-Changers, and the Stalls of thoſe that ſold Doves; upbraiding them with their prophane Abuſe of a Place dedicated to the immediate Service of God, according to thoſe Paſſages of* [f] *the Prophets, wherein it is expreſly ſaid, that the Temple of* Jeruſalem *ſhould be eſteemed by all Nations a Place conſecrated wholly to the Service of God; whereas they, the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *had changed it as it were into a Den of Thieves, by permitting cunning Merchants to make an unjuſt Gain and Advantage of their Brethren.*

XIV. [g] Jeſus's *coming into the Temple being rumoured about the City, the Lame and the Blind were brought to him from all Parts, all whom he cured of their Infirmities; upon which the Children in the Temple cried out,* May the Coming of *Jeſus*, of the Family of *David*, be propitious to us! *Which when the chief Prieſts and Doctors of the Law obſerved, they came to him, ſaying,* Doſt thou not take notice of the importunate and idle Clamours of the Children? Why doſt thou not ſuppreſs them? [h] Jeſus *replied, That he had taken particular Notice of them, and that he ſaw no Reaſon to contemn theſe their Acclamations; ſince it was ſaid in the Pſalms,* [h] Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings haſt thou perfected Praiſe. *And after this* Jeſus, *not at all afraid of their Machinations againſt him, continued to inſtruct the People that reſorted to him daily in the Temple, till the Paſſover; though he was not ignorant that the* Sanhedrim *ſought all Ways to deſtroy him. But they being afraid of the People, who admired* Jeſus *for his Doctrine, and eſteemed him as a Prophet, knew not which way to make any Attempt upon him.*

XV. [i] *There were at that Time certain* Greeks *at* Jeruſalem, *who,* [k] *though not circumciſed, were yet Worſhippers of the true God. Theſe came thither againſt the Paſſover, to offer up their Prayers to God in the Temple; and having heard various Reports concerning* Jeſus, *they deſired* Philip *of* Bethſaida *to introduce them into his Preſence.* Philip, [l] *not knowing whether* Jeſus *were willing to receive theſe* Greeks, *acquainted* Andrew *with it, and both came to their Maſter, and told him of their Deſire to ſee him.* Jeſus *anſwered them in a Manner, by which they might perceive that he would not refuſe Admittance to the* Gentiles; *yet that they would be much diſappointed if they expected to ſee one who affected to make himſelf a King, and was ambitious of a Monarchy here on Earth.* The Time approaches, *ſaid he*, in which he who is generally looked on as a mere Man, and one of the Vulgar, ſhall be raiſed to the higheſt Pitch of Glory, and be manifeſted not only to the *Jews*, but to the *Gentiles* alſo. As a Grain of Wheat is unfruitful, unleſs it be buried in the Earth and putrefy, but if it be ſown and putrefy ſends forth a vaſt Increaſe of Fruit; ſo alſo is it neceſſary for me to die and be buried, before I can admit any of the *Gentiles* into the Number of my Diſciples. And in this Particular my Diſciples muſt follow my Example: For whoever out of a greedy Deſire of prolonging his Life here, ſhall renounce my Goſpel, will at the ſame Time forfeit all Hopes of eternal Life: As, on the contrary, whoever ſhall be as it were laviſh of his Life in this World, by a ſtedfaſt adhering to my Goſpel, ſhall ſhortly change this tranſitory Life for one eternal in Heaven; ſo far ſhall he be from being juſtly deemed a Loſer. Whoever profeſſes himſelf my Diſciple, muſt follow my Example; and ſuch a Servant ſhall, after this mortal Life, be with me in the eternal Seats of Bliſs: For whoever ſhall behave himſelf here on Earth as becomes my Diſciple, ſhall be rewarded by my Father with everlaſting Glory in Heaven. And that no one may think I require unequal Conditions from him, as if I were to be exempted from all Senſe of the Indignities and Torments that will be inflicted on me, I readily own that I am filled with Horror and Apprehenſion of the Calamities that I foreſee will ſhortly befall me. Shall I therefore pray my Father to ſhield me againſt theſe impending Evils?——But, for this very Purpoſe am I come into the World, that I might endure them. Yet, O Father! (*addreſſing himſelf to God,*) give ſome Demonſtration of my having been ſent by thee.

XVI. [m] *Theſe Words were ſcarce propounded, when a great Noiſe was heard, reſembling Thunder, and God expreſſed himſelf in Words to this Purpoſe:* I have already demonſtrated this Truth [n] by many Miracles, and [o] will continue to do ſo ſtill. *Upon which ſome of the Multitude, who had not heard the Words diſtinctly, believed it thundered; while others ſaid it was the Voice of an Angel that ſpoke to him. Then ſaid* Jeſus, This Voice was not uttered by God to convince me of his Concern for me, as if I had any Doubt of it, but to let you know that I have been ſent by him, and for your Sakes. The Time is now at laſt come, in which God will execute Judgment upon Idolaters, and all other wicked Perſons; and the evil Spirit, under whoſe Empire they are, ſhall be deprived of that Authority he has uſurped, while the clear Light of the Goſpel ſhall be diffuſed through the Univerſe. After that this vulgar Perſon, as he is generally accounted, ſhall be lifted up, he ſhall draw to him, out of all Nations of the Earth, many, who, being illuminated with this heavenly Light, ſhall renounce the Tyranny of the evil Spirits, and free themſelves from the Slavery they are under.

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[d] Matth. xxi. 10——13. Mark xi. 15, 16, 17. Luke xix. 45, 46.

[e] See Page 210. of this Work.

[f] Iſaiah lvi. 7. Jer. vii. 11.

[g] Matth. xxi. 14, 15, 16. Luke xix. 47, 48.

[h] Pſalm. viii. 3.

[i] John xii. 20——28.

[k] Dr. Hammond ſays, They were Proſelytes of the Gate. It is certain, at leaſt, that they were Worſhippers of the God of the Jews, as were Cornelius and the Treaſurer of Queen Candace.

[l] Becauſe Chriſt, when he ſent the Apoſtles to preach, forbad them to go into the Coaſts of the Gentiles.

[m] John xii. 28——33.

[n] Particularly by the Reſurrection of Lazarus.

XVII. [p] *Some of the Auditory, perceiving the Tendency of that Phraſe, when he ſaid he ſhould be* lifted up, *that it ſignified after what Manner he ſhould be put to Death, anſwered, that they were* [q] *perſuaded by the Scriptures the* Meſſiah *ſhould live for ever:* How then, *ſaid they,* is it poſſible that he ſhould be lifted up upon a Croſs, who thou ſayeſt is commonly looked on as a vulgar Perſon, by which Circumlocution thou art wont to denote thyſelf, whom many believe to be the *Meſſiah?* Or is there any other Perſon ſignified by that Apellation, not as yet made known to us? Jeſus *in his Anſwer, without replying to their vain Queſtion, ſhewed why he had intimated that he ſhould be ſhortly cut off:* Yet a little while, *ſaid he,* the Light that you now behold ſhall ſhine among you; make uſe of the Opportunity now afforded you of Information in the ſeveral Branches of your Duty, to which you are to conform your Actions; for without the Direction of this Light from Heaven, you are in the greateſt Danger imaginable of wandring out of the Way to Happineſs. Rightly improve therefore the Means now offered you, and do nothing unworthy of this gracious Aſſiſtance.

XVIII. [r] *After this,* Jeſus *departing out of the Temple, retired from the City, and withdrew for a while from the Company of theſe Men. But they, who had been Eye-witneſſes of ſo many Miracles, refuſed to believe on him: So that what* Iſaiah *formerly complained of the Men of his Age, may be juſtly applied to them;* [s] Who hath believed our Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? *But the Temper of theſe Men was the ſame with theirs, whom the ſame Prophet deſcribed in theſe Words:* [t] He has blinded their Eyes, and hardened their Hearts, that they ſhould not ſee with their Eyes, nor underſtand with their Hearts, nor be converted, that I ſhould heal them. *In which Words* Iſaiah *ſignified, that there ſhould be ſome of ſuch a contumacious Temper, and obdurate Heart, that thoſe very Things that were proper to enlighten their Underſtandings ſhould have a quite contrary Effect; ſo as they ſhould become more obſtinate, and make no more Uſe of the Faculties God had given them to imploy in the Means for obtaining everlaſting Salvation, than if they had been wholly deprived of them. Theſe Paſſages of* Iſaiah *are recorded in that Part of his Prophecy, where the future Glory of the* Meſſiah *is deſcribed. However, ſome of the* Sanhedrim *believed that* Jeſus *was ſent by God; though they did* [u] *not openly profeſs their Belief on him, for fear of the* Phariſees, *who were inraged againſt him, leſt they ſhould by them be expelled the Synagogue; chuſing rather to maintain their Authority among Men, than to pay the Honour due to God, by owning* Jeſus *for the* Meſſiah.

XIX. [w] *Towards the Evening* Jeſus *returned again to the Temple, and not ſeeing thoſe Men there, he began to admoniſh the* Jews *with a loud Voice to quit their Obſtinacy, and to believe his Doctrine.* He that believes on me, *ſaid he,* does not ſo much give credit to me as to God who ſent me, who by the Miracles he has enabled me to perform, has demonſtrated that my Commiſſion is derived from him. Whoever reflects as he ought on theſe my Miracles, cannot but be convinced of the divine Authority by which I act: I am come into the World on purpoſe to enlighten it by my Doctrine, and to reſcue ſuch as ſhall believe on me from thoſe Miſts of Ignorance in which they are involved. Nevertheleſs I ſhall not now take Vengeance on the Incredulity of ſuch as diſbelieve my Sayings; my Deſign here on Earth being to reclaim Men from their Vices, and to ſet them free from the Danger to which their vicious Practices have rendered them obnoxious, provided they believe on me. But thoſe that think me not worthy to be minded, and reject my Doctrine, ſhall at the laſt Day be convinced of unpardonable Obſtinacy, in not being wrought upon by my repeated Admonitions to them. I act not upon my own Account, and the Terms of Salvation that I tender to you, are the very ſame I have received from my Father. I know, that the Obſervation of his Commands is the certain Way to everlaſting Life, and theſe I publiſh juſt as I received them from my Father.—*Having thus ſaid,* Jeſus *returned from* Jeruſalem *to* Bethany, *with his twelve Apoſtles; the Time not being yet come in which he determined to deliver himſelf up to the Rage of his Enemies.*

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[o] By the Reſurrection, and the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt.

[p] John xii. 34, 35, 36.

[q] The Text ſays, *they had heard out of the Law*; where the Word Law is put for the Scriptures in general. This they gathered from ſuch Texts as Dan. vii. 14. Ezek. xxxvii. 25. Iſai. ix. 7. Pſal. lxxxix. 35, 36. but they did not truly interpret theſe Prophecies.

[r] John xii. 37—43.

[s] Iſai. liii. 1.

[t] Iſai. xliv. 18.

[u] And therefore were deficient in their Faith; Confeſſion of the Faith being made with the Mouth unto Salvation, Rom. x. 9. Matth. x. 32.

[w] Mark xi. 11. John xii. 44—50. Matth. xxi. 17.

DISSERTATION.

Of Dominion among Chriſtians, the Extent of *Chriſt*'s Redemption, judicial Blindneſs, *&c.*

I. *Whether a Chriſtian may exerciſe civil Dominion. Government conſiſtent with Humility. Why* Chriſt *did not aſſume it.* II. *Eccleſiaſtical Government not forbidden by* Chriſt. *What Sort of Government is permitted by him.* III. *That* Chriſt *gave his Life a Ranſom for all, and that he ſuffered in our ſtead.* IV. *That God doth not by any of his Predictions, or his Foreknowledge, make it impoſſible for any one to believe, or lay a Reſtraint upon the Will.* V. *The true Senſe of the Text here treated of. A Character of the* Jews *from* Joſephus.

I. OUR Lord, on occaſion of the Requeſt of the Sons of *Zebedee*, has the following Words [a] to his Apoſtles : [b] *Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe Dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe Authority upon them : But it ſhall not be ſo among you ; but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your Miniſter ; and whoſoever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be miniſtered unto, but to miniſter, and to give his Life a Ranſom for many.*

Hence [c] ſome have attempted to maintain, " That *Chriſt* in the Perſon of his Apoſtles underſtands all his faithful People, and forbids them, who will be his Subjects, the Exerciſe of all civil Dominion."

But this is certainly falſe ; [d] ſince then he had forbid the Dominion of Parents over their Children, and of Maſters over their Servants ; the contrary to which is evident from [e] ſeveral Places of Scripture, where the Power of Parents over their Children, and of Maſters over their Servants, is confirmed.

And if by theſe Words the civil Magiſtracy ſhould be forbidden in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, all Order, all Defence of good Men, and all Puniſhment of Evil-Doers, would be taken away. For if Chriſtians muſt not govern among themſelves, what is to be done in this Caſe ? Muſt the civil Government of Chriſtians be put into the Hands of Heathens ? What Cauſe can there be, why a Chriſtian ſhould not exerciſe it rather than any other Man ? Who is better than a true Chriſtian ? Who, in the Uſe of this Authority, is like to be more juſt and moderate ? who more diligent in defending the Good ? Who is fitter to promote chriſtian Truth and Piety ?

When the whole Realm is Chriſtian, it cannot certainly be better to commit the Government to an Adverſary, than to an Abettor of Chriſtianity. We know that God would have Kings themſelves to come to the Knowledge of the Truth : How can we then ſuppoſe, at the ſame Time, that he would require them to lay aſide the Government? What would render them more alien from the Chriſtian Faith, or be a greater Reproach to Chriſtianity, than to ſay it forbad them that Government which is inſtituted by the Law of Nature, and is ſo neceſſary for all People ? This is entirely contrary to that Prediction, that Kings ſhould be the nurſing Fathers of the Church.

It is certain, that the Exerciſe of this civil Power can be no evil Thing, becauſe a Magiſtrate is ſaid to be God's Vicegerent, the Ordinance of God; and the Miniſter of God for Good. Thoſe People therefore, who would have all Chriſtians diſcharged from what is lawful in itſelf, and highly beneficial to the World, and do not rather wiſh that all Kings were Chriſtians, or that only Chriſtians might be Kings, are doubtleſs much in the wrong.

And whereas it is added, " That this Empire conſiſts not with Chriſtian Humility, which calls us to miniſter unto others ; becauſe to command and to miniſter are inconſiſtent Terms : " To this we anſwer, That Government is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with Miniſtry, that all Government, whoſe End is not the private Good of the Governor, but the general Good of others, is, in reſpect of them, a Miniſtry. Hence [f] is the higheſt Power ſtiled the *Miniſter of God for Good to them*, and ſaid to ſerve, or officiate, for that very End.

But " why then, ſay the Objectors, did not *Chriſt*, the Head and King of the Church, execute the Office of a Governor ? " To which it may be anſwered ; Who knows not that he is now King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and in the actual Exerciſe of his kingly Office ? He did not indeed exerciſe this Dominion upon Earth ; but the Reaſon was, becauſe his Kingdom was not of this World, and becauſe he would give no Room either for *Cæſar* or the *Jews* to think he affected ſuch a Thing as Dominion. Beſides, as he was to be a perfect Patern to us in all Things, it was proper he ſhould exerciſe his prophetical Office whilſt he was upon Earth, and go from his Sufferings to the Glory of his Kingdom; thereby leaving us an Example of Patience, and of Humility, and of Contempt of all worldly Grandeur.

II. It is farther certain, that this Text cannot condemn all eccleſiaſtical Government ; that being as neceſſary to an eccleſiaſtical Society, or Community, as civil Government to a civil Society. Hence [g] among the Gifts, that were diſtributed for the Uſe of the Church, we read of *Governments*. We find the Apoſtles had their [h] Rod, and [i] Power, given of the Lord, to [k] deliver unto *Satan*, and to [l] revenge all Unrighteouſneſs. And we have Mention of thoſe [m] who are over us in the Lord, and who are [n] Governors, to whom we muſt yield Obedience, and ſubmit ourſelves. And without this, that Chriſtian Diſcipline, on which the Welfare of the Church ſo much ſubſiſts, could not be exerciſed ; as appears from manifold Experience, in every Age of the Chriſtian Religion.

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[a] See our Paraprraſe of them in the preceding Chapter.

[b] Matth. xx. 25—28.

[c] Woltzogenius in particular.

[d] Whitby on Matth. xx. 25.

[e] Eph. vi. 1. 5. Col iii. 22. 1 Tim. vi. 1.

[f] Rom. xiii. 6.

[g] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[h] 1 Cor. iv. 21.

[i] 2 Cor. x. 8. xiii. 10.

[k] 1 Cor. v. 5. 2 Tim. i. 20.

[l] 2 Cor. x. 6.

[m] 1 Theſ. v. 12.

[n] Heb. xiii. 7. 17.

The Dominion then, that is here forbidden by *Chriſt*, ſeems, according to ſome, to be only that which is attended with Tyranny, Oppreſſion, and Contempt of the Subject. But Kings and Governors among the *Gentiles*, and much leſs among the *Jews*, were not always guilty of this Male-adminiſtration: And *Chriſt* does not oppoſe to their Government a juſt Dominion, but a Miniſtry only. Therefore, perhaps, it will be ſtill nearer the Truth, to ſay, the Dominion here ſignified, is of that ſort which is according to the Will of the Governor. This is plainly the Government that obtained in the eaſtern Nations, the Will of whoſe Kings was their Law: And for this Reaſon they were called by a Name that ſignifies, [o] *Men governing of, or from themſelves*; intimating that their Power was not derived to them from the People, for whoſe Good they ought to reign, but inherent in their own Perſons.

The Meaning of our Saviour's Words, therefore, according to this Suppoſition, will ſtand thus. *You, who are my Diſciples, and whoſe Buſineſs it is to make known my Will, ſhall have no ſuch Dominion over the Faith of others, as theſe Kings have over the Lives and Fortunes of their Subjects: You ſhall command nothing of your mere Will and Pleaſure, but your ſole Office ſhall conſiſt in being Miniſters to the Good of others.*

And agreeably to this ſpeaks the Apoſtle, when he ſays, [p] *What is* Paul, *or what is* Apollo, *but Miniſters by whom ye believed?* And in another Place, [q] *We ourſelves*, ſays he, *are your Servants for* Jeſus's *Sake*. Hence they are ſo often ſtiled *Miniſters*, and their Work a *Miniſtry*, to the Saints, to the Gentiles, to the Church. *And therefore*, ſaith *Chriſt*, *all the Office any Man can have in my Kingdom, can be only a larger Miniſtry to others: And in this he will truly reſemble me, who came not to be miniſtred to, but to miniſter.*

III. It follows, *And to give his Life a Ranſom for many*; which Words we are next to conſider: And from them we ſhall obſerve two Things, both of which require our peculiar Notice.

1ſt. Whereas it is ſaid in this Place, that *Chriſt* gave his Life a Ranſom for many, and elſewhere, that [r] *his Blood was ſhed for many*, and again, that *Chriſt* was once offered to take away the Sins of many; it does not from hence follow, that *Chriſt* died not for *all*; the Word *many* being in other Places uſed, where all are certainly included. Thus, when it is ſaid by the Prophet *Daniel*, [s] That *many who ſleep in the Duſt, ſhall ariſe, ſome to everlaſting Life, and ſome to everlaſting Shame*; this is certainly equivalent to that of *Chriſt*, [t] *The Hour cometh, that all, who ſleep in the Grave, ſhall hear the Voice of the Son of Man, and come forth, they that have done Good to the Reſurrection of Life, and they that have done Evil to the Reſurrection of Condemnation.* And in like Manner, when it is ſaid by the Apoſtle *Paul*, [u] that *thro' the Offence of one, many died*; this is equivalent to another Expreſſion of the ſame Apoſtle, that [w] *in* Adam *all Men died*. And when it is ſaid, that [x] *by the Diſobedience of one, many were made Sinners*; it is juſt the ſame as when it is ſaid, [y] *Death paſſed upon all Men, through that one Man in whom all have ſinned.*

2dly, That from theſe Words, *He gave his Life a Ranſom for many*, it is evident, that *Chriſt* ſuffered in our Stead, and gave his Life inſtead of our Lives; that he was obnoxious to Death, as the Wages of Sin, though himſelf knew no Sin. Thus when the Scripture ſaith, [z] *Ye ſhall admit no Satisfaction for the Life of the Murderer, who is worthy of Death, but he ſhall ſurely be put to Death; for the Land cannot be cleanſed, or expiated from the Blood that is ſhed therein, but by the Blood of him that ſhed it*; the plain Import of thoſe Words is, that no Price ſhall be admitted inſtead of his Life. And in like Manner, when *Ahab* paſſed this Judgment on the diſguiſed Prophet, [a] *Thy Life ſhall go for his Life whom thou haſt let go*; and when the Prophet thus returns upon him, [b] *Thus ſaith the Lord, Becauſe thou haſt let go out of thy Hand a Man whom I have appointed to utter Deſtruction, therefore thy Life ſhall go for his Life*; and when *Jehu* ſaid to the Man appointed to ſlay the Prieſts of *Baal*, [c] *If any one of them eſcape, he that letteth him go, his Life ſhall be for the Life of him that eſcapeth*; Do not all theſe Expreſſions plainly ſignify, *Thou ſhall die inſtead of him, for whom thou ſtandeſt thus accountable?* Therefore, when *Chriſt* declares, That *he would give his Life for the Life of the World*, that he *gave his Life a Ranſom for many, or a Ranſom for all*; muſt he not ſignify by theſe Expreſſions, that he would give up his Life to the Death, in their Stead who had deſerved Death?

Moreover, according to the *Jewiſh* Law [d], the Firſt-born of every Beaſt was to die, or, to reſcue him from it, his Owner was to pay a Price to redeem his Life. The ſame was the Law concerning [e] the puſhing Ox, provided the Owner did not pay a Price, or ranſom for his Life. Every [f] *Iſraelite* was alſo to bring in yearly his half Shekel, to be the Ranſom of his Life, that he die not; and this Money was to buy the daily Sacrifice, which was to expiate, or make attonement for their Lives. It was likewiſe a received Opinion among the *Jews*, that [g] the good Man was the Redemption of the Wicked: And hence *Joſephus* brings in *Eleazar* praying thus to God: [h] *Be thou gracious to thy Nation, being ſatisfied with the Puniſhment I ſuffer for them; make my Blood an Expiation for them, and take my Life inſtead of theirs.* When it is ſaid, therefore, in Alluſion to theſe Things, that *Chriſt* gave himſelf *a Ranſom for many*, or, *a Ranſom for all*, can we put any other Senſe upon theſe Words than this, That he gave his Life inſtead of ours, to expiate and attone for thoſe Lives which we by Sin had forfeited?

This may be made farther evident, from other like Expreſſions in Scripture, as well as in *Jewiſh* and *Heathen* Authors. The Agreement between *Rahab* and the Spies of *Joſhua* runs thus: [i] *Our Life for yours, if ye utter not this Buſineſs.* So *Euripides* makes *Alceſtus* ſpeak thus to *Admetus:* [k] *In Honour of thee I die, that thou mighteſt live inſtead of me.* And *Porphyry* from *Aſclepiades,* ſays, [l] That *the firſt Sacrifices were offered on ſome Occaſions requiring Life for Life.* This then being the conſtant Opinion both of *Jews* and *Gentiles,* that their particular Victims were Ranſoms for the Life of the Sinner; and that he who gave his Life for another, ſuffered in his Stead, and to preſerve him from Death; they could not otherwiſe judge, but that our Lord intended, by this Expreſſion, to ſignify, that he gave his Life inſtead of the Lives of thoſe for whom he ſuffered. Vain, therefore, are their Attempts, who would fix another Meaning on our Saviour's Words.

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[o] αὐτοκράτορες.

[p] 1 Cor. iii. 5.

[q] 2 Cor. iv. 5.

[r] Heb. ix. 28.

[s] Dan. xii. 2.

[t] John v. 28, 29.

[u] Rom. v. 15.

[w] 1 Cor. xv. 22.

[x] Rom. v. 19.

[y] Rom. v. 12.

[z] Numb. xxxv. 31, 33.

[a] 1 Kings xx. 39.

[b] Ver. 42.

[c] 2 Kings x. 24.

[d] Numb. xviii. 15.

[e] Exod. xxi. 31.

[f] Exod. xxx. 12, 15, 16.

[g] Philo de Sacrific.

[h] Lib. de Macc.

IV. Another Thing in the preceding Chapter, that requires to be cleared up, is St. *John*'s Application of *Iſaiah*'s Prophecy to the *Jews,* which in the plain Words of the Text ſeems to contain a very ſtrange Doctrine; namely, that the Infidelity even of God's own People, is to be reſolved, not into the Perverſeneſs of their Wills, or the evil Diſpoſitions of their Hearts, but into the Divine Predictions, or into a judicial Blindneſs and Obduration wrought by God upon them, which renders it impoſſible for them to believe.

The Words of the Evangeliſt are theſe: [m] *But tho' he had done ſo many Miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: That the Saying of* Eſaias *the Prophet might be fulfilled, which he ſpake,* [n] *Lord, who hath believed our Report? and to whom hath the Arm of the Lord been revealed? Therefore they could not believe, becauſe that* Eſaias *ſaid again, He hath blinded their Eyes, and hardened their Heart, that they ſhould not ſee with their Eyes, nor underſtand with their Heart, and be converted, and I ſhould heal them.* Now for the Explication of this Paſſage, theſe Things may be noted.

Firſt, That our bleſſed Lord, in the Verſes [o] immediately preceding theſe, paſſionately exhorts thoſe very Perſons to believe and walk according to the Light; which is a certain Evidence, that he well knew his Father had not, by any of his Actions or Predictions, made it impoſſible for them to believe on him, or walk according to his Doctrine: For if God had ſo blinded their Eyes, that they could not ſee the Light, or ſo hardened their Hearts that they could not embrace it, *Chriſt* could not ſeriouſly have exhorted them to believe, or walk according to it, and that ſo effectually, that they might become Children of Light; ſince every Exhortation to a Thing which we know to be impoſſible, muſt be vain; and he, who by it ſeems deſirous that we ſhould do a Thing he knows we cannot, muſt delude us; Nay, if he knows that God had, by ſome antecedent Action, rendered the Thing impoſſible to be done, it muſt alſo be an Exhortation repugnant to the Will of God.

Now, would it not be blaſphemous to ſay, that the Exhortations of the Son of God were vain, deluſory, or contrary to his Father's Will? Are we not certain, on the contrary, that our Saviour knew the *Jews* to be capable of Mercy and Salvation by him? Does not he expreſly ſay, [p] God *ſent him into the World, that the World by him might be ſaved?* Does he not make this Declaration, [q] *Theſe Things ſay I unto you, that you might be ſaved?* And this Enquiry, [r] *How often would I have gathered you, and ye would not?* Does he not thus upbraid the *Jews,* [s] *Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have Life?*

God himſelf, we find, would not have his Words ſo underſtood, as if he were unwilling that the *Jews* ſhould believe, or had, by any of his Actions, rendered it impoſſible for them to do ſo; [t] *for this was his Commandment, that they ſhould believe on him whom he had ſent.* And why [u] ſent he *his Son to ſeek, and to ſave that which was loſt, even the loſt Sheep of the Houſe of* Iſrael, had he not been truly deſirous that they ſhould believe?

Neither did the Evangeliſt *John,* or the Good Spirit by which he indited theſe Words, thus underſtand them: For he objects this to the *Jews* as their great Crime, [w] *that though* Chriſt *had done ſo many Miracles among them, yet they believed not.* Now it can be no Man's Sin not to do, what he cannot do purely by Reaſon of ſome Act of God: The following Words therefore, which ſeem to contain a Doctrine ſo abſurd and ſhocking, muſt have ſome other Senſe than what at firſt View they appear to have.

Secondly, we may obſerve, that God's Foreknowledge, Sayings, and Predictions, have no ſuch Influence on the Will of Man, as to lay on him a Neceſſity to do, what God foreknows, and has foretold, he will do. This will be found a manifeſt Truth, if we only conſider the Abſurdities of a contrary Opinion; which are no leſs than theſe.

1ſt, If God's Fore-knowledge were to influence the Will of Man, then all human Actions muſt be neceſſary: For to that God, who is omniſcient, all Things, whether paſt, preſent, or to come, are equally known. This Knowledge, therefore, which the Scriptures aſcribe to God, cannot make any Action neceſſary; becauſe, if it did, it would make all human Actions equally neceſſary, and ſo the Freedom of them muſt be overthrown.

2dly, On theſe Conditions, Vice and Virtue muſt be only empty Names; we being capable of doing nothing which is blame-worthy, or that deſerves Praiſe: For who can blame a Perſon for doing only what he could not help, or account him worthy of Applauſe, who does that only which he cannot avoid.

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[i] Joſh. ii. 14.

[k] Eurip. Alceſt. v. 28.

[l] De Abſt. lib. 4. ſect. 16. See more of this in Outram de Sacrific. l. 1. c. 21. Pearſ. Vind. Ignat. par. 2. c. 15.

[m] John xii. 37—40.

[n] Iſaiah liii. 1.

[o] Ver. 35, 36.

[p] John iii. 17.

[q] John v. 34.

[r] Luke xiii. 34.

[s] John v. 40.

[t] John vi. 29.

[u] Luke xix. 10.

[w] John xii. 37.

3*dly*, All future Rewards and Puniſhments muſt then be diſcarded; it being viſibly unjuſt to puniſh any Man for that which was never in his Power to avoid, and as unreaſonable to reward him for that Action which he cannot be praiſeworthy: We can, therefore, have no Reaſon to think that God will do either of theſe.

We know, indeed, that an Almighty God is able ſo powerfully to work upon the Hearts of Men, as to convert them to himſelf; and it is natural to conceive, that a good God is ready to do all which he ſees proper to that End: But we are not therefore to believe, that the Divine Wiſdom ſees fit to lay Reſtraints upon our Actions, and to neceſſitate our Wills to a Compliance to his Calls and Invitations. If we believe this, we may as well believe that all Men are actually ſaved; ſince it is ſaid, that *God would have all Men to be ſaved:* For if God was to exert his Almighty Power in their Behalf, there is no doubt but this would be ſufficient to do whatſoever he pleaſed.

V. It is plain then, that when the Evangeliſt ſays; *Therefore they could not believe, becauſe* Eſaias *ſaid ſo and ſo*, his Words muſt bear this Senſe: *Therefore they could not believe, becauſe that was fulfilled upon them which* Eſaias *ſaid*; or, *it had happened to them as he had foretold.* So in another Place, [x] *They have hated both me and my Father: But that the Word might be fulfilled, They have hated me without a Cauſe:* That is, This hath happened to, or been done by them, in Completion of thoſe Words of their Law, *They have hated me without a Cauſe.* Examples of this kind are frequent: And we have the Authority of the Holy Ghoſt himſelf for this Manner of expounding them, who ſaith from the Mouth of *Chriſt*, [y] *Therefore ſpeak I to them in Parables, becauſe they ſeeing, ſee not; and hearing, they hear not; neither do they underſtand: And in them is fulfilled the Words of* Iſaiah; *By hearing ye ſhall hear, and ſhall not underſtand; and ſeeing ye ſhall ſee, and ſhall not perceive: For this People's Heart is waxed groſs, and their Ears are dull of Hearing, and their Eyes have they cloſed; leſt at any Time they ſhould ſee with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and underſtand with their Heart, and be converted, and I ſhould heal them.*

As to the Paſſage in our Tranſlation, *He hath blinded their Eyes*, and *He hath hardened their Hearts*, we may obſerve, that the Word *He* is not in the Original, which may as well be rendered, *Malice, or Wickedneſs, hath blinded their Eyes, and hardened their Hearts*; as we read in the Book [z] of *Wiſdom.* The Perſonal is here put for the Impersonal, and the Active for the Paſſive: *He hath blinded their Eyes, and hardened their Hearts*, for, *Their Eyes are blinded, and their Hearts are hardened.* We have a plain Inſtance of the like Nature in a Paſſage [a] of *Iſaiah*, which in our Tranſlation we read thus; *He hath ſhut their Eyes, that they cannot ſee, and their Hearts, that they cannot underſtand*; and yet both the *Greek* Interpreters, and the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, read it thus; *Their Eyes are ſhut, and darkened, leſt they ſhould ſee.* And that this is the true Import of the Prophet's Words, not that God, but that Satan, and their own evil Diſpoſitions, had done this, is evident from this Conſideration; That [b] theſe Words are ſpoken to the Shame of thoſe who made and worſhipped ſenſeleſs Images, and to convince them of their Want of Conſideration; whereas there would have been no Shame in theſe Things, if they had been obliged to commit them.

And how ſuitable the Character which *Iſaiah* gave ſo long before of his Countrymen, and which the Evangeliſt applied to the *Jews* of our Saviour's Time, was, we may learn from their own Hiſtorian [c] *Joſephus*, who was himſelf living in the ſame Age. He aſſures us, That *there was not a Nation under Heaven more wicked than they were. What*, ſaith he, *have you done, of all the good Things required by our Lawgiver? What have you not done of all thoſe Things which he pronounceth accurſed?* And again, *Had the* Romans *delayed to come againſt this execrable People, either the Earth would have ſwallowed up, or a Deluge would have ſwept away, their City; or a Fire from Heaven would have conſumed it, as it did* Sodom; *for it brought forth a Generation far more wicked than they, who ſuffered ſuch Things.* In a Word, there is not one Sin more than ordinary ſhocking, of which he doth not accuſe them; for of their Zealots in particular he ſaith, *It was Sport to them to force Women; they gave up themſelves to the Paſſions of Women, exerciſing and requiring unnatural Luſts, and filling the whole City with Impurities.* And again, *They committed all kind of Wickedneſs, omitting none that ever came into the Memory of Man; eſteeming the worſt of Evils to be good, and finding that Reward of their Iniquity which was meet, and a Judgment worthy of God.*

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[x] John xv. 24, 25.
[y] Matth. xiii. 13, 14, 15.
[z] Wiſd. ii. 21.
[a] Iſai. xliv. 18.
[b] See Ver. 9. 11. 19.
[c] Joſephus de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 26, 27, 37. l. vii. c. 20.

CHAP. III.

I. *Jeſus* returns from *Bethany* to *Jeruſalem*, and by the Way curſes a barren Fig-tree. II. The Rulers conſpire againſt him. The Fig-tree found withered. The Power of Faith, and Neceſſity of forgiving Injuries. III. The Rulers queſtion *Jeſus* of his Authority, who ſilences them by another Queſtion. IV. The Parable of the Father and two Sons, with the Application of it to the *Jews*. V. The Parable of the Vineyard, that was let out to Husbandmen, and the Application of it, *&c.* VI. The Parable of the Wedding-Supper, and of the Man who was found without a Wedding-Garment. VII. The *Phariſees* conſult how to enſnare *Jeſus*, and for that Purpoſe ſend Men of different Principles to examine him, who are all ſilenced by him. VIII. The *Sadducees* put a Caſe to him concerning a Woman that had ſeven Husbands, on which Occaſion he diſcourſes to them of the future State. IX. The People amazed at him. He reſolves a Lawyer which is the greateſt Precept of the Law, and commends another Lawyer for a pertinent Reflection. X. He queſtions the *Phariſees* concerning ſome Words of *David*. The *Phariſees* are ſilenced by him.

I. [a] T*HE next Day, very early in the Morning,* Jeſus *with his Apoſtles returned from* Bethany *to* Jeruſalem; *and being hungry, and beholding* [b] *a Fig-tree at a Diſtance with Leaves upon it, by which it appeared to be one of the earlier Sort of Trees, or one of thoſe whoſe Figs hang all the Year, he went to gather of the Fruit of it, but found none: Which* Jeſus *perceiving, he took Occaſion thence of repreſenting the ſmall Hopes that the* Jews *of that Age would bring forth any Fruits of Virtue: Therefore, with a Voice loud enough to be heard by his Apoſtles, he cried out,* Let no one eat any Fruit from thee hereafter: *Which Curſe was no ſooner pronounced, but the Tree was dried up.*

II. [c] *The Members of the* Sanhedrim *having heard the ſeveral Diſcourſes of* Jeſus, *in which he rebuked them for their Obſtinacy and Impiety, conſulted how they might deſtroy him; but they fear'd a Tumult, knowing he was admir'd by the People. However,* Jeſus *would not truſt himſelf among them, except in the Day-time; but every Night retir'd from the City, that he might not be oppreſt by them in the dark: And every Morning he returned to the City again. The Day after he had curſed the Fig-tree, paſſing the ſame Way, the Apoſtles took notice of it, and wonder'd at its being wither'd:* Peter *particularly turning to* Jeſus, Maſter, *ſaid he,* behold how the Fig-tree that thou curſedſt Yeſterday is already wither'd. Jeſus *replied, that they had no Reaſon to be aſtoniſh'd at what had happen'd to that Fig-tree by his Command, ſince they themſelves might command Mount* Olivet *to be carried into the Sea, and it ſhould obey them, if they had a ſteddy Faith in God, who had promiſed to grant whatever they ſhould aſk him with a firm Reliance on his Power and Goodneſs; aſſuring them, that they ſhould not fail to obtain whatever they petitioned for with that happy Temper of Mind: But withal he put them in mind, that if they expected the Remiſſion of their Sins from his heavenly Father, they ought alſo to forgive the Treſpaſſes of Men to them; for it would be in vain to hope for the Pardon of their Sins, if they did not perform this juſt Condition on their Part.*

III. [d] *To return now to what paſt the Day before: After* Jeſus *had curſed the Fig-tree, while he was walking with his Diſciples, and inſtructing them in the Temple, ſeveral of the chief among the* Jews *came to him, Members of the* Sanhedrim, *and aſk'd him by what* [e] *Authority he drove the Merchants out of the Temple, and publicly taught the People.* Jeſus *told them he had alſo a Queſtion to propoſe to them, and after they had anſwer'd him, he would reply to their Demands. He then deſired them to inform him, what their Opinion was of* John the Baptiſt'*s preaching Repentance to the* Jews, *and waſhing the Proſelytes; whether they believed he acted by his own Authority, or by one derived from God? The* Sanhedrim, *conſidering with themſelves that if they ſhould ſay he acted by a divine Commiſſion,* Jeſus *would immediately aſk why they did not believe on him; and on the contrary, if they ſhould affirm it was only upon his own private Motion, that they ſhould then enrage the Multitude, who generally look'd on* John *as a true Prophet, made anſwer, that they knew not by what Authority he acted.* Jeſus *preſently retorted, that ſince it was lawful for* John *to baptize the Penitents, tho' they were ignorant by what Authority he did ſo; and ſince no one ever called him to account for it, he ſaw no Neceſſity of gratifying their Curioſity, by informing them with what Authority he did thoſe Things in the Temple, at which they cavill'd.*

IV. [f] *Afterwards he deſcribed the ſtubborn Temper of the* Jews *in ſeveral Parables, from which they might plainly learn their Duty.* A certain Man, *ſaid he,* had [g] two Sons, one of whom he commanded to go and work in his Vineyard, who at firſt refus'd, but repenting afterwards of his Diſobedience, went and did as his Father had commanded him: The other being alſo ordered by his Father to work in the Vineyard, promiſed immediately to do what was commanded him, but never went. What think you, which of theſe two obeyed his Father? *They replied*, The firſt. Jeſus *continued*, Verily I ſay unto you, that the very *Publicans* and Harlots, who have abandon'd themſelves to Profaneneſs and Immorality, ſhall in like manner excel you who ſet up for holy Perſons, and make a ſhew of more than ordinary Probity, as to what relates to the Kingdom of Heaven, or the true Religion: For *John the Baptiſt* came to call you to Repentance, that you might be prepar'd to embrace the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven that was ſhortly to be manifeſted; but you did not believe on him. The *Publicans* and Harlots believed him, repented, and amended their Lives; but you have not been prevailed on by their Example to alter your Sentiments concerning *John*, and to believe his Doctrine.

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[a] Matth. xxi. 18, 19. Mark xi. 12, 13, 14.

[b] See the following Diſſertation.

[c] Mark xi. 18—26. Matth. xxi. 20, 21, 22.

[d] Matth. xxi. 23—27. Mark xi. 27—33. Luke xx. 1—8.

[e] The ordinary Authority of teaching in the Temple was derived from the Chief Prieſts and Rulers.

[f] Matth. xxi. 28—32. Mark xii. 1. Luke xx. 9.

[g] By the firſt of theſe Sons is generally underſtood the Publicans; by the ſecond the Scribes and Phariſees: But Whitby thinks the firſt may ſignify the Gentiles, with whom the Publicans were commonly ranked; the ſecond the Jews, more particularly the Scribes and Phariſees. Our Lord's own Expoſition of this Parable ſeems to confine it in the firſt Senſe.

V. [h] *He then ſpake another Parable to them*:[i] A certain Maſter of a Family planted a Vineyard, and hedged it in; and having built a Houſe in it, and furniſhed it with a Wine-preſs and all other Neceſſaries, he let it out, and went himſelf into a far Country. At the Time of Vintage he ſent his Servants to gather the Fruits of it; but the Men to whom he had let his Vineyard beat them, and ſent them away empty. He ſent a ſecond Time other Servants, and theſe the Labourers ſtoned, and grievouſly wounded. Nevertheleſs he ſent a third Time to them; but theſe were murder'd by them. He determin'd at laſt to ſend his only Son to them, ſuppoſing they would reverence him: But as ſoon as they ſaw him coming, they reſolv'd on his Deſtruction, imagining that if he who was the Heir were ſlain, they ſhould be Maſters of the Vineyard. Accordingly they caſt him out of the Vineyard, and murder'd him. I aſk you now what Puniſhment the Maſter of the Family will inflict upon theſe barbarous Wretches at his Return? —— He will put them all to Death, *ſaid they*, as they have juſtly deſerv'd, and put others into his Vineyard, who will more faithfully execute their Truſt, and give him the Fruit of it in its Seaſon. Jeſus *then told them, that the obſtinate* Jews *ſhould be as ſeverely puniſhed*. *Upon which they cried out*, God forbid thy Threats ſhould ever come to paſs! Jeſus *ſaid, he threatened them with nothing but what had been foretold them by the* Pſalmiſt *in theſe Words*: [k] The Stone which the Builders refus'd, is become the Head Stone in the Corner; this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes. Jeſus *moreover told them, that becauſe they rejected this Stone, the Kingdom of God, that is, the true Religion, by which God reigns in the Minds of Men, ſhould be taken from them, and tender'd to another People, who would conform their Actions to the Rules preſcribed by it. Then again, alluding to the foremention'd Words of the* Pſalmiſt, *and others of the* [l] *Prophet* Iſaiah, *he ſaid*, Whoever falls on this Stone ſhall be wounded; but on whomſoever the Stone itſelf ſhall fall, it ſhall daſh him to Pieces.

VI. [m] *The chief of the* Jews, *having heard theſe Sayings of* Jeſus, *immediately deliberated how they might apprehend him; but durſt not do it for Fear of ſtirring up the Multitude, who all eſteemed* Jeſus *as a Prophet; though they plainly perceived this Speech of his, and the Threatenings in it, belonged to them.* Jeſus *intimated the ſame not obſcurely in this third Parable*: [n] The Manner in which the Kingdom of Heaven is received, *ſaid he*, reſembles what happened to a certain King, who having made a Feaſt on his Son's Marriage, ſent his Servants to acquaint thoſe that had been invited, that all Things were ready; but they refuſed to come. However he ſent a ſecond Time to them, to let them know that his Oxen and Fatlings were killed, and every Thing ready for the Entertainment; that therefore they ſhould not delay to come. But they neglecting this repeated Invitation, went ſeveral Ways, ſome to their Farms, and others to their Merchandize; and ſome of them evilly intreated the Meſſengers, and ſlew them. The King, incenſed at this their Pride and Cruelty, ſent [o] Soldiers againſt them, who retaliated upon theſe Murderers, and burnt their City. He then ſaid to his Servants, the Feaſt indeed was ready, but thoſe that were invited were unworthy of it; go out therefore immediately [p] into the Highways, and invite all you find to my Supper. They accordingly went, and invited all they met, good and bad; ſo that the Banqueting-Room was filled with Gueſts. The King then came in to take a View of them, and finding one in mean and ſordid Apparel, thus accoſted him: Wherefore cameſt thou in hither without [q] a Wedding-Garment? The Man, filled with Confuſion, bluſhed, and made no Reply. The King thereupon commanded him to be bound Hand and Foot, and turned out of the Palace, which was illuminated, into a [r] Place of Darkneſs, where there was Weeping and gnaſhing of Teeth. In like Manner we may juſtly ſay, that many have been invited to the Kingdom of Heaven, but few have received the Invitation as became them.

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[h] Matth. xxi. 33—44. Mark xii. 1—11. Luke xx. 9—18.

[i] In this Parable are repreſented, 1. The Favour of God towards the Jewiſh Nation, as having the Vineyard he himſelf had planted. 2. That the Husbandmen to whom this Vineyard was let out were the Prieſts and Levites, who were remarkable for treating the Prophets with Irreverence. 3. That this Deportment of the Husbandmen, particularly to the Son, would render them obnoxious to the divine Judgments.

[k] Pſal. cxviii. 22. [l] Iſai. viii. 15. [m] Matth. xxi. 45, 46. xxii. 1—14. Mark xii. 12. Luke xx. 19.

[n] The King here ſignifies God the Father; his Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; the Perſons invited, the Jews; the Servants who were ſent, John the Baptiſt, the twelve Apoſtles, and the ſeventy Diſciples.

[o] The Romans, who came upon them after they had rejected the Feaſt of the Goſpel, and evil intreated the Meſſengers of it, not ſparing the Son himſelf, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

[p] To the Jews of the Diſperſion, and afterwards to the Gentiles, the Goſpel being to be preached in this Manner. Thus St. Paul tells the Jews of Antioch, *It was neceſſary the Goſpel ſhould be firſt preached to you, and afterwards to thoſe who are without the Covenant made to Abraham*, Acts xiii. 45, 46. Alſo xviii. 6. and xxviii. 28.

[q] Faith alone cannot be the Wedding-Garment, becauſe to receive the Invitation, and to come to the Supper, muſt import believing. It ſignifies therefore Sincerity, or a true Faith, join'd with a Converſation anſwerable to the Deſign of the Goſpel.

[r] Some underſtand by the Place of *utter Darkneſs* the Highway, or Street before the Palace, where in the Dark might be heard the Murmuring and Complaints of thoſe who by their own Fault were now refuſed Admittance to the Feaſt.

VII. [s] *The* Phariſees, *and others who heard theſe Speeches, in which* Jeſus *plainly rebuked the Chief among the* Jews *with their Obſtinacy, ſtepping a little aſide, conſulted how they might ſo inſnare him as to get ſomething from him to make him odious to the People, or for which they might arraign him before the* Roman *Government. Hereupon they ſuborned certain Fellows, Part of whom were addicted to the* Phariſees, *and others to the Sect of the* Herodians, *to get ſomething from him of which they might accuſe him before the* Roman *Deputy: Theſe therefore feigning themſelves well-meaning ignorant Perſons, and deſirous of Information, came to him with theſe ſmooth Words:* Maſter, we know that thou art a zealous Lover of Truth, and that no Reſpect of Perſons can prevail with thee to diſſemble or oppoſe it, as being a ſtrict Obſerver of the divine Laws: We come therefore deſiring to know, what is thy Opinion concerning the Tribute we now pay to the *Romans*; Is it lawful for us *Iſraelites* to pay a Tribute to a foreign Potentate, as *Cæſar* is, ſince by our Law it is enacted, that we ſhall not chuſe a King over us but out of our own Countrymen? Jeſus *perceiving their Diſſimulation and Malice*; O you Hypocrites, *ſaid he*, wherefore do you lay Snares for me? Shew me the Tribute Money. *Upon which they produced a* Roman *Denier, ſtamp'd with the Emperor's Name and Image.* Jeſus *then asked them, whoſe was that Image and Inſcription. They anſwered,* Cæſar's. Render then, *ſaid he*, to *Cæſar* the Things that are *Cæſar*'s, and to God the Things that are God's. *By which Words he ſhewed them, in no ambiguous Terms, without taking notice of their more abſtruſe Queſtions, that it was not impoſſible for the* Jews *to be good and religious Perſons, and at the ſame Time to pay Tribute to the Authority under whoſe Protection they had been for a conſiderable Time. Thus were theſe Men fruſtrated of their Hopes of drawing ſomething from him before the People, on which they might ground an Accuſation againſt him, and left him, ſtruck with Admiration at his Anſwer.*

VIII. [t] *Then came ſome of the* Sadducees *to him, who deny the Immortality of the Soul and the Reſurrection of the Body, and put this Caſe to him, with which they were wont to puzzle the* Phariſees: *Moſes* enacted, that if a Man dies without Iſſue by his Wife, the eldeſt Brother that remains ſhall marry his Widow; that in Caſe ſhe brings forth any Children, the Firſt-born may ſucceed the Deceaſed in his Eſtate and Title. Now, there were ſeven Brothers, the eldeſt of whom died, and left no Children. The next in order married the Widow, and he alſo died childleſs: A third in like Manner, and the remaining four, who all died without having any Iſſue by her: Laſt of all, the Woman died alſo. Now the Queſtion is, which of the ſeven Brothers will be her Huſband at the Reſurrection, ſince they all married her? Jeſus *anſwered to this Purpoſe:* O you *Sadducees*, who deny the Immortality of the Soul and Reſurrection of the Body, you are greatly miſtaken by not being better inſtructed in the Scriptures, and for having ſuch a mean Opinion of the Power of God; and as for your Way of arguing in this Caſe, there is nothing more vain and frivolous. Men, it is true, in this Life marry, and give their Daughters in Marriage; but when Men ſhall be raiſed to Life again, there will be no farther Occaſion of Matrimony, ſince they ſhall be [u] like the Angels in Heaven. This Conjunction of Male and Female here on Earth was inſtituted for the Propagation of Mankind, which Reaſon will be of no Force in that immortal State, where the Good ſhall for ever enjoy an Inheritance promiſed to them by their heavenly Father. Now as for the Reſurrection of the Dead, God himſelf, whoſe Authority you dare not reject, has ſignified as much to *Moſes*, when he ſpake to him out of the flaming Buſh, in theſe Words: [w] *I am the God of* Abraham, *the God of* Iſaac, *and the God of* Jacob; which Words, according to the conſtant Tenor of the Scriptures, denote God's peculiar Favour towards thoſe Patriarchs, and would be plainly null and void, if, as you imagine, they were dead both in reſpect of Soul and Body, never to be raiſed to Life again. Moſt certainly, God cannot be ſaid to have a peculiar Favour, and ſuch an one is worthy of an eternal Being, to Men that were to die for all Eternity; ſince this mortal Life is common to all Men, and of ſmall Importance if no other followed it. It is therefore neceſſary that the Souls of thoſe whom God ſo highly favours muſt exiſt; nor is it hard to perceive that he will reſtore the Body to them, ſince otherwiſe they would live but in Part; and his Promiſe of Favour to them had reſpect not to the immortal Soul only, but to the intire Man. You are then grievouſly miſtaken, when you deny the Reſurection of the Body, and the Immortality of the Soul.

IX. [x] *All that heard him were filled with Admiration at his Doctrine, though the Chief among the* Jews *ſought by all Means to undermine his Authority among the People. The* Phariſees *particularly, who took notice how he had ſtopped the Mouths of the* Sadducees, *having ſurrounded him, one of them, a Lawyer, ſtepped ont, and put this Queſtion to him:* Which is the chiefeſt Precept in the Law? Jeſus *immediately replied; That was the greateſt of all, which* [y] *bid the* Jews *remember there was but one God, whom alone they were to worſhip with all the Affections of their Soul.* This, *ſaid he*, is the greateſt Command of all, and comprehends the whole Duty of Man towards God. The next like unto it, enjoins the [z] loving of our Neighbour as one's ſelf, and contains, if rightly underſtood, all the mutual Offices of Men one among another; *than which there was no greater Precept in the whole Law. He added, that upon the Obſervance of theſe* [a] *depended the Authority of the Law and the Prophets; and upon the Neglect of them, all the Precepts contained in the Law and the Prophets would be altogether inſignificant. Then ſaid a certain Lawyer,* Maſter, thou has rightly determin'd, ſince there is but one God whom we muſt adore; and if we love him as much as we are able, and without a Rival, and our Neighbour as ourſelves, we worſhip him much more acceptably than if we offer'd all Manner of Sacrifice. Jeſus *obſerving his pious Reflection, commended him as one not far from the Doctrine of the Kingdom of Heaven. After this the* Phariſees *and* Sadducees *durſt aſk him no more Queſtions.*

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[s] Matth. xxii. 15—22. Mark xii. 13—17. Luke xx. 20—26.

[t] Matth. xxii. 23—32. Mark xii 18——27. Luke xx. 27——38.

[u] Not like the Angels in all Reſpects, but as to Immortality and Incorruptibility; and ſo they will need no Marriage to perpetuate their Generations.

[w] Exod. iii. 6.

[x] Matth. xxii. 33——40. Mark xii. 28——34. Luke xx. 39.

[y] Deut. vi. 4. & x. 12.

X. [b] *But* Jeſus *perceiving a great Multitude of the* Phariſees *got together, aſk'd them, how it came to paſs that the Interpreters of the Law affirmed the Meſſiah ſhould be born of the Family of* David; *ſince* David *himſelf, who was inſpir'd by the Holy Ghoſt, ſpeaks thus concerning him,* [c] The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my Right Hand, till I make thine Enemies thy Footſtool? *Now ſince* David *calls him his Lord, how could he be ſuppoſed to deſcend from* David? *In which Queſtion he intimated the vaſt Diſproportion between* David *and the Meſſiah, and conſequently that the Dignity of the Meſſiah was celeſtial; ſince there is none among Men greater than that of King, and that* David *did not think any one ſuperior to himſelf.* —— *The Multitude liſtened attentively while he thus accoſted the* Phariſees, *nor durſt any of them make any Reply to him, nor after that Day offer any more enſnaring Queſtions.*

DISSERTATION.

Of our Lord's Imprecation of the Fig-tree, and cauſing it to dry up.

I. *No Folly nor Abſurdity in this Act of* Jeſus. *That it was not Fruit out of Seaſon which he expected. Of the ſeveral Sorts of Fig-trees,* &c. II. *Authorities for what is before ſaid, from the* Talmudiſts, Theophraſtus, Pliny, Ludolfus, *the Emperor* Julian, Baumgarten, *and* Tournefort. III. *A Paſſage in St.* Auſtin *conſidered, and proved to be miſrepreſented. St.* Auſtin *cenſured,* &c. IV. *That this Action of* Jeſus *was not unjuſt. Conjectures concerning the Property of this Fig-tree.* V. *That the curſing this Tree was no Act of Paſſion.* VI. *That it was not an unneceſſary Act.* VII. *That the cauſing a dead Tree to revive would not have been a more convincing, nor at this Time ſo proper a Miracle as this.* VIII. *No room to doubt whether this was really a miraculous Fact. The Apoſtles Witneſſes of the whole Proceſs of it.* IX. *The Father's ſtiling this Hiſtory a Parable no Proof that it was not of a real Fact. The Parables of, and Alluſions to, the Fig-tree in the Goſpel, have no Relation to this Story.* X. *The typical Regard of the Miracles in the New Teſtament conſiſted in their being real Facts.* XI. *No Proof that this is not a literal Story from the Apoſtles not removing Mountains as* Jeſus *promiſed. That Phraſe proverbial.* XII. *No Argument of the Abſurdity of the Letter of this Story, that it has been allegorized by modern literal Interpreters.*

I. WE are now to defend the laſt Miracle of *Jeſus*, except that of his own Reſurrection, that has been animadverted on by Mr. *Woolſton*; namely, that of curſing the Fig-tree which diſappointed him in his Expectation of Fruit, and cauſing it to dry up.

[a] Now the firſt, and indeed the chief, Objection that is offer'd by our Author, and that appears again and again in various Shapes throughout his Diſcourſe, is the [b] *ſuppoſed Folly and Abſurdity of this Fact:* But ſurely, before ſuch Language was given to a Fact of *Jeſus* as is very offenſive even upon trivial Subjects, and among the ruder Part of Mankind, he ought to have been very ſecure of the Truth of his Imputation: And that there is no Foundation for any ſuch Charge on this Fact of *Jeſus*, we ſhall now evince.

The Charge itſelf is taken from the Words of St. *Mark*, namely, [c] *For the Time of Figs was not yet*, when *Jeſus* look'd and long'd for them. *Did ever any one*, ſays Mr. *Woolſton*, *hear or read of any thing more unreaſonable, than for a Man to expect Fruit out of Seaſon?* But that this Suppoſition is falſe, and that it was not Fruit out of Seaſon which our Lord expected, appears from St. *Mark*'s own Account, and is confirmed by the Nature of the Thing itſelf. Now St. *Mark* acquaints us, that [d] Jeſus *was hungry, and ſeeing a Fig-tree afar off, having Leaves, he came, if haply he might find any thing thereon: And when he came to it, he found nothing but Leaves; for the Time of Figs was not yet.* Can any Perſon, among the Antients or Moderns, really believe that St. *Mark* ſpeaks here of *that ſort of Fig-tree*, the Time or Seaſon of whoſe bearing Fruit was not yet come? Does not this Evangeliſt give ſufficient Caution againſt any ſuch Miſtake, when he adds thoſe explanatory Words, *For the Time of Figs was not yet?* It is evident that he ſpeaks of a ſort of Fig-tree that then had actually Leaves upon it, and thoſe likewiſe ſo well-grown as to give ſome Inducement to *Jeſus* to hope for ſome Fruit among them. It is clear too, that this was a particular Sort of Fig-tree, as it was diſtinguiſhed by its having Leaves at that Time from the other Fig-trees, which, as we are aſſured, abounded at *Bethphage* and *Bethany*, and round about on the *Mount of Olives.* And it was its having Leaves on it at a Time of the Year when other Sorts of Fig-trees had either none at all, or very ſmall and tender ones, that ſo far raiſed the Expectation of *Jeſus*, as to go to that particular Tree preferably to any others there, *if haply he might find any Fruit* on it. There was then an high Probability, tho' modeſtly expreſſed by the Word *haply*, that this flouriſhing Tree had on it both Fruit and Leaves together, ſince the one was promiſed by the other.

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[z] Lev. xix. 18.

[a] *On theſe two Commandments* hang *all the Law and the Prophets.* This is a Metaphor taken from the Cuſtom mentioned by Tertullian of hanging up their Laws in a public Place, to be ſeen of all Men; and it imports, that in them is compendiouſly contain'd all that the Law and the Prophets require, in reference to our Duty to God and Man.

[b] Matth. xxii. 41—46. Mark xii. 35, 36, 37. Luke xx. 40—44.

[c] Pſal. cx. 1.

[a] Vind. Vol. i. p. 399.

[b] Diſc. iii. p. 4, 6, 7, &c.

[c] Mark xi. 13.

[d] Ver. 12, 13, &c. ibid.

Now, that this happened but a little while, probably four Days, before the Time of the Paſſover, or the Crucifixion of our Lord, appears very clearly from the ſtrict Connexion of the ſubſequent Actions and Diſcourſes of *Jeſus*, as they are recorded in St. *Matthew*'s and St. *Mark*'s Goſpels. And conſequently, the ordinary or Garden Fig-trees had ſcarce any Leaves put forth upon them at that Time; ſince the Paſſover is known to have been in the Month of *Niſan*, that is, at the End of our *March*, or the Beginning of *April*. And, indeed, the[e] *Tenderneſs of the Branch* of the ordinary Fig-tree, and its *putting forth Leaves*, are appealed to by our Lord himſelf, and that too ſoon after his miraculous drying up of the Fig-tree, as natural Signs that *Summer is near*, in the warm Climate of *Judea*. And therefore it was abſolutely impoſſible that either *Jeſus* himſelf, or his Hiſtorian St. *Mark*, who were both converſant in *Judea*, could be ſo ignorant as to imagine or write that ordinary Figs could then be ripe, and therefore could be expected, which were well-known not to be ripe in fact till about five Months afterwards. If this then be the Truth of the Caſe, as without doubt it is, it appears very reaſonable in *Jeſus* to expect Fruit upon that ſort of Fig-tree which bore Leaves at that Time of the Year, when other Fig-trees had no Leaves at all, or at leaſt very tender ones juſt ſhot forth. And conſequently it is a very abſurd Commentary on St. *Mark*'s critical Obſervation, that *the Time of Figs was not yet*, to imagine that the Evangeliſt ſuppoſed *Jeſus* to expect ordinary Figs, which at the ſame Time he acknowledged were not then in being. And it is likewiſe a moſt unjuſt Calumny on *Jeſus*, that charges him with ſuch an Expectation, and therefore with great Ignorance, or what is worſe, when his own Hiſtorian St. *Mark* adds this Expoſition of St. *Matthew*'s more general Account, on purpoſe to prevent any ſuch perverſe Interpretation. And therefore when St. *Mark* ſubjoins this Reaſon, *For the Time of Figs was not yet*, he deſigned that Remark for a Key to the whole Tranſaction, and not as relating only to the immediately preceding Paſſage, *He found nothing but Leaves*, as ſome have unreaſonably imagined. They only therefore are here guilty of an Abſurdity, who pretend that *Jeſus* expected ſuch ſort of Fruit as was not then in Seaſon, or that his Hiſtorian St. *Mark* could be ſo weak as to mean ſo.

II. And that this is not aſſerted precariouſly, but is founded in the Nature of the Thing, appears from unqueſtionable Authorities of the moſt competent Judges, which evince that there were, and no doubt now are, very different ſorts of Fig-trees, the Fruits of which are ripe at different Times of the Year, in *Judea*, and ſome of the Countries round about it. For it is evident from the *Talmudiſts* cited by our learned [f] *Lightfoot*, that the ordinary or Garden Figs were not ripe in *Judea* till about five Months after the Middle of *Niſan*, when moſt probably this Fig-tree withered and dried up. So do the ſame *Jewiſh* Writers, that are cited by that eminent Antiquary, deſcribe very different kinds of Figs, beſides thoſe of the ordinary ſort; and more eſpecially mention one early kind of them, called *Benoth Shuach*, which never wanted Leaves, nor uſually wanted Figs. For, according to their Accounts, it bore Fruit every year, but that Fruit was not fully ripe before the third Year. And of ſuch a ſort as this may the Fig-tree, now in our immediate View, be juſtly ſuppoſed to have been. For it had now Leaves, when the other Fig-trees had ſcarce any ſhot out, and much leſs fully grown, upon them. But on that particular ſort of Fig-tree, as the *Jewiſh* Writers add, every Year one might ſee three different ſorts of Fruit, that is, of the preſent Year, and of the two Years foregoing. And other Sorts of Fig-trees, as they aſſure us, brought forth ripe Fruit in two Years. Accordingly the Fruit of ſome of them hung on, or ripen'd in the Winter. And conſequently, though the Time of the ordinary Figs was not yet, yet other ſorts of Figs might be reaſonably expected by *Jeſus* on one of that kind of Fig-trees which then bore Leaves, which he ſaw afar off, and which juſtly gave him a proſpect of Fruit. And therefore ſince his Expectation was diſappointed, this muſt have been a Tree of one of the fore-mentioned ſorts, which uſually had Fruit upon them at that and other Times of the Year, though the Fruit of the ordinary Fig-trees could not have been expected to be ripe ſo early.

Though theſe *Jewiſh* Authors cannot with any Colour be ſuſpected of ſhewing any Favour to the Cauſe of *Jeſus* on this Occaſion, and tho' their Teſtimonies are ſo much the ſtronger, as coming from inveterate Adverſaries; yet it may not be improper to confirm what has been ſaid by the concurrent Teſtimonies of ſome *Gentile* Writers, who prove, that there are ſome ſorts of Fig-trees that have Leaves always upon them, and likewiſe bear Fruit at all Times of the Year. The Teſtimonies of [g] *Pliny* and [h] *Theophraſtus* very clearly evince, that there are ſome ſort of Fig-trees in *Syria* and *Greece* that had always Leaves upon them, that bore early Fruit, and indeed had Fruit old and young growing at once upon them. Theſe are Teſtimonies ſo well known, that we ſhall only refer to them. However, we cannot but obſerve, that if any Authors have argued from them that the ordinary Figs were ripe at the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, they have miſtaken the Senſe of them. For that the Time of ordinary Figs was not yet or then come, is not only agreeable to the true Reading of St. *Mark*, but to the Nature of Things. And indeed *Pliny* himſelf, who mentions early Figs on ſome Trees, ſpeaks [i] of that early Fruit as in the Time of Harveſt, as diſtinguiſhed from the later or ordinary Figs, which were ripe in the Time of Vintage. For as for thoſe Figs that he ſpeaks of, which were ripe early in the next or another Year, it is evident that he imputes the Preſervation of that Winter-fruit, to Art and not to Nature. And with regard to the Time of *Corn-Harveſt* at *Damaſcus*, we are aſſured by the excellent [k] *Ludolfus*, that it is about the Middle of of *June*; with which the Time of the Paſſover can by no Means agree, with relation to the earlieſt of the ordinary Figs.

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[e] Mark xiii. 28.

[f] Vid. Lightfoot in Hor. Hebr. & Talmud. in Matth. p. 226, 227.

[g] Vid. l. 13. c. 8. & l. 16. c. 26.

[h] Vid. Hiſt. Plant. l. 4. c. 2.

But to illuſtrate this Matter farther, and particularly about the *Syrian* Figs, conſidered as growing in the Neighbourhood of *Judea*, the Teſtimony of the Emperor *Julian* will no doubt be received with Regard by the Partizans of Mr. *Woolſton*. That great Apoſtate himſelf has aſſured us, [l] that *there is a ſort of* Fig-tree *at* Damaſcus *in* Syria, (a favourite City of *Julian*) *the Fruit of which, both old and young, grows together, and laſts beyond the Year: And that the uninterrupted Succeſſion of Fruit on the ſame Tree, which was Part of* Homer's *Deſcription of the poetical Garden of* Alcinous, *was verify'd in the Fig-tree at* Damaſcus. And this he mentions as a Diſtinction of that ſort from the ordinary Fig-trees, which, as he adds, commonly bear their ripe Fruit in *Autumn*.

And ſince Nature is uniform, and produces the ſame Fruits now as in antient Times, we ſhall briefly cite a very credible Traveller or two on this Occaſion. [m] *Baumgarten*, in his Travels into *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, in the Year 1507, acquaints us, that even in *December* he found ripe Fruits and Flowers growing on the ſame Trees near *Jericho*, and in *January* abundance of ripe Fruits at *Beroot* in *Syria*. And the late eminent Naturaliſt *Tournefort*, aſſures us, that ſome [n] ſorts of Figs grow in the *Archipelago* in Winter, Spring, and Summer; but that the Garden-Figs are not ripe there till the End of *Auguſt*, or the Beginning of *September*.

III. But Mr. *Woolſton* thought fit to [o] ſcreen his bold Charge of Folly and Abſurdity on *Jeſus*'s Expectation of Fruit out of Seaſon, and his curſing the Tree upon his Defeat, under the Protection of St. *Auſtin*'s Authority: We ſhall therefore conſider his Citation of that Father on this Subject; namely, that *this Fact, unleſs it be underſtood in a figurative Senſe, is fooliſh.*

On this Occaſion it ought to be firſt obſerved, that *Auſtin* acknowledges that this was a Matter of Fact, and conſequently ſubverts Mr. *Woolſton*'s principal Aſſertion, that this and other Miracles of *Jeſus* were not real Facts. In the next Place, the Context of this Paſſage of *Auſtin* ſhall be examined, in order to learn the Reaſon of his Cenſure of the acknowledged Fact.

Now this Father had immediately before this Paſſage recited hiſtorically two Miracles of our Lord, namely, his Cure of the Woman's *Hæmorrhage*, and his reſtoring Life to the Ruler of the Synagogue's Daughter. He then adds, [p] *This was actually done, as we are told in the Goſpel; but yet alſo, thoſe Things that were done by our Lord were ſignificative of ſomewhat beſides.—Which appears very clearly in the Inſtance of his ſeeking Fruit on a Tree out of Seaſon, and of his drying up the Tree by a Curſe becauſe he did not find Fruit on it.* Then come the Words objected: *This is a Fact, which unleſs it be underſtood in a figurative Senſe, is fooliſh. Firſt in ſeeking Fruit on that Tree, when it was not the Time of Fruit upon any Tree: And again, if it had been the Time of Fruit, what Fault was committed by the Tree in not having Fruit? But becauſe he ſignified that he ſought Fruit as well as Leaves, that is, not mere Words but likewiſe Actions of Men, by drying up the Tree on which he found nothing but Leaves, he intimated the Puniſhment that is reſerved for thoſe that can ſpeak good Things, but refuſe to practiſe them.* And this *Auſtin* [q] elſewhere applies expreſly to the *Jews*, in theſe Words; *The* Jews *then, who had the Letter of the Law, but did not perform the Works preſcribed by it, were full of Leaves, and did not bear Fruit. I mention this in order to convince Men, that our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *did therefore perform Miracles, that he might make his Miracles ſignificative of ſomewhat elſe; and that, beſides their being wonderful, and great, and divine, we might alſo learn ſomething farther from them.*

Now, after *Auſtin*'s repeated Acknowledgment of the literal Senſe of our Lord's Miracles, and that they were *wonderful, and great, and divine* Performances in themſelves, and that in particular this Miracle of *Drying up the Fig-tree* was a *Fact*; that Father might ſafely be gratified with a Conceſſion that ſome other Things were ſignified, or intimated farther by this Miracle. For Inſtance, *Jeſus* hereby gave a freſh Specimen of his own Almighty Power to his Diſciples at a critical Juncture; and he ſhewed the Power of Prayer, when attended with an extraordinary Faith; both which Intentions appear from the Context: And again, he ſhewed by the vindictive Type of drying up the barren Fig-tree, but a little before his own Death, that he would ſignally puniſh the *Jews* for their Hypocriſy, and particularly for that moſt wicked

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[i] Vid. Plin. in uſ. Delph. cum Harduin Not. tom. 3. p. 195, 196. Par. 1685.

[k] Vid. Ludolf. in Commentar. in Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 141.

[l] Vid. Julian. Epiſt. 24. p. 144. &c. Ed. Par.

[m] Baumgarten. Peregrinat. in Palæſtin. Syr. &c. p. 94. 125, 139. Noriberg 1584.

[n] See Tournefort's Voyage to the Levant, p. 258, 259. Lond.

[o] See Diſc. iii. p. 4, 7.

[p] Factum quidem eſt, & ita ut narratur impletum, &c. Vid. Auguſtin. tom. 10. p. 748. Baſil.

[q] Vid. Auguſtin. p. 168. ibid.

Act they were now about to perform in putting himſelf to Death, and therefore that he would deſtroy their City and Polity, as he actually did the barren Fig-tree. And all theſe Views are very conſiſtent with the Truth of the Fact now before us; which may be juſtly allow'd to have been of a typical Nature.

However, it muſt be aſſerted, that *Auſtin* uſed on this Occaſion an Expreſſion that is highly indecent in itſelf, and unworthy of his own Piety; and likewiſe that his Charge of Folly on this Fact is ſupported by weak and precarious Suppoſitions. For when he ſays, in Vindication of ſo raſh a Charge, *that* Jeſus *ſought Fruit on that Fig-tree, when the Time was not yet come that it might be expected on any Fig-tree*; it is evident, from what has been proved before, that *Auſtin* was ſo unfortunate as not to have learned the true natural Hiſtory of Fig-trees, their different Kinds, and the Variety of Seaſons in bearing their reſpective Fruits, when he gave ſo offenſive an Epithet to this Fact of *Jeſus*. And again, when he asks, *What Fault had the Tree committed in not having Fruit, if it had been the Time of Fruit?* ſurely the good Father could not mean that the inſenſible Tree was a moral Agent, and that it was accordingly criminal to deſtroy it for a ſort of voluntary Barrenneſs. Theſe Reaſons therefore, as well as the Charge itſelf, do moſt juſtly deſerve a Place among his numerous Retractations.

To ſpeak freely on this Occaſion; this Father too frequently betrays his Ignorance in the critical Way, however witty, and learned, and pious a Perſon he might otherwiſe be. Notwithſtanding his great Character in other Reſpects, in the Weſtern Church, he muſt be acknowledged to be one of the moſt unſkilful Criticks on the Scriptures of all the Fathers of Name and Diſtinction. And it muſt be confeſſed, that *Auſtin* very often recurs to myſtical Interpretations, not out of Neceſſity, or from the Nature of the Thing; but becauſe he was not Critic enough to explain aright the true literal Senſe of the Text, and therefore diſguiſed his Deficiency by wrapping himſelf up in Allegories and myſtical Senſes of Scripture. However, it muſt be ſaid in his Favour, that, notwithſtanding ſo unguarded a Slip of his Pen, occaſioned probably by too fond a Paſſion for figurative Significations; he confeſſed the Truth of the Fact relating to the Fig-tree, as has been evinced above, and aſſigned a general Key to this and all the other Miracles of *Jeſus* in the literal Senſe, though he allegorized them. And it may be granted on this Father's Bottom, that, if the literal Senſe of Scripture, and the Reality of miraculous Facts, be allowed, there are many figurative Expreſſions and typical Facts in the Hiſtory of our Lord, and that this particular Fact about the Fig-tree is one of that Kind.

IV. Again, it is objected, [r] *that this Act of* Jeſus *was unjuſt, he having no Right to the Tree, nor even to the Fruit, if it had borne any, and that his blaſting of the Tree by a Curſe was injurious to the Proprietor of it.*

We have indeed anticipated an Anſwer to this Objection, by what has been already offered in our Diſcourſe about the Loſs of the two thouſand *Gadarene* Hogs. However, we ſhall only recollect on this Occaſion, that *Jeſus* here acted with the Authority of a Prophet. And in Vindication of the Liberty taken here by *Jeſus*, with regard to an inſenſible Vegetable, let us conſider the incomparably greater Liberty, as to the Perſons of Men and their Goods, that was uſed by the antient *Jewiſh* Prophets, and even by *Moſes* himſelf, in conſequence of that Authority which was delegated to them by God, the ſupreme Proprietor. With regard to thoſe that are true Chriſtians, *Jeſus* is acknowledged by them to be the ſupreme Proprietor, and conſequently to have a Right both to the ſuppoſed Fruit and Tree. And as for others, that are neither *Jews*, nor *Chriſtians*, nor even *Mahometans*; if they are ingenuous Adverſaries, they might receive full Satisfaction, by recollecting that if the ſuppoſed Fruit had any Proprietor, ſuch a Liberty of eating it ſeems to have been indulged, in Parity of Reaſon, by [s] the Law of *Moſes*.

But indeed both the ſuppoſed Fruit and Tree were moſt probably Things of common Right, and were no particular or private Property: For this Fig-tree is ſaid to have been *in* or *by the Way*; that is, was a Tree of common Right, or in a common Field, diſtinct from thoſe in Gardens or Orchards, that had a proper Owner. And this Obſervation is very agreeable to a *Talmudical* Diſtinction, cited by our famous [t] *Lightfoot* on this very Occaſion; to whom, for Brevity ſake, we again refer. The expected Fruit then would have been that of an uncultivated Tree in a mere Hedge-Row, uſually as common, and as plentiful as Apples growing by the Highway in *Kent*, or rather *Herefordſhire*. And what was the Tree itſelf but a barren Fig-tree, worthleſs and contemptible even to a Proverb, that deſerved to be cut down as an Incumbrance of the Ground, and therefore equally to wither away, and be dried up from the Roots? And indeed, how innocent ſoever ſome Perſons may repreſent this Tree, it deſerved its Fate, if it were only in order to prevent the farther Deluſion of other Travellers. But above all, ſince it ſerved ſo great an End as to be a Type of the Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* Nation, on Suppoſition of their Want of Repentance, and their perſiſting in their wicked Deſign to deſtroy *Jeſus* himſelf.

But to aggravate this Charge, Mr. *Woolſton* was not aſhamed to [u] ridicule *the Poverty of* Jeſus, *as having no Fig-trees or Fruit of his own.* It is true, *the Son of Man*, during his public Miniſtry, had not of his own *where to lay his Head*: But he was occaſionally ſupplied by ſeveral of his more able Followers, who are recorded as making Proviſion for him out of their own Subſtance, and as entertaining him from Time to Time at their Houſes. However, ſince, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, [w] *He, who was rich, for our Sakes became poor, that we through his Poverty might be rich*, ſuch a burleſque Character would have better become a real than a perſonated *Jew*.

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[r] Third Diſc. p. 8, 9.

[u] Third Diſc. p. 8.

[s] See Deut. xxiii. 24, 25.

[t] Vid. Hor. Hebr. & Talmud. in Matt. ibid.

V. Again, Mr. *Woolſton* pretends, that [x] *this Blaſting of the Fig-tree by a Curſe was an Act of Paſſion and Revenge on the faultleſs Tree, and therefore was unbecoming of* Jesus.

To this we anſwer briefly, that even on this Author's Suppoſition, *that this was an Action deſigned to be typical of the Deſtruction of the* Jews, this was a ſolemn Sentence, deliberately pronounced, and therefore without any ſuch Perturbation of Mind as we call Paſſion, and much more without any Revenge on the inſenſible Tree; which therefore was as incapable of ſuffering by ſuch a Reſentment, as *Jeſus*, for very good Reaſons, was of exerting it. There was, conſequently, nothing done in this Caſe that miſbecame the Character of *Jeſus*, who acted here as a merciful Judge with regard to the criminal *Jews*, tho' in order to their Repentance he at preſent transferr'd the Puniſhment due to Men, and poſſibly to the very Proprietor of the Tree, if it really had any, on a ſenſeleſs Fig-tree, by way of Type and Repreſentation.

VI. Mr. *Woolſton* farther ſuggeſts, that [y] *it was an unneceſſary Act*.

But ſince the Scripture is ſilent as to *Jeſus*'s Refreſhment at *Bethany*, it muſt be ſuppoſed that he was really hungry, though we know not what Accident occaſioned it at that time in particular; for he had all the innocent Infirmities of human Nature. And though he made it *his Meat and Drink to do the Will of God his Father*, yet his exhauſted Spirits were neceſſarily to be repaired by Food. He could indeed have ſupplied his Want of Food in as miraculous a Manner as he provided for many others; but where human Means could be uſed, he reſerved his Miracles for Matters of a more important Nature than thoſe merely of the Body.

VII. It is intimated too, that [z] *it had been an Act more worthy of* Jesus, *and an indiſputable and manifeſt Miracle, if, inſtead of drying up a flouriſhing Fig-tree, he had cauſed a dry and dead Tree to revive and flouriſh*.

We anſwer, that *Jeſus* had an undoubted Right to chuſe what ſort of Miracles he would perform occaſionally. There are but three Miracles of his recorded (as has been before obſerved) of the vindictive kind: The reſt of them, in a great Variety, were of a moſt beneficent Nature. And even here in the midſt of Judgment he remembered Mercy, both with regard to the little Value of the Type itſelf, and probably to the conditional Sentence on the *Jews*. But on Suppoſition of both the Facts propoſed, why it would have been a clearer and more uncontested Miracle to have wrought one of them than the other, it is not eaſy to aſſign a good Reaſon; ſince *Jeſus*'s Miracles of both kinds were equally ſupernatural Acts, and equally required an Almighty Agent to effect them. Might not *Jews* and Infidels with the ſame Colour pretend, that a Tree which is ſuppoſed to revive and flouriſh was never really dead, but retained a latent Principle of Life, which afterwards on ſome incidental Occaſion exerted itſelf effectually? Or might not a boundleſs Scepticiſm ſuggeſt, that a living Tree was artfully ſubſtituted in the room of the dead one? In ſhort, if *Jeſus*'s other Miracles of a beneficent Nature, ſuch as his curing with a Word the moſt deſperate Diſeaſes, and his making the Feeble and Impotent forthwith to be ſtrong, and his Revival even of the *Dead* themſelves, could not then, and cannot now, overcome the unreaſonable Prejudices, and ſoften the Obſtinacy of Infidels, the miraculous flouriſhing of a dead Tree would no more have been conſidered as a ſupernatural Act, than the cauſing of a flouriſhing Tree immediately to wither and die with one omnipotent Word.

And for the Truth of this we appeal to the miraculous Facts of *Moſes* and other *Jewiſh* Prophets, whoſe beneficent Acts had no better Effect on the rebellious *Jews*, who were ſupported in the Wilderneſs by a vaſt Variety of them, than thoſe of a vindictive Nature. And to uſe ſome Reſemblance of this very Subject, it deſerves this Author's Conſideration, whether the [a] miraculous Bloſſoms and Fruit of *Aaron*'s Rod did any more prevent the Murmurings and Diſobedience of the *Iſraelites*, than the miraculous Hail and Fire, which ſmote the Vines and Fig-trees of the *Egyptians*, cured their King and People of their Hardneſs of Heart. And to theſe Authorities Mr. *Woolſton*, as a perſonated *Jew*, could not, and conſequently his Diſciples, cannot, refuſe with Decency to ſubmit.

As for his [b] Citation of *Auſtin* on this Occaſion, that Father only ſays, that [c] *if there was nothing figurative and prophetical in this Miracle of the Fig-tree, our Lord's giving Life and Verdure to a dry Tree would have been more agreeable to that merciful Diſpoſition, which he exerted in ſuch Acts as Healing the Sick*. Here, beſides the Confeſſion of this and other miraculous Facts of *Jeſus*, *Auſtin* only ſpeaks on a Suppoſition that is not denied, namely, that there was ſomewhat figurative and prophetical in this Fact, of the enſuing Deſtruction of the *Jews*, who were reſembled both by the Barrenneſs and Fate of this Tree. But this Father ought to have recollected, that this was the proper Time for *Jeſus* to ſhew his Power in puniſhing the *Jews*, and therefore this Act of Severity was at that Seaſon more agreeable than an Act of Mercy. However, this Citation of *Auſtin* was of no Manner of Service to our Author, both as the Fact is acknowledged by this Father, and as his figurative Suppoſition is granted by our Author's Adverſaries.

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[w] 2 Cor. viii. 9.
[x] Diſc. 3. p. 5, 6.
[y] Ibid. p. 6.
[z] Ibid. p. 10, &c.
[a] Numb. xvii. 8, 10. compared with Numb. c. xx. and xxi. Pſ. cv. 33. Exod. ix. 30, 35.
[b] Diſc. 3. p. 10.
[c] Vid. Aug. in Serm. 89.

VIII. But it is farther pretended, that [d] *it may be doubted by* Jews *and* Infidels, *whether this was really a miraculous Act, ſince there was a Poſſibility of Fraud in it, and in particular the Carpenter's Ax might ſecretly have been laid to the Root of this Tree, and have cauſed it to wither.* Our Author indeed ſays, after ſo malicious an Inſinuation, made for the Service of *Jews* and Infidels, that *he himſelf does not think there was any ſuch Fraud*; for which he gives a very particular Reaſon, namely, *becauſe he does not believe it was at all done according to the Letter.* For otherwiſe no doubt he would have been very ready to concur with the Suſpicions that are here ſupplied to his good Friends, the *Jews* and Infidels.

But as he himſelf ſhould have been careful to ſpeak with more Decency of the Carpenter's Ax, the playing with which is proverbially known to be dangerous, ſo his *Jews* and Infidels, if they pretend to any rational Suſpicions, ought to recollect on this Occaſion, that *Jeſus*'s twelve Diſciples attended him to and at *Bethany*, and back again from thence, and were preſent at the Imprecation of the Fig-tree, and the ſubſequent Withering-away of it. St. *Mark* informs us, *that* [e] *when the Even-tide was come,* Jeſus *went out unto* Bethany *with the Twelve: And on the Morrow, when they were come from* Bethany, *he was hungry.* The Curſe was given too in their Hearing: It is ſaid expreſly, [f] *And his Diſciples heard it*; that is, the ſame twelve Perſons. It is plain too [g] that they came to *Jeruſalem* with him; as likewiſe it is, that they returned the next Evening with him to *Bethany*, and that the next Morning, as they paſſed by in their Return to *Jeruſalem*, they ſaw the Fig-tree dried up from the Roots. Upon this we are told that *Peter*, and, as St. *Matthew* adds, the other Diſciples that ſtill attended *Jeſus*, took notice of that wonderful Event unto him, and ſaid, [i] *How ſoon is the Fig-tree which thou curſedſt, wither'd away?* That is, the Fig-tree, which upon the Imprecation the Day before preſently began to wither, as [k] *Matthew* acquaints us, was now actually withered away; or, as *Mark* very emphatically expreſſes it, was [l] dried up from the Roots: Which ſurely implies ſomewhat more than the mere *Withering of the Leaves*, as it is vainly [m] ſuggeſted, and that too as the Conſequence of an imaginary Stroke of the Carpenter's Ax at the Root of it. But as no ſuch Stroke could be given without the Knowledge of *Jeſus*'s twelve Diſciples, ſo the ſuppoſed Effect of ſuch a Stroke, the Withering of the Leaves, cannot, with any Propriety, be ſtiled the ſame as the Withering away of the whole Tree, and much leſs the Drying up of the Tree from the Roots. And ſuch a Drying up from the Roots muſt be allowed, by all unprejudiced Readers, to be a juſt Medium between [n] the mere Withering of the Leaves, and the Tree's being ſo periſhed as to be reduced to nothing: Suppoſitions theſe, that are equally precarious, and of making which no unprejudic'd, attentive Reader of the Goſpels, is capable.

From this whole Deduction it is very evident, that the twelve Diſciples did perſonally accompany *Jeſus* from the very Beginning to the very End of this miraculous Tranſaction. And conſequently, it muſt be granted that here are twelve Eye-witneſſes of the whole Miracle. And again, it cannot poſſibly be pretended, that their Credibility in this Caſe is not on the ſame Foot as it is with regard to all the other Facts that relate to *Jeſus*. And that they were moſt credible Witneſſes of the Facts of *Jeſus*, appears in a clear and ſtrong Light from all aſſignable Reaſons of Credibility in any Caſe whatſoever. But theſe are Topics, for enlarging on which this is not a proper Place. It is ſufficient to the Exigency of the preſent Miracle, that it has been now proved to be a Fact as firmly ſupported as any other Facts recorded in the Goſpel.

IX. Again, it is pretended by Mr. *Woolſton*, that [o] *this Miracle was not literally performed by* Jeſus, *becauſe it is ſtiled by ſome of the Fathers a Parable.* Thoſe Fathers are *Ambroſe* and *John* of *Jeruſalem*; whoſe Authorities ſhall be now examined.

The former of them ſpeaks thus: [p] *What does our Lord mean by frequently uſing the Parable of the Fig-tree in his Goſpel? For you find in one Place, that at our Lord's Command all the Verdure of this flouriſhing Tree was dried up. And elſewhere, he puts his Auditors in Mind, that from the Tenderneſs of the Branch and ſhooting Leaves of this Tree the Approach of Summer is uſually foretold.* But by *Ambroſe*'s ſtyling this miraculous Fact a Parable, no more can reaſonably be underſtood, than that it had ſomewhat myſtical and enigmatical in it, as it was typical of the Deſtruction of the unfruitful and impenitent *Jews*. As therefore it was myſtical in this Reſpect, though it was a Fact, it partook in ſome meaſure of the Nature of a Parable, which always includes in it ſome obſcure Similitude, and ſome Reſemblance of a myſtical Nature. So the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks of Facts as *Parables*, [q] *I will open my Mouth in a Parable*; *I will utter dark Sayings of old:* And what they were he explains afterwards, when he ſpeaks of thoſe dark and parabolical Sayings as ſo many Facts; which, as he adds, *we have heard and known, and our Fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their Children, ſhewing to the Generation to come the Praiſes of the Lord, and his Strength, and his wonderful Works that he hath done.* After which the Pſalmiſt ſpecifies ſome of the moſt remarkable Facts that occur in the *Jewiſh* Hiſtory; ſuch as their Deliverance out of *Egypt*, their Preſervation in the Wilderneſs, and their Conqueſt of *Canaan*; which, tho' miraculous Facts, were

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[d] Diſ. 3. p. 15.
[e] Mark xi. 11, 12.
[f] Ver. 14.
[g] Ver. 15, 19, 20. compared together.
[h] Matt. xxi. 20.
[i] Matt. and Mark ibid.
[k] Matt. xxi. 19, 20.
[l] Mark xi. 20.
[m] Diſc. 3. p. 14, 15.
[n] Diſc. 3. ibid.
[o] Ibid. p. 15.
[p] Vid. Ambroſ. in 13. c. Luc. 4. tom. p. 114. Baſil.
[q] Pſ. lxxviii. 2, 3, 4.

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were the Parable he promiſed to open his Mouth in. It is evident then, that Facts continue to be Facts, though they may be ſpoken of in a parabolical Manner, or as [r] *hard Sentences* and *dark Sayings of the Wiſe*, that is, as they involve in them ſomewhat myſterious and enigmatical.

The very ſame Diſtinction holds true of the latter Citation, from the ſpurious *John* of *Jeruſalem*, who ſpeaks thus on the Place in St. *Mark*; [ſ] *That Fig-tree is the Synagogue of the* Jews, *which has only the Words, and not the Senſe of the Scriptures. Let us ſee what is wrote elſewhere of that Fig-tree: We read in the Goſpel according to St.* Luke, [t] *A certain Man had a Fig-tree.* Now the Inference pretended to be drawn from hence is, that when this Father uſed the Phraſe, *that Tree*, it muſt be ſo underſtood, *as if the three Evangeliſts wrote of one and the ſame Fig-tree, and that therefore what St.* Matthew *and St.* Mark *wrote of it was no more a literal Tranſaction than the Parable in St.* Luke. But this fine Fallacy is eaſily detected by recollecting, that there is no manner of Neceſſity to ſuppoſe that the Fig-tree was ſpoken of by all of them as numerically the very ſame Tree; but that it might well be ſtiled that Tree, conſidered both as a Fig-tree, and a barren Fig-tree, which each of them really was.

There are, it is true, ſeveral Parables in the Goſpels that are taken from the Fig-tree: That particular ſort of Tree was adapted to a parabolical Uſe, as it was a very common Fruit-tree in *Judea*, and more eſpecially abounded in Mount *Olivet*, and round about *Jeruſalem*. And it is well known that our Lord, who uſually inſtructed his Auditors in an occaſional Manner, and frequently inſerted Parables in his popular Diſcourſes, took many of his Similitudes and Illuſtrations from thoſe Things that moſt obviouſly occurred where thoſe Diſcourſes were made, or were familiarly known to his Hearers. Such, for Inſtance, were the Fowls of the Air, the Lillies of the Field, a City on an Hill, and the like, then probably in his and their immediate View. And for the ſame Reaſon was the Fig-tree ſo often accommodated to this Way of Inſtruction. But ſo uſual an Accommodation is not at all inconſiſtent with the preſent Narrative of a Fact relating to the Fig-tree itſelf, tho' no doubt with a typical View.

But indeed the Thing itſelf ſpeaks aloud, that it is impoſſible that the Fig-tree here imprecated, and accordingly dried up from the Roots, ſhould be the very ſame numerical Tree with that in the Parable of the Fig-tree recorded by [u] St. *Luke*. For their Circumſtances are not only entirely different, but are abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Suppoſition of their being one and the ſame Tree. The Fig-tree that in Fact withered away, was ſituated in, or rather by, the High-way: But the Fig-tree mentioned in the Parable, was planted in a Vineyard. And accordingly, as it has been before explained, one of them was of the uncultivated, and the other of the cultivated or domeſtic kind. The Sentence againſt the former was decretory, and immediately executed, as it preſently began to wither away: But the Sentence againſt the latter was quite another Thing, ſince it was expreſly ordered that it ſhould be cut down, and not ſuffered to wither away; and even the Execution of that Sentence was reſpited till another Year, and was a conditional Event, that depended on the new Cultivation of it that was farther indulged. It is therefore moſt evident, that theſe Fig-trees could not be one and the ſame, as they neither agreed in the Place where they grew, nor in the reſpective Sentences of their Exciſion.

X. Mr. *Woolſton* farther pretends, that [w] *it is no Argument for a literal Tranſaction of this Miracle, that the Evangeliſts ſpeak of it as a Thing done.* To which he adds, that *it is of the Nature of Prophecy to ſpeak of Things to come as if they were already paſt.*

But to this we anſwer, That theſe miraculous Facts, as they are Facts, muſt have been tranſacted, and therefore in that reſpect cannot poſſibly be future Things; tho' it be granted that ſome of theſe Facts, as they are typical, and therefore in ſome Senſe prophetical, bear ſome regard to Futurity. But even that Regard is founded in their having been really tranſacted as Facts; ſince, if Miracles were merely imaginary Things, there could be no Ground for their having any typical Regard to Futurity. In ſhort, if miraculous Facts have no real Exiſtence, they cannot be Types. And conſequently, they cannot ceaſe to be Facts, though they may bear a typical Relation to ſome Futurity. And in the preſent Caſe of the Fig-tree, whether or no *Jeſus* propheſied in all his Actions, it is very ſafely allowed that *Jeſus* propheſied by a ſignificant Action; ſince what actually happened to the Fig-tree in conſequence of his Imprecation, foretold in a ſymbolical Manner the final Exciſion of the *Jewiſh* State. But, however prophetical this may have been, it is not of the leaſt Uſe or Advantage to the Purpoſe of Mr. *Woolſton*, or any of his Adherents, whilſt it is acknowledged to be a real and literal Fact.

XI. Once more; this Author aſſerts, that he has [x] *an abſolute Demonſtration that there is no Truth in the Letter of this Story from the Words of* Jeſus *on this Occaſion, that if his Diſciples had Faith, they ſhould not only do what was done to the Fig-tree, but ſhould* [y] *remove Mountains. But theſe Things were never literally done by them, and conſequently* Jeſus *himſelf did not literally curſe the Fig-tree. Or elſe, either the Diſciples wanted Faith, which is abſurd to ſuppoſe*; or Jeſus *never gave them ſuch a Power as he had promiſed.* And again, *If we adhere to the Letter in one Senſe, we muſt in the other alſo.*

In anſwer to this Objection we would aſk, How does any one know whether ſome of *Jeſus*'s Diſciples did not perform one or both of theſe miraculous Inſtances in the literal Senſe? Or how ſhall we be aſſured, that all the miraculous Facts that were performed by them are recorded in Scripture, or the Hiſtory of the Church? It is certain, that, though *Auſtin* ſays [z] *we read of no ſuch Miracles done by the Apoſtles, Chryſoſtome* replies, [a] *that it is poſſible they might be performed, and not be wrote: For all the Miracles that the Apoſtles performed were not delivered to the World in Writing.* And *Jerome* acquaints us, [b] *that he believed that thoſe very Miracles were wrought by the Apoſtles, but for this Reaſon were not wrote, any more than many of* Jeſus's *own Miracles, that Infidels, who are incapable of receiving, or bearing, the* [c] *Greatneſs of them, might not have a greater Occaſion given for their Incredulity and Oppoſition to them.* We are likewiſe told by the ſame learned Father, St. *Jerome*, [d] that *Hilarion* did in effect *remove Mountains.* And *Chryſoſtome*, a very rational *Father*, and conſequently not over credulous, acquaints us, [e] *that ſome holy Perſons far inferior to the Apoſtles, are reported even to have removed Mountains in Caſe of Neceſſity. Nyſſen* too aſſures us, in his Life of *Gregory* of *Neocæſarea*, ſurnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or *the Miracle-Worker*, who flouriſhed about two hundred Years after *Chriſt*, that [f] at his Command a vaſt Stone, or Rock, was removed out of its Place. And even ſo low as to the middle Ages, we are informed by [g] *Paulus Venetus* of ſuch a Removal of a Mountain in *Perſia* at the Command of a Chriſtian, and in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, (at a very critical Juncture both with regard to the Chriſtian Faith and the Lives of the Profeſſors of it there,) as converted great Numbers of *Mahometans* to Chriſtianity.

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[r] Prov. i. 6.

[ſ] Vid. in loc. Marci. Homil. 12.

[t] Luke xiii. 6.

[u] Luke xiii.

[w] Diſc. 3. p. 16, 17.

[x] Ibid. p. 17.

[y] Matt. xix. 21.

We are not, however, by any Means ſolicitous about a Determination of the Queſtion ſtarted, Whether the Apoſtles, or any ſince them, did perform ſpecifically the two Miracles here diſcourſed of; ſince we do not take it to be neceſſary to the true Solution of Mr. *Woolſton*'s Objection. For as it cannot be pretended that we have a complete and perfect Hiſtory of all the miraculous Performances of the Apoſtles, ſo the Silence of ancient Hiſtory with regard to theſe particular Facts cannot poſſibly be a Proof of any Weight that theſe Miracles were never performed by the Apoſtles. But whether they were actually performed or not by the Apoſtles, is it not moſt evident that they did perform miraculous Acts that are equally ſupernatural, and that require at leaſt as high a Degree of divine Power to effect them? And is not the Reſtoration of Life to a Perſon really dead an Act of a ſuperior Kind, and, if poſſible, more ſupernatural than that of removing Mountains, which is often the Effect of an Earthquake and other natural Cauſes? And as there is no authentic Account extant of the Performance of theſe particular Miracles by the Apoſtles, ſo it is highly probable that no proper Occaſion was given for the ſpecifical Performance of them. For it is certain that they performed much greater Miracles, and therefore had Power to work theſe very Miracles, if the Exigency of any Caſe that occurred had required the Performance of them.

But, after all, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that no more was meant by our Lord in the forementioned Promiſe to his Diſciples, on the condition of a miraculous Faith, than that they ſhould be enabled to perform miraculous Acts, as great in their Kind as what he himſelf did with regard to the Fig-tree, or even as the removing of Mountains. And indeed the Removal of Mountains ſeems to have been uſed by the *Jews* as a proverbial Phraſe, that imports the overcoming the greateſt Difficulties poſſible. And accordingly our Lord is the beſt Interpreter of himſelf, and ſhews he did not here ſtrictly mean a literal Removal of Mountains, ſince he [h] elſewhere varies the Expreſſion upon this very Subject of Faith, and on Suppoſition of that Qualification ſays the very ſame Thing of *plucking up a Sycamine-tree by the Root, and planting it in the Sea.* And conſequently they are both of them to be underſtood proverbially, and not in the moſt ſtrict and rigid Senſe of the Letter.

This Phraſe of *Removing Mountains* ſeems likewiſe to have been uſed by the great Apoſtle St. *Paul* in the proverbial Senſe, when he ſays on the very ſame Subject, [i] *Though I have all Faith, ſo that I could remove Mountains.* It is remarkable that this Expreſſion is placed here by St. *Paul* [k] among ſeveral other proverbial Phraſes, and high oriental Hyperboles. And that it is here uſed as a mere proverbial Suppoſition, cannot well be doubted of by any one that recollects that St. *Paul* himſelf had all Faith, and wanted no miraculous Degree of it; and conſequently he could remove Mountains, if he had thought fit to exert that Power; and therefore this Phraſe had been ſuperfluous and improper, if it had not been uſed by him as a mere proverbial Suppoſition. Again, it is evident from Dr. *Lightfoot* on the Place, to whom we chuſe to refer, [l] that this Expreſſion was commonly uſed among the *Jews* in the proverbial Senſe, both of Things and Perſons. And Mr. *Woolſton* himſelf tells us, with regard to this very *Fig-tree*, that [m] *the Fathers, and he in Concurrence with them, interpret the removing of Mountains in a figurative Senſe, as the removing of Mountains of Antichriſtian Power that exalt themſelves againſt* Chriſt.

There is therefore no juſt Conſequence in his Manner of reaſoning on this Subject. Says he, *If the Apoſtles did not literally dry up a Fig-tree from the Roots, and remove Mountains, which our Lord promiſed them Power to do, upon Suppoſition they were qualified for thoſe miraculous Acts by Faith; therefore* Jeſus *himſelf did not literally dry up a Fig-tree by his own powerful Command.* But this is ſo far from being an abſolute Demonſtration, that it is an abſolute Fallacy. For it muſt unavoidably be granted from all the other confeſſedly miraculous Facts of the Apoſtles, which were equal at leaſt, if not ſuperior, to theſe Inſtances, that they had Faith; and likewiſe, that *Jeſus* performed his Promiſe to communicate a Power to them capable of doing theſe very Acts, whenever they thought it proper and convenient to exert it. It is not improbable that they actually exerted that Power in theſe very Inſtances, though it is not recorded that they did ſo. But whether they did ſo or not, is not material in the preſent Argument. For as their Non-performance of what they were capable of performing cannot take away their confeſſed Capacity, ſo neither could it ſo affect this Act of *Jeſus*, as to undo what he is antecedently ſaid to have done. But this Pretence is too trifling to deſerve to be farther expoſed, except by obſerving that Allegories and Logic have generally but little Agreement; the one being the mere Reſult of the Imagination, and the other the deliberate Work of the Underſtanding.

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[z] Auguſt. in Serm. 89.
[a] Chryſoſt. in Matt. xvii. 20.
[b] Hieron. in Matt. xxi.
[c] Viz. In the metaphorical Senſe of the Word χωρῆσαι, John xxi. 25.
[d] Hieron. in Vit. Hilar. p. 251. tom. i. Baſ.
[e] Vide Antea.
[f] Greg. Nyſſ. in vitâ Greg. Thaum. p. 265. Mogunt. ed. per Ger. Voſ. 4to.
[g] M. Paul. Venet. de reg. oriental. p. 16. Colon. 1671.
[h] Luke xvii. 6.
[i] 1 Cor. xiii. 2.
[k] Ver. 1, 3, &c.
[l] Lightfoot in Hor. Heb. & Talmud. in Matt.
[m] See Diſc. p. 30, 31.

XII. Laſtly, it is pretended by Mr. *Woolſton*, that [n] *the Reaſon why the modern literal Commentators acknowledge this Drying up the Fig-tree to have been a typical Act, and agree in allegorizing it, is, becauſe of the Abſurdities of the Letter, which they cannot account for.*

But the true Reaſon, moſt aſſuredly, that influenced thoſe Commentators, no leſs than the Fathers, was the lively Repreſentation in the Goſpel of the Fate of the hypocritical *Jews*, by that of the barren though flouriſhing Fig-tree. The one was ſo clearly delineated and foretold in the other, at a Time when Deſigns were formed by the governing Part of the *Jews* to deſtroy *Jeſus*, which were very ſoon after accompliſhed, that though he himſelf did not make any Application of that Fact to the Circumſtances of the *Jews*, as he did of ſome of the Parables; yet it was ſo obvious and eaſy to do ſo, that no Wonder his Diſciples then, and his Church ever ſince, have moſt juſtly conſidered it not only as a miraculous Fact, but likewiſe as a typically vindictive Act of *Jeſus*.

Mr. *Woolſton*, likewiſe, was under a great Miſtake when he roundly aſſerted, that the literal Commentators have allegorized this Miracle only. For whoever, that is not quite blinded with Prejudices, will conſult, for Inſtance, *Eraſmus* and *Grotius*, muſt be convinced that they at the ſame Time acknowledge and explain the literal Senſe and the typical Uſe of this and many other Miracles of *Jeſus*. Particular Inſtances of ſuch an Acknowledgment of the Conſiſtency of the literal and myſtical Senſe are ſo very numerous, that it would be an endleſs Taſk to tranſcribe them. But ſince *Whitby* is ſpecified here by Mr. *Woolſton* as a literal Commentator, even he, literal as he is in the Expoſition of this and the other Miracles of *Jeſus*, ſhews not only how typical the preſent Miracle is, but, after a literal Explication of ſeveral others, he ſhews in what Manner they are likewiſe typical. And that this general Aſſertion may not be thought precarious, we ſhall aſſign a few particular Inſtances to evince the Truth of it. This Commentator ſays, that [o] there are two Things inſinuated by *Jeſus* in his Act of purifying the Temple: That in [p] the Miracle of the Pool of *Betheſda*, the Waters of *Siloam* were a Type of the Meſſiah; and that the Virtue of that Pool was a Prefiguration of that of the Blood of *Chriſt*: And again, that in [q] the miraculous Cure of the Man born blind, the Gentiles, that ſat in Darkneſs, were eſpecially reſpected.

But not to be farther tedious; ſince it has been ſhewn that the Letter of the preſent Miracle, and likewiſe that of others, will abide the Teſt of the ſevereſt Examination without an Allegory, and ſince too the literal Commentators have in fact aſſigned the allegorical Senſe of this and ſome others of them; it is demonſtrable, not only that the pretended Inconſiſtency of the literal and myſtical Senſes of them is a fictitious Thing, but that they have not allegorized the preſent Miracle out of Neceſſity, nor that alone; and that if they have not allegorized all the Miracles of *Jeſus*, as they have ſeveral of them, the Reaſon is, becauſe they thought the myſtical Senſe of others of them to be improper and frivolous.

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[n] Diſc. p. 19, 20.

[o] John i. 15, 16.

[p] John v. 4.

[q] John ix. 39.

CHAP. IV.

I. *Jeſus* adviſes his Diſciples to obſerve the Doctrine, but not to imitate the Manners, of the Lawyers and *Phariſees*. He cautions them peculiarly againſt Ambition. II, III, IV. He inveighs vehemently againſt the *Phariſees* and Lawyers, accuſing them of Hypocriſy, Pride, Fraud, Perfidy, Partiality, Cruelty, *&c.* Laments the Condition of the *Jews*, and pronounces the Deſtruction of their City. V. He commends the Liberality of a poor Widow. VI. He predicts the Ruin of the Temple, and tells the Signs of the Times when it ſhall happen. VII. He declares the Sufferings of his Apoſtles, and adviſes them not to fear. VIII. That Perſecution ſhall drive many from the Truth, but that Providence will take care of the Conſtant. IX. That theſe ſhall be Signs of the Ruin of *Jeruſalem*. A Deſcription of the Miſery of the *Jews*. X. He cautions them againſt falſe Meſſiahs. XI. The miſerable State of the *Jews* farther deſcribed. XII. A Simile of the Fig-tree. XIII. He declares the Truth of theſe Predictions, and adviſes to Watchfulneſs. XIV. The Suddenneſs of his Judgments, and the Deſtruction that ſhall accompany them. XV. Watchfulneſs and Diligence recommended in a Similitude. XVI. The Parable of the Ten Virgins. XVII. The Parable of the Talents. XVIII. A Deſcription of the laſt Judgment, and Characters of thoſe Virtues and Vices which will then be ſingularly rewarded or puniſhed.

I. [a] JESUS *having, as we have related, avoided the Snares laid for him by the Chief among the* Jews, *began to admoniſh his Diſciples, and the reſt of his Hearers, not to be corrupted by their evil Example.* The Lawyers and *Phariſees, ſaid he*, are appointed to inſtruct you in the Law of *Moſes:* Take diligent heed therefore to what they recommend for your Obſervation; but be very careful not to imitate their Morals, which are by no Means conformable to their Doctrine. Beware of the evil Example of the Lawyers, who, that they may ſeem to interpret the Law with great Exactneſs, impoſe many difficult Ceremonies upon others, to which they themſelves refuſe to ſubmit, and ſeverely enjoin the Obſervation of what they will by no means comply with themſelves; whereas Men of Integrity are wont, in the firſt Place, carefully to practiſe what they recommend to others. Whatever they do is merely out of Oſtentation, and for this Reaſon they wear larger [b] Phylacteries than ordinary, and have the ſcarlet Edgings of their Garments broader, and their Robes longer. Thus they think to render themſelves conſpicuous, and to be diſtinguiſhed from the Vulgar. But they betray the true Grounds of their Singularity, by eagerly contending for the uppermoſt Places at Entertainments, and the chief Seats in the Synagogue; by being delighted with the Salutations of the People in the Streets, and the honourable Appellation of *Rabbi*, or Maſter; which are ſo far from being Marks of a religious Diſpoſition, that they are certain Tokens of a proud and haughty Temper. As for you, who are all Equals and Fellow-Diſciples, do not you affect the Title of *Maſter*, which is peculiarly due to the *Meſſiah*, the common Maſter of you all; nor let any one arrogantly impoſe his own private Opinion upon others. Call not any one your Father, thereby ſignifying your Readineſs to obey him in all Things, ſince there is one only whoſe Commands you are neceſſarily obliged to obey, namely your Father who is in Heaven. Let no one among you aſſume the Character of Guide over the reſt, as if they were blindly to follow him in every thing: There is one infallible Guide, namely the *Meſſiah*, whom you may at all Times ſecurely follow, without any Danger of wandring. The true Way to Greatneſs is to be eminently uſeful, by performing all the good Offices you are able; whereas on the contrary, the proud and domineering Perſon ſhall be abaſed. 'Tis by Humility that you may moſt reaſonably expect to riſe.

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[c] Matth. xxiii. 13——22. Mark. xii. 40. Luke xx. 47.

[d] Theſe People pretending to a more exact Knowledge of the Law than others, the Women were very much ſubject to them, as believing them to be dear to God. They had ſuch an Aſcendant over Alexandra Queen of the Jews, that they placed, diſplaced, bound, looſed, advanced, or cut off, whom they pleaſed, and diſpoſed of every Thing according to their Will. It is probable, that being in great Vogue, for their long Prayers, they ſold them, as the Romiſh Prieſts do Maſſes, to the Devout; moſt of whom we may ſuppoſe were Women, and above all Widows, who being more Miſtreſſes of their Fortunes than other Women, could be more conveniently cheated by theſe Hypocrites.

Sea and Land that you make a Convert to the *Jewiſh* Religion, who by giving himſelf up to your Direction is made [e] worſe than yourſelves, and worthy of more ſevere Puniſhments than his very Teachers. Woe unto you, O blind Guides of the Blind, who abſurdly ſay that [f] no one is obliged to perform his Oath, if he ſwears only by the Temple, but that he is under an indiſpenſible Obligation, if he ſwears by the Gold of the Temple. O Fools and Blind! perceive ye not that the Temple is more ſacred than the Gold, which is only ſo becauſe conſecrated in the Temple? In like manner, you tell Men they incur no Danger if they perjure themſelves, when they ſwear only by the Altar, and not by the Offerings upon it. Fools and Blind! is not the Altar more ſacred than the Gifts upon it, that are conſecrated by it? But beſides, whoever ſwears by the Altar, ſwears not by that only, but by all that is upon it, and conſequently by God alſo, to whom they are conſecrated: So alſo he that ſwears by the Temple, does at the ſame Time adjure the Majeſty of who dwells in it. Likewiſe he that ſwears by Heaven, ſwears by the Throne of God, and him that ſits thereon. So that whoever forſwears himſelf any of theſe Ways, muſt be judged to offend againſt the Majeſty of God.

III. [g] Great Puniſhments remain for you, O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites! who pay Tythes of Herbs, as Mint, Aniſe, and Cummin, with the utmoſt Nicety, but [h] neglect the moſt weighty Duties of the Law, ſuch as Juſtice, Mercy, and Faith. Theſe Precepts it behoves you firſt diligently to obſerve, and then thoſe other alſo. O blind Leaders of the Blind, who, as the Proverb ſays, [i] *Strain at a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel!* that is, who exactly obſerve Punctilio's, and ſecurely paſs by the greateſt Offices of human Society. Ye ſhall not eſcape unpuniſh'd, O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites! who, as they ſay, *make clean the Outſide of the Cup and Platter*, that is, make a mighty Shew of Religion and Probity, but have Minds polluted with Intemperance and Avarice. O ye blind *Phariſees!* as Men firſt cleanſe the Inſide of their Cups, ſo do you firſt purge your Minds from vicious Habits, and then put on the external Form of Virtue. O ye Hypocrites! great ſhall be your Puniſhment, who are ſo like Sepulchres, [k] whiten'd and adorn'd on the Outſide, but containing within nothing but dead Mens Bones and Rottenneſs. Thus are your Minds defil'd with vicious Habits, tho' you appear to Men holy and religious. God ſhall puniſh you, O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites! for that, as if delighted with the Memorial of the Crimes committed by your Anceſtors, you repair the Monuments of the Prophets and innocent Perſons who were murder'd by them; tho' you ſay, if you had lived in their Days, in which this Cruelty was acted, you would by no means have conſented to it. By theſe Words and Actions you manifeſt yourſelves the Poſterity of thoſe wicked Wretches, by whoſe Command thoſe moſt holy Perſons were put to Death. The Time draws near in which you will fill up the Meaſure of your Anceſtors, and to their Barbarities add freſh Tragedies of your own.

IV. [l] O ye wicked Generation of Men, who may be moſt juſtly likened to Vipers and venomous Serpents! how can you expect to eſcape that eternal Puniſhment which God has denounced againſt you by the Miniſtry of *John the Baptiſt*, ſince you take not the leaſt Care to appeaſe his Vengeance by a timely Reformation of your Manners? For this very End ſhall I ſend Prophets, and Men skill'd in the Interpretation of the Law, unto you: But ſuch is your Temper, that [m] ſome of them you will crucify, and ſcourge others in your Aſſemblies; and thoſe that endeavour to eſcape your Fury, ſhall be purſued by you from City to City with the utmoſt Rage and Violence. You ſhall therefore ſuffer ſuch Puniſhments as are due to thoſe, who will be ſo far from making any uſe of the repeated Admonitions of God's Meſſengers and Prophets, and the many Examples of his Severity againſt Offenders, that they ſhall plainly declare their Approbation of all the Crimes committed by their Anceſtors, by perpetrating others more horrid of their own; and who, by one unheard-of Barbarity, ſhall exceed the Guilt they have contracted by their many Murders, from the Slaughter of *Abel* the Son of *Adam*, to that of [n] *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar. Miſtake not as if theſe Puniſhments were to be deferr'd many Years, for God will moſt aſſuredly inflict them on this Generation. O ye Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem!* that are wont to kill the Prophets, and ſtone thoſe that are ſent unto you; how often would I have gathered you together to my Diſcipline, as a Hen gathers her Chickens under her Wings, and you would not hear? But now your Country ſhall be entirely laid waſte. And this I foretel you, that after I ſhall be taken up from Earth, you ſhall no more ſee me till the Time wherein you [o] would willingly cry out, if that could avail towards the averting of God's impending Vengeance, *May the Coming of him that is ſent by God be propitious to us!*

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[e] It was the Complaint of the Jewiſh Nation, that their Proſelytes were the *Scabs of their Church*, and hinder'd the coming of the Meſſiah, as being ignorant of the Law, and bringing in Revenge. Juſtin Martyr ſpeaks of them as more inveterate Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion than the Native Jews themſelves, endeavouring to cut off its Profeſſors every where; being in this the Inſtruments of the Phariſees Dial. cum Tryph. p. 350 D.

[f] See what we have ſaid of Swearing, p. 399. of this Work.

[g] Matth xxiii. 23—32.

[h] It is certainly the Bane of all true Religion, to prefer Rituals, and poſitive Inſtitutions, before the Precepts of natural Religion, which are always good upon their own Account, and not merely becauſe they are commanded.

[i] This they did when they refuſed to put the thirty Pieces, with which themſelves had bribed *Judas*, into the Treaſury, becauſe it was the Price of Blood; and would not enter the Judgment-Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled, at the ſame Time that they did not ſcruple to ſhed innocent Blood.

[k] To prevent the touching of Sepulchres, which was deemed a Defilement, he that found one was obliged to put a white Mark on the Outſide of it. This was made with macerated Lime, and repeated as often as the Occaſion required.

[l] Matth. xxiii. 33—39.

[m] This was eminently fulfilled to the Apoſtles and firſt Diſciples: They ſtoned Stephen to Death; they cut off James the Brother of John with the Sword; they ſcourged Peter and the Apoſtles; and they perſecuted Paul and Barnabas from City to City.

[n] Who this Zacharias was is a Matter of Diſpute; ſome imagining him to be the Father of the Baptiſt, others denying it: We will only ſay, that he ſeems to have been put to Death about the Time in which Chriſt ſpake theſe Words; and ſo from Abel to Zacharias includes all the Ages of the antient Church.

V. [p] *After this* Jeſus *being ſeated over-againſt the Treaſury, took notice of what was caſt into it by religious Perſons for the Uſe of the Temple. Among the reſt there was one poor Widow, who put in two ſmall Braſs Pieces of the Value of a Farthing; which* Jeſus *obſerving, called his Diſciples, and told them, That that poor Widow had given the greateſt Sum of them all; for whereas they had parted only with what they might very well ſpare out of their abundance, ſhe had given all ſhe was worth. Afterwards he departed from the Temple, with his Diſciples.*

VI. [q] *Being upon the Way to Mount* Olivet, *ſome took notice of the magnificent Structure of the Temple, and thoſe vaſt Stones with which* Herod *had rebuilt it. But* Jeſus *told them, that* [r] *all that ſtately Edifice, which they looked on with ſuch Admiration, ſhould be ſo entirely ruin'd, as not to have one Stone left upon another. Being now come to the Mount, and ſeated over-againſt the Temple,* Peter, *and* Andrew, *and* John, *and* James, *aſk'd him privately concerning that Prediction of his, deſiring him to inform them when the Temple ſhould be deſtroyed, and what would be the Signs of its approaching Ruin; the rather, becauſe they thought it was to be at his Coming to judge the Good and Bad, and to inflict the Puniſhments on the latter which they deſerv'd.* Jeſus *anſwer'd both their Inquiries, by ſhewing firſt what were the Signs that would immediately precede the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. Let no one, *ſaid he*, deceive you by vain Promiſes; for many Impoſtors ſhall ariſe, pretending to be the Meſſiah and Saviour of the *Jews:* But be not miſled by theſe, whatever their Pretences are. You ſhall hear of War and Rumours of War; be not terrified: For I foretel you theſe Things ſhall happen, but will not be the laſt Calamities of this Nation. There ſhall be inteſtine Diſcords in *Paleſtine* between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and neighbouring Kingdoms ſhall wage war with one another. There ſhall be great Sedition in divers Places, which ſhall be follow'd by a Plague and Famine. There ſhall be Signs alſo from Heaven, which will create no ſmall Terror. But all theſe Things, however lamentable and dreadful, will be but the Beginning of Sorrows.

VII. [ſ] *He then proceeded in this Manner to his Diſciples:* Take care, in the mean time, not to do any thing unworthy of my Diſciples: For before theſe Things come to paſs, you ſhall be taken, and cruelly perſecuted; you ſhall be hu ried to Tribunals, and impriſon'd; that yo may be brought before Rulers and Kings, wh ſhall condemn you to be ſcourg'd and put Death: For all Nations, not only *Jews*, b *Gentiles* alſo, ſhall hate you, for your Profeſſio of being my Diſciples. Now this ſhall bef you, that you may bear an unanſwerable Teſtimony to my Doctrine before all People, to whom God will have the Goſpel preach'd before th final Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. And when the lead you to the Judgment-Seats, be not diff dent, as Men unacquainted with the Arts Pleading, neither premeditate after what Ma ner to make your Defence; for it ſhall then given you what to ſay. I will beſtow ſuch Wi dom on you, and furniſh you with ſuch Arguments, as all your Adverſaries ſhall not be ab to gainſay; ſince it will not be ſo much you th ſpeak, as the Holy Ghoſt with which you ſha be at that Time inſpir'd.

VIII. [t] By reaſon of theſe Perſecutions, man ſhall deſert my Doctrine; and ſo great Diſſenſions ſhall ariſe, that Brother ſhall betray Brother, Parents their own Children, and Childre their Parents, to thoſe that perſecute them, and ſeek to ſlay them for their adhering to my Doctrine. And I tell you again, that you ſhall be hated of all Men for the ſake of the Goſpel Nevertheleſs be not afraid of their Cruelty; fo whatever they ſhall deprive you of, ſhall b abundantly recompens'd to you by God himſelf nor ſhall the very Hairs of your Head fall unregarded: And whoever, thro' the whole Courſ of his Life, ſhall courageouſly and conſtantl profeſs himſelf my Diſciple, and act accordingly ſhall hereafter be rewarded with eternal Salvation. Mean while, many falſe Prophets ſhal ariſe, and ſeduce many; and as the Violence o the Perſecution increaſes, the Conſtancy of many ſhall fail; inſomuch that they will baſely forſake their deareſt Friends, who run the Hazard of their Lives for the Goſpel's ſake, to ſecure themſelves from the like Danger. But, as I ſaid before, whoever, thro' the whole Courſe of hi Life, ſhall courageouſly and conſtantly profeſ himſelf my Diſciple, and act accordingly, ſha hereafter enjoy eternal Happineſs.

IX. [u] While my Diſciples ſhall be thus perſecuted, the Goſpel ſhall be divulg'd over the whol Earth; and after this ſhall be the End of the *Jewiſh* Government. And when you ſhall behold th like to what was foretold by the Prophet *Dani* concerning the Times of *Antiochus*, and which h called the *Abomination of Deſolation*, that is, th Heathen Armies diſplaying their Enſigns, whic they are wont to adore, in the Territory round a bout the holy City; then at laſt aſſure yourſelves, that the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* is

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[o] The Jews ſtrongly expected the Meſſiah at the Time when their Temple and City were deſtroy'd.

[p] Mark xii. 41—44. Luke xxi. 1—4.

[q] Matth. xxiv. 1—8. Mark xiii. 1—8. Luke xxi. 5—11.

[r] The exact Completion of Things foretold by our Lord, touching the Deſtruction of the Temple, City, and People of rusalem, ſhall be treated of in the following Diſſertation; it being too copious a Subject to be thrown into Notes.

[ſ] Matth. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9, 10, 11. Luke xxi. 12—15.

[t] Matth. xxiv. 10—13. Mark xiii. 12, 13. Luke xxi. 16—19.

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[b] The Word Phylactery comes from the Greek, and ſignifies properly a Preſervative, or Charm, againſt Diſeaſes, Misfortunes, &c. Theſe were much worn by the antient Heathens, and are ſo to this Day in the Eaſtern Parts of the World. But the Phylacteries of the Jews, of which our Saviour ſpeaks, were certain little Boxes, or Rolls of Parchment, in which were written certain Words of the Law. Theſe they wore upon their Fore-heads, and upon the Wriſt of the Left Arm. They ſuppoſe them to be commanded. Exod. xiii. 16.

[c] Matth. xxiii. 13——22. Mark. xii. 40. Luke xx. 47.

[d] Theſe People pretending to a more exact Knowledge of the Law than others, the Women were very much ſubject to them, as believing them to be dear to God. They had ſuch an Aſcendant over Alexandra Queen of the Jews, that they placed, diſplaced, bound, looſed, advanced, or cut off, whom they pleaſed, and diſpoſed of every Thing according to their Will. It is probable, that being in great Vogue, for their long Prayers, they ſold them, as the Romiſh Prieſts do Maſſes, to the Devout; moſt of whom we may ſuppoſe were Women, and above all Widows, who being more Miſtreſſes of their Fortunes than other Women, could be more conveniently cheated by theſe Hypocrites.

Sea and Land that you make a Convert to the *Jewiſh* Religion, who by giving himſelf up to your Direction is made [e] worſe than yourſelves, and worthy of more ſevere Puniſhments than his very Teachers. Woe unto you, O blind Guides of the Blind, who abſurdly ſay that [f] no one is obliged to perform his Oath, if he ſwears only by the Temple, but that he is under an indiſpenſible Obligation, if he ſwears by the Gold of the Temple. O Fools and Blind! perceive ye not that the Temple is more ſacred than the Gold, which is only ſo becauſe conſecrated in the Temple? In like manner, you tell Men they incur no Danger if they perjure themſelves, when they ſwear only by the Altar, and not by the Offerings upon it. Fools and Blind! is not the Altar more ſacred than the Gifts upon it, that are conſecrated by it? But beſides, whoever ſwears by the Altar, ſwears not by that only, but by all that is upon it, and conſequently by God alſo, to whom they are conſecrated: So alſo he that ſwears by the Temple, does at the ſame Time adjure the Majeſty of who dwells in it. Likewiſe he that ſwears by Heaven, ſwears by the Throne of God, and him that ſits thereon. So that whoever forſwears himſelf any of theſe Ways, muſt be judged to offend againſt the Majeſty of God.

III. [g] Great Puniſhments remain for you, O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites! who pay Tythes of Herbs, as Mint, Aniſe, and Cummin, with the utmoſt Nicety, but [h] neglect the moſt weighty Duties of the Law, ſuch as Juſtice, Mercy, and Faith. Theſe Precepts it behoves you firſt diligently to obſerve, and then thoſe other. alſo. O blind Leaders of the Blind, who, as the Proverb ſays, [i] *Strain at a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel!* that is, who exactly obſerve Punctilio's, and ſecurely paſs by the greateſt Offices of human Society. Ye ſhall not eſcape unpuniſh'd, O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites! who, as they ſay, *make clean the Outſide of the Cup and Platter*, that is, make a mighty Shew of Religion and Probity, but have Minds polluted with Intemperance and Avarice. O ye blind *Phariſees!* as Men firſt cleanſe the Inſide of their Cups, ſo do you firſt purge your Minds from vicious Habits, and then put on the external Form of Virtue. [i] O ye Hypocrites! great ſhall be your Puniſhment, who are ſo like Sepulchres, [k] whiten'd and adorn'd on the Outſide, but containing within nothing but dead Mens Bones and Rottenneſs. Thus are your Minds defil'd with vicious Habits, tho' you appear to Men holy and religious. God ſhall puniſh you, O ye Lawyers and *Phariſees*, Hypocrites! for that, as if delighted with the Memorial of the Crimes committed by your Anceſtors, you repair the Monuments of the Prophets and innocent Perſons who were murder'd by them; tho' you ſay, if you had lived in their Days, in which this Cruelty was acted, you would by no means have conſented to it. By theſe Words and Actions you manifeſt yourſelves the Poſterity of thoſe wicked Wretches, by whoſe Command thoſe moſt holy Perſons were put to Death. The Time draws near in which you will fill up the Meaſure of your Anceſtors, and to their Barbarities add freſh Tragedies of your own.

IV. [l] O ye wicked Generation of Men, who may be moſt juſtly likened to Vipers and venomous Serpents! how can you expect to eſcape that eternal Puniſhment which God has denounced againſt you by the Miniſtry of *John the Baptiſt*, ſince you take not the leaſt Care to appeaſe his Vengeance by a timely Reformation of your Manners? For this very End ſhall I ſend Prophets, and Men ſkill'd in the Interpretation of the Law, unto you: But ſuch is your Temper, that [m] ſome of them you will crucify, and ſcourge others in your Aſſemblies; and thoſe that endeavour to eſcape your Fury, ſhall be purſued by you from City to City with the utmoſt Rage and Violence. You ſhall therefore ſuffer ſuch Puniſhments as are due to thoſe, who will be ſo far from making any uſe of the repeated Admonitions of God's Meſſengers and Prophets, and the many Examples of his Severity againſt Offenders, that they ſhall plainly declare their Approbation of all the Crimes committed by their Anceſtors, by perpetrating others more horrid of their own; and who, by one unheard-of Barbarity, ſhall exceed the Guilt they have contracted by their many Murders, from the Slaughter of *Abel* the Son of *Adam*, to that of [n] *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias*, who was ſlain between the Temple and the Altar. Miſtake not as if theſe Puniſhments were to be deferr'd many Years, for God will moſt aſſuredly inflict them on this Generation. O ye Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem!* that are wont to kill the Prophets, and ſtone thoſe that are ſent unto you; how often would I have gathered you together to my Diſcipline, as a Hen gathers her Chickens under her Wings, and you would not hear? But now your Country ſhall be entirely laid waſte. And this I foretel you, that after I ſhall be taken up from Earth, you ſhall no more ſee me till the Time wherein you [o] would willingly cry out, if that could avail towards the averting of God's impending Vengeance, *May the Coming of him that is ſent by God be propitious to us!*

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[e] It was the Complaint of the Jewiſh Nation, that their Proſelytes were the *Scabs of their Church*, and hinder'd the coming of the Meſſiah, as being ignorant of the Law, and bringing in Revenge. Juſtin Martyr ſpeaks of them as more inveterate Enemies to the Chriſtian Religion than the Native Jews themſelves, endeavouring to cut off its Profeſſors every where; being in this the Inſtruments of the Phariſees Dial. cum Tryph. p. 350. D.

[f] See what we have ſaid of Swearing, p. 399. of this Work.

[g] Matth xxiii. 23—32.

[h] It is certainly the Bane of all true Religion, to prefer Rituals, and poſitive Inſtitutions, before the Precepts of natural Religion, which are always good upon their own Account, and not merely becauſe they are commanded.

[i] This they did when they refuſed to put the thirty Pieces, with which themſelves had bribed *Judas*, into the Treaſury, becauſe it was the Price of Blood; and would not enter the Judgment-Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled, at the ſame Time that they did not ſcruple to ſhed innocent Blood.

[k] To prevent the touching of Sepulchres, which was deemed a Defilement, he that found one was obliged to put a white Mark on the Outſide of it. This was made with macerated Lime, and repeated as often as the Occaſion required.

[l] Matth. xxiii. 33—39.

[m] This was eminently fulfilled to the Apoſtles and firſt Diſciples: They ſtoned Stephen to Death; they cut off James the Brother of John with the Sword; they ſcourged Peter and the Apoſtles; and they perſecuted Paul and Barnabas from City to City.

[n] Who this Zacharias was is a Matter of Diſpute; ſome imagining him to be the Father of the Baptiſt, others denying it: We will only ſay, that he ſeems to have been put to Death about the Time in which Chriſt ſpake theſe Words; and ſo from Abel to Zacharias includes all the Ages of the antient Church.

V. [p] *After this* Jeſus *being ſeated over-againſt the Treaſury, took notice of what was caſt into it by religious Perſons for the Uſe of the Temple. Among the reſt there was one poor Widow, who put in two ſmall Braſs Pieces of the Value of a Farthing; which* Jeſus *obſerving, called his Diſciples, and told them, That that poor Widow had given the greateſt Sum of them all; for whereas they had parted only with what they might very well ſpare out of their abundance, ſhe had given all ſhe was worth. Afterwards he departed from the Temple, with his Diſciples.*

VI. [q] *Being upon the Way to Mount* Olivet, *ſome took notice of the magnificent Structure of the Temple, and thoſe vaſt Stones with which* Herod *had rebuilt it. But* Jeſus *told them, that* [r] *all that ſtately Edifice, which they looked on with ſuch Admiration, ſhould be ſo entirely ruin'd, as not to have one Stone left upon another. Being now come to the Mount, and ſeated over-againſt the Temple,* Peter, *and* Andrew, *and* John, *and* James, *aſk'd him privately concerning that Prediction of his, deſiring him to inform them when the Temple ſhould be deſtroyed, and what would be the Signs of its approaching Ruin; the rather, becauſe they thought it was to be at his Coming to judge the Good and Bad, and to inflict the Puniſhments on the latter which they deſerv'd.* Jeſus *anſwer'd both their Inquiries, by ſhewing firſt what were the Signs that would immediately precede the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. Let no one, *ſaid he*, deceive you by vain Promiſes; for many Impoſtors ſhall ariſe, pretending to be the Meſſiah and Saviour of the *Jews:* But be not miſled by theſe, whatever their Pretences are. You ſhall hear of War and Rumours of War; be not terrified: For I foretel you theſe Things ſhall happen, but will not be the laſt Calamities of this Nation. There ſhall be inteſtine Diſcords in *Paleſtine* between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and neighbouring Kingdoms ſhall wage war with one another. There ſhall be great Sedition in divers Places, which ſhall be follow'd by a Plague and Famine. There ſhall be Signs alſo from Heaven, which will create no ſmall Terror. But all theſe Things, however lamentable and dreadful, will be but the Beginning of Sorrows.

VII. [s] *He then proceeded in this Manner to his Diſciples:* Take care, in the mean time, not to do any thing unworthy of my Diſciples: For before theſe Things come to paſs, you ſhall be taken, and cruelly perſecuted; you ſhall be hurried to Tribunals, and impriſon'd; that you may be brought before Rulers and Kings, who ſhall condemn you to be ſcourg'd and put to Death: For all Nations, not only *Jews*, but *Gentiles* alſo, ſhall hate you, for your Profeſſion of being my Diſciples. Now this ſhall befal you, that you may bear an unanſwerable Teſtimony to my Doctrine before all People, to whom God will have the Goſpel preach'd before the final Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.* And when they lead you to the Judgment-Seats, be not diffident, as Men unacquainted with the Arts of Pleading, neither premeditate after what Manner to make your Defence; for it ſhall then be given you what to ſay. I will beſtow ſuch Wiſdom on you, and furniſh you with ſuch Arguments, as all your Adverſaries ſhall not be able to gainſay; ſince it will not be ſo much you that ſpeak, as the Holy Ghoſt with which you ſhall be at that Time inſpir'd.

VIII. [t] By reaſon of theſe Perſecutions, many ſhall deſert my Doctrine; and ſo great Diſſenſions ſhall ariſe, that Brother ſhall betray Brother, Parents their own Children, and Children their Parents, to thoſe that perſecute them, and ſeek to ſlay them for their adhering to my Doctrine. And I tell you again, that you ſhall be hated of all Men for the ſake of the Goſpel. Nevertheleſs be not afraid of their Cruelty; for whatever they ſhall deprive you of, ſhall be abundantly recompens'd to you by God himſelf; nor ſhall the very Hairs of your Head fall unregarded: And whoever, thro' the whole Courſe of his Life, ſhall courageouſly and conſtantly profeſs himſelf my Diſciple, and act accordingly, ſhall hereafter be rewarded with eternal Salvation. Mean while, many falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe, and ſeduce many; and as the Violence of the Perſecution increaſes, the Conſtancy of many ſhall fail; inſomuch that they will baſely forſake their deareſt Friends, who run the Hazard of their Lives for the Goſpel's ſake, to ſecure themſelves from the like Danger. But, as I ſaid before, whoever, thro' the whole Courſe of his Life, ſhall courageouſly and conſtantly profeſs himſelf my Diſciple, and act accordingly, ſhall hereafter enjoy eternal Happineſs.

IX. [u] While my Diſciples ſhall be thus perſecuted, the Goſpel ſhall be divulg'd over the whole Earth; and after this ſhall be the End of the *Jewiſh* Government. And when you ſhall behold the like to what was foretold by the Prophet *Daniel* concerning the Times of *Antiochus*, and which he called the *Abomination of Deſolation*, that is, the Heathen Armies diſplaying their Enſigns, which they are wont to adore, in the Territory round about the holy City; then at laſt aſſure yourſelves, that the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* is at

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[o] The Jews ſtrongly expected the Meſſiah at the Time when their Temple and City were deſtroy'd.

[p] Mark xii. 41—44. Luke xxi. 1—4. [q] Matth. xxiv. 1—8. Mark xiii. 1—8. Luke xxi. 5—11.

[r] The exact Completion of Things foretold by our Lord, touching the Deſtruction of the Temple, City, and People of Jeruſalem, ſhall be treated of in the following Diſſertation; it being too copious a Subject to be thrown into Notes.

[s] Matth. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9, 10, 11. Luke xxi. 12—15.

[t] Matth. xxiv. 10—13. Mark xiii. 12, 13. Luke xxi. 16—19.

[u] Matth. xxiv. 14—22. Mark xiii. 24—22. Luke xxi. 20—24.

Hand. ([v] *Let every one that reads this Hiſtory give particular Attention to this Place, ſince it is of no ſmall Importance, eſpecially to the* Jews.) At that Time let thoſe that ſhall be in *Judea*, fly into the mountainous Country beyond it; let him that is upon the Houſe-top, not come down to ſecure his Goods, but make what haſte he can; leſt by delaying, the Paſſes leading to it be ſecured, and all Means of eſcaping thereby intercepted. Let thoſe that be in *Jeruſalem*, make what haſte they can out of it; and let ſuch as are in the Fields, take care not to return into the City to remove their Goods: For then will be the appointed Time, in which God has determined to execute his Vengeance on all the obſtinate Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, by inflicting thoſe Puniſhments on them of which they were forewarn'd by *Moſes* and the Prophets. At that Time ſad will be the Condition of Women big with Child, or that give ſuck, ſince they can hardly eſcape the Fury of the Soldiers, if they do not leave the City betimes; and if they continue in it, they muſt undoubtedly periſh. Pray to God, therefore, that the Beginning of your Flight do not happen in the Winter, or upon the Sabbath-Day; for a ſhort Journey may be dangerous. So great will be the Calamity of the [x] *Jews*, that it is not to be parallel'd from the Beginning of the World, nor ſhall any Thing hereafter happen like unto it: For the greateſt part of the *Jews* ſhall be maſſacred, or ſold, and live in Slavery among all Nations. But *Jeruſalem* after its Deſtruction ſhall be rebuilt by the *Gentiles*, and inhabited by them, till the Time allotted them by God be accompliſhed. Unleſs God had contracted the Duration of that Time, it would have been ſcarce poſſible for any Inhabitant of *Judea* to eſcape: But he has ſhortened thoſe Times of Affliction, leſt by a Continuance the Good together with the Bad ſhould be involved in one common Ruin.

X. [y] If any ſhall then ſay unto you, that the *Meſſiah* is come, and will ſhortly head the *Jews*, and ſet them free from their Oppreſſion, believe them not: For many Impoſtors ſhall ariſe, many falſe Prophets and falſe *Meſſiahs*, who will endeavour to aſſert their Authority by Miracles, ſufficient to miſlead not only the obſtinate contumacious *Jews*, but even thoſe if poſſible that have believed on me. Beware of theſe Impoſtors, which will be no difficult Thing for you, who have been ſo often and expreſly forewarned by me. When they tell you therefore that the Deliverer of the *Jews* is in ſome Solitude, go not out of the Towns in queſt of him: When they tell you he abſconds in ſome ſecret Place, as not willing to appear as yet in Public, believe them not: For no one ſhall foretel the Time of my Coming, which will be ſo ſudden, as to reſemble the Celerity with which Lightening darts itſelf in a Moment from Weſt to Eaſt.

XI. [z] As you are wont proverbially to ſay, *Wherever the Carcaſe is, there will the Eagles be gathered together*; ſo alſo whereſoever the *Jews*, out of a vain Hope of a *Meſſiah* to head them, ſhall tumultuouſly aſſemble, in order to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, thither will the *Roman* Legions fly, and put them all to the Sword. But after all theſe Calamities ſhall overwhelm the *Jews*, ſo as to make their Caſe deſperate, the Heaven, Earth, and Sea, ſhall all ſeem to be confounded, and the Face of Nature be diſſolved: For the Government of the *Jews* ſhall be for ever broken, and with ſo ſtupendous a Deſtruction, that the very Terror of it ſhall overſpread the Minds of many with a melancholic and dreadful Anguiſh. Then at laſt will the *Jews* be able to perceive, that theſe Afflictions are Puniſhments inflicted on them for their obſtinate Diſbelief of me; and they will be no leſs appall'd, than if they ſaw me actually deſcending from Heaven to execute Judgment againſt them, ſurrounded with the bright Rays of Light, and a Multitude of the heavenly Hoſt. The contumacious *Jews* being cut off, I will recal all thoſe that have believed on me, who during the Heat of the War ſheltered themſelves in the neighbouring and remoter Regions, Meſſengers being ſent into all thoſe Places, with the News of the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace in *Judea*, like as they were Angels, on purpoſe to ſettle them in their antient Habitations.

XII. [a] Now when you behold the Beginning of the Signs I have mentioned, lift up your Heads, and expect a Change in a ſhort Time, as being ſure from theſe Tokens that your Deliverance draws nigh. For as you eaſily foreſee the Approach of Summer from the ſprouting of the Fig-tree, and other Trees; ſo may you infer from what I have declared, and the exemplary Judgments executed on the rebellious *Jews*, that I am in Poſſeſſion of my heavenly Kingdom, and that thoſe who believed on me ſhall be delivered from the Calamities they apprehended. You have not long to wait for this happy Time; for I affirm, that before many of you that are now alive ſhall be deceaſed, this Thing ſhall be accompliſhed.

XIII. [b] Nor doubt whether theſe Things, which I have foretold, ſhall be fulfilled or no; for Heaven and Earth ſhall rather periſh, than any Thing of what I tell you not come to paſs. But as for the preciſe Day and Hour in which they ſhall be fulfill'd, no one knows them but the Father, who as yet has not revealed them to his Angels, nor to [c] me myſelf. Since then theſe

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[v] This Addreſs to the Reader ſeems to be inſerted in a Parentheſis, in the midſt of our Saviour's Diſcourſe, by the Evangeliſts *Matthew* and *Mark*, to engage the Attention of the *Jews* of their Time to the Judgments that were then coming upon their Nation, and by which this Prophecy of our Lord was ſoon after accompliſhed.

[x] According to ſome, theſe Words are, rather a familiar Form of expreſſing a Thing exceeding great, or perhaps the greateſt in its Kind, than a Prediction that no future Calamity ſhould be like it.

[y] Matth. xxiv. 23—27. Mark xiii. 21, 22, 23.

[z] Matth. xxiv. 28—31. Mark. xiii. 24—27. Luke xxi. 25, 26, 27.

[a] Luke xxi. 28—32. Matth. xxiv. 32, 33, 34. Mark xiii. 28, 29, 30.

[b] Matth. xxiv. 35, 36, 42. Mark xiii. 31, 32, 33. Luke xxi. 33—36.

[c] *Chriſt* is here conſidered as a Prophet ſent into the World to declare his Father's Will, and delivering nothing but what the

Miſfortunes draw near, and you know not the very Time in which they ſhall happen, take great care not to indulge yourſelves in Drunkenneſs and Luxury at the Approach of theſe perillous Times; never be ſo far diſtracted with anxious Care after the Concerns of this Life, as to neglect the Performance of whatever I have enjoined, leſt theſe great Evils ſurprize you unawares, and overwhelm you on the ſudden. All thoſe who have made no Uſe of theſe my Admonitions, in which I have forewarned them of the impending Miſchiefs, ſhall be involved in them as wild Beaſts are intangled in the Toils laid for them. Be vigilant therefore, and conſtant in your Prayers to God, that you may then appear unblameable before the Tribunal of him who is now eſteem'd as a vulgar Perſon, when he ſhall call the *Jews* to Judgment. Beware, therefore, as I juſt now adviſ'd you; be vigilant, and earneſt in your Prayers to God; that you may be ſecure under his Almighty Protection, when theſe Evils ſhall be poured out on the *Jews*; eſpecially conſidering, that you know not how ſoon this may happen.

XIV. [d] I ſhall come unexpectedly, to execute Vengeance on thoſe who are entirely buſied in the Affairs of this Life, who gave no Credit to my Sayings, and contemn me as a vulgar Perſon, by ſending the Armies of the *Gentiles* againſt them as the Executioners of my Wrath, who will overwhelm them with Deſtruction, as general as that wherewith the Deluge, in the Days of *Noah*, covered thoſe who derided him and his Admonitions. For as the Men of that Age lived in the greateſt Negligence, and intermarried without the leaſt Apprehenſion of the Calamity that befel them, till the Day that *Noah* entered into the Ark, and the Waters were poured out, in which all Mankind was deſtroyed, except thoſe that were in the Ark: I ſay, as thoſe Men knew not of the approaching Danger, till they all began to be ſwallowed up by that univerſal Deluge; ſo neither will the *Jews* be aware of the general Ruin that ſhall oppreſs them. Of two that are in the Country, one only ſhall eſcape, according to the different Places they flee to: Of two Women that are grinding, the one ſhall be involved in that Deſtruction, but the other eſcape, for having obſerved my Admonitions.

XV. [e] Jeſus *having ſaid theſe Things referring to the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *diſcours'd to them concerning Watchfulneſs, and the Care good Men ſhould have to ſecure themſelves from the impending Ruin, by avoiding thoſe Vices which were the Cauſe of it, eſpecially conſidering withal how uncertain the Time of the laſt Judgment is.* The Maſter of a Family, *ſaid he*, who knew for certain the Hour in which the Thief deſigned to come, would undoubtedly watch till that Hour, and not ſuffer his Houſe to be broke open. Wherefore make it your Buſineſs to continue in a ſteddy Courſe of Virtue, ſince you know not the Time of my Coming, either to execute Vengeance on the obſtinate *Jews*, or to paſs Judgment upon the whole Race of Men. That Servant only can juſtly expect to be advanced above his Fellow-ſervants, whom his Maſter, though unexpected by him, ſhall at his Coming find faithfully imploy'd in his Vocation: He will be deemed worthy of Favour, and have the Adminiſtration of all his Maſter's Goods committed to his Care. But if a ſlothful Servant, preſuming on his Maſter's Abſence, as being gone a far Journey, ſhall indulge his Sloth, and tyrannically abuſe his Fellow-Servants, ſpending his own Time in Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, his Maſter will return in a Day and Hour he is not aware of, and condemn him to the Mines and Quarries, where nothing is to be heard but Gnaſhing of Teeth, and the Lamentations of Hypocrites puniſhed with continual Labour. Do not imitate ſo dangerous an Example, but remain ſtedfaſt in a virtuous Courſe of Life, ſince you know no more the Time of my Return than that Servant did of his Lord's, whether at the third or fourth Watch; leſt when I come I find you ſleeping, that is, negligent of my Commands, and living according to your own ungoverned Fancies; and you thereby render yourſelves obnoxious to that Puniſhment which will be inflicted upon the Slothful and Negligent. Theſe Directions concerning a watchful Diligence belong not only to you, but to all that ſhall believe in me.

XVI. [f] *This Doctrine* Jeſus *illuſtrated in the following Parables.* [g] The ſame will happen to thoſe that are in Purſuit of celeſtial Happineſs, as befel ten Virgins invited to a nuptial Feaſt. Theſe were obliged to go forth and meet the Bridegroom, that they might attend him home, and partake of the Banquet: Accordingly they all met at the appointed Time and Place, being each provided with a Lamp. Five of them were ſo careful as to provide themſelves with Oil, beſides what they had in their Lamps: The others indeed brought their Lamps ready lighted, but forgot the Oil that was neceſſary to preſerve them ſo, in caſe the Bridegroom tarried longer than they might expect. The Bridegroom delaying his Coming longer than ordinary, they all fell aſleep; but about the third Watch were awakened, by an Alarm from the Meſſengers, who were ſent to warn all to come forth imme-

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the Spirit of God revealed to him; not as the eternal *Logos*, or Word; in which Senſe, as he was equal to the Father in Nature, ſo muſt he be in Knowledge.

[d] Matth. xxiv. 37—41.

[e] Matth. xxiv. 43—51. Mark xiii. 34—37.

[f] Matth. xxv. 1—13.

[g] This Parable, or ſomething like it, is to be found in the *Jewiſh* Records: And in one of their Books we read thus: *Our wiſe Men of bleſſed Memory ſay, Repent whilſt thou haſt Strength to do it, whilſt thy Lamp burns, and the Oil is not extinguiſhed; for if thy Lamp be gone out, thy Oil will profit thee nothing.* Moſt of the Fathers think that this Parable was deſigned againſt late Repentance, which they conclude from hence is in danger of being ineffectual. Good therefore is the Advice of the Son of *Sirach*: *Humble thy ſelf before thou beeſt ſick, and in the Time of Sins ſhew Repentance, and defer not till Death to be juſtified.* Eccluſ. xvii. 21, 22.

diately, and meet the Bridegroom. Hereupon they aroſe, and began to trim their Lamps: When the fooliſh Virgins perceiving theirs almoſt extinguiſhed for want of Oil, beſought the reſt to lend them ſome; who replied, they could not part with any, for fear they might want themſelves, but their beſt way would be to repair ſpeedily, and purchaſe a ſufficient Quantity. The fooliſh Virgins did as they were bid, but in the mean Time comes the Bridegroom; when thoſe others who had provided againſt ſuch an Accident, having joined the Train, were admitted with the reſt into the Banquetting-Room. The Door being ſhut, the other five Virgins came, earneſtly entreating the Bridegroom to give them Admittance to the Feaſt; but he regarded their Requeſts no more than if they had been perfect Strangers to him. So alſo at my Coming will I deal with thoſe whom I ſhall find inſlaved to their vitious Habits: Wherefore diligently take heed not to deviate from the Ways of Virtue.

XVII. [h] *Another Parable he ſpoke to them, like* [i] *to one that he had made uſe of lately.* A certain Man, *ſaid he*, being to take a long Journey, called his Servants to him, and divided his Money among them in different Sums, according to their ſeveral Abilities: To one he gave five Talents, to another two, to a third one. Having diſtributed his Money, with Orders for them to trade with it, he departed: During his Abſence, he who had received the five Talents, was ſo diligent as to double them againſt his Lord's Return; ſo alſo did he that had received the two Talents. But the Servant intruſted but with one, being afraid of making any Venture with it, buried it in the Ground. A long Time after their Lord returned, and began to account with them for the Money he had given them: And firſt of all came he who had received the five Talents, and brought with him five others, that he gained by Trade; which his Lord perceiving, he told him this was a Proof of his Fidelity and Induſtry; and ſince he had ſhewn himſelf faithful in a ſmall Sum, he would afterwards intruſt him with a greater; but for the preſent, ſaid he, ſit down with me at Table, and let us celebrate together my ſafe Return. In like Manner, he who had received the two Talents, came, and brought the other two which he had gained by traficking with them; and being commended by his Maſter, received the like Encouragement. At laſt came he who had but one Talent, and thus beſpoke his Maſter: I knew, ſaid he, that thou wert of an exacting Temper, that thou reapeſt where thou haſt not ſown, and gathereſt where thou haſt not ſcattered; that is, thou art ſo far from being contented with thy own, that thou invadeſt what of Right belongs to another. This Reflection made me afraid of uſing thy Talent, leſt if I loſt it, thou ſhould require the Debt with Rigour: I therefore hid it in the Ground till thy Return, and now bring it thee juſt as I received it. His Lord replied: O negligent and ſlothful Servant, thou ſayeſt thou art acquainted with my Temper, and knoweſt I am wont to reap where I have not ſown, and gather where I have not ſcattered: Since thou hadſt this Opinion of me, thou oughteſt at leaſt, conformably to it, to have put my Money out to uſe, that at my Return I might receive it with the ordinary Intereſt, ſince, as thou pretendeſt, thou knoweſt not how to trade with it. Upon this he ordered his Servants to take the Talent from him, and give it to him that had the ten Talents, (for whoever has any Gift, and makes a right Uſe of it, ſhall receive more; but whoſo abuſes that he has, however ſmall, it ſhall be taken from him,) and to turn him out of the Banquetting-Room, that he might ſpend the Night in Darkneſs, lamenting his wretched Caſe, while the diligent and faithful Servants were admitted to their Lord's Table in the Banqueting-Room, illuminated with Lamps and Torches.

XVIII. [k] Jeſus *having premiſed theſe Parables, that he might the more effectually recommend the conſtant Practice of Virtue, thus deſcribed his Coming, and thoſe chief Offices of which he would require an exact Account from Men.* [l] When he who is now eſteemed a vulgar Perſon, *ſaid he*, ſhall come from Heaven, ſurrounded with a moſt glorious Company of Angels, he ſhall ſeat himſelf on a lofty Throne, and proceed to judge the whole human Race. At that Time ſhall all Mankind be raiſed from Death, and brought before his Tribunal; and he ſhall divide them into two Parts, as a Shepherd divides the Sheep from the Goats: The Sheep, or good Men, ſhall ſtand on his [m] Right Hand; and the Goats, or Wicked, on his Left. Then ſhall the King of Men and Angels ſpeak to thoſe on his Right Hand: Approach, O ye, whom my Father has decreed to reward with the Poſſeſſion of a heavenly Kingdom, [n] prepared for ſuch as you from the Beginning of all Things. For when I was hungry, you gave me Meat; when I thirſted, you gave me Drink; when I was a Stranger, you courteouſly entertained me; when naked, you clothed me; when ſick, you ſuccour'd me; when impriſoned, you viſited me, and offered me your Aſſiſtance, condoling my Misfortune. The Good will then aſk him, When all theſe Things happened, ſince they never ſaw him in Want of their Aſſiſtance, nor could they remember they had ever beſtowed any Thing upon him. But the King will reply, that he will look upon all the charitable Relief they have given thoſe whom he eſteems as his Brethren, though of the pooreſt Condition among Men, on the account of their Belief of him, and Obedience to his Precepts, as done to himſelf. Then turning to thoſe on his Left-hand, he will pronounce this dreadful Sentence: Away from me, you condemned Wretches, into everlaſting Flames,[o] prepared for Devils and wicked Men: When I was hungry, you refuſed me Meat; when thirſty, Drink; when a Stranger, you entertained me not; when ſick and in Priſon, you diſdained to come near me. Then will they ſay, Lord, when ſaw we thee hungry, thirſty, naked, a Stranger, ſick, or in Priſon, and refuſed to ſuccour thee? But he will tell them, that he accounts their Refuſal of Relief to the meaneſt of his Diſciples a Refuſal to himſelf. Theſe therefore ſhall ſuffer eternal Torment, and the others enjoy everlaſting Felicity.

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[h] Matth. xxv. 14—30.

[i] See Page 590, where, in the Note, is a Conjecture concerning the Alluſion in that Part of the Story which mentions the going of a King, or a certain Maſter of a Family, into a far Country.

[k] Matth. xxv. 31—36.

[l] It is ſurpriſing, that any Interpreters ſhould imagine this refers not to the general Day of Judgment, of which it is ſo clear a Deſcription both in Words and Circumſtances.

[m] Here ſeems to be an Alluſion to a received Cuſtom of the *Jews* in capital Cauſes, when they that were to receive Abſolution, were placed on the Right Hand of the *Sanhedrim*, and they who were to receive Sentence of Codemnation on the Left.

[n] The *Jews* ſay, that God prepared Paradiſe from the Beginning, even before the Earth was made.

DISSERTATION.

Of our Lord's Predictions, and their Completion, particularly thoſe concerning the Deſtruction of the *Jewiſh* State.

I. *The Predictions of our Saviour a Proof of his divine Power. A general Enumeration of them. Thoſe concerning the* Jews *the moſt remarkable.* II. *His Denotation of the Time when theſe Judgments ſhould come upon the* Jews. *The Signs that were to precede it. Falſe* Chriſts *and falſe Prophets.* III. *Other Signs of thoſe Times. Famines, Earthquakes, Signs from Heaven,* &c. IV. *Our Lord's prophetical Deſcription of the Circumſtances of the* Jews *Deſtruction by the* Romans, *particularly of the Deſtruction of the Temple.* V. *Of the Judgments that fell upon the whole Nation in general, and of their final Diſperſion.* VI. *That theſe Predictions were delivered by our Lord as Proofs of his being the Meſſiah.* VII. *A particular Explanation of ſome Phraſes in theſe Predictions.*

I. WE have frequently, in the Courſe of this Work, endeavoured to prove, from the Miracles of our Saviour, that he was poſſeſſed of a divine Power: To the Arguments then uſed we ſhall now add, as farther Proofs of the ſame Thing, his [a] Predictions of many Events, which were afterwards punctually fulfilled: [b] That he ſhould ſuffer at *Jeruſalem*: That there [c] he ſhould be betrayed unto the Chief Prieſts, and unto the *Scribes*, who would condemn him to Death, and deliver him to the Gentiles to be mocked, and ſcourged: [d] That *Judas* was the Perſon who would betray him: That [e] the other Diſciples would forſake him: That, particularly, [f] *Peter* would deny him thrice: That, as to the Manner of his Death, [g] it ſhould be Crucifixion; and that he ſhould riſe again the third Day. To which we may add, his foretelling [h] the Manner of St. *Peter*'s Death, and that St. *John* ſhould live to ſee the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; together with [i] the Perſecutions which ſhould befal the Apoſtles after his Death, and the [k] Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt to comfort and enlighten them, and to enable them effectually to preach and propagate the Goſpel.

But moſt remarkable to this Purpoſe, is his foretelling the [l] Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, with the ſeveral Circumſtances of it: as, The Time of its coming, The deſtroying of the City, The demoliſhing of the Temple, The Judgments upon the Nation in general, And their final Diſperſion: All which were diſtinctly foretold by *Chriſt*; and are atteſted by *Joſephus*, (an Hiſtorian of their own Nation, who lived at the Time,) to have punctually come to paſs, according to the Predictions.

II. As to the Time; our Saviour having [m] enumerated the diſmal Calamities that were coming upon the *Jews*, declares, *That* [n] that *Generation ſhould not paſs, until all theſe Things were fulfilled*; and he ſuppoſes, that ſome at leaſt of thoſe to whom he ſpake when he enumerated the *Signs* of their coming, ſhould be then alive; [o] *Ye, when ye ſhall ſee all theſe Things, know that it is near, even at the Doors*; and, after his Reſurrection, he intimates [p] that St. *John* ſhould live to ſee thoſe terrible Judgments; which in Scripture are expreſſed by his Coming, and which were all executed, according to thoſe Predictions, in leſs than forty Years from the Time they were denounced.

He alſo denoted this Time by the Signs that ſhould then appear, particularly by the Coming [q] of Falſe *Chriſts* and Falſe Prophets. *Falſe Chriſts* were ſuch as took upon them the Name of the Meſſiah, and pretended to be endued with the Authority which they expected in that Deliverer. Of theſe was [r] *Doſitheus*, who ſaid he was the *Chriſt* foretold by *Moſes*, and of whom *Origen* teſtifies, that *he did prodigious Things*: And [ſ] *Simon Magus*, who ſaid he appeared among the *Jews* as the Son of God, and who is ſaid by the ſacred Hiſtorian, to have *bewitched the* Samaritans *with his Sorceries that they all believed on him*. And ſuch perhaps were thoſe many, whom, ſaith [t] *Joſephus*, the Time of the Advent of their King Meſſiah prevailed with to ſet up for Kings. *Falſe Prophets* were ſuch as promiſed or foretold falſe Things: And ſuch were, according to *Joſephus*, *1ſt*, An [u] *Egyptian* falſe Prophet or Magician, who gathered together about thirty thouſand *Jews* whom he had deceived. *2dly*, One [w] *Theudas*, a Magician, who ſaid he was a Prophet, and deceived many. *3dly*, A [x] certain falſe Prophet, who bid them go into the Temple, where God would ſhew them manifeſt Signs of a Deliverance. And the ſame Hiſtorian adds, [y] that there were then many Prophets, who taught them, even to the laſt, to expect Help from God.

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[o] The Fathers think, that Chriſt ſaith not of the Puniſhment as he doth of the Bleſſing here pronounced, that it was prepared from the Beginning of the World, leſt it ſhould be thought, that God deſigned Men's Puniſhments before they ſinned. In like Manner he does not ſay, *Go ye curſed of my Father*, as he doth, *Come ye bleſſed of my Father*, becauſe God is the Author and Procurer of Men's Happineſs, but Man only is the Author of his own Miſery.

[a] See the Biſhop of London's firſt paſtoral Letter. [b] Luke xiii. 33, 34. [c] Matth. xvi. 22. xx. 18, 19.
[d] Matth. xxvi. 25. [e] Matth. xxvi. 31. [f] Matth. xxvi. 34. [g] Matth. xx. 19.
[h] John xxi. 18, 22. [i] Matth. x. 17, 18, 19, 20. Theſe Perſecutions will come under Conſideration in the Lives of the Apoſtles.
[k] Acts i. 8. [l] Luke xxi. 12, 14. [m] Matth. xxiii. 34. Mark xiii. 10.
[n] Luke xxi. 32. [o] Matth. xxiv. 33. [p] John xxi. 22.
[q] Matth. xxiv. 5. 24. &c. [r] Orig. adv. Celſ. l. i. p. 44. in John T. 14. Ed. Huet. p. 219.
[ſ] Id. adv. Celſ. l. vi. [t] De Bell. Jud. l. i.

III. Other Signs of theſe Times foretold by our Lord, [z] were *Famines*, *Earthquakes*, *Peſtilences*, *Tumults*, *fearful Sights*, *and great Signs from Heaven*; all of which happened punctually according to the Predictions. There was a Famine in the fourth Year of *Claudius* according to *Euſebius*, which oppreſſed the whole *Roman* Empire, but eſpecially *Paleſtine*, and of [a] which many periſhed for lack of Food: And *Joſephus* ſays, [b] That when one *Niger* was ſlain by the *Jews*, he imprecated Famine and Peſtilence upon their Cities, *all which God brought upon them.*

Grotius reckons up many Earthquakes, which happened in the Reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*, at *Crete*, *Smyrna*, *Miletus*, *Chios*, *Samos*, *Laodicea*, *Hierapolis*, *and Coloſs*; in all which Places the *Jews* lived. [c] *There happened in* Judea, ſays *Joſephus*, *vehement Winds*, *dreadful Thunderings and Lightenings*, *and vaſt Movings of the ſhaken Earth*, *which*, *in the Judgment of all*, *portended no ſmall Evil.* And where [d] he enumerates the many Prodigies which manifeſtly imported the future Deſolation of his Country, he tells us, That *a Sword ſeemed to hang over the City*, *or a Comet pointing down upon it*, *for a Year*, *which plainly ſeemed to portend their Ruin by the Sword*; That *before the Sun went down*, *there were ſeen in the Clouds*, *Armies in Battle-array*, *and Chariots encompaſſing the Country*, *and inveſting their Cities*, as many then living could teſtify; That *the great Gate of the Temple*, *which twenty Men could ſcarcely ſhut*, *and which was made faſt with Bolts and Bars*, *was ſeen to open of its own Accord*, *as it were to let in their Enemies:* That *at the ninth Hour of the Night*, *at the Feaſt of unleavened Bread*, *as great a Light ſhone upon the Temple*, *and the Altar*, *as if it had been Noon-Day:* That *at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt*, *when the Prieſts went at Midnight into the Temple to attend their Service*, *they firſt heard a kind of Noiſe*, *as of a Movement from the Place*, *and then a Voice*, *ſaying*, *Let us go hence.* All theſe Things *Tacitus*, a *Roman* Hiſtorian of that Age, has thus epitomized: [e] *Armies ſeemed to meet in the Clouds*, *Weapons were there ſeen glittering*, *the Temple ſeemed to be in a Flame with Fire iſſuing from the Clouds*, *and a divine Voice was heard*, *That the Deity was quitting the Place*, *and a great Motion of his departing.* And *Joſephus* adds a Thing, which he thought yet more terrible: That *for four Years before the War*, *one* Jeſus *began at the Feaſt of Tabernacles to cry*, *A Voice againſt* Jeruſalem *and the Temple! A Voice againſt all the Poople! Woe! woe unto them!* and that he *continued crying this about ſeven Years.* So expreſs is the Account of the *frightful Things*, and *Signs from Heaven*, mentioned by our Lord; and ſo viſible the Signs of the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with a glorious Hoſt, or with Power and Glory, to take Vengeance on that ſinful Nation, as he had himſelf predicted.

IV. In the next Place, the future Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Circumſtances of it, are thus deſcribed by our Saviour; [f] *Thine Enemies ſhall caſt a Trench about thee*, *and compaſs thee round*, *and keep thee in on every Side*, *and ſhall lay thee even with the Ground*, *and thy Children within thee*, *and ſhall not leave in thee one Stone upon another.* —— [g] *Then ſhall be great Tribulation*, *ſuch as was not ſince the Beginning of the World to this Time*; *no*, *nor ever ſhall be.* All which was fulfill'd, in *Titus*'s [h] encompaſſing the City with a new Fortification rais'd by the Soldiers in three Days, ſo that none could come out: Upon which there enſued a moſt [i] dreadful Famine; the Stores [k] and Granaries having been burnt and conſumed before, in the ſeditious Quarrels and Fightings among themſelves, under three ſeveral Factions endeavouring to devour one another. The City being taken, was [l] levell'd with the Ground, as if it had never been inhabited; and what by Famine, by Fire and Sword, and by their Slaughters of one another, [m] eleven hundred thouſand *Jews* were deſtroyed, beſides ninety ſeven thouſand who were taken Priſoners; the Nation at that Time being gather'd together at *Jeruſalem*, to celebrate the Paſſover.

The particular Deſtruction of the Temple is thus foretold by our Saviour, [n] *There ſhall not be left here one Stone upon another*, *that ſhall not be thrown down.* And *Joſephus* tells us, [o] that *Titus* order'd the Soldiers to lay the Temple, as well as the City, even with the Ground; and [p] another of their Writers mentions the Fact of *Turnus Rufus*'s digging the very Plot of Ground on which it ſtood with a Plough-ſhare. This was a remarkable Completion of a Prophecy of *Micah*, [q] *Therefore ſhall* Zion *for your Sakes be plowed as a Field*, *and* Jeruſalem *ſhall become Heaps*, *and the Mountains of the Lord as the high Places of the Foreſt.* And, ſays [r] *Joſephus*, we may well admire the Exactneſs of the Time; for the Burning of the Temple happen'd on the ſame Month and Day on which it formerly was burnt by the *Babylonians*.

V. The Judgments that would fall upon the Nation in general are thus expreſs'd by our Saviour: [s] *Theſe be the Days of Vengeance: There ſhall be great Diſtreſs in the Land, and Wrath upon this People, and they ſhall fall by the Edge of the Sword.* Accordingly they were deſtroy'd, [t] to the Number of two hundred thouſand and upwards, in ſeveral Sieges and Battles, in the Towns and Countries; beſides the grand Slaughter at *Jeruſalem*.

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[u] Antiq. l. xx. c. 6.
[w] Ant. l. xx. c. 2.
[x] De Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 30.
[y] Ibid.
[z] Matth. xxix. 7, 8. Mark xiii. 8, 9. Luke xxi. 11.
[a] Joſeph. Ant. l. xx. c. 2.
[b] De Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 20.
[c] Ibid. c. 17.
[d] De Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 31.
[e] Tacit. Hiſt. l. v. ed. Lipſ. p. 621.
[f] Luke xix. 43, 44.
[g] Matth. xxiv. 21.
[h] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 13.
[i] Ibid. c. 14.
[k] Joſeph. l. vi. c. 1.
[l] Joſeph. l. vii. c. 18.
[m] Joſeph. l. vii. c. 17.
[n] Matth. xxiv. 2.
[o] Joſeph l. vii. c. 18.
[p] Maimonides.
[q] Mic. iii. 12.
[r] De Bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 26.

And the following Captivity and Diſperſion of thoſe who remain'd, was alſo foretold by our Saviour: [u] *They ſhall be led away captive into all Nations, and* Jeruſalem *ſhall be trodden down of the* Gentiles, *until the Time of the* Gentiles *be fulfilled.* Accordingly *Joſephus*, after he has deſcribed the Taking of *Jeruſalem*, [w] ſpeaks of them as a People diſpers'd over the Face of the Earth; and particularly tells us, [x] that the moſt graceful of the Captives were reſerv'd by *Titus* to be Part of his Triumph; that of the Remainder, all above ſeventeen Years of Age were ſent into *Egypt* in Chains, to be employ'd in ſervile Offices; that others were ſent into ſeveral Provinces for the Uſe of the Theatres and public Shows; and that all under ſeventeen Years of Age were expos'd to Sale. And ever ſince, to this Day, they have been, and ſtill continue, a People diſpers'd and ſcatter'd among the Nations of the Earth, without either Temple, or City, or Government of their own.

VI. We have not attempted to give either a copious or a pathetic Deſcription of theſe Things: Thoſe who want either the one or the other, may find it in *Joſephus*, to whom we have referred for the greateſt Part of what is here ſaid. Our Buſineſs was only juſt to point out the Facts and apply them to our preſent Purpoſe, that of proving the divine Power and Knowledge of our Lord; which will be very manifeſt when we reflect, That theſe Particulars concerning his own Death, and the State and Condition of his Diſciples and of the *Jewiſh* Nation, conſequent upon it, are Events which he foretold, and which we find to have punctually come to paſs, partly from the Accounts of our own Scriptures, and partly from a *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian of undoubted Credit and Authority.

And that his Predictions, when fulfilled, were intended by him to be Proofs of his being the Meſſiah, we may gather from his own Declarations. Having told his Diſciples that *Judas* ſhould betray him, he preſently adds, [y] *Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to paſs, ye may believe that I am He.* And after the Predictions of his Death, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, he ſays, [z] *And now I have told you before it come to paſs, that when it is come to paſs, ye might believe*; That is, ſays Dr. *Hammond*, [a] *That your ſeeing my Predictions fulfilled, may convince you that all which I have ſaid to you is true, and ſo make you believe on me.* To the ſame Purpoſe is that which he ſubjoins to his Account of the Perſecutions that would befal his Diſciples after his Death; [b] *Theſe Things I have told you, that when the Time ſhall come, ye may remember that I told you of them.*

VII. All that we ſhall add farther on this Subject, will be only a ſhort Explanation of ſome few Phraſes in theſe Predictions, which may create ſome Difficulties in the Reader's Mind.

He that endures to the End, ſays our bleſſed Lord, *ſhall be ſaved.* Agreeably to this, *Euſebius* informs us, that [c] "before the War was begun, all the Faithful of the Church of *Jeruſalem* were warned by Revelation to depart that City, and go to a Place called *Pella*, beyond *Jordan*."

The Abomination of Deſolation, ſpoken of by Daniel, which our Lord mentions, was the *Roman* Army encompaſſing *Jeruſalem*; which might be called an *Abomination* to the *Jews*, as carrying the Images of *Cæſar* and an Eagle in the Enſigns of it; and *Deſolation*, becauſe it was to lay the Country, City, and Temple, deſolate.

There ſhall then be great Tribulation, ſuch as never was from the Beginning of the World. Beſides what we have ſaid of theſe Words in a Note on the Chapter, we may add, that *Joſephus* almoſt repeats them in his Hiſtory of thoſe Tranſactions. [d] *No other City*, ſays he, *ever ſuffered the like; nor were all the Calamities which ever happened from the Beginning comparable to thoſe which befel the* Jews.

Immediately after the Tribulation of thoſe Days, the Sun ſhall be darkened, and the Moon ſhall not give her Light. No ſuch Thing happening literally, the Expreſſion muſt be taken figuratively, to ſignify, as it often does in the Old Teſtament, an utter Deſolation of Cities and Countries, compared to the Sun and Moon. In this Language the Prophet *Iſaiah* [e] ſpeaks of the Deſtruction of *Babylon*; and the Indignation of God againſt the [f] *Idumeans*, the Deſtruction of *Sennacherib* and his People, and the Ruin of *Egypt*, are repreſented in like dreadful Words. *Joel* ſays, ſpeaking of this very Deſtruction of the *Jews*, *The Sun and Moon ſhall be darken'd, and the Stars ſhall not yield their Light.* This therefore, ſays *Maimonides*, is a proverbial Expreſſion, importing the Deſtruction and utter Ruin of a Nation.

To conclude, the Phraſe of Chriſt's *Coming in the Clouds*, is generally extended no farther than his Coming with the *Roman* Army, to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*; and his *ſending forth his Angels to gather his Elect from the four Winds*, is referr'd to the Miniſtry of his Diſciples, and their gathering a Church out of all Nations.

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[s] Luke xxi. 22, 23, 24.
[t] See the Calculation in Archbiſhop Uſher's Chronology.
[u] Luke xxi. 23, 24.
[w] Joſeph. l. vii. c. 21.
[x] Joſeph. l. vii. c. 16.
[y] John xiii. 19.
[z] John xiv. 29.
[a] In his Paraphraſe on the Place.
[b] John xvi. 4.
[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. iii. c. 5.
[d] De Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 27.
[e] Iſai. xiii. 9.
[f] Iſai. xxxiv. 3, 4.

CHAP. V.

I. *Jeſus* teaches daily in the Temple. Two Days before the Paſſover, he foretels his Death, which the *Sanhedrim* had determined. II. He is anointed in the Houſe of *Simon* the Leper. III. *Judas* agrees with the *Sanhedrim* to betray him. IV. *Peter* and *John*, at their Maſter's Order, prepare the Paſſover. V. *Jeſus* goes and ſups with his Diſciples, and declares that one of them ſhall betray him. VI. The Inſtitution of the Euchariſt. VII. He gives a ſecond Cup to his Apoſtles. VIII. The Affection of *Jeſus* to his Diſciples, and the Treachery of *Judas*. IX. He cautions them againſt Ambition, and propoſes himſelf to them as an Example of Humility. X. He waſhes his Diſciples Feet. His Diſcourſe with *Peter* on that Occaſion. XI. He diſcourſes to the Twelve on what he had juſt done, and recommends the ſame kind of Behaviour one to another. XII. He is troubled, and diſcovers which of his Apoſtles ſhall betray him. *Judas* goes out. XIII. He puts them in mind of his Miracles, mentions his ſpeedy Departure from them, and recommends mutual Love. XIV. *Peter* asks him whither he will go. *Jeſus* forewarns *Peter* of his Fall. XV. He foretels, a little obſcurely, the Difficulties his Apoſtles ſhall meet with. XVI. He comforts them. XVII. And declares himſelf to be the Entrance to Happineſs. XVIII. He tells them, that in ſeeing him they have ſeen the Father, and aſſerts his Divine Authority, and promiſes to reward their Faith. XIX. He engages to ſend the holy Spirit, the Comforter, to them. XX. Promiſes the ſame Aſſiſtance to all his faithful Followers. XXI. Bequeaths to them Peace and Comfort, and declares his Enemies to be at Hand to betray him.

[a] NOW Jeſus *went in the Day-Time to inſtruct the People in the Temple, concerning the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, but ſpent the Night in Mount* Olivet, *or the Parts adjacent, that he might not be taken by the* Sanhedrim *ſooner than he was willing, while ſhut up in the Walls of the City. But early in the Morning the People waited to hear him in the Temple, where he uſed to reſort. Having diſcourſed with his Apoſtles, as we have related, he told them on the* Tueſday *in Paſſion-Week, that the Paſſover would be, as they knew, two Days after, on which Day he ſhould be delivered up to the* Romans, *who would crucify him. For many of the* Sanhedrim *had already frequently aſſembled in the Houſe of* Caiaphas *the High Prieſt, and determined by ſome Artifice or other to ſeize him, that they might cut him off. But they durſt not attempt it during the* [b] *Holydays, for fear of raiſing a Tumult among the Multitude, who at that Time flock'd from all Parts to* Jeruſalem, *for which they might be called to an Account by the* Roman *Governor: For they were afraid that the Multitude, who eſteemed* Jeſus *as a Prophet, would reſcue him.*

II. [c] *While* Jeſus *was at Supper at* Bethany, *in the Houſe of* Simon *ſirnamed the Leper, a certain* [d] *Woman came into the Room, having an Alabaſter Box of Ointment made of the true Spikenard, which not flowing faſt enough out, ſhe brake* [e] *the Box, and poured the whole upon* Jeſus's *Hair. But ſome of thoſe preſent blamed the Woman for that Action, knowing that* Jeſus *was not deſirous of ſuch Delicacies; adding, that the Ointment might have been ſold for three hundred* [f] Denarii, *and diſtributed among the Poor. They murmured therefore againſt the Woman, as one who by an unſeaſonable Fit of Zeal had committed a grievous Fault. But* Jeſus *rebuked them, and bid them not trouble her for this Expreſſion of her Good-Will towards him, putting them in Mind, that they would never want Objects of their Charity, but that he himſelf ſhould ſhortly leave them, and therefore that they ought not to repine, if the Price of the Ointment was not beſtowed upon the Poor:* This Woman, *ſaid he,* has conferred as great a Benefit upon me as ſhe was able; nor could any Thing be more ſeaſonable than this anointing of my Body, which will be buried in a few Days. On which Account I foretel you, that wherever my Doctrine ſhall be preached, the Fame of this Act of hers ſhall be divulged.

III. [g] *Not long after the evil Spirit prevailed* [h] *with the avaricious Temper of* Judas, *one of the twelve Apoſtles, to betray his Maſter to the* Jews *for a ſmall Sum of Money. Accordingly he went and proffered his Service to the Chief Prieſts, who readily embraced the Motion, highly pleaſed, that they had now a convenient Opportunity of ſeizing* Jeſus, *and agreed with him for* [i] *thirty Pieces of Silver.* Judas *having made this Bargain, waited only for an Occaſion of effecting his Deſign without Noiſe and Tumult.*

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[a] Luke xxi. 37, 38. Matth. xxvi. 1—5. Mark xvi. 1, 2. Luke xxii. 1, 2.

[b] *Maimonides* ſays, It was the Cuſtom of the Jews to puniſh any notorious Criminal, at one of their three grand Feaſts, becauſe of the vaſt Concourſe of People at thoſe Times. Though they were willing to treat *Jeſus* as ſuch a Criminal, they were alſo willing to recede from this Cuſtom, for fear of the Multitude: But having ſo fair an Offer made by *Judas*, they embrace that Seaſon, which otherwiſe we may ſuppoſe they would have let ſlip.

[c] Matth. xxvi. 6—13. Mark xiv. 3—9.

[d] See Page 144 of this Work.

[e] Or perhaps only *ſhook* it, the Original Word being of a doubtful Signification.

[f] A Denarius was about Seven-pence Half-penny of our Money.

[g] Matth. xxvi. 14, 15, 16. Mark xiv. 10, 11. Luke xxii. 3—6.

[h] After Judas had, through the Temptation of his Covetouſneſs, robbed even the Poor of the Charity deſigned them, Satan ſuggeſts to him this other way of ſatisfying his Avarice, which, when he conſented to, the Evil Spirit had full Poſſeſſion of him.

[i] Thirty Staters, or Shekels of the Sanctuary, amounting to three Pounds fifteen Shillings of our Money; the common Price for Slaves at that Time: So little Value did they make of the Son of God.

IV. [k] *Upon*

IV. [k] *Upon the* [l] *firſt Day of the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, being the fifth of the Week, on which the* Jews *were compelled by the Law to kill the Paſchal Lamb, the Diſciples aſked* Jeſus *where he would have them get ready the Paſſover: On which he ordered* Peter *and* John *to repair to* Jeruſalem, *and there make ready the Paſſover, which he intended to celebrate in the City together with his Apoſtles; telling them, that at their Entrance into it they ſhould meet a Man bearing a Pitcher of Water, whom he charged them to follow into the Houſe whither he went, and in his Name to borrow of the Maſter a convenient Room for him and his Apoſtles;* who, *ſaid Jeſus,* will immediately ſhew you a large Upper-room furniſhed; there make ready the Paſſover. *The Apoſtles according to theſe Orders went to* Jeruſalem, *and at their Entrance into it, what* Jeſus *had foretold them fell out accordingly. In that Place therefore they prepared the Paſchal Lamb the Day after.*

V. [m] *Now when the Sun was ſet, and the Hour approached in which the* Jews *were wont to eat the Paſſover,* Jeſus *repaired to the Houſe with his twelve Apoſtles, and there ſat down with them. Whilſt they were at Table he ſaid unto them,* I tell you of a Truth, one of you that now ſup with me ſhall betray me to the *Sanhedrim. Upon hearing this the Apoſtles were ſadly afflicted, not knowing whom* Jeſus *meant; and every one aſked him ſingly, Whether it was him that he meant?* Jeſus *replied, that it ſhould be one of the twelve; and that they might perceive he was not far from him, he told them it was one of thoſe that eat out of the ſame Diſh with him.* The Time is at Hand, *ſaid he,* in which I ſhall be put to Death according to the Prophecies concerning me: [n] But moſt dreadful Puniſhments ſhall befal the Man that will betray me; much better would it have been for him not to have been born. *Then* Judas *aſked him, Whether it was him that he meant; which* Jeſus *owned to him in a low Voice, without giving him any Reprimand, or ſo much as ordering him to depart the Room.*

VI. [o] *Whilſt they were at Supper,* Jeſus *took up the Bread; and having given Thanks to God for his bounteous Liberality to Men, he brake it, and divided it among his Apoſtles, adding theſe Words:* Take, eat, [p] this is my Body which is broken for you: Do this hereafter, which you ſee me now do, not as a Memorial of the Deliverance of the *Jews* from the Tyranny of the *Egyptians,* but in Remembrance of me. *Likewiſe after Supper he took the Cup filled with Wine; and having given Thanks to God, he delivered it to his Apoſtles, bidding them all drink of it, and telling them that this was his Blood, by the ſhedding of which God would enter into a new League with Men, and the Sins not only of them but of many others alſo ſhould be expiated; adding theſe Words, much like what he had before ſaid of the Brea* As often as you commemorate me, obſerve th Rite which you have ſeen me uſe. *And they a drank of the Cup.*

VII. [q] *Afterwards he ſaid unto them:* I hav greatly deſired to celebrate this laſt Paſſover wit you before I die; for I ſhall no more participat of any other with you as a Memorial of a Deliverance, till you are with me in the Kingdom Heaven, and we there celebrate together you Deliverance from the Miſeries of this tranſitor Life. *Having thus ſaid, he took up a ſecond Cu of Wine; and giving Thanks again to God, he delivered it to him that ſat next, and commanded hi Apoſtles to ſhare it amongſt them, adding, That h ſhould no more drink of that Cup with them, no celebrate any other Deliverance, than that whic they ſhould enjoy together with him in the Kingdo of Heaven, after their Freedom from all the Evil of this mortal Life.*

VIII. [r] Jeſus *having all along intirely loved hi Apoſtles, and having told them before the Paſſove that his Death drew nigh, and that he ſhould ſhortl take his Leave of Men, and return to his heavenl Father, did not ceaſe all the while he continued amon his Apoſtles to give them evident Marks of his conſtan Good-Will towards them, by ſuch Words and Actions as we ſhall now relate. And though he knew the Deſign of* Judas *againſt his Life, and was able t execute whatever he pleaſed by the Authority received from his heavenly Father, from whom h came, and to whom he knew he was quickly to return; yet he did not obſtruct him in his Deſign, nor expreſs himſelf with leſs Tenderneſs to the reſt of hi Apoſtles: Mean while* Judas, *having entirely given himſelf up to the Deluſions of* Satan, *and being determined to proceed in his Treaſons, continue ſtill to attend him as before, waiting an Opportunity to put his Purpoſe in Execution.*

IX. [s] *The other Apoſtles now imagining, ſo great was their Blindneſs then, that the Time was com when their Maſter ſhould reign as King over them, began to contend who ſhould have the moſt honourabl Preferment in that Kingdom, to which more tha one of them laid Claim.* Jeſus *perceiving this Contention, began to admoniſh them, as he had done once before on the ſame Subject.* The Kings of the Gentiles, *ſaid he,* exerciſe an arbitrary Dominion over them, and are by their inſlaved Subjects treated with the honourable Title of Benefactors. Do not you affect any thing of this Nature. The true Way to Authority and Eſteem is to be as ſerviceable as you can to the Neceſſities of others. Which is the more honourable Perſon, he that ſits at Table, or he that waits He that is ſeated without all doubt. But I am reſolved to miniſter unto you, that by my Example you may learn your Duty. I mention no this as if I thought you unworthy of Honour i

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[k] Matth. xxvi. 17, 18, 19. Mark xiv. 12—15. Luke xxii. 7—13.

[l] See the following Diſſertation.

[m] Matth. xxvi. 20—25. Mark xiv. 17—21. Luke xxii. 14—22.

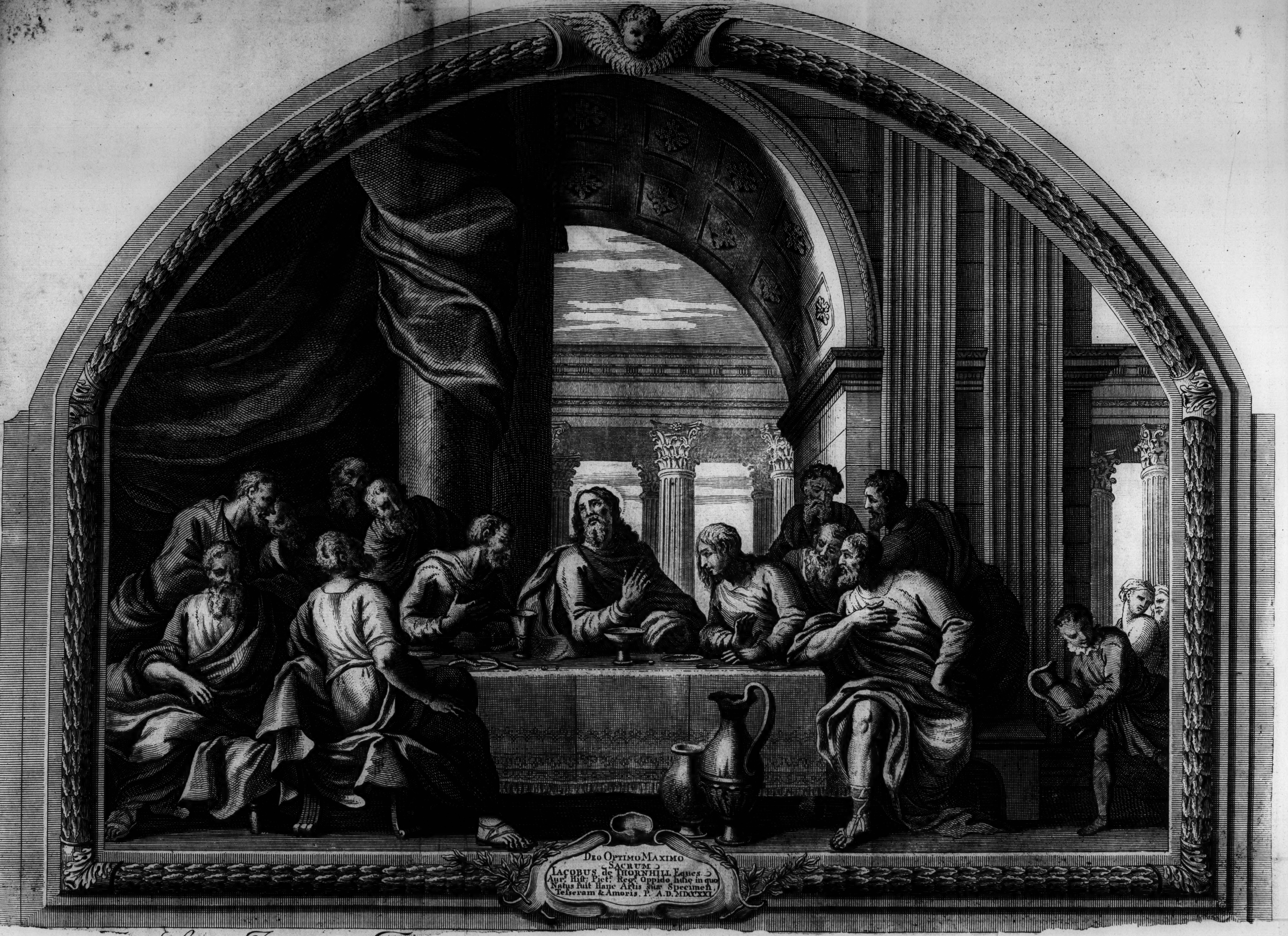
[n] Hence it appears, that the Prediction of this Event, that Jeſus ſhould ſuffer by the Treachery of *Judas,* laid no Neceſſity o *Judas* of doing this Action, but only ſuppoſed in God a Knowledge, how the Will of Man, left to itſelf, would determine.

[o] Matth. xxvi. 26, 27, 28. Mark xiv. 23, 23, 24. Luke xxii. 19, 20. 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

[p] See theſe Words explained in one of the ſubſequent Diſcourſes.

[q] Luke xxii. 15—18. Matth. xxvi. 29. Mark. xiv. 25.

[r] John xiii. 1, 2, 3 [s] Luke xxii. 24—30. [t] See Page 589, 594, 595.


DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO
SACRUM
IACOBUS de THORNHILL Eques
Aurˢ. Hiſt: Pictʳ. Regˢ. Oppido huic in quo
Natus fuit Hanc Artis suæ Specimen,
Teſseram & Amoris. P. A.D. MDCCXXI

my Kingdom. 'Tis you that have conſtantly adhered to me in the worſt of Times, in which wicked Men made their Attempts upon me: For this Reaſon, as my Father hath made me Partaker in his Kingdom, ſo will I communicate my Authority to you, and you ſhall ſit down with me upon twelve Thrones, to paſs Sentence on the Tribes of *Iſrael*. But that you may plainly know what I require from the greateſt of you, obſerve what I am going to do.

X. [u] *Having ſaid this, he roſe from the Table, the Apoſtles ſtill ſitting; and throwing off his upper Garment, girt himſelf with a Towel: Then pouring Water into a Baſon, he began to waſh the Feet of his Apoſtles, and wipe them with a Towel which he had about him. But when he came to* Peter, Maſter, *ſaid he,* doſt thou waſh my Feet? Jeſus *replied,* Thou doſt not yet underſtand the Reaſon of it, but thou ſhalt preſently. Peter *anſwered, that he could never endure to ſee his Maſter ſtoop and waſh his Feet.* But, *ſaid* Jeſus, If thou doſt not ſuffer me to waſh thee, thou canſt not partake with me of the good Things in the Kingdom of Heaven. *In which Words* Jeſus *ſignified, by an Alluſion from that corporeal Waſhing, that the Mind was to be purged from its vitious Defilements before it could be capable of eternal Happineſs.* Peter, *not comprehending the Drift of them, cried out,* If ſo, and it ſeems good to thee, waſh not only my Feet, but my Head and Hands alſo. *Then ſaid* Jeſus, He that has once waſhed his Body, is entirely clean, nor needs repeated Cleanſings, unleſs of the Feet, which are eaſily defiled with Duſt or Dirt.—Now you are clean; but not all of you. *In which Words he intimated, that thoſe who had already begun reſolutely to throw off their vitious Habits, did no longer ſtand in need of a thorough Change, ſince they had only ſome Relicks of their former Vices to part with; reflecting alſo upon* Judas, *who was then preſent, whom he did not rank with his other Apoſtles, and who, as it plainly appeared, was abandoned to the moſt ſordid Vices, and had the Impudence to continue preſent, and diſſemble his deſperate Deſign, though he knew that* Jeſus *was not ignorant of it.*

XI. [w] Jeſus *having performed this Office to the twelve Apoſtles, put on his Garment, and ſeated himſelf again at the Table, aſking them whether they underſtood the Meaning of what they had lately ſeen him do. They continuing ſilent, he went on:* You call me [x] Lord and Maſter, and juſtly: If then I, whom you own as your Lord and Maſter, have made no ſcruple to waſh your Feet, which is one of the moſt ſervile Offices, you ought to [y] do the ſame to one another without grudging, laying aſide all diſdainful and haughty Carriage. Remember, I have ſet you a Pattern of Humility and Moderation; that the Servant cannot expect a better Treatment than his Maſter, nor is the Meſſenger greater than him that ſent him. Happy will you be if you imitate this Example, that is, if you behave yourſelves with Condeſcenſion towards your Inferiors, and exerciſe all thoſe Offices of Humanity they ſhall ſtand in need of. I do not expect this from all of you, being well acquainted with the Diſpoſitions of every one; and if I have choſen a Traitor among my Followers, 'twas not through any Ignorance of his Temper and Deſign, but I voluntarily undergo what *David* complains befel him, in theſe Words: [z] *He that has eaten Bread with me, has lift up his Heel againſt me.* This I foretel, that none of you may think any Thing happens to me, of which I was not aware, and that you may be convinced by this Argument I am the ſame you have all along accounted me, and that you may chearfully go through with your Apoſtolical Commiſſion. Be aſſured moreover, that whatever ſhall befall you, I will look upon it as done to my ſelf. Whoever ſhall entertain you as my Meſſengers, ſhall be eſteemed by me as if I had been entertained by him; and whoever ſhall be thus eſteemed by me, will be looked upon by God as if he had actually entertained me who am his Meſſenger.

XII. [a] *Whilſt* Jeſus *thus ſpoke to them, he began to be greatly troubled, and in the hearing of them all told them again, that one of his Apoſtles ſhould betray him. His Apoſtles, who did not overhear what he ſpake to* Judas, *looked earneſtly one upon another, not being able to gueſs which of them could be guilty of ſo great a Villany.* Peter *therefore made Signs to* John, *whom* Jeſus *greatly loved, and who then lay with his Head upon his Boſom, that he ſhould aſk* Jeſus *who he meant.* John *accordingly aſked him, Who it was that could be ſo wicked: To whom* Jeſus *replied,* 'Tis he to whom I ſhall give a Piece of Bread when I have dipped it; *at the ſame Time reaching the Sop to* Judas Iſcariot, *the Son of* Simon; *who having received it, was* [b] *more furiouſly agitated by the evil Spirit than before. Which* Jeſus *taking notice of, ſaid to him with a loud Voice;* [c] What thou doſt, do quickly: *The Meaning of which Words none of thoſe at the Table underſtood; ſome believing, becauſe* Judas *carried the Bag, that* Jeſus *ordered him to provide ſome Neceſſaries during the remaining Days of the Feſtival, or elſe to* [d] *give ſomething to the Poor. But having eaten the Sop his Maſter gave him, he forthwith departed, Night being now far advanced.*

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[u] John xiii. 4—11.

[w] John xiii. 12—20.

[x] Grotius ſuppoſes this to ſignify, your Lord by commanding, and your Maſter by teaching. But Whitby ſays, that the Word Κύριος, here rendered *Lord*, ſeems to import, the *Lord from Heaven*, or the *Lord of all*.

[y] This need not be underſtood literally, of waſhing the Feet of one another once a Year, but in a ſpiritual Senſe, that they are to be ready to do any Manner of Service one for another, by which the Welfare and Purity of a Chriſtian may be promoted.

[z] Pſal. xli. 10.

[a] John xiii. 21—30.

[b] The Devil entered into Judas, not in Subſtance, but in Operation, as he is ſaid to do when we are fully inclined to obey his Motions.

[c] This is not a Command to Judas to go on with his wicked Enterprize, but only a Declaration made by Chriſt of his Readineſs to ſuffer Death.

[d] This Kind of Charity ſeems to have been the proper Buſineſs at a Feaſt. See Eſther ix. 22.

XIII. [e] Judas *being gone,* Jeſus *began to expreſs himſelf more openly before his Apoſtles:* Now at laſt, *ſaid he,* being ſhortly to finiſh the Buſineſs for which I came into the World, I muſt put you in Mind that God has demonſtrated by moſt remarkable Miracles who I am, whom the *Jews* generally look upon as a vulgar Perſon. As I have manifeſted the Glory of God among Men; ſo alſo will he evidently declare by moſt certain Tokens, that I have been ſent by him, by Miracles that will quickly come to paſs, ſuch as have not yet been ſeen. O my beloved Diſciples, I have yet a little Time to be [f] converſant with you; and as I told the obſtinate *Jews,* ſo I now tell you, whither I am going you cannot immediately come. In the mean time, I charge you to obſerve this new Command which I leave with you: Have a mutual Love for one another, and that with the [g] ſame Degree of Affection which I have ſhewn you; for this ſhall be the diſtinguiſhing Mark that you are my Diſciples, by which you may be known from [h] the Diſciples of other Maſters.

XIV. [i] Peter *after this aſked* Jeſus, *Whither he deſigned to retire, ſince he told them his Apoſtles could not come where he was going?* Jeſus *anſwered;* Whither I am going you cannot yet come, but you ſhall hereafter. *Then* Peter *aſked him, Why he could not immediately follow him.* Jeſus *thus replied:* [k] Know, that the evil Spirit has requeſted God to permit him to make a ſevere Trial of thy Conſtancy; but I have beſought him not to ſuffer thy Fidelity to be quite overpower'd, and therefore charge thee, when thou haſt recovered thy Strength, to confirm the reſt of my Diſciples in their Allegiance to me by thy Example. Peter *wondering at what he heard;* Sir, *ſaid he,* I am ready to follow thee, not only into Priſon, but to ſuffer Death alſo for thy Sake. Yet, *ſaid* Jeſus, before the Cock crows twice, thou ſhalt this Day thrice deny that thou haſt any Acquaintance with me.

XV. [l] *Then turning his Diſcourſe another Way, that he might forewarn his Apoſtles of the Perſecution which ſhould ſhortly befal them, he aſked them whether, when he ſent them forth without any Preparation for a Journey, they wanted any thing, or came by any Misfortune? They replied, They wanted nothing.* But now, *ſaid he,* that the Number of your Enemies is increaſed, whoever has Money let him keep it; whoever has a Scrip, let him fill it with Proviſions before he undertakes a Journey; whoever has no Sword, let him purchaſe one at any Rate. *Which Words* Jeſus *ſpoke, not as if he commanded them to get all theſe Things, but to intimate that the* Jews *would proſecute them with ſo deadly a Hatred, that they could no longer expect any Manner of Succour from their Country-men; concluding that the Time was now come in which he was to finiſh the Buſineſs he came into the World about; and as ſoon as the Prophecy of* Iſaiah, [m] He was reckoned among the Tranſgreſſors, *that is, treated like a Criminal, was accompliſhed, he ſhould have nothing left to do here on Earth. The Apoſtles, not ſufficiently underſtanding what he had ſaid, told him that they had two Swords by them.* Jeſus, *who was now taken up with other Concerns, did not at that Time diſcover their Error to them, knowing they would hereafter be acquainted with his Meaning by the Event. He therefore made Anſwer,* It is enough; *willing to break off that Diſcourſe, and comfort the Minds of his Diſciples, who he ſaw were melancholy and terrified.*

XVI. [n] *He then proceeded in this Manner:* Be of good Comfort, as Men ſupported by the divine Aſſiſtance. From your Infancy you have believed on God, nor can you refuſe to believe on me who am ſent by him: Do not deſpond then, but conſider who it is that bids you be of good Comfort. My Father's [o] Houſe is ſpacious, and able to contain not only you, but all Believers alſo; I would elſe have told you, and not permitted you to undergo any fruitleſs Labour upon my Account. And now I go [p] to prepare a Place for you, being ſhortly to introduce you, when the Time appointed by the divine Wiſdom is come, that you may be with me for ever in that happy Region. I have already ſufficiently acquainted you with the Place whither I am going, and the Way to it.

XVII. [q] Thomas *here interrupting him, told him, that his Apoſtles knew not whither he deſigned to go, nor the Way to it.* Jeſus *replied,* The Way to Bleſſedneſs, that ſalutary Truth which ſhall be attended with Life eternal, is no where to be found but in the Obſervation of my Doctrine; nor can any one enter into thoſe Seats of Bliſs, where my Father is always preſent, and whither I ſhall very ſhortly go, but he who conforms his Actions according to my Doctrine. I am the Author of that Way which leadeth to eternal Life, the Teacher of that Truth which directs to it, and the Giver of that Life itſelf which is thus obtained. If you knew my Doctrine exactly, you would alſo know what it is my Father expects from you: Nay, you have already known him, and ſeen him; namely in me, who ſpeak my Father's Words, and do his Works.

XVIII. [r] Philip *ſaid,* Lord ſhew us the Father, and we will no longer importune thee. Jeſus *anſwered,* Have I been ſo long with you, and are you ſtill ignorant who I am? O *Philip*, I am the Ambaſſador ſent from my Father to Mankind, who is indeed himſelf inviſible; but whoever has ſeen me, may be juſtly eſteemed to have ſeen the Father alſo. Wherefore doſt thou deſire to ſee the Father, as if thou doubteſt of my being truly ſent from him? Doſt thou not believe that I am conſcious of my Father's Counſels, and that I have received ample Authority from him? I have not invented what I deliver to you, and only execute the Orders I have received from my Father. Believe me when I aſſure you that I act by God's Authority, and that I am acquainted with the divine Determinations; reflect on the ſtupendous Miracles I have wrought, and from them firmly conclude that you cannot diſtruſt my Sayings. Whoever gives that Credit to my Doctrine which he ought, ſhall be endued with a Power by God of working the ſame Miracles, and [r] greater than I have ſhewn; for I muſt return ſhortly to my Father: And whatever you ſhall aſk of him in my Name, not doubting but your Petitions ſhall be heard by reaſon of your being my Diſciples, ſhall be given you: I ſay, whatever you ſhall require by reaſon of your being my Diſciples, ſhall be moſt aſſuredly granted to you.

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[e] John xiii. 31——37.

[f] *By my bodily Preſence*; for he had promiſed to abide for ever with them by his Spirit, and his divine Preſence.

[g] Even to the ſhedding of your Blood.

[h] The Diſciples of the Baptiſt were known by their Auſterity; thoſe of the Phariſees by their Habit, and Separation from other Men: Chriſt will have his known by their profound Affection for each other, which in the primitive Ages was ſo great, that the Heathens are ſaid to have hated and admired them for it at the ſame Time.

[i] Luke xxii. 31. John xiii. 37, 38.

[k] From the Words of our Lord to Peter we may note, for the Comfort of good Men, that Satan cannot afflict or tempt them without the divine Permiſſion; and that it is the Duty of thoſe who have truly repented of their Faults, to commiſerate the Fall of others, and be ſollicitous for their Confirmation in the Faith.

[l] Luke xxii. 35—38. [m] Iſai. liii. 12. [n] John xiv. 1—4.

[o] *In my Father's Houſe are many Manſions.* The Jews ſay, that in Paradiſe there are ſeven Manſions, which are each twelve thouſand Miles long, ten thouſand Miles broad, and as many high.

[p] Chriſt by his Entrance into Heaven with his Sacrifice, procured for us an Entrance into that Place which was before inacceſſible.

[q] John xiv. 5, 6, 7. [r] John xiv. 8——14.

XIX. [s] If you love me ſincerely, obſerve diligently the Rules I have preſcribed you, ſuch an Obedience being the only certain Sign of your Love to me. After I am gone to the Father, I will pray him to ſend another to defend and ſupport you here on Earth, as I have done hitherto, and to abide with you for ever. This Comforter is the Spirit, the only Guide in the Search of Truth, whom thoſe that are enſlaved to the Affairs of this Life cannot receive, as not knowing him, nor having any Affection for him: But you love him; for which Reaſon he is at preſent, and ſhall continue, with you. I will not leave you as Orphans for ever; and not long after my Departure I will return unto you. After a little while Men generally ſhall not ſee me, but you ſhall behold me, for I ſhall return again to Life. At that Time you ſhall have moſt certain Tokens of my being conſcious of all my Father's Purpoſes, like as I have imparted mine to you, and am acquainted with all your Reſolutions. Whoever ſhall obey my Doctrine, ſhall be looked on as a Lover of me, ſhall be beloved by the Father and me, and ſhall ſee me after my Reſurrection.

XX. [t] *Then ſaid* Judas, *not he that was ſirnamed* Iſcariot, Lord, wherefore wilt thou manifeſt thy ſelf to us only, and not to the promiſcuous Multitude, who might perhaps by this Means be reclaimed and converted? Jeſus *anſwered:* Whoever loves me, and demonſtrates his Love of me by his Obedience to my Commands, ſhall be requited with infallible Marks of my Father's and my Favour. But they who have expreſſed no Affection on their Part by the Obſervation of the divine Laws, cannot expect to be rewarded with the like Benefits. Wouldſt thou know who they are that do not truly love me? They are thoſe that neglect my Doctrine, which I have not invented of myſelf, but delivered as I have received it from my Father. Theſe Things I have my ſelf frequently inculcated, as you muſt needs remember. Nevertheleſs, that Holy Spirit, [u] whom the Father, as I have told you, will ſend to you, to be your Patron and Defender, who is as it were my Spirit, and will therefore be called the Spirit of the Meſſiah; he, I ſay, will inſtruct you fully in whatever is neceſſary for you to be acquainted with, and will remind you of every thing I have told you.

XXI. [w] By the Authority derived to me from my Father, I bequeath Peace and Safety to you: Not after the Manner of the World, who frequently deceive by a formal outward Shew of Friendſhip; or if they wiſh never ſo ſincerely, are not able to effect their well-intended Purpoſes. Be not then diſheartened at my Departure, nor dread the worſt of Evils, as knowing that I ſhall ſhortly return to you. You have no Reaſon to diſtruſt what I have ſo often repeated; and if you had that real Affection for me that you ought to have, you would be glad to hear of my Return to my Father, ſince he is greater than me, from whom I have received all Things. Theſe Things I have foretold you, that when you ſee the Accompliſhment of them, you may the more firmly rely upon my Promiſes. I ſhall not now enlarge upon this Subject; thoſe [x] that are inſtigated by the evil Spirit to ſeize me are at Hand, by the divine Permiſſion; not becauſe I am condemned by God of any Crime, but that the Greatneſs of my Affection and Reſignation to the divine Appointment may be manifeſted to Mankind. Ariſe, let us retire from the City.

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[r] This ſeems to refer chiefly to the admirable Succeſs of the Goſpel, preached by the Apoſtles after the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt; the inward Gift of Tongues, and the Interpretation of them; the Gift of Prophecy, and diſcerning of Spirits; and the Power of imparting theſe Gifts to others by Baptiſm, and Impoſition of the Apoſtles Hands.

[s] John xiv. 15—21.

[t] John xiv. 22—26.

[u] *The holy Spirit, whom the Father will ſend in my Name.* The holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is therefore ſtiled *the Spirit of the Son*, Gal. iv. 6. and the *Spirit of Chriſt*, 1 Pet. i. 11. Rom. viii. 9. Phil. i. 19. as well as the *Spirit of the Father.* Matth. x. 20.

[w] John xiv. 27—31.

[x] Judas and his Followers, the Miniſters of Satan the Prince of this World, and the Rulers of the Jews, who ſhall find no Guilt in me, though they ſhall condemn me to Death.

DIS-

DISSERTATION I.

Of the Day in which our Saviour did eat the Paſſover with the Apoſtles.

I. *The Paſſover of the firſt Day of unleavened Bread celebrated at the ſame Time. Proof that* Chriſt *ate the Paſſover on the firſt Day of unleavened Bread, and conſequently at the proper Time.* II. *Five more Arguments, from Reaſon and concurrent Circumſtances, to prove the ſame Thing.* III. *No ſuch Thing as a commemorative Paſſover without a Sacrifice.* IV. *What the Paſſover was which the* Jews *were to eat on the Day that* Chriſt *ſuffered.*

I. WE are here to diſcuſs the following Queſtion; *Whether* Chriſt *celebrated his laſt Paſſover in the ſame Day that the reſt of the* Jews *did, or whether he anticipated the legal Time, becauſe he knew that the Day following he was to be crucified?*

Now that *Chriſt* did eat the laſt Paſſover with his Diſciples at the Time accuſtomed, and did not anticipate the Day, ſeems evident, according to [a] Dr. *Whitby*, both from the concurrent Teſtimony of three Evangeliſts, and from the Reaſon of the Thing. Theſe Teſtimonies we ſhall here examine.

St. *Matthew* ſays, [b] That on the firſt Day of unleavened Bread *Chriſt*'s Diſciples did prepare, and at the Evening of the ſame Day *Chriſt* with his Diſciples did eat, the Paſſover: St. *Mark* obſerves, [c] That on the firſt Day of unleavened Bread the *Jews* killed the Paſſover: St. *Luke* mentions the [d] Coming of the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, in which the Paſſover was to be killed. From theſe Texts compared together, it appears, that *Chriſt* ate the Paſſover when the *Jews* killed it, and on the ſame Day in which it ought to be eaten, that is, the firſt Day of unleavened Bread: For that this was contemporary with the true Day of the Paſſover, appears from theſe Words of *Mark*, [e] *After two Days was the Paſſover, and the Feaſt of unleavened Bread.* And for this Reaſon [f] *Maimonides* and others aſſure us, that the fourteenth of *Niſan* is called the firſt Day of unleavened Bread, it being ſaid, that at Even they ſhould put Leven out of their Houſes, which they always did on the fourteenth after Mid-day.

[g] *There ſhall no leavened Bread,* ſays *Moſes, be ſeen with thee ſeven Days, neither ſhall any of the Fleſh which thou ſacrificeſt the firſt Day at Even remain till the Morning.* Whence it appears, that though the fifteenth of *Niſan* was the firſt Day of unleavened Bread, as to the holy Convocation, yet the fourteenth was the firſt Day as to the Separation of Leaven from their Houſes. And it is in regard to this Computation that *Joſephus* ſays, [h] *We celebrate the Feaſt of unleavened Bread eight Days*; and again, [i] *When the Feaſt of unleavened Bread was come, they ſacrificing the Paſſover in the Days of King* Joſias, *offered other Sacrifices for ſeven Days following.*

He therefore who ate the Paſſover on the firſt Day of unleavened Bread, did eat it on the fourteenth Day of *Niſan*, and on the Day when all the *Jews* did the ſame. It is a trifling Obſervation therefore, That *Chriſt* is ſaid not to *kill* or *ſacrifice*, but only to *celebrate* and *eat* the Paſſover; ſince he did it at the Time when the *Jews* killed their Paſſover, and ſent his Diſciples to *prepare*, that is doubtleſs to kill and dreſs it, as uſually Servants did for their Maſters, that he might eat thereof. Can any thing be more plain than this Proceſs of the whole Affair? The Diſciples went to prepare it, that he might eat of it: This Preparation was made at the Time when the *Jews* did, and ought to, kill the Paſſover: *Jeſus* came in the Evening of that Day to eat it, according to the Commandment, with the Twelve. All this is evident from the Texts already quoted.

II. St. *Matthew* informs us farther of our Lord's ſaying to his Diſciples, [k] *Ye know that after two Days is the Paſſover:* St. *Mark* takes notice upon ſome Occaſion, that [l] *the Paſſover and the Feaſt of unleavened Bread was after two Days*; or as St. *Luke* [m] has it, *the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, called the Paſſover:* Now we have already proved, that *Chriſt* did not eat the Paſſover till the firſt Day of unleavened Bread; therefore he could not eat it till after theſe two Days, when his Diſciples and the *Jews* knew that the Paſſover was by them to be eaten.

Again, The Day following, that is, the Day on which *Chriſt* ſuffered, was a Feaſt Day; for [n] *Barabbas* was releaſed at the Feaſt: Now the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, in which an holy Convocation was held, was the Day after the Paſſover, as we learn from the Words of its Inſtitution, [o] *In the fourteenth Day of the firſt Month is the Lord's Paſſover; and on the fifteenth Day of the ſame Month is the Feaſt of unleavened Bread: In the firſt Day,* (that is of the Feaſt,) *ye ſhall have an holy Convocation.*

Beſides, If *Chriſt* had celebrated the Paſſover by Anticipation on the thirteenth of *Niſan*, he had violated the Law, which expreſly requires the Celebration of it on the fourteenth Day; and upon that Account, he might have been juſtly liable to the Cenſure of the *Jews*. Nor would his Diſciples have come to him, before the Time appointed by the Law, and by the Rulers of the *Jews*, with that Queſtion, [p] *Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Paſſover?* Nor would they without Scruple, have eaten with him againſt the Letter of the Law, or the Cuſtom of their Nation. But that they did not ſcruple eating with him, and therefore that this eating was not againſt the Letter of the Law, is manifeſt: As it is alſo, that they did not put their Queſtion to him till the firſt Day of unleavened Bread was come, in which, as St. *Luke* informs us, the Paſſover was to be eaten; and conſequently not till it was full Time for them to know his Pleaſure.

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[a] See Whitby's Appendix to Mark xiv.
[b] Matth. xxvi. 17.
[c] Mark xiv. 12.
[d] Luke xxii. 7.
[e] Mark xiv. 1.
[f] On Exod. xii. 15.
[g] Deut. xvi. 4.
[h] Ant. l. ii. c. 5.
[i] Ant. l. ix. c. 14.
[k] Matth. xxvi. 2.
[l] Mark xiv. 1.
[m] Luke xxii. 1.
[n] Matth. xxvii. 15. Mark xv. 6. Luke xxiii. 17.
[o] Levit. xxiii. 4, 5, 6.
[p] Matth. xxvi 17. Mark xiv. 12.

Farther, It is confeſſed on all Hands, that our Lord ſuffered on *Friday*; and alſo, that he inſtituted the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the ſame Time that he ate the Paſſover; which, as St. *Paul* informs us, [q] was the very Night in which he was betrayed: Now all the Evangeliſts inform us, that in the Morning after he was betrayed, he was led bound to *Pilate*; at the ſixth Hour was crucified, and at the ninth Hour expired; therefore he muſt be crucified the Day after he had inſtituted the Sacrament, and conſequently the Day after he had celebrated the Paſſover: The Day of his Crucifixion being therefore a *Friday*, he muſt have celebrated the Paſſover on *Thurſday*, or on the fourteenth of *Niſan*, according to the Law.

Laſtly, The Paſchal Lamb could not be ſlain, but in the Place [r] which God had choſen to put his Name there, that is, in the Temple. And can we imagine that this would be done for any contrary to the Law, which appointed the ſlaying of it on [s] *the fourteenth Day, between the two Evenings?* If the Office of killing were not performed at this Time by the Prieſts, but every Man was now a Prieſt for himſelf, as *Joſephus* and *Philo* intimate; yet we cannot ſuppoſe that the Apoſtles would either have done it themſelves, or have aſked Leave to get it done, on any other Day than that which by the Law, and by the Practice of the Nation, was appointed for that Work.

III. To take off the Force of this laſt Argument, a Diſtinction has been made by ſome learned Perſons, and introduced in this Diſpute by way of Objection. They tell us, "There is a Difference between a Paſſover in which a Lamb was ſacrificed according to the Law, and a Commemoration of the ſame Deliverance without a Sacrifice." Our Lord's Paſſover, ſay they, was only of the latter Kind. But this Imagination is both novel and abſurd, as we ſhall now ſhew.

That it is *novel*, is very evident: For though ſome of the *Greek* Church, from the fifth Century, have held that *Chriſt* anticipated the Day, there is not one of their Writers to be found, who ſays he did not eat the Paſchal Lamb. 'Tis alſo without Precedent among the antient *Jews*, who in the Times of their Captivity and Diſperſion, when they had as much Occaſion as they could poſſibly have, never celebrated any ſuch commemorative Paſſover: Nor indeed could they do it, without a Sin like that of *Jeroboam*, by following the Imaginations of their own Heads, againſt the Tenor of the Law. Rather than incur ſuch a Danger as this, they were at ſuch Times content with keeping only the Feaſt of unleavened Bread; which being not confined to one Place, might be obſerved in their Captivity and Diſperſions.

That this Hypotheſis is *abſurd*, is no leſs evident: For even admit that ſuch an uncommanded Memorial had been kept by them in their Captivity and Diſperſions, when their Temple being burnt they could not offer Sacrifice in it, or being themſelves at a great Diſtance they could not repair to it; yet is there not only no Inſtance, but not the leaſt Semblance of Reaſon, that this was ever done by any preſent at *Jeruſalem*, where *Chriſt* was at that very Time, in which St. *Luke* aſſures us they were to ſacrifice the Paſſover,

IV. Another Objection is, "That [t] the *Jews*, on the Day that our Saviour ſuffered, would not enter into the Judgment-Hall, leſt they ſhould be defiled, and ſo unfit to eat the Paſſover; whereas *Chriſt* ate of it in the Night before he ſuffered, and therefore a Day before the proper Time when he ſhould have eaten it."

To this we anſwer, That by the Paſſover mentioned in the Place they refer to, we are to underſtand, not the Feaſt of the Paſchal Lamb, but the *Chagigah* or Peace-Offerings, the Sheep and Oxen that were offered all the ſeven Days of the Feaſt, and [u] which, as well as the [w] whole Feaſt of unleavened Bread, are expreſly called the Paſſover. *Thou ſhalt ſacrifice the Paſſover to the Lord, of the Flock and of the Herd:* So runs the Precept; upon which the Note of the *Jewiſh* Doctors is this: *The Flocks ſignify the Lambs and Kids for the Paſſover; the Herds, the Offerings for the* Chagigah. Now the Lamb, ſay they, was eaten on the fourteenth Day, but the *Chagigah* on the fifteenth. And in the ſecond Book of *Chronicles* we read, [x] *That King* Joſiah, *and his Princes, gave to the People, and to the Prieſts, Oxen as well as Sheep, for the Paſſover.* Agreeable to which is a Paſſage in the apocryphal *Eſdras*, [y] *that* Helkias, Zacharias, *and* Suelus, *Governors of the Temple, gave to the Prieſts, for the Paſſover, two thouſand and four hundred Sheep, and three hundred Calves.*

From theſe Texts it appears, that the Rulers of the *Jews* would not go into the Judgment-Hall, that they might not be defiled after the Sacrifice of the Paſchal Lamb, but be fit to eat of thoſe Paſchal Offerings of the Herd, which were continued for ſeven Days more, and which were ſuch holy Things, that none might eat of them in their Defilement. And this Expoſition of the Evangeliſt's Words contains a full Anſwer to the whole Objection.

Mr. *Whiſton* indeed takes the Paſſover here in the ſtrict Senſe, but then he thinks it was on the ſame Night that the Rulers of the *Jews* would not go into the Judgment Hall leſt they ſhould be defiled, and that they afterwards did eat the Paſchal Lamb between two and four in the Morning, which they might do, there being no preciſe Time of Night limited beyond which they might not delay the eating of it; provided that *none of it was left in the Morning:* But yet it is certain, that in this Inſtance it could not be ſo; for *Pilate*, in Compliance with their Scrupuloſity, [z] goes out of the Judgment-Hall to them three Times ſucceſſively, after which he brings out *Chriſt* to them, and ſays, *Behold your King!* and then it was *Friday* at the ſixth Hour, or at Noon; ſo that they who ſtaid without the Hall that they might eat the Paſſover, ſtaid there till *Friday* at Noon, *Pilate* ſtill going out to them, becauſe they durſt not go in to him.

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[q] 1 Cor. xi. 23.
[r] Deut. xvi. 6.
[s] Ibid.
[t] John xviii. 28.
[u] Deut. xvi. 2.
[w] Luke xxii. 1.
[x] 2 Chron. xxxv. 7, 8, 9.
[y] Chap. i. 8.
[z] John xviii. 29, 38. xix. 4.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Chriſtian Sacraments, and particularly of the Lord's Supper.

I. *Of the Word Sacrament, and of Sacraments in general, and their Parts.* II. *Of the Lord's Supper; its Inſtitution, and the Circumſtances of it. Of* Judas's *receiving it.* III. *Other Obſervations on the preceding Circumſtances.* IV. *Of the Manner of* Chriſt's *inſtituting this Sacrament.* V. *Of the Remembrance of* Chriſt *in the Lord's Supper.* VI. *To whom the Office of adminiſtring belongs.* VII. *How the Bread and Wine is the Body and Blood of* Chriſt. VIII. *Of the Apoſtles Practice in the firſt Uſe of this Sacrament.* IX. *St.* Paul's *Account of this Sacrament paraphraſed and applied.* X. *Another Paſſage in St.* Paul's *Writings.* XI. *A Third.* XII. *How the Phraſe of taking and eating* Chriſt's *Body is to be underſtood. The Communication of* Chriſt's *Body, and the two Parts of the Lord's Supper.* XIII. *Application of what is ſaid to the Words of the Church Catechiſm.* XIV. *The Benefits of this Sacrament.* XV. *The Preparations for worthy receiving the Lord's Supper.*

I. THE Word *Sacrament* ſtrictly ſignifies a *Secret* or *Myſtery*, and the Uſe of it in the *Chriſtian* Church is very agreeable to this original Signification: For with us it means a [a] *holy Rite, a ſacred Ceremony* uſed in the Service of God.

The Chriſtian Sacraments being Inſtitutions of *Chriſt*, and not Duties of moral Obligation, there is little in the Underſtanding of them, wherein our own Reaſon can aſſiſt us, any farther than that may collect or conclude from the Scriptures, wherein thoſe Inſtitutions are ſet down, either by way of Story in the Goſpels, or by way of doctrinal Diſcourſe, by St. *Paul* and other Scripture-Writers. But there is not a more excellent Summary of that which is there ſcattered to be met with, than the ſhort Anſwers to the Queſtions in the Church Catechiſm will afford us: We ſhall therefore have a regard thereto in this whole Diſcourſe.

Of theſe Ceremonies in general there are many in the Church; ſome of which were ordained by *Chriſt*, ſome by the Apoſtles, ſome by the following Church of ſeveral Ages; and they are now accordingly uſed among Chriſtians, in Obedience to *Chriſt* and the Apoſtles in what they ordained, and in Imitation of the laudable Canons or Practices of the primitive or antient Church. Some few there are which *Chriſt* himſelf, when he was here on Earth, did ordain, and inſtitute, and of thoſe particularly the Queſtion is in our Catechiſm, when we aſk, *How many Sacraments hath* Chriſt *ordained in his Church?* That is, How many are there of this immediate Inſtitution of *Chriſt?* Becauſe thoſe certainly which are ſuch, will deſerve more Reverence from us, and more Care and Diligence in the Uſe of them, than any others which inferior Authority, eſpecially that of the After-Church, hath inſtituted. And to this Queſtion the Anſwer is very exact, that there are *only two, as generally neceſſary to Salvation.* Some other ſacred Rites *Chriſt* did inſtitute for Caſes of particular Perſons, or Orders of Men, as [b] Impoſition of Hands. But of this Kind, wherein all Men to whom Chriſtianity is revealed, or that expect Salvation from *Chriſt*, ſhould think themſelves concerned, to which all Chriſtians are ſtrictly obliged, ſo far as not to neglect them wilfully, or to omit them when they may be had; of this Kind, we ſay, there are two only; *1ſt*, *Baptiſm*, a Ceremony of Waſhing with Water, either by going into a Brook, and being immers'd over Head and Ears in it, or by being ſprinkled with Water on the Face, or principal Part, as hath been uſed in theſe colder Countries inſtead of the former. *2dly*, The *Supper of the Lord*, the Bleſſing of the Bread and Wine, and dividing it among thoſe which are preſent, in Imitation of that which *Chriſt* did after his laſt Supper, and by Way of Commemoation of that Death of his, which immediately followed that Supper, and which, as a ſpecial Part of his Office in working our Redemption, we ought frequently to commemorate by way of Thankſgiving to him, and preſent it before his Father, to whoſe Favour we have no Claim but through thoſe Sufferings.

The Anſwer to the ſecond Queſtion, *What meaneſt thou by the Word Sacrament?* informs us, that in this Place the Word Sacrament is ſet to ſignify, *an outward viſible Sign*, that is not ſimly a holy Rite, or Ceremony, but a ſignificative Rite, a Ceremony ſet to import and denote ſomething viſibly and diſcernibly; which ſomething, we are told, is *an inward ſpiritual Grace given unto us*, ſome ſpecial Favour and Gift of God beſtowed us, particularly by the Death of *Chriſt:* And this Sign or ſignificative Rite, *was ordained by* Chriſt *himſelf*, of his immediate Inſtitution, and deſigned and conſecrated by him for two grand Ends. *1ſt*, As a *Means whereby we receive the ſame*; that is, as a Means of Conveyance, whereby he is pleaſed in a peculiar Manner to make over that Grace or Favour to us, as alſo by the right and due Uſe of which we are ſuppoſed to perform our Parts, or the Condition required of us to make us capable of receiving it, and ſo are actually made Partakers of ſo much of the Grace, as at that Time is uſeful for us, ſuch as Pardon of Sin, God's Reconciliation to us, and Strength to do what God requires: And *2dly*, As a *Pledge to aſſure us thereof*, that is, a Pawn, as it were, delivered us from God by the Hand of the Miniſter, to give us Ground of Confidence, that thoſe Graces or Favours are now ſo made over to us by God, that we ſhall not fail of our Part in them; inſtantly, in that Degree as they are proper to our preſent State; and hereafter, in that other ſuperior Degree, for which we muſt wait till another World: And all this in the ſame Manner, as when ſome Promiſe is made for the future, and a Pawn depoſited till the Promiſe be performed.

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[a] Hamm. Pract. Catech. l. vi.

[b] Heb. vi. 1.

The next Queſtion deſcends from the general Conſideration of the Nature of a Sacrament to a particular View of the Parts of it; and the Anſwer informs us, that as in the Notion of a Picture, as it is a merely relative Thing, there are two Parts, The *Reſemblance*, and, The *Thing reſembled*; the ſecond being as it were the Soul to the former, without which it is a Fancy, not an Image or Picture; ſo in theſe holy ſignificative Rites, there is, The *Sign*, or outward viſible Part, and, That which is *ſignified* by it, the Grace or precious Treaſure, that this Image is ſet to repreſent, or which is conveyed to the Underſtandingunder that Vail or Likeneſs.

II. This may ſuffice concerning Sacraments in general, and by way of Introduction to what we have to ſay of the Lord's Supper in particular; in treating of which we intend, *firſt*, To ſurvey the Story of *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution of this Sacrament in the Goſpels; 2*dly*, To obſerve what is ſaid of it by way [c] of Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Practice; 3*dly*, To conſider what St. *Paul* adds to that in [d] deſcribing or directing the Uſe of it; 4*thly*, To ſuperadd the ſame Apoſtle's [e] Comment on the preceding Particulars in another Place; 5*thly*, To ſee what will certainly ariſe from theſe three together; And 6*thy*, To apply them, by way of Illuſtration and Confirmation, to what is ſaid of this Matter in the Catechiſm.

As to the Hiſtory of this Inſtitution in the Goſpels, although in three of them it be repeated, yet there is no conſiderable Difference in that Variety. Some Things, however, are obſervable as Circumſtances in the ſetting down the Story, and ſome as eſſential and fundamental to the Inſtitution.

The *firſt* of the leſs principal Obſervations is, That *Jeſus* gave that Sacrament to all the Diſciples, even to *Judas* himſelf, as will appear by three of the Goſpels: From which Circumſtance we infer, That thoſe that are Chriſtian Profeſſors may be lawfully admitted to the Sacraments, though their Hearts be not pure. This however muſt be taken warily: We only ſay from the Example of *Chriſt*, who knew the Heart of *Judas* when he admitted him, that it is lawful to admit ſuch to the Sacrament. 'Tis true, the Chriſtian that ſo comes, eats Ruin to himſelf, and ought to reform any ſuch Sin, and ſincerely to renounce it, before he thus comes nigh to God in his Sacrament; for if he do not, 'tis ſo far from doing him good, that it proves his Miſchief. 'Tis alſo true that the Governors of the Church, when they ſee any Man go on wilfully, ſcandalouſly, and impenitently in any Sin, ought to inflict the Cenſures of the Church upon him, to withdraw the Sacrament, and uſe other the like Means, to bring him to a Senſe and Shame of his Crime, when they ſee it likely to do good. In this Reſpect ſuch an one may be juſtly excluded from the Sacrament, by way of Charity to his Soul. But then, after all this, if he be not under the Cenſures of the Church, and if he will ſtill venture ſo unworthily to that Table, it will not be any Pollution to the Miniſter or Communicants, to communicate with him in that Sacrament. The only Error that we would, from the Inſtance of *Judas*, hence admoniſh Chriſtians to avoid, is the Conceit of ſome, that the communicating with wicked or carnal Men, is a Sin in the Communicants, a being polluted by their Company. It is poſſible indeed that evil Company may draw into an imitating of Sin, and ſo pollute. But if it do not ſo, the very keeping Company with Sinners, even in theſe ſacred Meetings, is far from being a Sin: 'Tis only an Acknowledgment that they are of that Number whom *Chriſt* redeemed, a joining with them in the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, a confederating in a Vow of living Chriſtian Lives; and all theſe are charitable and Chriſtian Acts, and withal Tokens of Humility, that we are not of that *Phariſee*'s Humour, who condemned and triumphed over the *Publican*.

And for this Practice we have the Apoſtle's Example toward the *Corinthians*, among whom though there were [f] *Fornicators*, *Inceſtuous*, they *that went to Law among Infidels*, *carnal Perſons*, ſome that behaved themſelves very *unchriſtianly at the Lord's Table*, yet of theſe the Cenſure of Excommunication is ſent out only againſt the Inceſtuous; from whence we may conclude, that the communicating with ſuch is not unlawful in a Chriſtian Church. He that comes to the Lord's Table, is indeed himſelf concerned to ſee that he do it worthily, which cannot be without leaving all his wilful Sins behind him; and the Paſtor is concerned to exclude him by way of Cenſure, when he thinks it an uſeful Diſcipline: But he is not by that obliged never to admit him; 1*ſt*, Becauſe the Order which *Chriſt* ſets in [g] his Rules for Diſcipline is not to deal ſo rigorouſly with him, till after three Degrees of Admonition, which cannot be done juſt as a Man comes to the Table. 2*dly*, Becauſe we muſt not judge others but upon legal Proceſs and Evidence, which cannot then probably be had. 3*dly*, Becauſe whoſoever ſees any Man come to the Table, whom he knows to have been guilty of ſuch Sins, may very reaſonably, and by the Judgment of Charity, think he hath repented of thoſe Sins, and comes then with new Vows of Renovation. Though the Truth is, if this Condition be wanting, yet will not that make it unlawful to admit him;

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[c] Acts ii. 46. & xx. 7.

[d] 1 Cor. xi. 20. xii. 13.

[e] 1 Cor. xi. 17, &c.

[f] 1 Cor. v. 1. vi. 1. iii. 3. xi. 21.

[g] In the xviii. Chapter of Matthew.

Chriſt knowing well that when *Judas* received the Sacrament, he was in the full Reſolution of betraying his Maſter: But we ought to judge charitably, eſpecially when, as in our Church, every Man is, by the Exhortation before the Sacrament, adviſed of the Danger of coming unworthily, and ſo, if he be unworthy, exhorted not to come to this holy Table. *Chriſt* communed with Publicans and Sinners, and this was Charity and Humility in him, and a Means by converſing with them to reform them; and ſo may our communicating with Sinners be alſo.

III. Another Obſervation that we have from the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper is this, That it was uſed by *Chriſt* in Imitation of the *Jews* Cuſtom of diſtributing Bread, and drinking Wine about the [h] Table after Supper, an Argument of Charity and Brotherlineſs among them: And ſo by inſtituting it after Supper, *Chriſt* was pleaſed to ſignify to us, that it ſhould be an Incitement of Charity among all Chriſtians. Yet doth not this Circumſtance oblige us to do it at the ſame Time of Meal, any more than the Faſhion of lying along binds us to the uſing of the ſame Poſture. The antient Chriſtians generally eat it faſting, and kneeled when they received it.

A third Obſervation is this, That *Chriſt* inſtituted it after a peculiar Supper, the Paſſover, which being a [i] ſacrificial Feaſt, and peculiarly commemorative of Gods merciful Deliverance of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*, was therefore very fit to ſignify the Crucifixion of *Chriſt*, that Lamb ſlain by the *Jews*; and fed on by us with bitter Herbs, a Mixture of Sourneſs in this World; whereupon *Chriſt* is called our Paſſover, or the *Paſchal Lamb ſlain for us.* This Sacrament, which was thus inſtituted after the Paſſover, is to be thought a Confederation of all Chriſtians one with another, to live piouſly and charitably, both by commemorating the Death of *Chriſt*, who died for us that *he might redeem us from all Iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar People, zealous of good Works*, and by making his Blood, as it was the Faſhion in the Eaſtern Nation, a Ceremony of this mutual Covenant betwixt God and us.

The fourth Obſervation under this Head is, That *Chriſt*'s Pleaſure was, that all that were preſent ſhould partake of both Elements in the Sacrament, the Wine as well as the Bread, as may appear by the plain Words, [k] *Drink ye all of this*; [l] *And they all drank of it.* If it ſhould be objected, that the All there were Diſciples, and ſo that no others have that full Privilege to drink of the Cup, the Anſwer is clear, 1*ſt*, That by this Argument the Bread might as well be taken away from all but Diſciples too, and ſo the Laity would have no right to any Part of this Sacrament. 2*dly*, That the Practice and Writings of the antient Church, which afford the beſt Way to explicate any ſuch Difficulty in Scripture, are a clear Teſtimony and Proof, that both the Bread and the Wine belongs to all the People in the Name of his Diſciples at that Time.

And if is ſhould be farther asked, Why Laymen may not baptize alſo, and do thoſe other Things for which *Chriſt* gave Power to his Diſciples, as well as participate of this Bread and Wine that was divided among the Diſciples; The Anſwer now given will be ſufficient, that the apoſtolical Practice, and the univerſal Conſent of the antient and primitive Church, have defined for the one, and againſt the other; and that ought to ſatisfy any ſober Man's Scruples; it being no way probable that *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution would be preſently fruſtrated and corrupted by his own Apoſtles, or their Practice ſo falſified by the univerſal Agreement of all that lived next after them, eſpecially there being no univerſal Council wherein it were poſſible for them all uniformly to agree on ſuch an Alteration.

IV. The next Obſervation that we ſhall make, is on the Manner of *Chriſt*'s inſtituting this Supper, by way of bleſſing or praiſing God, or giving Thanks over it; from whence it is called the *Euchariſt*.

This imports to us the Offering up ſomewhat unto God, in Imitation of the firſt Fruits under the Law: To which Purpoſe we may obſerve the Manner of the Sacrament in the apoſtolical and antient Church. The Chriſtians, all that were preſent, brought ſome of the good Fruits of the Earth along with them, and offered them at God's Altar, or Table, and the [m] Prefect or Biſhop, or if he were not there the Preſbyter, receiving them as an *Abel*'s Offering, bleſſed God for all his Mercies, for the Fruits of the Seaſon, but above all for the Death of *Chriſt*, ſignified by and commemorated in the breaking of the Bread and pouring out of the Wine; and all the People ſaying, *Amen*, the Officer or Attendant, called the Deacon, delivered Portions of the Bread and Wine to all that were preſent. Then was there a common Table ſpread for all, rich and poor promiſcuouſly, who eat together at one common Feaſt; and what was left, was reſerved by the Prefect for thoſe that ſhould be in Want, as Strangers, Orphans, or Widows. Theſe were the [n] Feaſts of Charity mentioned in St. *Jude* Epiſtle's. And agreeably to this it is, that every one that comes to the Sacrament, ſhould bring ſomething with him; *not appear empty before the Lord, or ſerve him of that which coſt him nothing*, but always bring ſomewhat to the Treaſury of the Church. Theſe Gifts ſhould be for the Uſe of the Prefect and Preſbyters, in caſe they are not otherwiſe ſufficiently provided for; and then they are called Oblations, and the Place where they are put the *Sacrarium:* But in caſe they are provided for, then for the Uſe and Suſtenance of all that are in want. And

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[h] Poſtcœnium.

[i] Of this Kind there were many among the Jews and Gentiles, it being common to both thoſe, to annex to their Sacrifices to God, a feeding with Mirth and Feſtivity upon ſome Parts of the Sacrifice.

[k] Matth. xxvi. 27.

[l] Mark xiv. 23.

[m] προεστὼς, Juſtin. Mart. Apol. 2.

[n] Ver. 12.

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And that this ought not to be neglected by any Man of Subſtance, eſpecially by any Congregation, is the main Thing to be deduced from this Circumſtance.

V. We are next to enquire what is the full Import of thoſe Words, added in [o] St. *Luke*, and repeated by [p] St. *Paul*, though not mentioned in the other Goſpels, *Do this in Remembrance of me.*

Now in this Phraſe there ſeems to be contained, 1*ſt*, A Commiſſion given to his Apoſtles, to continue this Ceremony now uſed by him, as an holy Ceremony, or Sacrament in the Church for ever. 2*dly*, A Direction, that, for the Manner of obſerving it, they ſhould do to other Chriſtians as he had now done to them; that is, take, bleſs, and break the Bread, take and bleſs the Cup, and then give and diſtribute it to others; ſettling this on them as Part of their Office, a Branch of that Power left them by him, and by them communicable, to whom they ſhould think fit, after them. 3*dly*, A Specification of the End, to which this was deſigned, a Commemoration of the Death of *Chriſt*.

VI. With regard to the Perſons to whom this Office now belongs in the Church; All that the Scripture reveals to us of this Matter, is *Chriſt*'s beſtowing, or ſettling it on the Apoſtles; whom thereby, and by the Coming of the Holy Ghoſt afterwards upon them, we may ſuppoſe inveſted with Power, both for the planting a Church, which was to endure after the Time of their Life, to the End of the World, and for the appointing and ordaining Succeſſors to themſelves, to preſide and officiate in that Church, and particularly to adminiſter this Sacrament to the People, by way of Office, that is, to do as *Chriſt* here did. But who they were, or what Sort of Men, on whom the Apoſtles did actually beſtow this Power of adminiſtring this Sacrament, that we muſt be content to receive, not from expreſs Words of Scripture, but from the antient Records and Writings of the Church, which begin where the Scripture ends, and are the only Means imaginable to inform us of ſuch Matters of Fact as theſe.

For Paſſages of Story after the Scripture Times, it would indeed be unreaſonable to expect Evidence from Scripture, or from any Writings but thoſe of the primitive Fathers. Now the Sum of what they tell us is this: That the Apoſtles ſettled in the Church beſides the Biſhops, who were to ſucceed them in the Power of ruling and cenſuring, and in the Power of Ordination, others of an inferior Order, called, within a while, by the deſcriminative Title of Preſbyters; who in the Abſence of the Biſhop, or when licenſed by him, and not otherwiſe, had this Power to bleſs the Bread and Wine, and to deliver it, either by their own Hands, or by the Hands of the [q] Deacon to all Chriſtian Communicants. And ſo this Branch of the Apoſtles Power and Office, with ſome others not now pertinent to be inſiſted on, may be concluded, in Subordination to the Biſhop, to be inſtated on Preſbyters, and conſequently that the Preſbyters in the Church are thus far the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; to whom this Commiſſion thus belongs, and with it the Duty of adminiſtring this Sacrament to the People committed to their Charges, frequently and at fit Seaſons, and of inſtructing, exciting, and preparing them for a worthy receiving of it.

VII. We have now paſt through all the firſt Sort of Obſervations, thoſe that are circumſtantial. The more ſubſtantial Difficulty to be explained in thoſe Goſpels, is to reſolve what is the Meaning of *Chriſt*'s Words of Inſtitution, *This is my Body: This is my Blood.* Now here we are to underſtand, Not that the Bread was his Body, and the Wine his Blood, in ſtrict ſpeaking; for he was then in his Body, when he ſo ſpake; and when the Diſciples diſtributed it among themſelves, he could not be bodily in every one of their Mouths. And now his Body is in Heaven, and there to be contained till the Day of Reſtitution of all Things, and is not corporally brought down in every Sacrament, either to be joined locally with the Elements, or for the Elements to be changed into it: Many Contradictions and Abſurdities would be conſequent to ſuch an Interpretation. Every Loaf of conſecrated Bread would be the Body of *Chriſt*; and ſo the ſame Thing be two Cubits long, and not two Cubits long; and many the like contradictory Propoſitions would be all true, which it is generally reſolved to be impoſſible even for God to make ſo, becauſe it would make him a Liar, and be an Argument not of Power, but Imperfection. So again, every Communicant muſt carnally eat Man's Fleſh, and drink human Blood, which is ſo ſavage a Thing, that, as St. *Auguſtine* ſaith, whenſoever Words of Scripture ſeem to ſound that way, they muſt otherwiſe be interpreted.

In order to find what is the true Senſe that ſhould be put upon theſe Words, we ſhall firſt take an Obſervation from the *Jewiſh* Phraſes and Cuſtoms uſed in this Matter; That the Lamb that was dreſt in the Paſchal Supper, and ſet upon the Table, was wont to be called, [r] *The Body of the Paſſover*, or *the Body of the Paſchal Lamb.* What can be more probable than that *Chriſt* alludes to this Phraſe, when he ſaith, *This is my Body?* As if he ſhould ſay, *The Paſchal Lamb and the Body of it, the Memorial of Deliverance out of* Egypt, *and Type of my delivering myſelf to die for you, I will now have abrogated, and by this Bread, which I now deliver to you, I give or exhibit to you this other Paſſover, my own ſelf, who am to be ſacrificed for you, that you may hereafter retain and continue to Poſterity a Memorial and Symbol of me.* This might give Occaſion for the Words *my Body*; but then in the whole Phraſe or

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[o] Luke xxii. 19. [p] 1 Cor. xi. 24.

[q] Deacons were inferior to Preſbyters: We have the Original of their Order, Acts vi.

[r] So Talmud. de Paſch. c. ult. So Rab. Moſ. Maimon. in Hilchoſ. Chamets umatzah c. 8. ſect. 1. & ſect. 7. So in Mekilta fol. iv. col. 1.

Form of Speech, *This is my Body*, it ſeems to be anſwerable to, and ſubſtituted inſtead of, the Paſchal Form of ſpeaking: *This is the Bread of Affliction, which our Fathers eat in Egypt*; or, *This is unleavened Bread*; or, *This is the Paſſover*: Not that it is that very identical Bread which they then eat, but that it is the Celebration of that anniverſary Feaſt which was then inſtituted; as when, in common Speech, we ſay on *Good Friday* and *Eaſter Day*, *This Day* Chriſt *died*, and *this Day* Chriſt *roſe*, when we know that it was many hundred Years ſince he died or roſe; which Example is adapted to this Point in Hand by St. *Auguſtine* in his Epiſtles. Thus much for the Phraſe or Form of Speech.

Now for the full Senſe of the Words, *This is my Body*, we are by the Authority of the antient Fathers obliged to acknowledge, that the higheſt Senſe that will not be ſubject to thoſe intolerable Inconveniences before-mentioned, may poſſibly be the Senſe of them: And that Senſe which moſt agrees with other Places of Scripture, that ſpeak of the ſame Matter, muſt be concluded to be the Senſe here. For the former of theſe Rules, it is certain that many of the antient Fathers of the Church conceived very high Things of this Sacrament, and acknowledged the [p] *Bread and Wine to be changed, and to become other than they were, but not ſo as to be tranſubſtantiated into the Body and Blood of* Chriſt, *to depart from their own Subſtance, or Figure, or Form, or to ceaſe to be Bread and Wine by that Change: That* [q] *the Faithful do receive the Body and Blood of* Chriſt *in the Sacrament, but myſtically, and after an ineffable Manner.* And generally they make it a Myſtery, but deſcend not to reveal the Manner of it; leaving it as a Matter of Faith, but not of Senſe; to be believed, but not groſly fancied, or deſcribed.

As to the other Places of Scripture, which ſpeak of this Matter, we may firſt take the Paſſages in the Goſpels themſelves. In St. *Luke Chriſt* ſaith of the Cup, that it [r] *is a new Teſtament, or Covenant in his Blood, which was ſhed for us.* Which is all one in Senſe with St. *Mark*'s Account, [s] *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many*; and St. *Matthew*'s, [t] *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.* Now theſe being put together as Parallels, to interpret one another, will conclude, that *Chriſt*'s Blood was truly ſhed for our Benefit, particularly to ſeal a new Covenant betwixt God and us, and that this Sacrament was the exhibiting that Covenant to us: As when God ſaith to *Abraham*, *This is the Covenant that I will make with you, every Male among you ſhall be circumciſed.* Here Circumciſion is in effect called the Covenant, as the Cup is in the Lord's Supper; that is, not only the Sign of the Covenant, but a Seal of it, an Exhibition of it, a real receiving us into it, and making us Partakers of the Benefits of it. And this we ſhall more fully ſee, when we come to the Places in St. *Paul*, that we propoſed to explain.

VIII. But firſt we muſt deſcend to the next Part of our Method propoſed, that is, to obſerve what is ſaid of this Sacrament, by way of Hiſtory of the Apoſtles Practice, and particularly in two [u] Places.

In the ſecond of *Acts* all that is ſaid of it is, that *continuing daily with one Accord in the Temple, and breaking Bread from Houſe to Houſe*, or in ſome Houſe, or Room, *they did eat their Meat with Gladneſs, and Singleneſs*, or Liberality, *of Heart*; *praiſing God, and having Favour with*, or exerciſing Charity toward, *all the People.* From which Place we may learn the Frequency of the Apoſtles receiving the Sacrament at that Time, which was immediately after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, and the Deſcent of the Spirit; for ought one can gueſs by the Text, every Day, at leaſt every firſt Day of the Week, at their meeting together. Which although it be acknowledged not ſtrictly obligatory to us for the like Frequency, yet will much upbraid our Infrequency and Negligence in this Duty now-a-days, eſpecially our forſaking ſuch Aſſemblies, going out of the Church often times, when the Feaſt is prepared and ready for us, if we did not contemptuouſly depart from it.

We learn farther, That there were two ſpecial Acceſſories uſed by them, and which, as we have Reaſon to think, are required of us, to make up this Solemnity. 1*ſt*, Godly or chriſtian Joy and Chearfulneſs, expreſſed in bleſſing and praiſing God for all his Benefits, but eſpecially for that gracious Gift of his Son *Chriſt.* This is ſet down in two Phraſes; *Receiving Food with Gladneſs of Heart*; (where the [w] Words ſignify firſt a cordial Joy and Chearfulneſs, then an exceſſive Degree and Expreſſion of it:) And *Praiſing God*, or *ſinging Praiſes to him with lofty*, and even poetical Expreſſions, as the [x] *Greek* imports. The *ſecond* Acceſſory is the Communicants Liberality and Charity to thoſe Brethren that are in want. This is expreſſed alſo by two Phraſes in the *Greek*, neither of them properly rendered in our *Engliſh*. [y] *With Liberality, or Frankneſs of Heart*; importing a chearful, bounteous, cordial Giving. [z] *Having Charity to all the People*; intimating by the Word *Charity* that Offertory which was then, and has been ever ſince, uſed in the Church of *Chriſt* at the receiving of that Sacrament; and by the Phraſe, *All the People*, ſignifying the Liberality of thoſe Offerings, and the Impartiality of their Diſtribution, all partaking as in a common Table, of what was thus offered, the Poor as well as the Rich.

The other hiſtorical Paſſage is in the twentieth Chapter of *Acts*: The Words are theſe: *And on the firſt Day of the Week, the Diſciples came together to break Bread. And there were many Lights in the upper Chamber where they were*

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[r] Luke xxii. 20.
[s] Mark xiv. 24.
[t] Matth. xxvi. 28.
[u] Acts ii. 46. & xx. 7, 8.
[w] ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καρδίας.
[x] αἰνοῦντες θεόν.
[y] ἐν ἀφελότητι καρδίας.
[z] ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν λαόν.

gathered together. From whence we gather, That the Celebration of this Sacrament is called in the Scripture Phraſe, *breaking of Bread*; That the Lord's Day, or firſt Day of the Week, was the Time then ſet apart to this and other holy Duties, and that this is the Reaſon why St. *Paul* exhorts that on [b] the *firſt Day of the Week every Man ſhould lay aſide his proportioned Liberality for the Uſe of the Poor*; That the upper Room was the Place of thoſe Chriſtian Aſſemblies; That it is uncertain whether they ever received daily or no, or however, that ſuch Frequency was not continued, but only every Lord's Day once a Week: And that ſtill will be a ſufficient Reproach to our Negligence in this Matter.

IX. It is now Time to advance from theſe caſual Mentions of the Lord's Supper, to thoſe other more ſolemn Texts, which treat of it profeſſedly; and in the next Place, according to our Method propoſed, to obſerve what St. *Paul* adds to the Story of its Inſtitution in the Goſpel, in the Place where he deſcribes or directs the Uſe of it. To this end we ſhall briefly give a Paraphraſe of the whole Paſſage.

[c] *When you after this inordinate Manner* [d] *before-mentioned meet together, this is not to do as becomes Chriſtians when they eat the Lord's Supper, or when they eat and drink their Feaſts of Charity on the Lord's Day. But as if you were at your own Meals, every Man of you eateth that which he brought with him; ſo that a rich Man, who can bring Plenty with him, often eats and drinks more then is fit for him, whilſt perhaps ſome poor Perſon, that could bring but a little, is well nigh famiſhed. If this be the Practice you propoſe to follow, you ſhould keep at Home, and eat by your ſelves; for to come to the Congregation and do this, is deſpiſing and ſcorning the Church of God, where all that is brought is to furniſh a common Table, and withal a ſhaming thoſe poor Men that could bring but little, and are out of Countenance to have done ſo, when you that are Rich have ſuch Plenty. What! do you expect to be borne with, and not reprehended for this? You are miſtaken; this is a Fault in you, to correct which, I will tell you the Manner of Chriſt's Inſtitution of the Sacrament, to which thoſe Chriſtian Feaſts were annext. The Lord delivered down this to me, which I now deliver to you; namely, that the Lord Jeſus, in the Night that he was to be deliver'd up to the* Jews, *took Bread, and giving thanks over it, brake it, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body, which ſhall be delivered, or broken for you; Do this, or Do thus, in commemoration of me. In the ſame Manner likewiſe he took the Cup, after having ſupt, and gave it them to drink, ſaying, This Cup is a new Covenant made with you, and ſealed with my Blood; and as oft as you thus drink together in Time of Holy Aſſembly, give it others alſo, as I have done to you, and do it in commemoration of me. For as often as you ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, you will annunciate or proclaim one to another the Death of our Lord, till he come again to judge us. And therefore whoſoever eateth of this Bread, or drinketh of this Cup unworthily either not performing the Condition requir'd in the Covenant, of which that is the Seal, or breaking the Inſtitution of it in any principal Part, particularly in that of the Charity and Liberality here mentioned, he is ſo far from being benefited by this Sacrament, or that Death of Chriſt, of which it is a Memorial, that he is rather to be look'd on as a Man that by this unworthy Action had wounded the Lord, and contributed farther to the Crucifying of him. And therefore let a Man examine himſelf, and ſee that he come worthily to that Sacrament, both by repenting of all his former Sins, and by behaving himſelf chriſtianly in that Action. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, either being unworthy by his impenitent Sins, or behaving himſelf unchriſtianly there, by thus eating and drinking engageth himſelf to Damnation, not conſidering the Death of Chriſt which this was to commemorate, and the End thereof, that he ſhould die unto Sin, and give himſelf up to a new Life: The not performing of which is often puniſh'd, even in this Life, by Sickneſs, Diſeaſes, and ſometimes by Exciſion or Death itſelf; which are Puniſhments of God, to bring them to a Reformation that nothing elſe will work on. And ſurely ſuch kind of Puniſhments are in God Acts of Chaſtiſement, and ſo of Mercy; to mend, that he may not condemn; to give us our Puniſhment here, that it may not be an Arrear to be paid hereafter. Therefore for the Fault which you were firſt told of, that of eating before others, even before they come, engroſſing to yourſelves and deſpiſing others, I beſeech you let that be mended in theſe publick Aſſemblies: And for private Meals, or eating by yourſelves, let them be at home; for to take them in the Church is a damning Sin: And for other Directions, I will give you them when I come among you.*

In this Place we have the punctual Confirmation of almoſt every Particular before collected from the Goſpels, which (tho' it be no new Thing, becauſe it was there delivered, yet) in effect teaches us ſomewhat; *particularly*, That thoſe other Doctrines, that according to ſeveral Mens Fancies are delivered concerning this Sacrament, having no ground in either of theſe Texts, have not Authority from *Chriſt*, nor yet from St. *Paul*. There is alſo here a great Weight laid on a Worthy Receiving of that Sacrament, and to that End, ſpecial care muſt be taken that we examine ourſelves, that we come not to that ſpiritual Preſence, or Viſion as it were of God, to the renewing of his Covenant with us, with any Impurity about us: And as a Pledge of our leaving all other Sins, we muſt ſignify and expreſs our Charity and Liberality, and not be guilty of thoſe earthly Sins, Pride and Covetouſneſs, but condeſcend to a common partaking ſome part of God's Mercies with our Brethren.

X. There is another Paſſage in St. *Paul*'s Writings, which is by ſome thought to regard this Sacrament, tho' others are of a contrary Opinion. It is where he tells the *Corinthians*, [e] *That*

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[b] 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[c] 1 Cor. xi. 20—34.

[d] See ver. 18, 19.

[e] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

we have been all [f] *made to drink into one Spirit.* Some of the *Greek* Antients in particular have thought this to refer to the Cup in this Sacrament. And if they were right in their Judgment, then the plain Meaning of it ſeems by the Context to be this; That as by Baptiſm we are all enter'd and incorporated into that one Body, of which Chriſt is the Head; ſo by the other Sacrament, whatever our particular Condition in the Church be, we are received into a Participation of that one Spirit, which furniſhes every Order and Sort of Men with Gifts convenient for their Miniſtration: And ſo this Sacrament is an Obligation to Charity and Humility toward one another, neither oppoſing nor contemning one another, as follows in that Chapter.

XI. We ſhall now proceed to the fourth Part of our propoſed Method, and ſee what is to be underſtood in theſe Words of St. *Paul*, [g] *The Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of* Chriſt? *The Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of* Chriſt? For the right underſtanding of which, and collecting that which the Context was meant to afford us, we muſt note that the Practice of the *Iſraelites* in their Sacrifices, and of the Heathens in theirs, are brought to envince the Truth of what is there ſaid of this Chriſtian Sacrament; and therefore it will be uſeful to obſerve, *firſt* what is there ſaid of the *Iſraelites*, then what of the Gentiles, and then to apply or bring it home to our preſent Purpoſe.

Of the *Iſraelites* we have this Obſervation concerning their ſacrificial Feaſts, [h] that they who eat [i] any Part of them are conceived to have joined in the Service performed by the Prieſt, or Sacrificer, and to have a Right together with him in all the Benefits of the Sacrifice. This Eating is called *eating before the Lord*, and is by God counted as an acceptable Service; and whatever flows from God in this Caſe by way of Benefit, or Advantage, comes to another as really as to the Prieſt; it being the Prieſt's Part to ſacrifice, the People's to eat: And ſo in thoſe two Things there is a mutual reciprocal Action betwixt God and them; they ſerve God, and God bleſſes them; and that is called communicating, or being Partakers of the Altar.

Of the Heathens it is ſaid, 1*ſt*, That they [k] ſacrifice to their falſe Gods, when only the true one ought to have that Worſhip from them; and that this is a Breach of the ſecond Commandment: (For to that we refer thoſe two Speeches, *Do not provoke God to Jealouſy?* in reference to his Title there of being a *jealous God*; and, *Are we ſtronger then he?* in reference to his Title *God*, which ſignifies *ſtrong*.) 2*dly*, That they who have this mutual Conjunction with thoſe falſe Gods, are ſuppoſed to receive Influences from them, and to diſclaim expecting any Thing from the true one. The Reſult of both theſe Inſtances together is, that they who eat of the ſacrificial Feaſt, either of the true or falſe Gods, have a mutual Conjunction, a Kind of Confederation with them; perform Services to, and receive Influences, Benefits, and Advantages from them, that is, they do ſo really from the true God, and are ſuppoſed to do ſo from the falſe. This is the Reaſon why *Daniel* refuſed to [l] *eat of the Portion of the King's Meat*; becauſe a Part of it being caſt upon the Altar to the Heathen Gods, the reſt thereby was conſecrated to them, and ſo was Meat offered to an Idol, which a *Jew* was not to taſte of.

Now to bring this home to our Purpoſe, we muſt conſider the Verſe above recited, where the Sacrament is ſet down, and the Nature and Uſe of it. *The Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs*, the Cup of Praiſe, the Chalice of Wine, which is in the Name of the People offered up by the Presbyter with Thankſgivings, that whole euchariſtical Action, expreſs'd to be the Action of the People as well as the Presbyter, by their drinking of it, *is the Communication of the Blood of* Chriſt, a Service of theirs to *Chriſt*, a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, commemorative of that great Mercy and Bounty of *Chriſt* in pouring out his Blood for them; and a making them, or a Means by *Chriſt* ordained to make them, Partakers of the Blood of *Chriſt*; not of the Guilt of ſhedding it, but, if they come worthily thither, of the Benefits that are purchaſed by it, the waſhing away of Sin in his Blood. So, in like Manner, the *breaking and eating of the Bread*, is a *Communication of the Body of* Chriſt, a Sacrifice commemorative of *Chriſt*'s offering up his Body for us, and a making us Partakers, or communicating to us the Benefits of that Bread of Life, ſtrenghning, and giving us Grace: And the whole Action in both theſe Parts of this Sacrament put together, is, parallel to what was ſaid of the *Iſraelites* and *Gentiles*, a mutual Confederation betwixt us and the crucified Saviour; on our Parts, an acknowledging him for our God and a worſhipping of him; and on his Part, the making over to us all the Benefits of his Body and Blood, namely Grace and Pardon, to ſanctify and to juſtify us.

XII. We may here farther take Notice, That this very Phraſe of St. *Paul*'s, *The Bread which we break is the Communion of the Body of* Chriſt, may ſerve as a Key to open that Difficulty, which before occurred in the Phraſe, *This is my Body*: For indeed the two Phraſes are perfectly all one, and of the very ſame Importance. This breaking, taking, eating of the Bread; this whole Action, is the real Communication of the Body of Chriſt to me, and is therefore by ſome antient Writers called by a Word which ſignifies the Participation; (Communication and Participation being the ſame, only one refereth to the Giver, the other to the Receiver;) the very giving Chriſt's Body to me, that as truly as I eat the Bread in my Mouth, ſo truly God in Heaven beſtows on me, and communicates to me, the Body of the crucified Saviour.

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[f] This may be rendered *watered with the ſame Spirit*, in which Senſe it is conſequent to the *planting in Baptiſm* mentioned before. Thus in another Place Paul is ſaid to have planted, Apollos watered.

[g] 1 Cor. x. 16.

[h] Ver. 18.

[i] When the Prieſt offered up Sacrifice, ſome Parts of the Beaſt were eaten by the People.

[k] Ver. 20, 21, 22,

[l] Dan. i. 18.

And here we have a *Compendium* or Summary of the main ſubſtantial Parts of this Sacrament. It conſiſts only of two Branches; one on our Parts performed to God; the other on God's Part performed to us. That on our Part is [m] commemorating the Goodneſs of God in all, but eſpecially in his great Bounty of giving his Son to die for us: And this Commemoration hath two Branches; one of Praiſe and Thankſgiving to him for this Mercy, the other of [n] Annunciation, or ſhewing forth, not only to Men, but to God, this Sacrifice of *Chriſt's* in offering up his Body upon the Croſs for us. That which reſpecteth Men, is a Profeſſion of our Faith in the Death of *Chriſt*: That which looks towards God, is our pleading before him that Sacrifice of his own Son, and through that humbly requiring the Benefits thereof, Grace and Pardon, to be beſtowed upon us. And then God's Part is the accepting of this our Duty, beſtowing that Body and Blood of Chriſt upon us, not by ſending it down locally for our Bodies to feed on, but really for our Souls to be ſtrengthened and refreſhed by it: As the Sun is communicated to us, the whole Bulk and Body of the Sun is not removed out of its Sphere, but the Rays and Beams of it, and with them the Light and Warmth, are really and truly beſtowed, or darted upon us. And all this is the full Import of theſe Phraſes, *This is my Body*, or *This is the Communication of his Body*.

XIII. There is only the fifth Part of our Undertaking behind: *To apply all this, by way of Illuſtration, and Confirmation, to what is ſaid of this Matter in the Church Catechiſm*; which we ſuppoſed at firſt to contain a comprehenſive Account of the Sacraments.

The firſt Queſtion is, *Why the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ordained?* And the Anſwer, *For the continual Remembrance of the Sacrfice of the Death of Chriſt, and the Benefits which we receive thereby.* Now in this Anſwer we have the following Things. 1ſt, That *Chriſt* died, and that this Death of his was a Sacrifice for us, an Oblation once for all offered to his Father for us ſinful Men. 2*dly*, That by this Sacrifice we that are true Chriſtians receive unſpeakable Benefits; as Strength to repair our Weakneſs, and enable us to do what God in his Son will accept; and Reconciliation, or Pardon for our many Sins: And 3*dly*, That the End of *Chriſt*'s inſtituting this Sacrament, was on Purpoſe that we might at ſet Times, frequently and conſtantly returning, remember and commemorate before God and Man this Sacrifice of the Death of *Chriſt*.

The next Queſtion, *What is the outward Part or Sign of the Lord's Supper?* and the Anſwer, *Bread and Wine which the Lord hath commanded to be received*, are very plain. They mean only, That Bread and Wine is in this, as Water was in the other Sacrament, the Element, or outward Part, ſet to ſignify ſomewhat elſe, and appointed by *Chriſt* to be eaten and drank, as the Water to be dipt in, or ſprinkled with. Nor is there more Difficulty in the next Queſtion, and the firſt Part of the Anſwer: *That the Body and Blood of Chriſt is the inward Part, or Thing ſignified by the other*; it being manifeſt, that the Body broken on the Croſs is ſignified by the Bread broken and eaten, and that the Blood poured out on the Croſs is ſignified by the Wine poured out into the Cup and drank by us.

As to that which follows in the latter Part of that Anſwer, *That the Body and Blood of* Chriſt *are verily and indeed taken and received of the Faithful in the Lord's Supper*; the Meaning of it is this, That in that Sacrament God really beſtows, and every faithful Chriſtian as really receives, the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*. As truly as the Biſhop, or Presbyter, gives me the ſacramental Bread and Wine, ſo truly doth God in Heaven beſtow upon me on the Earth, the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, the crucified Saviour; not by local Motion, but by real Communication; not to our Teeth, but to our Souls; and conſequently exhibits, makes over, reaches out unto us, all the Benefits thereof, all the Advantages that flow to us from the Death of *Chriſt*: The Truth of which was juſt now confirmed by the Words of the Goſpel, *This is my Body*, by the plainer Expreſſion of St. *Paul*, That *the Cup was the Communication of the Blood of* Chriſt.

XIV. The next Queſtion is plain alſo, *What are the Benefits whereof we are Partakers thereby?* The firſt Benefit, we are told, is the *Strengthening of our Souls by the Body of Chriſt, as our Bodies are ſtrengthened by Bread.* Bread ſignifies all Nouriſhment for the Body, and is therefore called, *The Staff of Life*, without which the Body is not able to ſuſtain itſelf, but grows feeble, and falls into the very Grave of Death. Thus is Grace to the Soul: We can do nothing in order to ſpiritual Life without it; and having forfeited that Stock that God had given us in Paradiſe, we have none of it left, but what *Chriſt* by his Death hath purchaſed for us, and by that great Bargain of his there is brought into the Church a new Stock of Grace and Strength for every one that ſhall, in the Name of *Chriſt*, aſk it importunately, receive it watchfully, and make uſe of it diligently: Enough, we ſay, though not to keep us infallibly without Sinning any more, yet to enable us to do that which God in *Chriſt* will now graciouſly accept at our Hands; to ſerve him ſincerely, in Holineſs, and renewed Righteouſneſs, and to continue and perſevere in this Service to our Lives End.

The *ſecond* Benefit is, *The refreſhing of our Souls by the Blood of* Chriſt, *as our Bodies are refreſhed with Wine.* Wine may be taken to a double Purpoſe; either to refreſh the Thirſty, or to comfort the Sick: Thus a little was allowed to *Timothy* for his frequent Sickneſs. He that pants for Thirſt, hath his inward Flame quenched, and ſo is refreſhed by Wine; and he that hath any Indiſpoſition of Body, hath that eaſed, and ſo is alſo refreſhed by Wine. And juſt the ſame is the Pardon of Sin to a thirſty or wounded Soul. The Conſcience of Sin is a Flame or Fire within us, and a deep Wound to the Soul; and we can have no Reſt, no Quiet under it: And God's free Pardon and Remiſſion, his ſpeaking Peace to the Unquiet, his ſaying *Thy Sins are forgiven* to the burthened Soul, is the greateſt, and indeed the only, Refreſhment to that Soul. Let God ſay this Word only, and his *Servant ſhall be healed.* And this Pardon was wrought by the Blood, that is, by the Death of *Chriſt*, by the Sacrifice and Satisfaction of that innocent Saviour, by whoſe Sufferings we are releaſed, *by whoſe Stripes we are healed.*

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[m] So the bitter Herbs were a Memorial of the bitter *Ægyptian* Servitude, Ex. i. 14. the Uſe of the Red Wine was for a Memorial that Pharoah waſhed himſelf in the Blood of the Children of Iſrael.

[n] So that Precept Exod. xiii. 8. is given by *Moſes*, that in the Paſſover they ſhould annunciate, or tell forth to the Children the Mercy of their Deliverance, and thence they call the Paſchal Leſſon the Annunciation.

Thus is Strength purchaſed for us by *Chriſt*'s Death. For *being in form of God, and equal with God, he took upon him the Form of a Man,* all of him, but the Sin; in this he ſuffered a ſhameful Death; whereupon, ſaith the Apoſtle, *God did highly exalt him,* rewarding his great Humility and Patience with this Dignity and Preferment, *That all Power ſhould be given to him both in Heaven and Earth,* that he might diſpenſe to his Diſciples all the Riches of Heaven, all that ſufficient Strength and Grace, which will, being made uſe of, raiſe us up from Death both ſpiritual and corporal, that is, enable us to live like Saints here, and advance us to eternal Life hereafter.

Thus alſo Pardon of Sin is purchaſed for us by the Satisfaction which he wrought in his Sufferings, when taking upon him to be our Surety, and to ſuffer in our Stead, he procured, that as many as are renewed by his Grace, might be releaſed by his Sufferings; and from this reſults the Conſummation of our Hope, everlaſting Bliſs in another World; God's Mercy, when he is thus reconciled unto us in the Blood of his Son, rewarding even the leaſt Chriſtian Action of ours with eternal Glory.

XV. There remains now only the concluding Queſtion, which ſuppoſing theſe Benefits thus made over in the Sacrament, but imagining it impoſſible, that unworthy, unprepared, Receivers ſhould be ever the better for them, asks, *What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?*

In the Anſwer to this we find what is the Preparation required: To which we may add, That every Man is infinitely concerned to have his Soul always poſſeſs'd with every Part of that Preparation: That the Careleſſneſs and fatal Stupidity of the World, in never ſo much as conſidering, whether they have any Part of this Preparation or no, is a moſt prodigious Thing: That the Time of preparing ourſelves for the Sacrament is a very fit Time for that Self-Examination which is required of us: That till that be done, and all and each of the requiſite Graces found ſincere in our Hearts, we ought not to come to that holy Sacrament: That yet this will not excuſe any one for not coming, becauſe he is not prepared, but rather aggravate the Sin upon him, that rather than thus fit himſelf, he will part with ſo great a Treaſure: Laſtly, That the Particulars of which we muſt thus examine, and which we muſt thus require of ourſelves, are five: 1ſt, True Repentance. 3dly, *A ſted-faſt Purpoſe to lead a new Life*; a Reſolution to reform all, and that Reſolution ſuch as will ſtand faſt in the Hour of Trial, or Temptation. 2dly, *A lively Faith in God's Mercy through* Chriſt. 4thly, *A thankful Remembrance,* and Commemoration *of his Death.* 5thly, *Charity with all Men:* Every one of which Duties having been explained in a proper Place, we ſhall content ourſelves with thus barely repeating hem there.

DISSERTATION III.

Againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

I. *Points of Difference between the Church of* Rome *and us about the Lord's Supper. Tranſubſtantiation contrary to Senſe.* II. *No Authority for this Doctrine in Scripture. The Words* This is my Body *conſidered.* III. *This Doctrine not grounded upon the perpetual Belief of the Chriſtian Church. Teſtimonies of the Fathers that this was not their Belief.* IV. *The particular Time and Occaſion of the coming in of this Doctrine.* V. *An Anſwer to the* Romaniſts *pretended Demonſtration of this Doctrine.* VI. *It cannot be founded upon the Authority of the preſent Church.* VII. *Nor upon any Neceſſity of ſuch a Change with regard to thoſe who receive this Sacrament.* VIII. *The Power of the Prieſt not at all demonſtrated by it.* IX. *Objections of Proteſtants againſt this Doctrine. Firſt, from the infinite Scandal of it.* X. *Secondly, from the monſtrous Abſurdities of it.* XI. *Concluſion, with an Addreſs to thoſe of the* Roman *Communion.*

I. [*] CONCERNING the *Sacrament* of the *Lord's Supper*, one of the two great poſitive Inſtitutions of the Chriſtian Religion, there are two main Points of Difference between *Us* and the Church of *Rome*. *One*, about the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*; in which they think, but are not certain, that they have the Scripture and the Words of our Saviour on their Side: The *other*, about the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament to the People in both kinds; in which we are ſure that we have the Scripture and our Saviour's Inſtitution on our Side; and that ſo plainly, that our Adverſaries themſelves do not deny it.

Of the *firſt* of theſe we ſhall now treat, and endeavour to ſhew againſt the Church of *Rome*, *That in this Sacrament there is no ſubſtantial Change made of the Elements of Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt*; that Body which was born of the *Virgin Mary*, and ſuffered upon the Croſs; for ſo they explain that hard word *Tranſubſtantiation*. We have before [b] treated occaſionally of this Matter in the preſent Work, but ſhall not take in the whole Compaſs of the Diſpute.

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[*] Tillotſon's Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

Before we engage in this Argument, we cannot but obſerve what an unreaſonable Task we are put upon, by the bold Confidence of our Adverſaries, to diſpute a matter of Senſe; which is one of thoſe Things about which *Ariſtotle* hath long ſince pronounc'd there ought to be no Diſpute.

It might well ſeem ſtrange if any Man ſhould write a Book, to prove that an Egg is not an Elephant, and that a Musket-bullet is not a Pike: It is every whit as hard a Caſe, to be put to maintain by a long Diſcourſe, that what we ſee and handle, and taſte to be Bread, is Bread, and not the Body of a Man; and what we ſee and taſte to be Wine, is Wine, and not Blood: And if this Evidence may not paſs for ſufficient without any farther Proof, there is no Reaſon why any Man that hath Confidence enough to do ſo, may not deny any thing to be what all the World ſees it is, or affirm any thing to be what all the World ſees it is not; and this without all Poſſibility of being farther confuted. So that the Buſineſs of Tranſubſtantiation is not a Controverſy of Scripture, or of Reaſon againſt Reaſon, but of downright Impudence againſt the plain Meaning of Scripture, and all the Senſe and Reaſon of Mankind.

It is a moſt ſelf-evident Falſehood; and there is no Doctrine or Propoſition in the World that is of itſelf more evidently true, than Tranſubſtantiation is evidently falſe: And yet if it were poſſible to be true, it would be the moſt ill-natur'd and pernicious Truth in the World, becauſe it would ſuffer nothing elſe to be true; it is like the *Roman Catholick* Church, which will needs be the whole Chriſtian Church, and will allow no other Society of Chriſtians to be any Part of it: So Tranſubſtantiation, if it be true at all, it is all Truth; for it cannot be true, unleſs our Senſes, and the Senſes of all Mankind, be deceived about their proper Objects; and if this be true and certain, then nothing elſe can be ſo; for if we be not certain of what we ſee, we can be certain of nothing.

And yet notwithſtanding all this, there is a Company of Men in the World ſo abandon'd and given up to the Efficacy of Deluſion, as in good earneſt to believe this groſs and palpable Error, and to impoſe the Belief of it upon the Chriſtian World, under no leſs Penalties than of temporal Death and eternal Damnation. And therefore to undeceive, if poſſible, theſe deluded Souls, it will be neceſſary to examine the pretended Grounds of ſo falſe a Doctrine, and to lay open the monſtrous Abſurdity of it.

II. The pretended Grounds and Reaſons of the Church of *Rome* for this Doctrine, muſt be one or more of theſe five. Either, *1ſt*, The Authority of Scripture. Or *2dly*, The perpetual Belief of this Doctrine in the Chriſtian Church, as an Evidence that they always underſtood and interpreted our Saviour's Words, *This is my Body*, in this Senſe. Or *3dly*, The Authority of the preſent Church to make and declare new Articles of Faith. Or *4thly*, The abſolute Neceſſity of ſuch a Change as this in the Sacrament to the Comfort and Benefit of thoſe who receive this Sacrament. Or *5thly*, To magnify the Power of the Prieſt, in being able to work ſo great a Miracle.

1ſt, They pretend for this Doctrine the Authority of Scripture, in thoſe Words of our Saviour, *This is my Body*. Now to ſhew the Inſufficiency of this Pretence, we ſhall endeavour to prove, *1ſt*, That there is no Neceſſity of underſtanding thoſe Words of our Saviour in the Senſe of Tranſubſtantiation. *2dly*, That there is a great deal of Reaſon to underſtand them otherwiſe.

If there be any Neceſſity to underſtand thoſe Words of our Saviour in the Senſe of Tranſubſtantiation, it muſt be from one of theſe two Reaſons: Either becauſe there are no figurative Expreſſions in Scripture, which no Man ever yet ſaid: Or elſe, becauſe a Sacrament admits of no Figures; which would be very abſurd for any Man to ſay, ſince it is of the very Nature of a Sacrament to repreſent and exhibit ſome inviſible Grace and Benefit by an outward Sign and Figure: And eſpecially ſince it cannot be denied, but that in the Inſtitution of this very Sacrament our Saviour uſeth figurative Expreſſions, and ſeveral Words which cannot be taken ſtrictly and literally. When he gave the Cup, he ſaid, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, which is ſhed for you, and for many, for the Remiſſion of Sins*. Where firſt, the *Cup* is put for *Wine* contained in the Cup; or elſe if the Words be literally taken, ſo as to ſignify a ſubſtantial Change, it is not of the Wine but of the Cup; and that, not into the Blood of Chriſt, but into the New-Teſtament or new Covenant in his Blood. Beſides, that his Blood is ſaid then to be ſhed, and his Body to be broken, which was not till his Paſſion, which followed the Inſtitution and firſt Celebration of this Sacrament.

But that there is no Neceſſity to underſtand our Saviour's Words in the Senſe of Tranſubſtantiation, we will take the plain Conceſſion of a great Number of the moſt learned Writers of the Church of *Rome* in this Controverſy. [c] *Bellarmine*, [d] *Suarez*, and [e] *Vaſquez*, acknowledge *Scotus* the great Schoolman to have ſaid that this Doctrine cannot be evidently proved from Scripture: And *Bellarmine* grants this not to be improbable; and *Suarez* and *Vaſquez* acknowledge [f] *Durandus* to have ſaid as much. [g] *Ocham*, another famous Schoolman, ſays expreſly, that *the Doctrine which holds the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine to remain after Conſecration, is neither repugnant to Reaſon nor to Scripture*. [h] *Petrus ab Alliaco*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, ſays plainly, that *the Doctrine of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine remain-*

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[b] Diſſ. on eating Chriſt's Fleſh, &c. and in the laſt Diſſert.

[c] De Euch. l. 3. c. 23.

[d] In 3 Diſ. 49. Qu. 75. Sect. 2.

[e] In 3 part. diſp. 180. Qu. 75. art. 2. c. 15.

[f] In Sent. l. 4. diſt. 11. Qu. 1. n. 15.

[g] In 4 Sent. 5. & Quodl. 4. Qu. 3.

[h] In 4 Sent. Q. 6. art. 2.

ing after Conſecration is more eaſy and free from Abſurdity, more rational, and no ways repugnant to the Authority of Scripture; nay more, that for the other Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation, there is no Evidence in Scripture.* [i] *Gabriel Biel*, another great Schoolman and Divine of their Church, freely declares that *as to any thing expreſſed in the Canon of the Scriptures, a Man may believe that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine doth remain after Conſecration*: And therefore he reſolves the Belief of *Tranſubſtantiation* into ſome other Revelation, beſides Scripture, which he ſuppoſeth the Church had about it. Cardinal [k] *Cajetan* confeſſeth, that *the Goſpel doth no where expreſs that the Bread is changed into the Body of* Chriſt; *that we have this from the Authority of Church*: Nay, he goes farther, *that there is nothing in the Goſpel which enforceth any Man to underſtand theſe Words of* Chriſt, This is my Body, *in a proper and not a metaphorical Senſe; but the Church having underſtood them in a proper Senſe, they are to be ſo explained*: Which Words in the *Roman* Edition of *Cajetan* are expunged by Order of Pope [l] *Pius* the Fifth. Cardinal [m] *Contarenus*, and [n] *Melchior Canus*, one of the beſt and moſt judicious Writers that Church ever had, reckon this Doctrine among thoſe *which are not ſo expreſly found in Scripture.* We will add but one more, of great Authority in the Church, and a reputed Martyr; [o] *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who ingenuouſly confeſſeth, that in the Words of the Inſtitution *there is not one Word from whence the true Preſence of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt in our Maſs can be proved.* So that we need not much contend that this Doctrine hath no certain Foundation in Scripture, when this is ſo fully and frankly acknowledged by our Adverſaries themſelves.

And if there be no Neceſſity of underſtanding our Saviour's Words in the Senſe of Tranſubſtantiation, we are ſure there is a great deal of Reaſon to underſtand them otherwiſe: Whether we conſider the like Expreſſions in Scripture; as where our Saviour ſays he is *the Door*, and *the true Vine*; (which the Church of *Rome* would mightily have triumph'd in, had it been ſaid, *This is my true Body.*) And ſo likewiſe where the Church is ſaid to be *Chriſt*'s *Body*; and the *Rock* which followed the *Iſraelites* to be *Chriſt*, [p] *They drank of that Rock which followed them*, and *that Rock was* Chriſt: All which, and innumerable more like Expreſſions in Scripture, every Man underſtands in a figurative, and not in a ſtrictly literal and abſurd Senſe. And it is very well known, that in the *Hebrew* Language Things are commonly ſaid to be that which they ſignify and repreſent; and there is not in that Language a more proper and uſual Way of expreſſing a Thing to ſignify ſo and ſo, than to ſay that it is ſo and ſo. Thus *Joſeph*, expounding *Pharoah*'s Dream to him, ſays, [q] *the ſeven good Kine are ſeven Years*, and *the ſeven good Ears of Corn are ſeven Years*; that is, they ſignified or repreſented ſeven Years of Plenty; and ſo *Pharoah* underſtood him, and ſo would any Man of Senſe underſtand the like Expreſſions; nor do I believe that any ſenſible Man, who had never heard of Tranſubſtantiation being grounded upon theſe Words of our Saviour, *this is my Body*, would, upon reading the Inſtitution of the Sacrament in the Goſpel, ever have imagined any ſuch Thing to be meant by our Saviour in thoſe Words; but would have underſtood his Meaning to have been, this Bread *ſignifies* my Body, this Cup *ſignifies* my Blood; and this which you ſee me now do, do ye hereafter for a Memorial of me: But ſurely it would never have entered into any Man's Mind to have thought that our Saviour did literally hold himſelf in his Hand, and give away himſelf from himſelf with his own Hands.

Or whether we compare theſe Words of our Saviour with the antient Form of the Paſſover uſed by the *Jews* from *Ezra*'s Time, as [r] *Juſtin Martyr* tells us, *this Paſſover is our Saviour and our Refuge*: Not that they believed the Paſchal Lamb to be ſubſtantially changed, either into God their Saviour, who delivered them out of the Land of *Egypt*, or into the *Meſſiah*, the Saviour whom they expected, and who was ſignified by it: But this Lamb which they did eat did repreſent to them, and put them in Mind of, that Salvation which God wrought for their Fathers in *Egypt*, when by the ſlaying of a Lamb, and ſprinkling the Blood of it upon their Doors, their Firſt-born were paſſed over and ſpared; and did likewiſe foreſhew the Salvation of the *Meſſiah*, *the Lamb of God that was to take away the Sins of the World.*

And nothing is more common in all Languages than to give the Name of the Thing ſignified to the Sign: As the Delivery of a Deed or Writing under Hand and Seal is called a Conveyance, or making over of ſuch an Eſtate, and it is really ſo; not the Delivery of mere Wax and Parchment, but the Conveyance of a real Eſtate; as truly and really to all Effects and Purpoſes of Law, as if the very material Houſes and Lands themſelves could be, and were actually delivered into my Hands. In like Manner, the Names of the Things themſelves made over to us in the new Covenant of the Goſpel between God and Man, are given to the Signs and Seals of that Covenant. By *Baptiſm* Chriſtians are ſaid to [s] be *made Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt*: And by the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper we are ſaid to *communicate*, or to be made Partakers *of the Body of* Chriſt which was broken, and of his Blood which was ſhed for us, that is, of the real Benefits of his Death and Paſſion. And thus St. *Paul* ſpeaks of this Sacrament, [t] *The Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, is it not the Communion of the Blood of* Chriſt? *the Bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of* Chriſt? But ſtill it is Bread, and he ſtill calls it ſo; [u] *For we being many are one Bread and one Body; for we are Partakers of that one Bread.* The Church of *Rome* might, if they pleaſed, as well argue from hence that all Chriſtians are ſubſtantially changed firſt into Bread, and then into the natural Body of *Chriſt* by their Participation of the Sacrament, becauſe they are ſaid to be *one Bread* and *one Body*. And the ſame Apoſtle in the next Chapter, after he had ſpoken of the Conſecration of the Elements, ſtill calls them the *Bread and the Cup*, in three Verſes together. [w] *As often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup. Whoſoever ſhall eat this Bread and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily. But let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup.* And our Saviour himſelf, when he had ſaid, *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament*, immediately adds, [x] *But I ſay unto you, I will not henceforth drink of the Fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom:* From whence it is plain that it was the Fruit of the Wine, real Vine, which our Saviour drank of and communicated to his Diſciples in the Sacrament.

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[i] In canon. Miſſ. Lect. 40.
[k] In Aquin. 3 part. Q. 75. art. 1.
[l] Ægid. Conink. de Sacram. Q. 75 art. 1. n. 13.
[m] De Sacram. l. 2. c. 3.
[n] Loc. Theolog. l. 3. c. 3.
[o] Contra captiv. Babylon. c. 10. n. 2.
[p] 1 Cor x. 4.
[q] Gen. xli. 26.
[r] Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 297. Edit. Pariſ. 1639.
[s] Heb. vi. 4.
[t] 1 Cor. x. 16. See more on theſe Words in the Diſſertation immediately preceding.
[u] Ver. 17.

Beſides, if we conſider that he celebrated this Sacrament before his Paſſion, it is impoſſible theſe Words ſhould be underſtood literally of the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt*; becauſe it was *his Body broken* and *his Blood ſhed* which he gave to his Diſciples, which if we underſtand literally of his natural Body broken and his Blood ſhed, then theſe Words, *This is my Body which is broken, and my Blood which is ſhed*, could not be true, becauſe his Body was then whole and unbroken, and his Blood not then ſhed; nor could it be a *propitiatory Sacrifice*, as they affirm this Sacrament to be, unleſs they will ſay that Propitiation was made before *Chriſt* ſuffered. And it is likewiſe impoſſible that the Diſciples ſhould underſtand theſe Words literally, becauſe they not only plainly ſaw that what he gave them was Bread and Wine, but they ſaw likewiſe as plainly that it was not his Body which was given, but his Body which gave that which was given; not his Body broken and his Blood ſhed, becauſe they ſaw him alive at that very Time, and beheld his Body whole and unpierced; and therefore they could not underſtand theſe Words literally: If they did, can we imagine that the Diſciples, who upon all other Occaſions were ſo full of Queſtions and Objections, ſhould make no Difficulty of this Matter? nor ſo much as aſk our Saviour, How can theſe Things be? that they ſhould not tell him, we ſee this to be Bread and that to be Wine, and we ſee thy Body to be diſtinct from both; we ſee thy Body not broken, and thy Blood not ſhed?

From all which it muſt needs be very evident, to any Man that will impartially conſider Things, how little Reaſon there is to underſtand thoſe Words of our Saviour, *this is my Body*, and *this is my Blood*, in the Senſe of *Tranſubſtantiation*; nay on the contrary, that there is very great Reaſon and an evident Neceſſity to underſtand them otherwiſe.

III. *Secondly*, we proceed to ſhew, that this Doctrine is not grounded upon the *perpetual Belief of the Chriſtian Church*, which the Church of *Rome* vainly pretends, as an Evidence that the Church did always underſtand and interpret our Saviour's Words in this Senſe.

To manifeſt the Groundleſneſs of this Pretence, we ſhall, in the *firſt* Place, ſhew by plain Teſtimonies of the Fathers in ſeveral Ages, for above five hundred Years after *Chriſt*, that this Doctrine was not the *Belief of the antient Chriſtian Church*. We deny not but that the Fathers do, and that with great Reaſon, very much magnify the wonderful Myſtery and Efficacy of this Sacrament, and frequently ſpeak of a great ſupernatural Change made by the divine Benediction; which we alſo readily acknowledge. They ſay indeed, that the Elements of Bread and Wine do, by the divine Bleſſing, become to us the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*: But they likewiſe ſay that the Names of the Things ſignified are given to the Signs; that the Bread and Wine do ſtill remain in their proper Nature and Subſtance, and that they are turned into the Subſtance of our Bodies; that the Body of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament is not his natural Body, but the Sign and Figure of it; not that Body which was crucified, nor that Blood which was ſhed upon the Croſs; and that it is impious to underſtand the *eating of the Fleſh of the Son of Man* and *drinking his Blood* literally: All which are directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and utterly inconſiſtent with it. We will ſelect but ſome few Teſtimonies, out of many which we might bring to this Purpoſe.

Juſtin Martyr ſays expreſly, that [y] *our Blood and Fleſh are nouriſhed by the Converſion of that Food which we receive in the Euchariſt:* But *that* cannot be the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt*; for no Man will ſay that *that* is converted into the Nouriſhment of our Bodies.

Irenæus, ſpeaking of this Sacrament, ſays, that the [z] *Bread which is from the Earth receiving the divine Invocation, is now no longer common Bread, but the Euchariſt, conſiſting of two Things, the one earthly, the other heavenly.* The earthly Thing he means, is Bread; and the heavenly is the divine Bleſſing, which by the Invocation or Conſecration is added to it. And elſewhere he hath this Paſſage, [a] *When therefore the Cup that is mixed, and the Bread that is broken, receives the Word of God, it becomes the Euchariſt of the Blood and Body of* Chriſt, *of which the Subſtance of our Fleſh is increaſed and conſiſts.* But if that which we receive in the Sacrament do nouriſh our Bodies, it muſt be Bread and Wine, and not the natural Body.

There is another remarkable Teſtimony of *Irenæus*, which though it be not now extant in thoſe Works of his which remain, yet hath been preſerved by *Oecumenius*, and it is this: [b] *When* ſays he, *the* Greeks *had taken ſome Servants*,

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[w] Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28.

[x] Matth. xxvi. 29.

[y] Apol. ii. p. 98. Edit. Par. 1636.

[z] Lib. iv. c. 34.

[a] Lib. v. c. 2.

of the Chriſtian Catechumeni, *and afterwards urged them by Violence to tell them ſome of the Secrets of the Chriſtians: Theſe Servants having nothing to ſay that might gratify thoſe who offered Violence to them, except only that they had heard from their Maſters that the divine Communion was the Blood and Body of* Chriſt, *they thinking that it was really Blood and Fleſh, declared as much to thoſe that queſtioned them. The* Greeks *taking this as if it were really done by the Chriſtians, diſcovered it to others of the* Greeks; *who hereupon put* Sanctus *and* Blandina *to the Torture, to make them confeſs it. To whom* Blandina *boldly anſwered, How would they endure to do this, who by way of Exerciſe, or Abſtinence, do not eat that Fleſh which may lawfully be eaten?* By which it appears that this which they would have charged upon the Chriſtians, as if they had literally eaten the Fleſh and Blood of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, was a falſe Accuſation which theſe Martyrs denied, ſaying they were ſo far from it, that they for their Part did not eat any Fleſh at all.

The next is *Tertullian*, who proves againſt *Marcion* the Heretick, that the Body of our Saviour was not a mere Phantaſm and Appearance, but a real Body, otherwiſe the Sacrament would be an Image of an Image. His Words are theſe; [c] *The Bread which our Saviour took and diſtributed to his Diſciples he made his own Body, ſaying, This is my Body, that is, the Image or Figure of my Body. But it could not have been the Figure of his Body, if there had not been a true and real Body.* And arguing againſt the Scepticks, who denied the Certainty of Senſe, he uſeth this Argument: That if we queſtion our Senſes, we may doubt whether our bleſſed Saviour were not deceived in what he heard, and ſaw, and touched. [d] *He might*, ſays he, *be deceived in the Voice from Heaven, in the Smell of the Ointment with which he was anointed againſt his Burial, and in the Taſte of the Wine which he conſecrated in remembrance of his Blood.* So that it ſeems we are to truſt our Senſes, even in the Matter of the Sacrament; and if that be true, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is certainly falſe.

Origen ſpeaking of the Sacrament hath this Paſſage: [e] *That Food which is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, as to that of it which is material, goeth into the Belly and is caſt out into the Draught*; which none ſurely will ſay of the Body of *Chriſt*. And afterwards he adds by way of Explication, *It is not the Matter of the Bread, but the Word which is ſpoken of it, which profiteth him that worthily eateth the Lord; and this*, he ſays, *he had ſpoken concerning the typical and ſymbolical Body*. So that the Matter of Bread remaineth in the Sacrament, and this *Origen* calls the *typical and ſymbolical* Body of *Chriſt*; and it is not the natural Body of *Chriſt* which is there eaten, for the Food eaten in the Sacrament, as to that of it which is material, goeth into the Belly, and is caſt out into the Draught. This Teſtimony is ſo very plain in the Cauſe, that *Sextus Senenſis* ſuſpects this Place of *Origen* was depraved by the Hereticks. Cardinal *Perron* is contented to allow it to be *Origen*'s, but rejects his Teſtimony, becauſe he was accuſed of Hereſy by ſome of the Fathers, and ſays he talks like a Heretick in this Place. So that with much ado this Teſtimony is yielded to us. The ſame Father in his Homilies upon *Leviticus* ſpeaks thus; [f] *There is alſo in the New Teſtament a Letter which kills him who doth not ſpiritually underſtand thoſe Things which are ſaid; for if we take according to the Letter that which is ſaid,* Except ye eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, *this Letter kills.* And this is alſo a killing Teſtimony, not to be anſwered but in Cardinal *Perron*'s Way, by ſaying, *He talks like a Heretick.*

St. *Cyprian* hath a whole Epiſtle [g] to *Cecilius*, againſt thoſe who gave the Communion in Water only without Wine mingled with it; and his main Argument againſt them is this; *That the Blood of Chriſt, with which we are redeemed and quickened, cannot ſeem to be in the Cup, when there is no Wine in the Cup by which the Blood of* Chriſt *is repreſented:* And afterwards he ſays, that *contrary to the evangelical and apoſtolical Doctrine, Water was in ſome Places offered in the Lord's Cup, which alone cannot expreſs the Blood of* Chriſt. And laſtly he tells us, that *by Water the People is underſtood, by Wine the Blood of* Chriſt *is ſhewn; but when in the Cup Water is mingled with Wine, the People is united to* Chriſt. So that, according to this Argument, Wine in the ſacramental Cup is no otherwiſe changed into the Blood of *Chriſt* than the Water mixed with it is changed into the People, which are ſaid to be united to *Chriſt*.

We omit many others, and paſs to St. *Auſtin* in the fourth Age after *Chriſt*; whoſe Teſtimony we the rather inſiſt upon, becauſe of his eminent Eſteem and Authority in the *Latin* Church. He alſo calls the Elements of the Sacrament, the *Figure and Sign of* Chriſt's *Body and Blood.* In his Book againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* we have this Expreſſion, [h] *Our Lord did not doubt to ſay,* This is my Body, *when he gave the Sign of his Body.* And in his Explication of the third *Pſalm*, ſpeaking of *Judas*, whom our Lord admitted to his laſt Supper; [i] *in which*, ſays he, *he commended and delivered to his Diſciples the Figure of his Body*; Language which would now be cenſured for Hereſy in the Church of *Rome*. Indeed he was never accuſed of Hereſy, as Cardinal *Perron* ſays *Origen* was, but *he talks as like* one as *Origen* himſelf. And in his Comment on the ninety eighth Pſalm, ſpeaking of the Offence which the Diſciples took at that Saying of our Saviour, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you,* he brings in our Saviour ſpeaking thus to them; [k] *Ye muſt underſtand ſpiritually what I have ſaid unto you; ye are not to eat this Body which ye ſee, and to drink that Blood which ſhall be ſhed by thoſe that ſhall crucify me. I have commended a certain Sa-*

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[c] Adverſ. Marcion. l. iv. p. 571. Edit. Rigalt. Pariſ. 1634.

[d] Lib. de Anima, p. 319.

[e] In his Comment on Matth. xv. Edit. Huet.

[f] Cap. x.

[g] Ep. 63.

[h] Aug. Tom. vi. p. 187. Edit. Baſil. 1569.

[i] Ennarrat. in Pſal. Tom. viii. p. 16.

[k] Id. Tom. ix. p. 1105.

crament to you, which being ſpiritually underſtood will give you Life. What more oppoſite to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, than that the Diſciples were not to eat that Body of *Chriſt* which they ſaw, nor to drink that Blood which was ſhed upon the Croſs, but that all this was to be underſtood ſpiritually, and according to the Nature of a Sacrament? For that Body he tells us is not here but in Heaven, in his Comment upon theſe Words, *Me ye have not always.* [l] *He ſpeaks,* ſays the Father, *of the Preſence of his Body; ye ſhall have me according to my Providence, according to Majeſty and inviſible Grace; but according to the Fleſh which the Word aſſumed, according to that which was born of the Virgin* Mary, *ye ſhall not have me: Therefore becauſe he converſed with his Diſciples forty Days, he is aſcended up into Heaven and is not here.*

In his twenty third Epiſtle, [m] *If the Sacraments,* ſays he, *had not ſome Reſemblance of thoſe Things whereof they are Sacraments, they would not be Sacraments at all; but from this Reſemblance they take for the moſt Part the Names of the Things which they repreſent. Therefore as the Sacrament of the Body of* Chriſt *is in ſome Manner or Senſe* Chriſt's *Body, and the Sacrament of his Blood is the Blood of* Chriſt; *ſo the Sacrament of Faith, is Faith.* Upon which Words of St. *Auſtin* there is this remarkable Gloſs in their own Canon Law: *The heavenly Sacrament, which truly repreſents the Fleſh of* Chriſt, *is called the Body of* Chriſt; *but improperly: Whence it is ſaid,* that after a Manner, *but not according to the Truth of the Thing, but the Myſtery of the Thing ſignified: So that the Meaning is, it is called the Body of* Chriſt, *that is, it ſignifies the Body of* Chriſt: And if this be St. *Auſtin*'s Meaning, no Proteſtant can ſpeak more plainly againſt Tranſubſtantiation. And in the antient Canon of the Maſs, before it was changed in compliance with this new Doctrine, it is expreſly called *a Sacrament, a Sign, an Image, and a Figure of* Chriſt's *Body.* To which we will add that remarkable Paſſage of St. *Auſtin* cited by *Gratian:* [o] *That as we receive the Similitude of his Death in Baptiſm, ſo may we alſo receive the Likeneſs of his Fleſh and Blood; that ſo neither may Truth be wanting in the Sacrament, nor Pagans have Occaſion to make us ridiculous for drinking the Blood of one that was ſlain.*

We will mention but one Teſtimony more of this Father, but ſo clear an one as it is impoſſible any Man in his Wits that had believed Tranſubſtantiation could have uttered. It is in his Treatiſe *Of Chriſtian Doctrine*; where laying down ſeveral Rules for the right Underſtanding of Scripture, he gives this for one. [p] *If,* ſays he, *the Speech be a Precept forbidding ſome heinous Wickedneſs or Crime, or commanding us to do good, it is not figurative; but if it ſeem to command any heinous Wickedneſs or Crime, or to forbid that which is profitable and beneficial to others, it is figurative. For example, Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you: This ſeems to command a heinous Wickedneſs and Crime, therefore it is a Figure, commanding us to communicate the Paſſion of our Lord, and with Delight and Advantage to lay up in our Memory that his Fleſh was crucified and wounded for us.* So that, according to St. *Auſtin*'s beſt Skill in interpreting Scripture, the literal eating of the Fleſh of *Chriſt*, and drinking his Blood, would have been a great Impiety; and therefore the Expreſſion is to be underſtood figuratively; not, as Cardinal *Perron* would have it, only in oppoſition to the eating of his Fleſh and Blood in the groſs Appearance of Fleſh and Blood, but to the real eating of his natural Body and Blood under any Appearance whatſoever: For St. *Auſtin* doth not ſay, This is a figurative Speech, wherein we are commanded really to feed upon the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt* under the Species of Bread and Wine, as the Cardinal would underſtand him; for then the Speech would be literal and not figurative: But he ſays, This is a figurative Speech, wherein we are commanded ſpiritually to feed upon the Remembrance of his Paſſion.

To theſe we will add but three or four Teſtimonies more in the two following Ages.

The firſt ſhall be of *Theodoret*, who ſpeaking of that Prophecy of *Jacob* concerning our Saviour, [q] *He waſhed his Garments in Wine, and his Clothes in the Blood of Grapes,* hath theſe Words; [r] *As we call the myſtical Fruit of the Vine after Conſecration the Blood of the Lord, ſo* Jacob *calls the Blood of the true Vine the Blood of the Grape:* But the Blood of *Chriſt* is not literally and properly, but only figuratively, the Blood of the Grape, in the ſame Senſe as he is ſaid to be the true Vine; and therefore the Wine in the Sacrament after Conſecration is, in like Manner, not literally and properly, but figuratively, the Blood of *Chriſt*. And he explains this afterwards, ſaying, that *our Saviour changed the Names, and gave to his Body the Name of the Symbol or Sign, and to the Symbol or Sign the Name of his Body: Thus when he had called himſelf the Vine, he called the Symbol or Sign his Blood.* So that in the ſame Senſe that he called himſelf the Vine, he called the Wine, which is the Symbol of his Blood, his Blood. *For,* ſays *Theodoret*, *he would have thoſe who partake of the divine Myſteries not to attend to the Nature of the Things which are ſeen, but by the Change of Names to believe the Change which is made by Grace; for he who called that which by Nature is a Body Wheat and Bread, and again likewiſe called himſelf the Vine, he honoured the Symbols with the Name of his Body and Blood; not changing Nature, but adding Grace to Nature.* Where we ſee he ſays expreſly, that when he called the Symbols or Elements of the Sacrament his Body and Blood, he made no Change in the Nature of the Things, only added Grace to Nature, that is, by the divine Grace and Bleſſing he raiſed them to a ſpiritual and ſupernatural Virtue and Efficacy.

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[l] Tract. an. Id. 50. in Joh.

[m] Id. Tom. ii. p. 93.

[n] De Conſecr. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt.

[o] De Conſecr. diſt. 2. Sect. Virum.

[p] Lib. 3. Tom. iii. p. 53.

[q] Gen. xlix. 11.

[r] Dialog. i.

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from hence that all Chriſtians are ſubſtantially changed firſt into Bread, and then into the natural Body of *Chriſt* by their Participation of the Sacrament, becauſe they are ſaid to be *one Bread* and *one Body*. And the ſame Apoſtle in the next Chapter, after he had ſpoken of the Conſecration of the Elements, ſtill calls them the *Bread and the Cup*, in three Verſes together. [w] *As often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup. Whoſoever ſhall eat this Bread and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily. But let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of this Bread and drink of this Cup.* And our Saviour himſelf, when he had ſaid, *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament*, immediately adds, [x] *But I ſay unto you, I will not henceforth drink of the Fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you in my Father's Kingdom:* From whence it is plain that it was the Fruit of the Wine, real Vine, which our Saviour drank of and communicated to his Diſciples in the Sacrament.

Beſides, if we conſider that he celebrated this Sacrament before his Paſſion, it is impoſſible theſe Words ſhould be underſtood literally of the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt*; becauſe it was *his Body broken* and *his Blood ſhed* which he gave to his Diſciples, which if we underſtand literally of his natural Body broken and his Blood ſhed, then theſe Words, *This is my Body which is broken, and my Blood which is ſhed*, could not be true, becauſe his Body was then whole and unbroken, and his Blood not then ſhed; nor could it be a *propitiatory Sacrifice*, as they affirm this Sacrament to be, unleſs they will ſay that Propitiation was made before *Chriſt* ſuffered. And it is likewiſe impoſſible that the Diſciples ſhould underſtand theſe Words literally, becauſe they not only plainly ſaw that what he gave them was Bread and Wine, but they ſaw likewiſe as plainly that it was not his Body which was given, but his Body which gave that which was given; not his Body broken and his Blood ſhed, becauſe they ſaw him alive at that very Time, and beheld his Body whole and unpierced; and therefore they could not underſtand theſe Words literally: If they did, can we imagine that the Diſciples, who upon all other Occaſions were ſo full of Queſtions and Objections, ſhould make no Difficulty of this Matter? nor ſo much as aſk our Saviour, How can theſe Things be? that they ſhould not tell him, we ſee this to be Bread and that to be Wine, and we ſee thy Body to be diſtinct from both; we ſee thy Body not broken, and thy Blood not ſhed?

From all which it muſt needs be very evident, to any Man that will impartially conſider Things, how little Reaſon there is to underſtand thoſe Words of our Saviour, *this is my Body*, and *this is my Blood*, in the Senſe of *Tranſubſtantiation*; nay on the contrary, that there is very great Reaſon and an evident Neceſſity to underſtand them otherwiſe.

III. *Secondly*, we proceed to ſhew, that this Doctrine is not grounded upon the *perpetual Belief of the Chriſtian Church*, which the Church of *Rome* vainly pretends, as an Evidence that the Church did always underſtand and interpret our Saviour's Words in this Senſe.

To manifeſt the Groundleſneſs of this Pretence, we ſhall, in the *firſt* Place, ſhew by plain Teſtimonies of the Fathers in ſeveral Ages, for above five hundred Years after *Chriſt*, that this Doctrine was not the *Belief of the antient Chriſtian Church*. We deny not but that the Fathers do, and that with great Reaſon, very much magnify the wonderful Myſtery and Efficacy of this Sacrament, and frequently ſpeak of a great ſupernatural Change made by the divine Benediction; which we alſo readily acknowledge. They ſay indeed, that the Elements of Bread and Wine do, by the divine Bleſſing, become to us the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*: But they likewiſe ſay that the Names of the Things ſignified are given to the Signs; that the Bread and Wine do ſtill remain in their proper Nature and Subſtance, and that they are turned into the Subſtance of our Bodies; that the Body of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament is not his natural Body, but the Sign and Figure of it; not that Body which was crucified, nor that Blood which was ſhed upon the Croſs; and that it is impious to underſtand the *eating of the Fleſh of the Son of Man* and *drinking his Blood* literally: All which are directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation*, and utterly inconſiſtent with it. We will ſelect but ſome few Teſtimonies, out of many which we might bring to this Purpoſe.

Juſtin Martyr ſays expreſly, that [y] *our Blood and Fleſh are nouriſhed by the Converſion of that Food which we receive in the Euchariſt:* But *that* cannot be the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt*; for no Man will ſay that *that* is converted into the Nouriſhment of our Bodies.

Irenæus, ſpeaking of this Sacrament, ſays, that the [z] *Bread which is from the Earth receiving the divine Invocation, is now no longer common Bread, but the Euchariſt, conſiſting of two Things, the one earthly, the other heavenly.* The earthly Thing he means, is Bread; and the heavenly is the divine Bleſſing, which by the Invocation or Conſecration is added to it. And elſewhere he hath this Paſſage, [a] *When therefore the Cup that is mixed, and the Bread that is broken, receives the Word of God, it becomes the Euchariſt of the Blood and Body of* Chriſt, *of which the Subſtance of our Fleſh is increaſed and conſiſts.* But if that which we receive in the Sacrament do nouriſh our Bodies, it muſt be Bread and Wine, and not the natural Body.

There is another remarkable Teſtimony of *Irenæus*, which though it be not now extant in thoſe Works of his which remain, yet hath been preſerved by *Oecumenius*, and it is this: [b] *When* ſays he, *the* Greeks *had taken ſome Servants,*

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[w] Cor. xi. 26, 27, 28.

[x] Matth. xxvi. 29.

[y] Apol. ii. p. 98. Edit. Par. 1636.

[z] Lib. iv. c. 34.

[a] Lib. v. c. 2.

of the Chriſtian Catechumeni, *and afterwards urged them by Violence to tell them ſome of the Secrets of the Chriſtians: Theſe Servants having nothing to ſay that might gratify thoſe who offered Violence to them, except only that they had heard from their Maſters that the divine Communion was the Blood and Body of* Chriſt, *they thinking that it was really Blood and Fleſh, declared as much to thoſe that queſtioned them. The* Greeks *taking this as if it were really done by the Chriſtians, diſcovered it to others of the* Greeks; *who hereupon put* Sanctus *and* Blandina *to the Torture, to make them confeſs it. To whom* Blandina *boldly anſwered, How would they endure to do this, who by way of Exerciſe, or Abſtinence, do not eat that Fleſh which may lawfully be eaten?* By which it appears that this which they would have charged upon the Chriſtians, as if they had literally eaten the Fleſh and Blood of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, was a falſe Accuſation which theſe Martyrs denied, ſaying they were ſo far from it, that they for their Part did not eat any Fleſh at all.

The next is *Tertullian*, who proves againſt *Marcion* the Heretick, that the Body of our Saviour was not a mere Phantaſm and Appearance, but a real Body, otherwiſe the Sacrament would be an Image of an Image. His Words are theſe; [c] *The Bread which our Saviour took and diſtributed to his Diſciples he made his own Body, ſaying, This is my Body, that is, the Image or Figure of my Body. But it could not have been the Figure of his Body, if there had not been a true and real Body.* And arguing againſt the Scepticks, who denied the Certainty of Senſe, he uſeth this Argument: That if we queſtion our Senſes, we may doubt whether our bleſſed Saviour were not deceived in what he heard, and ſaw, and touched. [d] *He might,* ſays he, *be deceived in the Voice from Heaven, in the Smell of the Ointment with which he was anointed againſt his Burial, and in the Taſte of the Wine which he conſecrated in remembrance of his Blood.* So that it ſeems we are to truſt our Senſes, even in the Matter of the Sacrament; and if that be true, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is certainly falſe.

Origen ſpeaking of the Sacrament hath this Paſſage: [e] *That Food which is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, as to that of it which is material, goeth into the Belly and is caſt out into the Draught*; which none ſurely will ſay of the Body of *Chriſt*. And afterwards he adds by way of Explication, *It is not the Matter of the Bread, but the Word which is ſpoken of it, which profiteth him that worthily eateth the Lord*; *and this,* he ſays, *he had ſpoken concerning the typical and ſymbolical Body.* So that the Matter of Bread remaineth in the Sacrament, and this *Origen* calls the *typical and ſymbolical* Body of *Chriſt*; and it is not the natural Body of *Chriſt* which is there eaten, for the Food eaten in the Sacrament, as to that of it which is material, goeth into the Belly, and is caſt out into the Draught. This Teſtimony is ſo very plain in the Cauſe, that *Sextus Senenſis* ſuſpects this Place of *Origen* was depraved by the Hereticks. Cardinal *Perron* is contented to allow it to be *Origen*'s, but rejects his Teſtimony, becauſe he was accuſed of Hereſy by ſome of the Fathers, and ſays he talks like a Heretick in this Place. So that with much ado this Teſtimony is yielded to us. The ſame Father in his Homilies upon *Leviticus* ſpeaks thus; [f] *There is alſo in the New Teſtament a Letter which kills him who doth not ſpiritually underſtand thoſe Things which are ſaid; for if we take according to the Letter that which is ſaid,* Except ye eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, *this Letter kills.* And this is alſo a killing Teſtimony, not to be anſwered but in Cardinal *Perron*'s Way, by ſaying, *He talks like a Heretick.*

St. *Cyprian* hath a whole Epiſtle [g] to *Cecilius*, againſt thoſe who gave the Communion in Water only without Wine mingled with it; and his main Argument againſt them is this; *That the Blood of Chriſt, with which we are redeemed and quickened, cannot ſeem to be in the Cup, when there is no Wine in the Cup by which the Blood of* Chriſt *is repreſented:* And afterwards he ſays, that *contrary to the evangelical and apoſtolical Doctrine, Water was in ſome Places offered in the Lord's Cup, which alone cannot expreſs the Blood of* Chriſt. And laſtly he tells us, that *by Water the People is underſtood, by Wine the Blood of* Chriſt *is ſhewn; but when in the Cup Water is mingled with Wine, the People is united to* Chriſt. So that, according to this Argument, Wine in the ſacramental Cup is no otherwiſe changed into the Blood of *Chriſt* than the Water mixed with it is changed into the People, which are ſaid to be united to *Chriſt*.

We omit many others, and paſs to St. *Auſtin* in the fourth Age after *Chriſt*; whoſe Teſtimony we the rather inſiſt upon, becauſe of his eminent Eſteem and Authority in the *Latin* Church. He alſo calls the Elements of the Sacrament, the *Figure and Sign of* Chriſt's *Body and Blood.* In his Book againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* we have this Expreſſion, [h] *Our Lord did not doubt to ſay,* This is my Body, *when he gave the Sign of his Body.* And in his Explication of the third *Pſalm*, ſpeaking of *Judas*, whom our Lord admitted to his laſt Supper; [i] *in which,* ſays he, *he commended and delivered to his Diſciples the Figure of his Body*; Language which would now be cenſured for Hereſy in the Church of *Rome*. Indeed he was never accuſed of Hereſy, as Cardinal *Perron* ſays *Origen* was, but *he talks as like one as Origen* himſelf. And in his Comment on the ninety eighth Pſalm, ſpeaking of the Offence which the Diſciples took at that Saying of our Saviour, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you,* he brings in our Saviour ſpeaking thus to them; [k] *Ye muſt underſtand ſpiritually what I have ſaid unto you; ye are not to eat this Body which ye ſee, and to drink that Blood which ſhall be ſhed by thoſe that ſhall crucify me. I have commended a certain Sa-*

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[c] Adverſ. Marcion. l. iv. p. 571. Edit. Rigalt. Pariſ. 1634.

[d] Lib. de Anima, p. 319.

[e] In his Comment on Matth. xv. Edit. Huet.

[f] Cap. x.

[g] Ep. 63.

[h] Aug. Tom. vi. p. 187. Edit. Baſil. 1569.

[i] Ennarrat. in Pſal. Tom. viii. p. 16.

[k] Id. Tom. ix. p. 1105.

crament to you, which being ſpiritually underſtood will give you Life. What more oppoſite to the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, than that the Diſciples were not to eat that Body of *Chriſt* which they ſaw, nor to drink that Blood which was ſhed upon the Croſs, but that all this was to be underſtood ſpiritually, and according to the Nature of a Sacrament? For that Body he tells us is not here but in Heaven, in his Comment upon theſe Words, *Me ye have not always.* [l] *He ſpeaks*, ſays the Father, *of the Preſence of his Body; ye ſhall have me according to my Providence, according to Majeſty and inviſible Grace; but according to the Fleſh which the Word aſſumed, according to that which was born of the Virgin* Mary, *ye ſhall not have me: Therefore becauſe he converſed with his Diſciples forty Days, he is aſcended up into Heaven and is not here.*

In his twenty third Epiſtle, [m] *If the Sacraments*, ſays he, *had not ſome Reſemblance of thoſe Things whereof they are Sacraments, they would not be Sacraments at all; but from this Reſemblance they take for the moſt Part the Names of the Things which they repreſent. Therefore as the Sacrament of the Body of* Chriſt *is in ſome Manner or Senſe* Chriſt's *Body, and the Sacrament of his Blood is the Blood of* Chriſt; *ſo the Sacrament of Faith, is Faith.* Upon which Words of St. *Auſtin* there is this remarkable Gloſs in their own Canon Law: *The heavenly Sacrament, which truly repreſents the Fleſh of* Chriſt, *is called the Body of* Chriſt; *but improperly: Whence it is ſaid*, that after a Manner, *but not according to the Truth of the Thing, but the Myſtery of the Thing ſignified: So that the Meaning is, it is called the Body of* Chriſt, *that is, it ſignifies the Body of* Chriſt: And if this be St. *Auſtin*'s Meaning, no Proteſtant can ſpeak more plainly againſt Tranſubſtantiation. And in the antient Canon of the Maſs, before it was changed in compliance with this new Doctrine, it is expreſly called *a Sacrament, a Sign, an Image, and a Figure of* Chriſt's *Body*. To which we will add that remarkable Paſſage of St. *Auſtin* cited by *Gratian*: [o] *That as we receive the Similitude of his Death in Baptiſm, ſo may we alſo receive the Likeneſs of his Fleſh and Blood; that ſo neither may Truth be wanting in the Sacrament, nor Pagans have Occaſion to make us ridiculous for drinking the Blood of one that was ſlain.*

We will mention but one Teſtimony more of this Father, but ſo clear an one as it is impoſſible any Man in his Wits that had believed Tranſubſtantiation could have uttered. It is in his Treatiſe *Of Chriſtian Doctrine*; where laying down ſeveral Rules for the right Underſtanding of Scripture, he gives this for one. [p] *If*, ſays he, *the Speech be a Precept forbidding ſome heinous Wickedneſs or Crime, or commanding us to do good, it is not figurative; but if it ſeem to command any heinous Wickedneſs or Crime, or to forbid that which is profitable and beneficial to others, it is figurative. For example, Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you: This ſeems to command a heinous Wickedneſs and Crime, therefore it is a Figure, commanding us to communicate the Paſſion of our Lord, and with Delight and Advantage to lay up in our Memory that his Fleſh was crucified and wounded for us.* So that, according to St. *Auſtin*'s beſt Skill in interpreting Scripture, the literal eating of the Fleſh of *Chriſt*, and drinking his Blood, would have been a great Impiety; and therefore the Expreſſion is to be underſtood figuratively; not, as Cardinal *Perron* would have it, only in oppoſition to the eating of his Fleſh and Blood in the groſs Appearance of Fleſh and Blood, but to the real eating of his natural Body and Blood under any Appearance whatſoever: For St. *Auſtin* doth not ſay, This is a figurative Speech, wherein we are commanded really to feed upon the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt* under the Species of Bread and Wine, as the Cardinal would underſtand him; for then the Speech would be literal and not figurative: But he ſays, This is a figurative Speech, wherein we are commanded ſpiritually to feed upon the Remembrance of his Paſſion.

To theſe we will add but three or four Teſtimonies more in the two following Ages.

The firſt ſhall be of *Theodoret*, who ſpeaking of that Prophecy of *Jacob* concerning our Saviour, [q] *He waſhed his Garments in Wine, and his Clothes in the Blood of Grapes*, hath theſe Words; [r] *As we call the myſtical Fruit of the Vine after Conſecration the Blood of the Lord, ſo* Jacob *calls the Blood of the true Vine the Blood of the Grape:* But the Blood of *Chriſt* is not literally and properly, but only figuratively, the Blood of the Grape, in the ſame Senſe as he is ſaid to be the true Vine; and therefore the Wine in the Sacrament after Conſecration is, in like Manner, not literally and properly, but figuratively, the Blood of *Chriſt*. And he explains this afterwards, ſaying, that *our Saviour changed the Names, and gave to his Body the Name of the Symbol or Sign, and to the Symbol or Sign the Name of his Body: Thus when he had called himſelf the Vine, he called the Symbol or Sign his Blood.* So that in the ſame Senſe that he called himſelf the Vine, he called the Wine, which is the Symbol of his Blood, his Blood. *For*, ſays *Theodoret*, *he would have thoſe who partake of the divine Myſteries not to attend to the Nature of the Things which are ſeen, but by the Change of Names to believe the Change which is made by Grace; for he who called that which by Nature is a Body Wheat and Bread, and again likewiſe called himſelf the Vine, he honoured the Symbols with the Name of his Body and Blood; not changing Nature, but adding Grace to Nature.* Where we ſee he ſays expreſly, that when he called the Symbols or Elements of the Sacrament his Body and Blood, he made no Change in the Nature of the Things, only added Grace to Nature, that is, by the divine Grace and Bleſſing he raiſed them to a ſpiritual and ſupernatural Virtue and Efficacy.

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[l] Tract. an. Id. 50. in Joh.
[m] Id. Tom. ii. p. 93.
[n] De Conſecr. diſt. 2. Hoc eſt.
[o] De Conſecr. diſt. 2. Sect. Virum.
[p] Lib. 3. Tom. iii. p. 53.
[q] Gen. xlix. 11.
[r] Dialog. i.

The *ſecond* is of the ſame *Theodoret* in his ſecond Dialogue, where an Heretick, under the Name of *Eraniſtes*, maintaining that the Humanity of *Chriſt* was changed into the Subſtance of the Divinity, which was the Hereſy of *Eutyches*, he illuſtrates the Matter by this Similitude; *As*, ſays he, *the Symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood are one Thing before the Invocation of the Prieſt, but after the Invocation are changed and become another Thing; ſo the Body of our Lord after his Aſcenſion is changed into the divine Subſtance.* But what ſays the Catholic *Orthodoxus* to this? Why he talks juſt like one of Cardinal *Perron*'s Hereticks; *Thou art*, ſays he, *caught in thy own Net; becauſe the myſtical Symbols after Conſecration do not paſs out of their own Nature; for they remain in their former Subſtance, Figure, and Appearance, and may be ſeen and handled even as before.* He does not only deny the outward Figure and Appearance of the Symbols to be changed, but the Nature and Subſtance of them, even in the proper and ſtricteſt Senſe of the Word Subſtance; and it was neceſſary ſo to do, otherwiſe he had not given a pertinent Anſwer to the Similitude urged againſt him.

The next is one of their own Popes, *Gelaſius*, who brings the ſame Inſtance againſt the *Eutychians*; [f] *Surely*, ſays he, *the Sacraments which we receive of the Body and Blood of our Lord are a divine Thing, ſo that by them we are made Partakers of a divine Nature, and yet it ceaſeth not to be of the Subſtance or Nature of Bread and Wine; and certainly the Image and Reſemblance of* Chriſt's *Body and Blood are celebrated in the Action of the Myſteries*, that is, in the Sacrament. To make this Inſtance of any Force againſt the *Eutychians*, who held that the Body of *Chriſt* upon his Aſcenſion ceaſed, and was changed into the Subſtance of his Divinity, it was neceſſary to deny that there was any ſubſtantial Change in the Sacrament of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*. So that here is an infallible Authority, one of their own Popes, expreſly againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

The laſt Teſtimony we ſhall produce is of *Facundus* an *African* Biſhop, who lived in the ſixth Century. Upon occaſion of juſtifying an Expreſſion of one who had ſaid that *Chriſt alſo received the Adoption of Sons*, he reaſons thus. [t] *Chriſt vouchſafed to receive the Sacrament of Adoption both when he was circumciſed and baptized: And the Sacrament of Adoption may be called Adoption, as the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, which is in the conſecrated Bread and Cup, is by us called his Body and Blood: Not that the Bread*, ſays he, *is properly his Body, and the Cup his Blood, but becauſe they contain in them the Myſteries of his Body and Blood; hence alſo our Lord himſelf called the bleſſed Bread and Cup which he gave to his Diſciples, his Body and Blood.* Can any Man after this believe, that it was then, and had ever been, the univerſal and received Doctrine of the Chriſtian Church, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament are ſubſtantially changed into the proper and natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt*?

By theſe plain Teſtimonies which we have produced, and we might have brought a great many more to the ſame Purpoſe, it is evident beyond all Denial that Tranſubſtantiation, hath not been the perpetual Belief of the Chriſtian Church. And this likewiſe is acknowledged by many great and learned Men of the *Roman* Church. [u] *Scotus* acknowledgeth, that this Doctrine was not always thought neceſſary to be believed, but that the Neceſſity of believing it was conſequent to that Declaration of the Church made in the Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Innocent* the Third. And [w] *Durandus* freely diſcovers his Inclination *to have believed the contrary, if the Church had not by that Determination obliged Men to believe it.* [x] *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham* alſo yields, that *before the* Lateran *Council Men were at Liberty as to the Manner of* Chriſt's *Preſence in the Sacrament.* And [y] *Eraſmus*, who lived and died in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, and than whom no Man was better read in the antient Fathers, confeſſeth that it *was late before the Church defined Tranſubſtantiation, unknown to the Antients both Name and Thing.* And [z] *Alphonſus a Caſtro* ſays plainly, that *concerning the Tranſubſtantiation of the Bread into the Body of* Chriſt, *there is ſeldom any Mention in the antient Writers.* And who can imagine that theſe learned Men would have granted the antient Church and Fathers to have been ſo much Strangers to this Doctrine, had they thought it to have been the perpetual Belief of the Church?

IV. We ſhall now, in the *ſecond* Place, give an Account of the *particular Time and Occaſion of the Coming in of this Doctrine*, and by what Steps and Degrees it grew up and advanced into an Article of Faith in the *Romiſh* Church. The Doctrine of the *corporeal Preſence of* Chriſt was firſt ſtarted upon occaſion of the Diſpute about the Worſhip of Images, in oppoſition whereto the Synod of *Conſtantinople* about the Year 750 did argue thus, "That our Lord having left us no other Image of himſelf but the Sacrament, in which the Subſtance of Bread is the Image of his Body, we ought to make no other Image of our Lord." In anſwer to this Argument, the ſecond Council of *Nice*, in the Year 787, did declare, that the Sacrament after Conſecration *is not the Image and Antitype* of *Chriſt*'s Body and Blood, but is *properly* his Body and Blood. So that the corporeal Body of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament was firſt brought in to ſupport the ſtupid Worſhip of Images: And indeed it could never have come in upon a more proper Occaſion, nor have been applied to a fitter Purpoſe.

And here we cannot but take notice how well this agrees with *Bellarmine*'s Obſervation, [a] that *none of the Antients, who wrote of Hereſies, hath put this Error of denying Tranſubſtantiation, in his Catalogue; nor did any of the Antients diſpute againſt this Error for the firſt ſix hundred Years:*

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[f] Biblioth Patr. Tom iv.

[t] Facund. p. 144. Edit. Pariſ. 1676.

[u] In Sent. l. iv. Diſt. 11. Q. 3.

[w] In Sent. l. iv. Diſt. 11. q. 1. n. 15.

[x] De Euchar. l. i. p. 146.

[y] In 1 Epiſt. ad Cor. c. vii. citante etiam Salmerone tom. ix. Tract. 16. p. 108.

[z] De Hæreſ. l. viii.

[a] De Euchar. l. i. c. 1.

Which is very true, becauſe there could be no Occaſion then to diſpute againſt thoſe who denied Tranſubſtantiation, ſince this Doctrine was not in being, unleſs amongſt the *Eutychian* Heretics, for the firſt ſix hundred Years and more. But *Bellarmine* goes on, and tells us, [b] *that the firſt who called in queſtion the Truth of the Body of the Lord in the Euchariſt were the*[c] Iconomachi *after the Year 700, in the Council of* Conſtantinople; *for theſe ſaid there was one Image of* Chriſt *inſtituted by* Chriſt *himſelf, the Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt, which repreſents the Body and Blood of* Chriſt: *Wherefore from that Time the* Greek *Writers often admoniſh us, that the Euchariſt is not the Figure or Image of the Body of the Lord, but his true Body, as appears from the ſeventh Synod.* This agrees moſt exactly with the Account which we have given of the firſt Riſe of this Doctrine, which began with the corporeal Preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, and afterwards proceeded to Tranſubſtantiation.

And as this was the firſt Occaſion of introducing this Doctrine among the *Greeks*, ſo in the *Latin* or *Roman* Church *Paſchaſius Radbertus*, firſt a Monk, and afterwards Abbot of *Corbey*, was the firſt Broacher of it in the Year eight hundred and eighteeen.

And for this, beſides the Evidence of Hiſtory, we have the Acknowledgment of *two* very eminent Perſons in the Church of *Rome*, *Bellarmine* and *Sirmondus*, who do in effect confeſs that this *Paſchaſius* was the firſt who wrote to purpoſe upon this Argument. *Bellarmine* in theſe Words, [d] *This Author was the firſt who hath ſeriouſly and copiouſly written concerning the Truth of* Chriſt's *Body and Blood in the Euchariſt.* And *Sirmondus* in theſe, [e] *He ſo firſt explained the genuine Senſe of the Catholick Church, that he opened the Way to the reſt who afterwards in great Numbers wrote upon the ſame Argument.* But though *Sirmondus* is pleaſed to ſay that he only firſt explained the Senſe of the Catholick Church in this Point, yet it is very plain from the Records of that Age which are left to us, that this was the firſt Time that this Doctrine was broached in the *Latin* Church; and it met with great Oppoſition in that Age, as we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſhew. For *Rabanus Maurus*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz* about the Year 847, reciting the very Words of *Paſchaſius* wherein he had deliver'd this Doctrine, hath this remarkable Paſſage concerning the Novelty of it: [f] *Some*, ſays he, *of late, not having a right Opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord, have ſaid that this is the Body and Blood of our Lord which was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and in which our Lord ſuffered upon the Croſs, and roſe from the Dead: Which Error*, ſays he, *we have oppoſed with all our Might.* From whence it is plain, by the Teſtimony of one of the greateſt and moſt learned Biſhops of that Age, and of eminent Reputation for Piety, that what is now the very Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Sacrament, was then eſteemed an Error broached by ſome particular Perſons, but was far from being the generally received Doctrine of that Age. Can any one think it poſſible, that ſo eminent a Perſon in the Church both for Piety and Learning, could have condemned this Doctrine as an Error and a Novelty, had it been the general Doctrine of the Chriſtian Church, not only in that, but in all former Ages; and have had no Cenſure paſſed upon him for that which is now the great burning Article in the Church of *Rome*, and eſteemed by them one of the greateſt and moſt pernicious Hereſies?

Afterwards, in the Year 1059, when *Berengarius* in *France* and *Germany* had raiſed a freſh Oppoſition againſt this Doctrine, he was compelled to recant it by Pope *Nicholas* and the Council at *Rome*, in theſe Words; [g] *That the Bread and Wine which are ſet upon the Altar, are after the Conſecration, not only the Sacrament, but the true Body and Blood of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt; *and are ſenſibly, not only in the Sacrament, but in Truth, handled and broken by the Hands of the Prieſt, and ground or bruiſed by the Teeth of the Faithful.* But it ſeems the Pope and his Council were not then ſkilful enough to expreſs themſelves rightly in this Matter; for the Gloſs upon the Canon Law ſays expreſly, [h] *that unleſs we underſtand theſe Words of* Berengarius, that is in truth of the Pope and his Council, *in a ſound Senſe, we ſhall fall into a greater Hereſy than that of* Berengarius; *for we do not make Parts of the Body of* Chriſt. The Meaning of which Gloſs we cannot imagine, unleſs it be this, that the Body of *Chriſt*, though it be in truth broken, yet it is not broken into *Parts*, *for we do not make Parts of the Body of* Chriſt, but into *Wholes*: Now this new Way of breaking a Body, not into *Parts*, but into *Wholes*, which in good Earneſt is the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, though to them that are able to believe Tranſubſtantiation it may poſſibly appear to be ſound Senſe, yet to us that cannot believe ſo it appears to be ſolid Nonſenſe.

About twenty Years after, in the Year 1079, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh began to be ſenſible of this Abſurdity; and therefore in another Council at *Rome* made *Berengarius* to recant in another Form; [i] *That the Bread and Wine which are placed upon the Altar, are ſubſtantially changed into the true, and proper, and quickening Fleſh and Blood of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and after Conſecration are the true Body of* Chriſt, *which was born of the Virgin, and which being offered for the Salvation of the World did hang upon the Croſs, and ſits on the Right-hand of the Father.*

So that from the firſt ſtarting of this Doctrine in the ſecond Council of *Nice* in the Year 787, till the Council under Pope *Gregory* the Seventh in the Year 1079, it was almoſt three hundred Years that this Doctrine was conteſted, and before this miſhapen Monſter of Tranſubſtantiation could be licked into that Form in which it is now ſettled and eſtabliſhed in the Church of *Rome*. Here then is a plain Account of the Riſe of this Doctrine, and of the ſeveral Steps whereby it was advanced by the Church of *Rome* into an Article of Faith.

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[b] Ibid. [c] The Oppoſers of Images. [d] De Scriptor. Eccleſ. [e] In vita Paſchaſii.

[f] Epiſt. ad Heribaldum. c. 33.

[g] Gratian de conſecrat. diſtinct. 2. Lanfranc. de corp. & ſang. Domini. c. 5. Guitmund. de. ſacr. l. i. Alger. de ſacr. l. i. c. 19.

[h] Gloſ. Decret. de conſecrat. diſt. 2. in cap. Ego Berengarius. [i] Walden Tom. ii.

V. We come now, in the *third* Place, to anſwer the great pretended *Demonſtration* of the *Impoſſibility that this Doctriue, if it had been new, ſhould ever have come in, in any Age, and been received in the Church; and conſequently it muſt of Neceſſity have been the perpetual Belief of the Church in all Ages.* "For if, ſay they, it had not always been the Doctrine of the Church, whenever it had attempted firſt to come in, there would have been a great Stir about it, and the whole Chriſtian World would have roſe up in oppoſition to it. But we can ſhew no ſuch Time when firſt it came in, and when any ſuch Oppoſition was made to it, and therefore it was always the Doctrine of the Church." This Demonſtration Monſieur *Arnauld*, a very learned Man in *France*, pretends to be unanſwerable: Whether it be ſo or not, we ſhall briefly examine.

And *firſt*, We do aſſign a punctual and very likely Time of the firſt Riſe of this Doctrine, about the Beginning of the ninth Age; though it did not take firm Root, nor was fully ſettled and eſtabliſhed, till towards the end of the eleventh. And this was the moſt likely Time of all other, from the Beginning of Chriſtianity, for ſo groſs an Error to appear; it being, by the Confeſſion and Conſent of their own Hiſtorians, the moſt dark and diſmal Time that ever happened to the Chriſtian Church, both for Ignorance, and Superſtition, and Vice. It came in together with Idolatry, and was made uſe of to ſupport it: A fit Prop and Companion for it. And indeed what Tares might not the Enemy have ſown in ſo dark and long a Night, when ſo conſiderable a Part of the Chriſtian World was lull'd aſleep in profound Ignorance and Superſtition? And this agrees very well with the Account which our Saviour himſelf gives in the Parable of the Tares, of the ſpringing up of Errors and Corruptions in the Field of the Church. [k] *While the Men ſlept*, the Enemy did his Work in the Night; ſo that when they were awake, they wondered how and whence the Tares came; but being ſure they were there, and that they were not ſown at firſt, they concluded *the Enemy had done it*.

Secondly, We have ſhewn likewiſe that there was conſiderable Oppoſition made to this Error at its firſt coming in. The general Ignorance and groſs Superſtition of that Age rendered the Generality of People more quiet and ſecure, and diſpoſed them to receive any thing that came under a Pretence of Myſtery in Religion, and of greater Reverence and Devotion to the Sacrament, and that ſeemed any way to countenance the Worſhip of Images, for which at that Time they were zealouſly concerned. But notwithſtanding the Security and paſſive Temper of the People, the Men moſt eminent for Piety and Learning in that Time made great Reſiſtance againſt it. We have already named *Rabanus* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who oppoſed it as an Error lately ſprung up, and which had then gained but upon ſome few Perſons. To whom we may add *Heribaldus* Biſhop of *Auxerres* in *France*, *Jo. Scotus Erigena*, and *Ratramnus* commonly known by the Name of *Bertram*, who at the ſame Time were employed by the Emperor *Charles* the Bald to oppoſe this growing Error, and wrote learnedly againſt it. And theſe were the moſt eminent Men for Learning in that Time. And as to the Stir and Buſtle required about this Innovation, *Bertram* in his Preface to his Book tells us, that they *who according to their ſeveral Opinions talked differently about the Myſtery of* Chriſt's *Body and Blood, were divided by no ſmall Schiſm.*

Thirdly, Though for a more clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer to this pretended Demonſtration we have been contented to unite this Knot, yet we might without all theſe Pains have cut it. For ſuppoſe this Doctrine had ſilently come in and without Oppoſition, ſo that we could not aſſign the particular Time and Occaſion of its firſt Riſe; yet if it be evident from the Records of former Ages, for above five hundred Years together, that this was not the antient Belief of the Church; and plain alſo, that this Doctrine was afterwards received in the *Roman* Church, though we could not tell how and when it came in; it would be ſtill the wildeſt and moſt extravagant Thing in the World, to ſet up a pretended Demonſtration of Reaſon againſt plain Experience and Matter of Fact. This is juſt *Zeno*'s Demonſtration of the Impoſſibility of Motion, againſt *Diogenes* walking before his Eyes. For this is to undertake to prove that impoſſible to have been, which moſt certainly was. Juſt thus the Servants in the Parable might have demonſtrated that the Tares were Wheat, becauſe they were ſure none but good Seed was ſown at firſt, and no Man could give any Account of the punctual Time when any Tares were ſown, or by whom; and if any Enemy had come to do it, he muſt needs have met with great Reſiſtance and Oppoſition; but no ſuch Reſiſtance was made, and therefore there could be no Tares in the Field, but that which they called Tares was certainly good Wheat. But a Man may demonſtrate till his Head and Heart ake, before he ſhall be ever able to prove that which certainly is, or was, never to have been. For of all Sorts of Impoſſibilities nothing is more evidently ſo, than to make that which hath been not to have been.

VI. The *third* pretended Ground of this Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is, *The infallible Authority of the preſent Church to make and declare new Articles of Faith.* And this in truth is the Ground into which moſt of the learned Men of their Church did heretofore, and many do ſtill, reſolve their Belief of this Doctrine; plainly ſaying, that they ſee no ſufficient Reaſon, either from Scripture or Tradition, for the Belief of it;

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[k] Matth. xiii. 24.

and that they ſhould have believed the contrary, had not the Determination of the Church obliged them otherwiſe.

But if this Doctrine be obtruded upon the World merely by virtue of the Authority of the *Roman* Church, and the Declaration of the Council under Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, or of the *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the Third; then it is plain Innovation in the Chriſtian Doctrine, and a new Article of Faith impoſed upon the Chriſtian World. And if any Church hath this Power, the Chriſtian Faith may be enlarged and changed as often as Men pleaſe; and that which is no Part of our Saviour's Doctrine, nay any thing, though never ſo abſurd and unreaſonable, may become an Article of Faith, obliging all Chriſtians to the Belief of it, whenever the Church of *Rome* ſhall think fit to ſtamp her Authority upon it: Which would make Chriſtianity a moſt uncertain and endleſs Thing.

VII. The *Fourth* pretended Ground of this Doctrine is, *the Neceſſity of ſuch a Change as this in the Sacrament to the Comfort and Benefit of thoſe who receive it.* But there is no Colour for this, if the Thing be rightly conſidered: Becauſe the Comfort and Benefit of the Sacrament depends upon the Bleſſing annexed to the Inſtitution. And as Water in Baptiſm, without any ſubſtantial Change made in that Element, may by the divine Bleſſing accompanying the Inſtitution be effectual to the Waſhing away of Sin, and ſpiritual Regeneration; ſo there can no Reaſon in the World be given why the Elements of Bread and Wine in the Lord's Supper may not, by the ſame divine Bleſſing accompanying the Inſtitution, make the worthy Receivers Partakers of all the ſpiritual Comfort and Benefit deſigned to us thereby, without any ſubſtantial Change made in thoſe Elements, ſince our Lord hath told us, that *verily the Fleſh profiteth nothing.* So that if we could do ſo odd and ſtrange a Thing as to eat the very natural Fleſh, and drink the Blood of our Lord, 'tis hard to ſee of what greater Advantage it would be to us, than what we may have by partaking of the Symbols of his Body and Blood as he hath appointed in remembrance of him. For the ſpiritual Efficacy of the Sacrament doth not depend upon the Nature of the Thing received, ſuppoſing we receive what our Lord appointed, and receive it with a right Preparation and Diſpoſition of Mind; but upon the ſupernatural Bleſſing that goes all along with it, and makes it effectual to thoſe ſpiritual Ends for which it was appointed.

VIII. The *Fifth* and laſt pretended Ground of this Doctrine is, *to magnify the Power of the Prieſt in being able to work ſo great a Miracle.* And this with great Pride and Pomp is often urged by them as a tranſcendant Inſtance of the divine Wiſdom, to find out ſo admirable a Way to raiſe the Power and Reverence of the Prieſt; that he ſhould be able every Day, and as often as he pleaſes, by repeating a few Words, to work ſo miraculous a Change, and, as they love moſt abſurdly and blaſphemouſly to ſpeak, to make God himſelf.

But this is to pretend to a Power above that of God himſelf; for he did not, nor cannot make himſelf, nor do any thing that implies a Contradiction, as Tranſubſtantiation evidently does in their pretending to make God. For to make that which already is, and to make that now which always was, is not only vain and trifling if it could be done, but impoſſible, becauſe it implies a Contradiction.

And what if after all Tranſubſtantiation, if it were poſſible, and actually wrought by the Prieſt, would yet be no Miracle? For there are two Things neceſſary to a Miracle, that there be a ſupernatural Effect wrought, and that this Effect be evident to Senſe. So that though a ſupernatural Effect be wrought, yet if it be not evident to Senſe, it is to all the Ends and Purpoſes of a Miracle as if it were not; and can be no Teſtimony or Proof of any thing, becauſe itſelf ſtands in need of another Miracle to give Teſtimony to it, and to prove that it was wrought. And neither in Scripture, nor in prophane Authors, nor in common Uſe of Speech, is any thing called a Miracle, but what falls under the Notice of our Senſes: A Miracle being nothing elſe but a ſupernatural Effect evident to Senſe, the great End and Deſign whereof is to be a ſenſible Proof and Conviction to us of ſomething that we do not ſee.

And for want of this Condition, Tranſubſtantiation, if it were true, would be no Miracle. It would indeed be very ſupernatural, but for all that it would not be a Sign or Miracle: For a Sign or Miracle is always a Thing ſenſible, otherwiſe it could be no Sign. Now that ſuch a Change as is pretended in Tranſubſtantiation ſhould really be wrought, and yet there ſhould be no Sign and Appearance of it, is a Thing very wonderful, but not to Senſe; for our Senſes perceive no Change, the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament to all our Senſes remaining juſt as they were before: And that a Thing ſhould remain to all Appearance juſt as it was, hath nothing at all of wonder in it: We wonder indeed when we ſee a ſtrange Thing done, but no Man wonders when he ſees nothing done. So that Tranſubſtantiation, if they will needs have it a Miracle, is ſuch a Miracle as any Man may work that hath but the Confidence to face Men down that he works it, and the Fortune to be believed. And though the Church of *Rome* may magnify their Prieſts upon account of this Miracle, which they ſay they can work every Day and every Hour, yet we cannot underſtand the Reaſon of it: For when this great Work, as they call it, is done, there is nothing more appears to be done than if there were no Miracle: Now ſuch a Miracle as to all Appearance is no Miracle, there is no Reaſon why a Proteſtant Miniſter, as well as a *Popiſh* Prieſt, may not work as often as he pleaſes; or if he can but have the Patience to let it alone, it will work itſelf. For ſurely nothing in the World is eaſier than to let a Thing be as it is, and by ſpeaking a few Words over it to make it juſt what it was before. Every Man, every Day, may work ten thouſand ſuch Miracles.

And thus we have diſpatched the *firſt* Part of our Diſcourſe, which was to conſider the pretended Grounds and Reaſons of the Church of *Rome* for this Doctrine, and to ſhew the Weakneſs and Inſufficiency of them.

IX. We come now to the *ſecond* general Head, *To produce our Objections againſt it.* Which will be of ſo much the greater Force, becauſe we have already ſhewn this Doctrine to be deſtitute of all divine Warrant and Authority, and of any other Sort of Ground ſufficient in reaſon to juſtify it. So that we do not now object againſt a Doctrine which hath a fair Probability of divine Revelation on its Side, for that would weigh down all Objections which did not plainly overthrow the Probability and Credit of its divine Revelation: But we object againſt a Doctrine by the mere Will and Tyranny of Men impoſed upon the Belief of Chriſtians, without any Evidence of Scripture, and againſt all the Evidence of Reaſon and Senſe.

The Objections we ſhall reduce to theſe two Heads. *Firſt*, the infinite Scandal of this Doctrine to the Chriſtian Religion. And *ſecondly*, the monſtrous and inſupportable Abſurdity of it.

The infinite Scandal of this Doctrine to the Chriſtian Religion appears upon four Accounts. *1ſt*, Upon account of *the Stupidity of this Doctrine. Tully*, who was a Man of very good Senſe, inſtanceth in the Conceit of eating God, as the Extremity of Madneſs, and ſo ſtupid an Apprehenſion as he thought no Man was ever guilty of. [l] *When we call*, ſays he, *the Fruits of the Earth* Ceres, *and Wine* Bacchus, *we uſe but the common Language; but do you think any Man ſo mad as to believe that which he eats to be God?* It ſeems he could not believe that ſo extravagant a Folly had ever entered into the Mind of Man. It is a very ſevere Saying of *Averroes* the *Arabian* Philoſopher, who lived after this Doctrine was entertained among Chriſtians, and ought to make the Church of *Rome* bluſh, if ſhe can; [m] *I have travelled*, ſays he, *over the World, and have found divers Sects; but ſo ſottiſh a Sect or Law I never found, as is the Sect of the Chriſtians; becauſe with their own Teeth they devour their God whom they worſhip.* It was great Stupidity in the People of *Iſrael* to ſay, *Come let us make us Gods*; but it was civilly ſaid of them, *Let us make us Gods that they may go before us*, in compariſon of the Church of *Rome*, who ſay, *Let us make a God that we may eat him.* So that, upon the whole Matter, we cannot but wonder that they ſhould chuſe thus to expoſe Faith to the Contempt of all that are endued with Reaſon. And to ſpeak the plain Truth, the Chriſtian Religion was never ſo horribly expoſed to the Scorn of Atheiſts and Infidels, as it hath been by this moſt abſurd and ſenſeleſs Doctrine. But thus it was foretold that [n] *the Man of Sin ſhould come with Power, and Signs, and lying Miracles, and with all Deceivableneſs of Unrighteouſneſs*; with all the Legerdemain and jugling Tricks of Falſhood and Impoſture; among which this of Tranſubſtantiation, which they call a Miracle, and we a Cheat, is one of the chief: And in all Probability thoſe common jugling Words of *hocus pocus* are nothing elſe but a Corruption of *hoc eſt corpus*, by way of ridiculous Imitation of the Prieſts of the Church of *Rome* in their Trick of Tranſubſtantiation. Into ſuch Contempt by this fooliſh Doctrine and pretended Miracle of theirs, have they brought the moſt ſacred and venerable Myſtery of our Religion.

2dly, It is very ſcandalous likewiſe upon account of the real Barbarouſneſs of this Sacrament and Rite of our Religion, upon ſuppoſition of the Truth of this Doctrine. Literally to *eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and to drink his Blood*, St. *Auſtin*, as we have ſhewed before, declares to be a great Impiety. And the Impiety and Barbarouſneſs of the Thing is not in truth extenuated, but only the Appearance of it, by its being done under the Species of Bread and Wine: For the Thing they acknowledge is really done, and they believe that they verily eat and drink the natural Fleſh and Blood of *Chriſt*. And what can any Man doe more unworthily towards his Friend? How can he poſſibly uſe him more barbarouſly, than to feaſt upon his living Fleſh and Blood? It is one of the greateſt Wonders in the World, that it ſhould ever enter into the Minds of Men to put upon our Saviour's Words, ſo eaſily capable of a more convenient Senſe, and ſo neceſſarily requiring it, a Meaning ſo plainly contrary to Reaſon, and Senſe, and even to Humanity itſelf. Had the antient Chriſtians owned any ſuch Doctrine, we ſhould have heard of it from the Adverſaries of our Religion in every Page of their Writings; and they would have deſired no greater Advantage againſt the Chriſtians, than to have been able to hit them in the Teeth with their feaſting upon the natural Fleſh and Blood of their Lord, and their God, and their beſt Friend. What endleſs Triumphs would they have made upon this Subject? And with what Confidence would they have ſet the Cruelty uſed by Chriſtians in their Sacrament, againſt their God *Saturn's* eating his own Children, and all the cruel and bloody Rites of their Idolatry? But that no ſuch Thing was then objected by the Heathens to the Chriſtians, is to a wiſe Man inſtead of a thouſand Demonſtrations that no ſuch Doctrine was then believed.

3dly, It is ſcandalous alſo upon account of the *cruel and bloody Conſequences* of this Doctrine; ſo contrary to the plain Laws of Chriſtianity, and to one great End and Deſign of this Sacrament, which is to unite Chriſtians in the moſt perfect Love and Charity to one another: Whereas this Doctrine hath been the Occaſion of the moſt barbarous and bloody Tragedies that ever were acted in the World. For this hath been in the Church of *Rome* the great burning Article; and as abſurd and unreaſonable as it is, more Chriſtians have been murthered for the Denial of it, than perhaps for all the other Articles of their Religion. And I think it may generally paſs for a true Obſervation, that all Sects are commonly moſt hot and furious for thoſe Things for which there is the leaſt Reaſon; for what Men want of Reaſon for their Opinions, they uſually ſupply and make up in Rage. And it was no more than needed to uſe this Severity upon this Occaſion; for nothing but the cruel Fear of Death could in probability have driven ſo great a Part of Mankind into the Acknowledgment of ſo unreaſonable and ſenſeleſs a Doctrine.

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[l] De Nat Deorum, lib. iii.

[m] Dionyſ. Carthuſ. in 4. Diſt. 10. Art. 1.

[n] 2 Theſſ. ii. 10.

4thly, Upon Account of the *Danger of Idolatry*; which they are certainly guilty of if this Doctrine be not true, and ſuch a Change as they pretend be not made in the Sacrament: For if it be not, then they worſhip a Creature inſtead of the Creator God bleſſed for ever. But ſuch a Change we have ſhewn to be impoſſible; or if it could be, yet they can never be certain that it is, and conſequently are always in Danger of Idolatry: And that they can never be certain that ſuch a Change is made, is evident; becauſe, according to the expreſs Determination of the Council of *Trent*, that depends upon the Mind and Intention of the Prieſt, which cannot certainly be known but by Revelation, which is not pretended in this Caſe. And if they be miſtaken about this Change, through the Knavery or Croſſneſs of the Prieſt, who will not make God but when he thinks fit, they muſt not think to excuſe themſelves from Idolatry becauſe they intended to worſhip God and not a Creature; for ſo the *Perſians* might be excuſed from Idolatry in worſhipping the Sun, becauſe they intend to worſhip God and not a Creature; and ſo indeed we may excuſe all the Idolatry that ever was in the World, which is nothing elſe but a Miſtake of the Deity, and upon that Miſtake a worſhipping of ſomething as God which is not God.

X. *Secondly*, Beſides the infinite Scandal of this Doctrine upon the Accounts we have mentioned, the *monſtrous Abſurdities* of it make it inſupportable to any Religion. We are well aſſured of the Grounds of Religion in general, and of the Chriſtian Religion in particular; and yet we cannot ſee that the Foundations of any revealed Religion are ſtrong enough to bear the Weight of ſo many, and ſo great Abſurdities, as this Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation would load it withal. And to make this evident, we ſhall not inſiſt upon thoſe groſs Contradictions of the ſame Body being in ſo many ſeveral Places at once; of our Saviour's giving away himſelf with his own Hands to every one of his Diſciples, and yet ſtill keeping himſelf to himſelf; and a thouſand more of the like Nature: But to ſhew the Abſurdity of this Doctrine, we ſhall only ask theſe few Queſtions.

1ſt, Whether any Man have, or ever had, greater Evidence of the Truth of any Divine Revelation, than every Man hath of the Falſhood of Tranſubſtantiation? Infidelity were hardly poſſible to Men, if all Men had the ſame Evidence for the Chriſtian Religion which they have againſt Tranſubſtantiation, that is, the clear and irreſiſtible Evidence of Senſe. He that can once be brought to contradict or deny his Senſes, is at an End of Certainty; for what can a Man be certain of, if he be not certain of what he ſees? In ſome Circumſtances our Senſes may deceive us, but no Faculty deceives us ſo little and ſo ſeldom: And when our Senſes do deceive us, even that Error is not to be corrected without the Help of our Senſes.

2dly, Suppoſing this Doctrine had been delivered in Scripture in the very ſame Words that it is decreed in the Council of *Trent*, by what clearer Evidence or ſtronger Argument could any Man prove to me that ſuch Words were in the Bible, than I can prove to him that Bread and Wine after Conſecration are Bread and Wine ſtill? He could but appeal to my Eyes to prove ſuch Words to be in the Bible, and with the ſame Reaſon and Juſtice might I appeal to ſeveral of his Senſes to prove to him that the Bread and Wine after Conſecration are Bread and Wine ſtill.

3dly, Whether it be reaſonable to imagine that God ſhould make that Part of the Chriſtian Religion, which ſhakes the main external Evidence and Confirmation of the Whole? We mean the Miracles which were wrought by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, the Aſſurance whereof did at firſt depend upon the Certainty of Senſe. For if the Senſes of thoſe who ſay they ſaw them were deceived, then there might be no Miracles wrought; and conſequently it may juſtly de doubted whether that kind of Confirmation which God hath given to the Chriſtian Religion would be ſtrong enough to prove it, ſuppoſing Tranſubſtantiation to be a Part of it: Becauſe every Man hath as great Evidence that Tranſubſtantiation is falſe, as he hath that the Chriſtian Religion is true. Suppoſe then Tranſubſtantiation to be a Part of the Chriſtian Doctrine, it muſt have the ſame Confirmation with the Whole, and that is Miracles: But of all Doctrines in the World it is peculiarly incapable of being proved by a Miracle. For if a Miracle were wrought for the Proof it, the very ſame Aſſurance which any Man hath of the Truth of the Miracle, he hath of the Falſhood of the Doctrine, that is, the clear Evidence of his Senſes. For that there is a Miracle wrought to prove *that what he ſees in the Sacrament is not Bread but the Body of* Chriſt, there is only the Evidence of Senſe; and there is the very ſame Evidence to prove *that what he ſees in the Sacrament is not the Body of* Chriſt, *but Bread*. So that here would ariſe a new Controverſy, whether a Man ſhould rather believe his Senſes giving Teſtimony againſt the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, or bearing Witneſs to a Miracle wrought to confirm that Doctrine; there being the very ſame Evidence againſt the Truth of the Doctrine, which there is for the Truth of the Miracle: And then the Argument of Tranſubſtantiation and the Objection againſt it would juſt balance one another; and conſequently Tranſubſtantiation is not to be proved by a Miracle: becauſe that would be, *to prove to a Man by ſome Thing that he ſees, that he doth not ſee what he ſees*. And if there were no other Evidence that Tranſubſtantiation is no Part of the Chriſtian Doctrine, this would be ſufficient, that what proves the one doth as much overthrow the other; and that Miracles, which are certainly the beſt and higheſt external Proof of Chriſtianity, are the worſt Proof in the World of Tranſubſtantiation, unleſs a Man can renounce his Senſes at the ſame Time that he relies upon them. For a Man cannot believe a Miracle without relying upon Senſe, nor Tranſubſtantiation without renouncing it. So that never were any two Things ſo ill coupled together as the Doctrine of Chriſtianity and that of Tranſubſtantiation, becauſe they draw ſeveral Ways, and are ready to ſtrangle one another; becauſe the main Evidence of the Chriſtian Doctrine, which is Miracles, is reſolved into the Certainty of Senſe, but this Evidence is clear and point-blank againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

4thly and *Laſtly*, We would aſk what we are to think of the Argument which our Saviour uſed to convince his Diſciples, after his Reſurrection, that his Body was really riſen, and that they were not deluded by a Ghoſt or Apparition? Is it a neceſſary and concluſive Argument or not? [o] *And he ſaid unto them, Why are ye troubled? and why do Thoughts ariſe in your Hearts? Behold my Hands and my Feet, that it is I myſelf; for a Spirit hath not Fleſh and Bones, as ye ſee me have.* But now if we ſuppoſe with the Church of *Rome* the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation to be true, and that he had inſtructed his Diſciples in it juſt before his Death, ſtrange Thoughts might juſtly have riſen in their Hearts, and they might have ſaid to him, *Lord, it is but a few Days ago ſince thou didſt teach us not to believe our Senſes, but directly contrary to what we ſaw, that the Bread which thou gaveſt us in the Sacrament, though we ſaw it, and handled it, and taſted it to be Bread, yet was not Bread, but thine own natural Body; and now thou appealeſt to our Senſes to prove that this is thy Body which we now ſee. If ſeeing and handling be an unqueſtionable Evidence that Things are what they appear to our Senſes, then we were deceived before in the Sacrament; and if they be not, then we are not ſure now that this is thy Body which we now ſee and handle, but it may be perhaps Bread under the Appearance of Fleſh and Bones, juſt as in the Sacrament, that which we ſaw and handled and taſted to be Bread was thy Fleſh and Bones under the Form and Appearance of Bread.* Now upon this Suppoſition, it would have been a hard Matter to have quieted the Thoughts of the Diſciples: For if the Argument which our Saviour uſed did certainly prove to them that what they ſaw and handled was his Body, his very natural Fleſh and Bones, becauſe they ſaw and handled them, which it were impious to deny; it would as ſtrongly prove that what they ſaw and received before in the Sacrament was not the natural Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, but real Bread and Wine: And conſequently, that according to our Saviour's arguing after his Reſurrection, they had no Reaſon to believe Tranſubſtantiation before. For that very Argument by which our Saviour proves the Reality of his Body after his Reſurrection, doth as ſtrongly prove the Reality of Bread and Wine after Conſecration. But our Saviour's Argument was moſt infallibly good and true, and therefore the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is undoubtedly falſe.

XI. Upon the whole Matter we ſhall only ſay this, that ſome other Points between us and the Church of *Rome* are manag'd with ſome kind of Wit and Subtilty, but this of Tranſubſtantiation is carried out by mere Dint of Impudence, and facing down of Mankind.

And of this the more diſcerning Perſons of that Church are of late grown ſo ſenſible, that they would now be glad to be rid of this odious and ridiculous Doctrine. But the Council of *Trent* hath faſtened it to their Religion, and made it a neceſſary and eſſential Point of their Belief, and they cannot now part with it if they would; it is like a Mill-ſtone hung about the Neck of Popery, which will ſink it at the laſt.

And though ſome of their greateſt Wits, as Cardinal *Perron* and M. *Arnauld*, have undertaken the Defence of it in great Volumes; yet it is an Abſurdity of that monſtrous and maſſy Weight, that no human Authority or Wit are able to ſupport it: It will make the very Pillars of St. *Peter*'s crack, and requires more Volumes to make it good than would fill the *Vatican*.

And now we would apply to the poor deluded People of that Church, if they were either permitted by their Prieſts, or durſt venture without their Leave, to look into their Religion, and to examine the Doctrines of it. *Conſider, and ſhew yourſelves Men.* Do not ſuffer yourſelves any longer to be led blindfold, and by an implicit Faith in your Prieſts, into the Belief of Nonſenſe and Contradiction. Think it enough, and too much, to let them rook you of your Money for pretended Pardons and counterfeit Relicks, but let not the Authority of any Prieſt or Church perſuade you out of your Senſes. Credulity is certainly a Fault as well as Infidelity; and he who ſaid, *Bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet have believed,* hath no where ſaid, *Bleſſed are they that have ſeen, and yet have not believed*; much leſs, *Bleſſed are they that believe directly contrary to what they ſee.*

To conclude this Diſcourſe: By what hath been ſaid upon this Argument it will appear, with how little Truth and Reaſon, and Regard to the Intereſt of our common Chriſtianity, it is ſo often ſaid by our Adverſaries, that there is as good Arguments for the Belief of Tranſubſtantiation as of the Doctrine of the Trinity: When they themſelves do acknowledge with us, that the Doctrine of the Trinity is grounded upon the Scriptures, and that according to the Interpretation of them by the Conſent of the antient Fathers: But their Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation we have plainly ſhewn to have no ſuch Ground, and that this is acknowledged by very learned Men of their own Church. And this Doctrine of theirs being firſt plainly proved by us to be deſtitute of all divine Warrant and Authority, our Objections againſt it from the manifold Contradictions of it to Reaſon and Senſe, are ſo many Demonſtrations of the Falſhod of it. Againſt all which they have nothing to put in the oppoſite Scale but the Infallibility of their Church, for which there is even leſs Colour of Proof from Scripture than for Tranſubſtantiation itſelf. But ſo fond are they of their own Innovations and Errors, that rather than the Dictates of their Church, how groundleſs and abſurd ſoever, ſhould be called in queſtion; rather than not have their Will of us in impoſing upon us what they pleaſe; they will overthrow any Article of the Chriſtian Faith, and ſhake the very Foundations of our common Religion: A clear Evidence that the Church of *Rome* is not the true Mother, ſince ſhe can be ſo well contented that Chriſtianity ſhould be deſtroyed rather than the Point in Queſtion ſhould be decided againſt her.

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[o] Luke xxiv. 38, 39.

DISSERTATION IV.

Of our Lord's waſhing the Feet of his Diſciples, and the Inſtructions we ſhould receive from that Action.

I. Jeſus *waſhes his Diſciples Feet. The Meaning of that Action.* II. *Reflections on the Neceſſity of ſubmitting all to the Divine Pleaſure.* III. *Conſiderations on St.* Peter's *Objection, and our Saviour's Anſwer.* IV. *Explanation of our Lord's figurative Alluſion to inward Purity.* V. *Reflections on the ſame.* VI. *Our Lord recommends his own Example.* VII. *The Neceſſity of ſuch an Example to the Apoſtles.* VIII. *The Beauty of Humility in Superiors and Governors.* IX. *The Neceſſity of preſerving Authority above Contempt, at the ſame Time that Governors are humble. St.* Paul's *Example.* X. *This true Chriſtian Spirit of Government recommended.* XI. *The Duty of Submiſſion in Inferiors,* &c. XII. *Reflections on the Time at which our Lord waſhed his Diſciples Feet.*

I. THOUGH *Jeſus* was conſcious to himſelf of his high Authority, and the vaſt Extent of his Power, the Divinity of his Original, and his Dearneſs to God; from whom, as he at firſt came to perform the greateſt and moſt glorious Work that ever the Power, and Wiſdom, and Goodneſs of God was engaged in; ſo to him he was ready to return, and be reinſtated in that exceeding Glory which he had at his Right Hand from all Eternity: Notwithſtanding all this, yet with wondrous Humility, and Condeſcenſion, and Charity, exemplary to all ſucceeding Ages of the Church, and every Member of it from the higheſt to the loweſt,[a] he roſe from his laſt Supper towards the Cloſe of it, before the Table was remov'd, and laid aſide his looſe upper Garments, as Waiters uſed to do, that they might be more ready for their Service, and took a Towel and girded himſelf, and then pour'd Water into a Baſon out of ſome larger Veſſel that was fill'd with it, and which was always ready at their Meals for divers Uſes, *and began to waſh his Diſciples Feet, and to wipe them with the Towel wherewith he was girded.*

Now this Action of *Jeſus* muſt needs upon all Accounts be very ſurpriſing to them. For though Water was always called for as a Mark of Reſpect to every honour'd Gueſt, and to cleanſe and refreſh their Feet after the Duſt and Heat of Travelling in thoſe hot Countries, where they did not wear cloſe Shoes as we do, but Sandals, which left the upper Part of the Foot naked and uncovered; yet this was done before eating, ſoon after the Perſon came in, and ſome Servant was to waſh and dry the Feet with Linen provided for that Purpoſe: But Supper was ended when *Jeſus* took that mean ſervile Office upon him, and that in a Place where himſelf was a Stranger; which made them wonder the more at it; and to his Inferiors, his own Diſciples, whom he choſe to miniſter to him and attend upon him, which made it ſeem moſt ſtrange of all: Inſomuch, that when he came to *Simon Peter*, and offered to waſh his Feet, ſtooping down in a Poſture fit for a Work of that Nature, *Peter* being filled with great Amazement, in an awful Senſe of the vaſt Diſtance between him and *Jeſus*, between the eternal Son of God, as he had before confeſſed him to be, and a wretched ſinful Creature, the great Meſſias and a poor Fiſherman his unworthy Servant, cry'd out with Admiration, [b] *Lord, doſt thou waſh my Feet!* To which the humble *Jeſus* mildly anſwered, *What I do, thou knoweſt not now, but thou ſhalt know hereafter.*

As if he had ſaid, *Thou mayeſt well be at a Loſs for the Reaſon of this Behaviour of mine at preſent, ſo ſeemingly unſuitable to the Character I bear; but believe there is good Reaſon for it, or elſe I ſhould not do it; only firſt let the Thing be done, and then thou ſhalt know the Reaſon of it.* And it would be our Wiſdom, as it is our Duty, in many Inſtances of the Conduct of Providence, whether public or private, which puzzle our Underſtandings, and of which we can give no Account, to reflect upon thoſe Words of our Lord, and think of the Unſearchableneſs of God's Doings, that his Ways and his Judgments are paſt finding out, and the Reaſons of them inſcrutable, till he ſhall pleaſe to reveal them to us. And though his Thoughts and Methods of acting are not as ours are, (and with what Modeſty can we think they ſhould be?) yet infinite Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, and Juſtice, direct them all; and the time will come that we ſhall know it to be ſo, if we can but wait till then.

II. Would it not be much better done to compoſe and calm our Minds by Reflections of this Nature, in any ſtrange Turns of Providence, than with a reſtleſs and immodeſt Curioſity to be prying into what God ſeems to deſign to keep for a while as a Secret, and put our Thoughts upon the Stretch to diſcover what is infinitely out of our Ken, and then, when we find ourſelves

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[a] John xiii. 4, 5. See Bragg's Diſcourſe on this Text.

[b] Ver. 6, 7.

ſelves ſtill in the Dark, to be uneaſy and diſſatiſfied with ſuch unaccountable Proceedings, and perhaps entertain hard Thoughts of the great myſterious Governor of the World, becauſe he loves to act thus involv'd in Clouds and Darkneſs, and will not vouchſafe to make us of his Privy-Council, and acquaint us immediately with the Reaſons, and Motives, and Springs, of all his Proceedings?

For ſuch poor Wretches as we are, to [c] *fret againſt God*, and [d] *diſquiet ourſelves in vain*, what intolerable Arrogance is it, and what extreme Folly! How much more becoming us, and how much happier for us will it be, in all ſuch Caſes to take our bleſſed Maſter's excellent Advice, and [e] *poſſeſs our Souls in Patience*, and repoſe our Truſt in him in all the ſtrangeſt Varieties of Things; hoping that though we know not now what it is he does, nor why he does it, yet we ſhall know hereafter, if it be fit for us to know, or any way conducing to our Good: And if it is always kept as a Secret from us, then to believe it did not concern us, at leaſt to know the Reaſons of it; and however, that ſince it was his doing, it muſt needs be for the wiſeſt and beſt Reaſons, though to us unknown.

How quiet would our own Breaſts be, and how quiet the World too, would we thus remember that God reigns, and governs all Things with an unerring, though inviſible Hand; and therefore humbly ſit down ſatisfied, and not perverſly and ridiculouſly embroil ourſelves and every thing within our Reach, becauſe the ſupreme Ruler is pleaſed to take ſome Methods which we are not able to account for.

III. But St. *Peter*, though he had that excellent Hint given him, which we have now taken notice of, yet could not bear the Thoughts of *Jeſus* waſhing the Feet of one ſo much below him as he was, nor endure to ſee his Lord and Maſter preparing for ſo ſervile an Employment; and therefore with his uſual Earneſtneſs and Warmth, ſaid to him, [f] *Thou ſhalt never waſh my Feet.*

Such a Mixture was there of Shame, and Reverence, and Love in the Apoſtle's Breaſt, as would not let him ſuffer his beloved, his honoured, his bleſſed Maſter, to do a Thing ſo much beneath him as that was; and had we been in his Place, which of us but would have ſaid as he did, and prevented it if poſſibly we could?

But when *Jeſus* anſwered him again, and ſaid unto him, with that commanding Air of Majeſty, which when he pleaſed to aſſume gave a mighty Force and Influence to what he ſpake, [g] *If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no Part with me*; then he was convinced that he muſt refuſe no longer, and that his Reluctancy, how great and juſt ſoever, muſt give place to Duty: Eſpecially when the Deprival of an Intereſt in his Saviour, would be the Conſequence of his not complying, as the Words of *Jeſus* ſeemed to intimate.

But theſe Words of *Jeſus* are not to be literally underſtood, as we have intimated in our Paraphraſe of them: They are only a figurative Way of expreſſing the Neceſſity of every Man's being inwardly purified by *Chriſt*'s Doctrine, and waſhed from the Guilt of Iniquity by his Blood, which he was then going to ſhed for the Sins of the World: They teach that every Man ought to be thoroughly initiated into the Life and Spirit of the Goſpel, in order to the Recovery of God's Favour, and having a Share in the Happineſs which he deſign'd for miſerable Mankind, through the Mediation of his beloved Son. But this Intimation comes in only occaſionally and by the Bye: For our Lord's prime Intention in waſhing his Diſciples Feet, was to teach a Leſſon both to them and us of another Nature, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel; only upon St. *Peter*'s refuſing to let him waſh his Feet, he took occaſion to inſinuate in a myſtical Way, according to his uſual Manner, this great and moſt concerning Truth, that he came to ſave the World by purifying it. As if he had ſaid, *As unwilling as thou art that I ſhould waſh thy Feet, a polluted Wretch thou wouldſt be, and utterly unfit for the Kingdom of God, unleſs I make thee clean; not only take away the Puniſhment of thy Sin, but deſtroy the Power of it: For where Righteouſneſs, and true Holineſs, and Purity of Heart and Life are wanting, it is in vain to hope for Salvation, although I ſhed my Blood to purchaſe it.*

This is a Truth indeed, in which we are all concerned, and which deſerves our moſt ſerious Conſideration. And it is plainly ſignified to us by the great initiating Rite of Baptiſm; which not only makes us clean with reſpect to what is paſt, but repreſents to us the Neceſſity, and lays the higheſt Obligations upon us, of keeping ourſelves ſo for the future; as we expect to receive the Benefits of it, and hope to be admitted into that holy, as well as happy Place, into which no unclean Soul can enter.

'Tis the inward Purification of our Souls by the Grace of God, co-operating with our own ſincere Endeavours, that is ſignified by the outward Waſhing, and muſt make it effectual to us: And even the moſt precious Blood of *Chriſt* itſelf, which was ſhed to take away the Sins of the World, and cleanſe us from all Iniquity, (and which will moſt certainly accompliſh that great and happy Work, unleſs we put a Bar to it ourſelves;) may yet be rendered of no Effect to us if we will not be ſo cleanſed, but continue filthy ſtill, and defeat the gracious Intentions of God towards us by our obſtinate Impiety. And therefore, ſays the Holy *Jeſus*, [h] *Bleſſed are the Pure in Heart, for they ſhall ſee God:* But to the incorrigibly Wicked, whatever fair Profeſſion they make, he will ſay at the great Cloſe of all Things, [i] *Depart from me, I know ye not, ye Workers of Iniquity: Depart from me ye Curſed into everlaſting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.*

So that 'tis evident, that he who refuſes to be thus thoroughly purified by *Chriſt*, *has no Part*

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[c] Prov. xix. 3. [d] Pſal. xxxix. 6. [e] Luke xxi. 19. [f] Ver. 8. [g] Ibid.
[h] Matth. v. 8. [i] Matth. vii. 22, 23. Luke xiii. 27. Matth. xxv. 41.

with him; and ſhall be utterly diſowned by him when he comes to *receive to himſelf thoſe that are his*, which are none but thoſe that are *zealous of good Works*.

IV. And whether or no it was in this Senſe that St. *Peter* underſtood our Lord, when he ſaid, *If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no Part with me*, we find his Reply ſuitable to ſuch an Interpretation: For as ſoon as he heard thoſe Words, his former Refuſal was turned into a vehement Deſire of being waſhed all over; and he ſaid, [k] *Lord, not my Feet only, but alſo my Hands and my Head!* That is, as the Pſalmiſt expreſſes the ſame Petition, [l] *Waſh me thoroughly from my Wickedneſs, and cleanſe me from all my Sins:* Purify not my Paſſions and Affections only, but my Thoughts, my Notions, my Intentions and Deſigns, and all my Actions, that I may be clean throughout.

To this *Jeſus* replied, ſtill alluding to this figurative Meaning, [m] *He that is waſhed, needeth not ſave to waſh his Feet, and is clean every whit.* As if he had ſaid, "He that hath been once effectually initiated into the Fellowſhip of my Religion by Water and the Holy Ghoſt; and hath been waſhed in the [n] Laver of *Regeneration*, and [o] *purified by the Blood of the everlaſting Covenant* from his former Guilt; this Man need not be ſo waſhed again. But if he clears his Conſcience from the Defilement contracted by his daily Tranſgreſſions, by a daily Repentance; purifies his Affections ſtill more and more; ſubdues his Paſſions; makes it his Buſineſs with a hearty honeſt Care and Diligence to cleanſe himſelf from all incidental *Filthineſs both of Fleſh and Spirit*; and by a conſtant Progreſſion, though not with equal Steps, endeavours to [p] *perfect Holineſs in the Fear of God*; *he is clean every whit*, or ſhall be eſteemed as ſuch, through *Jeſus Chriſt*."

This is evangelical Purity, theſe are the gracious Terms of the Goſpel, which accepts of Sincerity inſtead of ſinleſs Obedience; of a daily Cleanſing, inſtead of ſpotleſs Perfection; through the infinite Merit of the great expiatory Sacrifice, and the mighty Efficacy of the Waters of Baptiſm, whereby we were waſhed from our old Sins, and had an Intereſt in the all-purifying Virtue of that moſt precious Blood for the future.

V. How good, how merciful is this! How eaſy does it make the Yoke of *Jeſus*, and how light his Burthen! And how utterly inexcuſable are they that will not thus waſh that they may be clean! And yet, ſo brutiſh are we, ſo much in Love with Filthineſs, that too often we are better pleaſed to wallow in the Mire, and *work all Uncleanneſs with Greedineſs*. We think the little Pains of Repentance a greater Evil than the Foulneſs of Vice and Guilt, and ſo let it continue on till it is almoſt as hard to be removed as the Spots of a Leopard, or the ſable Hue of an *Ethiopian*; and thereby become an Abomination to the God of Purity, to the bright Spirits that are employ'd by him to miniſter to us in this our State of Probation, and to all good Men.

For how baſe, how ſordid is it, how unworthy a Creature ſo nearly ally'd to Heaven as every Chriſtian is, to chuſe the Pleaſures of a Beaſt, before thoſe of Reaſon and Religion, of Angels and glorify'd Spirits! and to delight in the Deformity and Filth of Sin, more than in the charming Beauty of Holineſs and Virtue, and forfeit the Glories of Heaven for the Sake of a Sink and a Dunghill!

One would wonder that a Creature which has ſuch Alliances, ſuch Hopes and Expectations, and which is able to think and conſider, ſhould ever act at ſuch a deſpicable Rate as this. But ſo it is, and ſome of all Ranks and Stations are thus forſaken of Judgment, Reflection, Thought, and every Thing that is rational and good; and to our Shame and Reproach be it ſpoken, 'tis grown a [q] *common Evil under the Sun*.

Judas was the firſt ſad Example of it under the Goſpel State; and tho' an Apoſtle of *Jeſus*, one of thoſe whom he made choice of as the chief Miniſters of his Kingdom, and for whom Thrones of Glory were prepared in Heaven; yet, prompted by filthy Avarice, he fell, like an Apoſtate Angel, from his exalted Station, into the Bottom of the dire Portion of accurſed Spirits; ſo that our bleſſed Lord himſelf could ſay, [r] *It would have been better for him if he never had been born*.

And this he ſignify'd before Hand, when he had waſh'd that Traitor's Feet among the reſt, by ſaying to his Apoſtles, [s] *Ye are clean, but not all: For he knew who ſhould betray him; therefore he ſaid, Ye are not all clean:* Intending by that, and divers other Hints, if poſſible, to awaken the Conſcience of that Wretch, and divert him from committing ſuch a horrid Piece of Villany; but all in vain. Let none of us therefore be [t] *high-minded, but fear*, and walk circumſpectly, taking heed leſt we alſo fall; as ſome of the Angels of Heaven, and an Apoſtle, we ſee, have done before us, and that beyond Recovery.

VI. Now after *Jeſus*, with wonderful Humility and Condeſcenſion, had perform'd the inferior Office of Waſhing his Diſciples Feet, and upon Occaſion of St. *Peter*'s modeſt Refuſal when he came to him, ſpoke the great and concerning Truths we mention'd but now, [u] *he took his Garments, and ſat down again*; and reſuming the high Character that belong'd to him, he began to acquaint them with the Reaſon of that extraordinary and ſurprizing Action of his. [w] *Know ye*, ſays he, the Meaning and Deſign of *what I have done to you?* "'Tis probable you don't, and are full of Wonder at it, but now I'll tell you."

[x] *Ye call me Maſter and Lord*, and ſo far am I from forgetting what I am, tho' I have ſtoop'd ſo low as like a Servant to waſh and wipe your Feet, that I own *ye ſay well* when ye call me ſo,

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[k] Ver. 9.
[l] Pſalm li. 2.
[m] Ver. 10.
[n] Tit. iii. 5.
[o] Heb. xiii. 20.
[p] 2 Cor. vii. 1.
[q] Eccleſ. vi. 1.
[r] Matth. xxvi. 24. Mark xiv. 21.
[s] Ver. 10, 11.
[t] Rom. xi. 20.
[u] Ver. 12.
[w] Ibid.
[x] Ver. 13.

for ſo I am. [y] *If I then, that am your Lord and Maſter, have waſhed your Feet*; if I have condeſcended to the meaneſt Offices, and in more Reſpects than one have put on the Form of a Servant for your Good; *Ye alſo ought to waſh one another's Feet*, and think nothing too mean to do, for the promoting one another's Happineſs, and that of all the World. And let me tell you, I expect it from you; for therefore [z] *have I given you this Example, that ye ſhould do as I have done to you.*

As if he had ſaid, "Although it is to your great Honour that ye are my choſen Apoſtles, to whom I will commit the chief Government of my Church upon the Earth, and by whoſe Means the World ſhall be converted to the Belief of the Goſpel; yet let not this puff you up to a domineering Height of Spirit, but remember that [a] *the Servant is not greater than his Lord, neither he that is ſent greater than he that hath ſent him.* If I, therefore, have ſo abaſed myſelf to advance the eternal Intereſt of Mankind, and ſhall ſoon be abas'd ſtill lower, you have no reaſon to think of nothing but Rule, and Dominion, and Greatneſs, but rather to eſteem yourſelves as the Servants of all, in the great Work of reconciling a ſinful World to God, which I ſhall commit to your Management, and not think the loweſt Condeſcenſions too much to carry it on with Succeſs."

If ye know theſe Things, happy are ye if ye do them. "Now I have told you my Meaning in ſtooping ſo low as to waſh your Feet, and how I expect you ſhould follow my Example; your actually doing ſo, will raiſe your Happineſs to the higheſt Pitch in the Concluſion: And the more you humble yourſelves to promote the Good of Mankind here, the more glorioully you ſhall ſhine in my heavenly Kingdom above. And need enough was there for ſuch a Lecture to the Apoſtles, back'd with ſuch an Example, at that Time.

VII. For not long before, upon his Diſcourſing of the Approach of his Kingdom, which notwithſtanding all that he had ſaid to undeceive them, they took to be a temporal one, they were contending with one [b] another who ſhould be the greateſt Miniſter in it, and have the moſt honourable Poſt and chief Share in the Government of it: And the Mother of St. *James* and St. *John*, in Behalf of themſelves, upon Account of the near Relation they bore to our Lord, thought they might well expect the Preference, and went and petition'd him, that the one of them might *ſit on his Right Hand, the other on his Left, in his Kingdom*; and thereby gave great Offence to all the reſt.

Now this ambitious Temper of theirs ſavouring more of the Spirit of the World than of the Goſpel, and being ſuch as might prove of dangerous Conſequence to the Church after his Deceaſe; their wiſe and humble Maſter took this moſt affecting Way to check it, and give them a right Notion of the Nature of their Office, as his Miniſters and Apoſtles: The greateſt of whom was to be *the Servant all*, and not to exerciſe an arbitrary Dominion over others, as the Princes of the Nations did, but, like him, to *govern with Meekneſs of Wiſdom*, and with ſuch an Authority as would not think much to condeſcend to the weakeſt and meaneſt Perſons under their Care, for their ſpiritual Good. As he himſelf [c] *came not to be miniſtred unto, but to miniſter, and even to give his Life as a Ranſom for many*; humbling himſelf unto Death, the ſhameful Death of the Croſs, that we might live thro' him.

He tells them indeed, [d] *I appoint unto you a Kingdom*, the Affairs of which you are to adminiſter; but then he ſubjoins, 'Tis ſuch a Kingdom *as my Father hath appointed unto me*; and that it was *not of this World*, not a temporal, but a ſpiritual Kingdom; the greateſt Glory of which was not Pomp and Grandeur, but Humility and Meekneſs, and Lowlineſs of Heart, which he elſewhere [e] expreſly commanded them to learn of him, and of which he ſet them an admirable Example when he waſhed their Feet; but at the ſame Time aſſerted his Superiority over them, as we have ſeen, leſt his ſubmitting to ſo mean an Office ſhould occaſion their Contempt.

What an excellent Mixture was here of Precept and Example, Humility and Authority! the loweſt Condeſcenſion, and yet, withal, a juſt keeping up his Character among them!

VIII. There is nothing ſo powerfully moving as the good Example of Superiors, when they do themſelves what they require from others, and bind no heavier Burthens upon their Brethren's Shoulders than they carry upon their own. And when there are humble, condeſcending, exemplary Governors and Inſtructors of the People; they muſt be vile indeed, and utterly inexcuſable, that will not in all Things be tractable and obedient, and emulous of coming up to ſo excellent a Pattern.

Who can be proud and haughty, imperious and diſdainful, towards thoſe ſet below him, that ſees the eternal Son of God waſhing the Feet of a few poor Fiſhermen? Who can think much to ſtoop to the meaneſt Offices of Charity to thoſe of the ſame Nature with himſelf, that reflects upon the amazing Condeſcenſion of the divine Redeemer of Mankind?

What ſpiritual Teacher and Governor would grudge to take the greateſt Pains, and uſe even a ſervile Diligence to cleanſe the Soul of the pooreſt Creatures committed to his Charge from the Pollutions of a lewd vicious Life, by affectionate Advice, and ſeaſonable kind Reproof, and Inſtruction ſuited to their Capacities and Want; that thinks of the Example which the compaſſionate *Jeſus* has ſet him, and likewiſe expreſly commanded him to follow! And how winning would ſuch Behaviour be, to every one that had the leaſt Spark of Goodneſs in him, and was not hardened into an Inſenſibility of every Thing that is truly excellent and lovely!

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[y] Ver. 14.
[z] Ver. 15.
[a] Ver. 16.
[b] Luke xxii. 24. Mat. xx. 20. Mark x. 15.
[c] Matth. xx. 28.
[d] Luke xxii. 29.
[e] Matt. xi. 29.

IX. But, God knows, there are too many ſuch, who would trample Humility into the Dirt, were there not ſomething elſe to guard it from their Inſults, and that is the Spirit of Government: Whereby Superiors know themſelves to be ſo, and expect that others ſhould know it too, and reſpect and obſerve them accordingly; and upon occaſion aſſert their Authority, by a prudent Exerciſe of it.

This the meek lowly *Jeſus* did, as we have ſeen already; and it is but neceſſary to the keeping up that Government, without which no Society could ſubſiſt; and the preſerving the Awe and Reverence due to thoſe that adminiſter it, without which they could bear no Sway, but would be deſpiſed and ſlighted by every reſolute Offender.

And therefore, as it is no Argument of Pride, that thoſe who are to inſtruct and govern others keep up the Character of their Station, but is rather what becomes them, and the Way to render them throughly uſeful in it; ſo 'tis a faulty Humility in ſuch to be too eaſy, and carry the Reins with too ſlack a Hand, which will ſoon make Government contemptible, and the beſt Laws to ſignify nothing.

And accordingly we find St. *Paul*, that great Example of a wiſe and good Governor, in ſeveral Places of his Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, ſometimes with the greateſt Condeſcenſion [f] *becoming all Things to all, that he might gain the more*; and then again, ſpeaking in the Stile of a Superior, commanding Obedience, and threatening ſevere Puniſhment to ſuch as ſhould be guilty of Contumacy and Neglect. Sometimes *in the Spirit of Meekneſs* he entreats and perſuades, and even *beſeeches*, with all the tender Softneſs and Affection imaginable; tho' at the ſame Time [g] artfully inſinuating his Power to enjoin what he requeſts: And when there is juſt Cauſe, and the milder Way will not do, he chides as ſeverely, and rebukes as ſharply, and ſhakes the Rod at thoſe whom fair Means will not win to a Compliance with their Duty.

Sometimes he denies himſelf what he might otherwiſe lawfully do, and enjoy, rather than give Offence to the weakeſt Chriſtian, that is ſo in Reality, and not merely in Pretence; but yet with great Reſolution he [h] withſtood St. *Peter* himſelf, even to his Face, when he was blame-worthy, and firmly kept his Ground againſt the Oppoſition of almoſt the whole Body of the *Jewiſh* Converts, who were for mixing more of Judaiſm with Chriſtianity than the Liberty of the Goſpel would allow.

And as he acted himſelf, ſo he adviſed *Timothy* and *Titus* to do, the former of whom he had made Biſhop of *Epheſus*, and the other of *Crete*. He charges them to be *meek and patient*, *to be gentle to all Men in Meekneſs*, *to inſtruct thoſe that oppoſe themſelves*, *not to rebuke an Elder, but intreat him as a Father, and the younger Men as Brethren*; but withal, when Occaſion requires, *to exhort*, *reprove*, *and rebuke with all Authority*, and to behave themſelves with that exemplary Holineſs, and venerable Gravity, that no Man ſhould have the leaſt Reaſon to deſpiſe them. As may be ſeen at large in his Epiſtles to them.

X. This is that [i] *Meekneſs of Wiſdom*, as St. *James* expreſſes it, or *wiſe Meekneſs*, that knows when to be meek and humble, gentle and compliant; and when to govern, and act with Authority, Reſolution, and Power. This is the true Spirit of Government in the Chriſtian Senſe, which every Superior ſhould make it his Buſineſs to acquire; and here is ſuch a due Mixture of Lenity and Goodneſs with Power, as will ſecure the latter from running into Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and preſerve the former from Contempt. And it ſhews the excellent Wiſdom of our holy Religion, and the Divine Author of it, in proportioning ſo exactly Things of ſo different a Nature as *Meekneſs* and *Power*; both which, ſingly and alone, would be deſtructive of good Government; but when ſo well balanced, raiſe it to Perfection.

So that the Chriſtian Religion is as far from approving Anarchy as Tyranny; and tho' we are not to *exerciſe Lordſhip*, and domineer it inſultingly over one another, as *the Kings of the Gentiles* do over their miſerable Vaſſals, ruling with a Scepter of Iron and a Whip of Scorpions; yet Government is neceſſary in a Society of Chriſtians, as well as other Men, only it muſt be adminiſtred with a due Temper of brotherly Kindneſs and Charity. Remembring that we are all of the ſame happy Family of *Jeſus*, and Heirs of the ſame heavenly Inheritance; only that ſome are placed in a higher Station, ſome in a lower, as the Wiſdom of our great Lord and Maſter thinks fit to order and diſpoſe.

Let us all therefore, whatever our Station may be, make it our ſincere Endeavour to do all the Good in it we are able; to condeſcend to thoſe of the loweſt Degree, and not refuſe the meaneſt Offices that may promote their Happineſs. Having often in our Minds the Example which our bleſſed Lord hath ſet us, [k] *who went about doing Good*, and with wondrous Humility took upon him the Form of a Servant, and ſtoop'd infinitely below the Dignity of his own Divine Nature, to exalt ours to the higheſt Pitch of Bliſs, and Excellence, and Glory, that it is capable of, even beyond what we could ever have deſired or wiſhed for. And when the glorious Captain of our Salvation, with ſo much Goodneſs, condeſcends ſo low to us poor miſerable Wretches, ſhall we inſult and lord it over one another? When he, who is ſo far exalted above us, governed with a gentle Mildneſs, and enjoin'd us to tread in his Steps; ſhall we dare to behave our ſelves with Pride and Paſſion, and a haughty Diſregard of thoſe, whom Nature has made equal to us, though other adventitious Things have given us the Preference?

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[f] 1 Cor. ix. 22.

[g] Philom. ver. 8, 9.

[h] Gal. ii.

[i] Jam. iii. 13.

[k] Acts x. 38.

It becomes us rather, humbly to reflect, who made the Difference between them and us; who ſet us above, and them below: To remember, that all we have, we have received, and that for the Good of others who have leſs; and that we muſt give an Account proportionable to what we have received, and our Reward or Puniſhment be according to what we have done in our ſeveral Stations, whether it be Good or Evil. For be our Authority, and Dignity, and Power, never ſo great, if we abuſe it to God's Diſhonour, and the People's Injury, he that exalted us knows how to bring us down again, and will do it effectually at firſt or laſt.

XI. But then, if Superiors and Governors are to be thus meek and lowly, thus gentle and good, how much more does it become thoſe of inferior Rank to be ſo, both to thoſe above them, and to one another? St. *Paul* ſays, they [l] *muſt needs be ſubject to the higher Powers, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience Sake*; and exhorts them [m] *to know thoſe which labour among them, and are over them in the Lord, and admoniſh them, and to eſteem them very highly in love for their Work's ſake.* And likewiſe, [n] *in Lowlineſs of Mind to eſteem each other*, in ſome Regards, to *be better than themſelves*; and accordingly to be ready to do their Brethren all good Offices with an affectionate Reſpect; *not every one*, with a ſtingy Selfiſhneſs, *looking on his own Things*, his own Intereſt and Advantage only; *but every Man alſo on the Things of others*, their Good, their Benefit, their Happineſs.

This is Chriſtianity indeed; and how lovely is it! How noble and how generous is this Meekneſs! and how publick-ſpirited is this Lowlineſs of Mind! How much more honourable is it, thus *in Honour to prefer one another*, than to overlook every Body that we think below us, with a ſupercilious Scorn and Neglect! What an Ornament is it to be thus *cloth'd with Humility*, and ſo nearly to reſemble the meek, the lowly, the beneficent, the condeſcending *Jeſus!* How far does the Glory of ſuch Abaſement excel all the vain Pomp, and State, and Glitter of the World!

And when the Time of future Recompence ſhall come, and that *Heavenly Glory ſhall be revealed* which is prepared for thoſe that follow'd their great Maſter's Steps here below; then the nearer they came to him in Meekneſs and Condeſcenſion while upon Earth, the nearer ſhall they come to him in the expreſſible Glories and Beatitudes of Heaven.

There Humility will receive its utmoſt Exaltation, and thoſe that took the [o] loweſt Room here, ſhall have the Honour to be called up higher, and ſeateſt neareſt the Throne of their humble, glorious Redeemer. When thoſe haughty Wretches, who made it their Buſineſs to deſpiſe and undervalue others, and raiſe themſelves by trampling upon their Brethren, ſhall be forced down, with Shame and Confuſion, and Horror inexpreſſible, into thoſe diſmal Abodes prepared for aſpiring Lucifer, and his apoſtate Legions, in the loweſt Hell.

XII. One Thing more we ſhall obſerve upon this remarkable Paſſage of our Saviour's Waſhing his Diſciples Feet, and ſo conclude; and that is the Time of his doing it, which was immediately after his inſtituting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a Feaſt in perpetual Memory of thoſe bitter Sufferings, and that cruel Death, which he was, then juſt ready to undergo for the Redemption of ſinful Mankind, as the true Paſchal Lamb, which was offered to take away the Sins of the World. And therefore, this not obſcurely ſhews us, that Purity, Humility, and Charity, are requiſite to our performing that holy Duty worthily, ſo as that the Bleſſing of God may go along with it, and we may receive the Benefit he deſigns us in it.

Our *Feet muſt be waſhed*, before we approach that holy Table; our Affections muſt be puriſy'd, and our Souls cleans'd by godly Sorrow, from thoſe Defilements which we have contracted by our evil Converſation. Our Faith muſt work by Love, and be attended with Meekneſs, Temperance, Patience, Brotherly-kindneſs, and Charity, which *covers a Multitude of Faults*, and *is the fulfilling of the Chriſtian Law.*

And our Intentions too muſt be pure, and uncorrupt, ſuch as become the Goſpel of *Chriſt*, and will be approved of by the great Maſter of this heavenly Feaſt, who knows our Hearts: That is, with ſincere Devotion, and Joy, and Praiſe, and Gratitude, we muſt dedicate ourſelves intirely to his Service; that ſo we may receive the happy Influences of his Preſence in our Souls, and become *one with him, and he with us*, and thereby be enabled to continue faithful to him, to the laſt Moment of our Lives.

But he that partakes of thoſe ſacred Myſteries to ſerve the vile Deſigns of Ambition and Avarice, and as a Blind to conceal the baſe Intrigues of Hypocriſy, is got into the Way of *Judas*, and is a Traitor, not a Diſciple. And let him have a care, leſt Satan enter into him with the Morſel which he eats to ſuch wicked Purpoſes, and bring him to the Portion of that miſerable Wretch, who of all Men living had the greateſt Reaſon to curſe the Day of his Birth.

'Twould be very happy, if effectual Care was taken to prevent this evil Practice, which is now but too common; whereas nothing can tend more to the Diſhonour of our great Maſter, and his holy Religion. Wherefore let us all take up *David*'s Reſolution, [p] *I will waſh my Hands in Innocency, O Lord, and ſo will I go to thine Altar.* [q] *And may the very God of Peace ſanctify us wholly, ſo that our whole Spirit, Soul, and Body, may be preſerved blameleſs, unto the Coming of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt! *Amen.*

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[l] Rom. xiii. 5.
[m] 1 Theſſ. v. 12, 13.
[n] Phil. ii. 3, 4.
[o] Luke xiv. 8, &c.
[p] Pſal. xxvi. 6.
[q] 1 Theſſ. v. 3.

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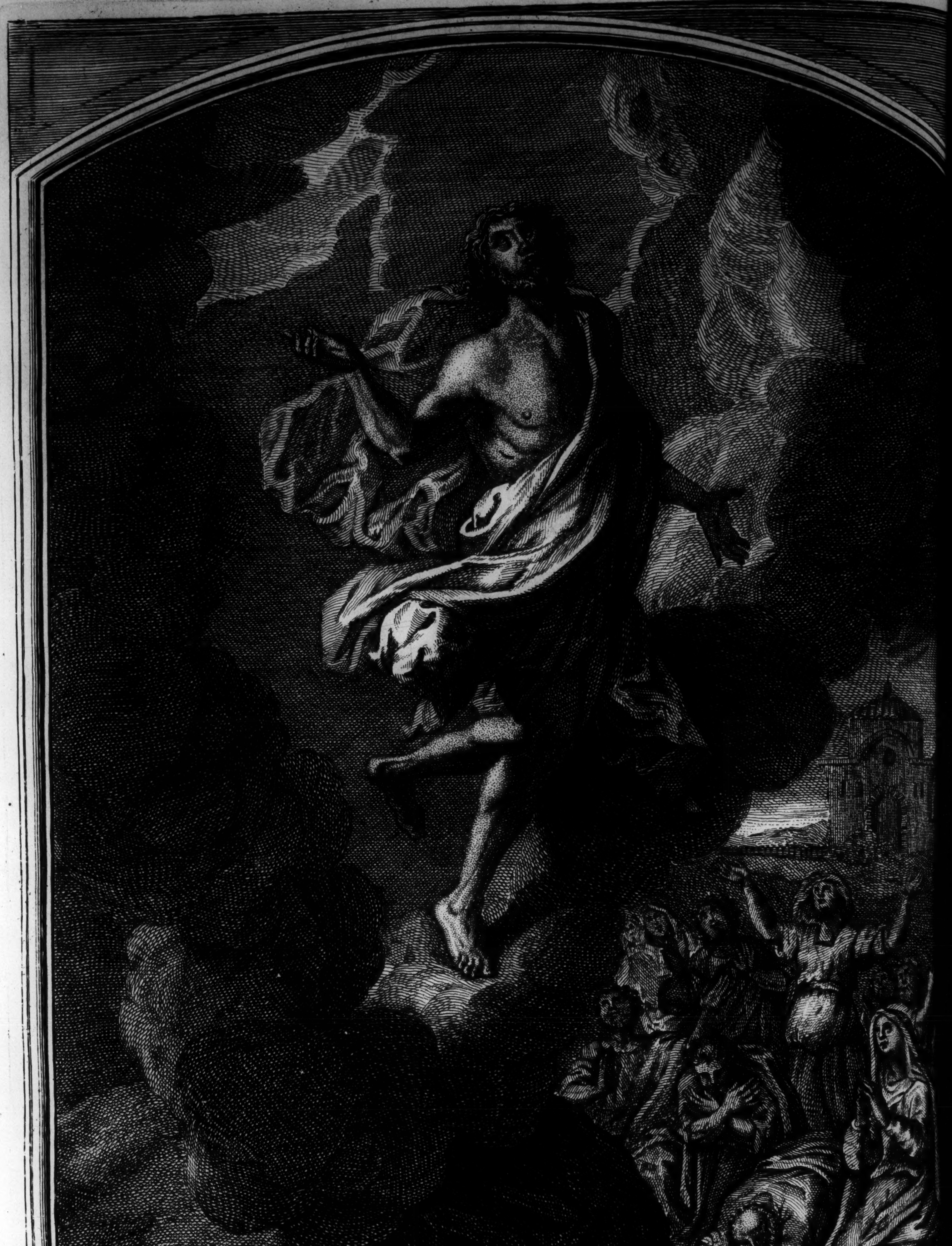

F. Verdier pinx.

J. M

The Ascension.

Act. C.1.v.9.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF OUR
Bleſſed LORD and SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

I. *Jeſus*, together with his Apoſtles, goes to the Mount of *Olives*. He exhorts them to Virtue in a Similitude of a Vine and its Branches. II. He recommends to them a mutual Affection for one another. III. And perſuades them, in Imitation of himſelf, to bear the Malice of their Enemies. IV. He declares the Reaſon of this Exhortation at preſent. V. He comforts them with Aſſurances of the ſpeedy Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and tells the End of the Spirit's Coming. VI. Particularly that he ſhould explain to them what *Jeſus* himſelf had taught them. VII. Of the Sorrow that ſhould ſeize the Apoſtles at the Death of *Jeſus*, and the Joy that they ſhould be fill'd with at his Reſurrection. *Jeſus* exhorts them to pray in his Name. VIII. He mentions again his going to the Father, and predicts his Apoſtles' Deſertion of him. IX, X, XI. He prays to the Father, firſt for himſelf, afterwards for his Apoſtles, and for all that ſhould hereafter believe on him, and inſiſts on his having faithfully executed his prophetical Office.

I. *AFTER*[a] *the foregoing Diſcourſes in the Room where they had eat the Paſchal Lamb,* Jeſus *concluded the Supper with a Hymn generally us'd upon that Occaſion, and then departed with his Apoſtles to the Mount of* Olives; *in which Place he thus addreſt himſelf to his Diſciples:* I and my Diſciples may be juſtly term'd a Vine, and my heavenly Father the Dreſſer of it. If this Vine has any unfruitful Branch, that is, if any profeſs himſelf my Diſciple, and bring forth no Fruit of Virtue, my Father will cut off that Branch, and not eſteem ſuch a one as my Diſciple; whereas he only prunes the bearing Branches, that is, ſuffers the ſincere Lovers of Truth and Virtue to be ſpoil'd of the various Conveniences of this Life, that their Virtue might grow the ſtronger, and ſhine the brighter. But you, who have been a conſiderable while my Diſciples, are free from ſuperfluous vain Deſires. Take care therefore, on your Part, conſtantly to obſerve my Precepts, and I will moſt aſſuredly perform what I have promis'd you on mine. As no Branch that is lopp'd off can bear Fruit, ſo neither can you continue in the Way of Virtue, if you renounce my Diſcipline. I am, as I told you, the Vine, of which you are the Branches: He that obſerves my Precepts conſtantly adheres to me, and ſhall bring forth Fruit in abundance; but if you deſert me, 'twill be in vain to think of being other than a dead fruitleſs Branch. He that forſakes my Doctrine will reſemble a Branch cut off, which conſequently being dried and wither'd, is no longer fit for any thing but Fewel; for thus ſhall he be expell'd the Seats of Bliſs, and condemn'd to ſuffer Torment in everlaſting Flames. On the contrary, if you ſquare your Actions conſtantly by the Rules which I have preſcrib'd, [b] whatever you ſhall aſk of me you ſhall be ſure to receive, and not meet with any Repulſe. By thus bearing Fruit, you will pay the Honour due to God, and be truly Diſciples.

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[a] Matth. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26. Luke xxii. 39. John xv. 1—8.

II. [c] Like as my Father has loved me, ſo alſo have I loved you, and will continue to do ſo while you render yourſelves not unworthy of it by neglecting the Rules I have ſet you: For this Reaſon 'tis that my Father has always loved me, namely, becauſe I have [d] kept his Commandments. Theſe Things I have forewarn'd you of, that my Joy in you might be complete, and that yours may continue and increaſe, without the leaſt Allay of Sorrow. Now the chief of my Commands is this, That you love one another with the ſame Affection which I have expreſs'd for you, than which none certainly can be greater; nor can there be a ſurer Demonſtration of the Reality of it than the laying down one's Life for a Friend. Such Friends ſhall I eſteem you, if you [e] do whatſoever I command you. Henceforth I call you no longer Servants, who are not made privy to their Maſter's Deſigns; but I have ſtil'd you my Friends, and treated you as ſuch, by revealing to you the [f] Determinations of my heavenly Father. You have not firſt choſen me for your Maſter, but I have [g] pitch'd upon you to be my Apoſtles, and the Miniſters of my Goſpel, that you might not be without Fruit, and ſuch as will profit you to all Eternity. Virtue alone is the Fruit I mean, which will avail you when this mortal Life is ended, and to which if you conſtantly adhere as becomes thoſe that profeſs to be my Diſciples, there is nothing that you ſhall aſk of God, which thro' my Interceſſion ſhall not be granted you. Love one another.

III. [h] If the Generality of Men, whoſe Minds hanker only after the petty Concerns of this Life, hate and deſpiſe you for being my Diſciples, remember that your Maſter met with the ſame Treatment, and you will contemn that Malice which I have ſhewn you how to conquer. If you were like minded with them, they would for that Reaſon love you; but I have called you to another State of Life, and this Diverſity between you is the true Ground of their Hatred of you. Remember the Admonition I gave you formerly: The Servant muſt not value himſelf above the Maſter; nor muſt you refuſe to undergo what I myſelf have endured. As they have treated me like an Enemy, ſo alſo will they treat you; nor will they have greater Regard for your Sayings than they have had for mine. Expect then to be perſecuted by them for declaring yourſelves my Diſciples; for they know not by whoſe Authority I have preach'd unto them. 'Tis true, if I had not plainly declar'd my Father's Will to them, they would not have been blameworthy in this Particular; they would have pleaded want of Information, and the Impoſſibility of attaining to the Truth without it: But whereas I have ſo evidently demonſtrated my divine Commiſſion, they have not the leaſt Shadow of Excuſe to extenuate their Guilt. Whoever hates me, is an Enemy at the ſame Time to God that ſent me, by refuſing Obedience to thoſe Laws I in his Name tender to them. If I had not confirm'd the Truth of my Doctrine by Miracles far greater than ever had been wrought before among them, they could not have been accus'd of Obſtinacy in not believing me upon my bare Word; but having been Eye-witneſſes of thoſe Miracles, 'tis manifeſt they not only are at Enmity with me, but with my Father alſo. Thus have I experienc'd what the Prophet *David* complain'd of in theſe Words: [i] *They hated me without a Cauſe.* But when the Comforter, whom I will ſend you from the Father, who proceeds from the Father, is come; he, that Holy Spirit, the ſure Guide in the Search of Truth, will clearly manifeſt my divine Commiſſion, and how undeſervedly I have been rejected by the *Jewiſh* Nation: And ye alſo, who have been conſtant Attendants on me from the Time I firſt began to enter upon my Miniſtry, ſhall bear Witneſs to me.

IV. [k] Theſe Things have I foretold you, that you do not deſert my Doctrine out of Apprehenſion of the Perſecutions you will meet with. For they will not only [l] excommunicate you out of their Societies, but the Time will come when they will [m] kill you, and think they thereby do God acceptable Service. Thus will they act thro' their Ignorance of what God requires from them, and thro' their having obſtinately refuſ'd the Means of Information which I offer'd them on his Part. Theſe Things, I ſay, I have foretold you, that you might be prepar'd courageouſly to encounter the Perſecutions you muſt expect to meet with, as mindful of the gracious Promiſes I have made you. If I did not at firſt ſo clearly acquaint you with them, the Reaſon was, becauſe I was always preſent to ſuccour and direct you. But I reſolv'd to forewarn you now, being about to leave you, and return to God who ſent me, altho' none of you inquire after the Place whether I am going, as might be expected from you.

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[b] Whatever you ſhall aſk according to the Will of God, for the Promotion of his Glory, and for the Furtherance of your Miniſtry, provided always that you aſk in Faith.

[c] John xv. 9——17.

[d] Chriſt, tho' truly God, might be ſaid to keep his Father's Commandments on Earth, becauſe he here ſuſtained the Character of a Prophet, and acted by the Influence of the Holy Spirit.

[e] Both Cicero and Salluſt make this Conformity of Will to him we love, the Teſt of ſincere Friendſhip.

[f] Not abſolutely, all the Determinations; for they were not able to hear of the Ceſſation of the Law, Circumciſion, and the Sabbath, and of the Caſting off of the Jews, and Calling in of the Gentiles, without Offence; but all Things that were fit to be told them concerning Chriſt, themſelves, and the future Church.

[g] That the Choice here ſpoken of was only their Election to the Miniſtry, and not an abſolute eternal Election to Salvation, appears, 1ſt. From the preceding Words, *Ye have not choſen me*, alluding to the Jewiſh Cuſtom of chuſing a Maſter to be instructed by: 2dly, From the Perſons called, which appear to be only the *Twelve*: 3dly, From the End of their Vocation; *that they might go into the World, and bring forth Fruit.*

[h] John xv. 18——27.

[i] Pſal. xxxv. 19.

[k] John xvi. 1——5.

[l] In the Jewiſh Synagogues they not only held Aſſemblies for the public Worſhip, but they there puniſhed Offences committed againſt the Law, ſometimes by Scourging, at other times by removing the Offender four Foot from the reſt of the People; thoſe that were not reformed by theſe Means, were publicly cited, and caſt out of the Communion of the Church.

[m] Suitably to this Prediction, Juſtin Martyr ſays, that the Jews diſgraced and execrated the Chriſtians in their Synagogues, killing them with their own Hands wherever they could.

V. [n] I perceive that you are fill'd with Sorrow at the News of my Departure; however, be aſſur'd that it is your Intereſt I ſhould now go take Poſſeſſion of my heavenly Kingdom, that I may ſend the Comforter to you, according to the Power with which my Father has inveſted me. When he ſhall arrive, he will accuſe and convince the *Jews* of their Ignorance of three Things relating unto me: *1ſt*, The Crime they have committed againſt me; *2dly*, My Innocence; And *3dly*, The Condemnation and Puniſhment that ſhall be inflicted on him who is my greateſt Adverſary. The Crime they have been guilty of is, their obſtinate Infidelity, and the cruel Conſequences of it. My Innocence ſhall be manifeſt by my Return to my Father, to whom you ſhall ſee me aſcend till I am quite out of Sight. Laſtly, The Condemnation of the Evil Spirit, by whoſe Aſſiſtance I have been ſlanderouſly reported to have wrought my Miracles, ſhall be plainly ſeen by the total Everſion of his Kingdom, while you ſhall every where preach the Goſpel, and bring over ſuch as were enſlav'd to him to that Allegiance which they ow'd to God. All which ſhall be perform'd after the Deſcent of the Holy Spirit. For the Miracles you will then be enabled to do, will demonſtrate that the obſtinate Infidelity of the *Jews* is wholly inexcuſable: For had I not really been what I pretended, ſent by God, it would be impoſſible for me in my Abſence to confer ſuch eminent Gift on my Diſciples. And my Aſcenſion into Heaven, to which you, after receiving the Holy Ghoſt, will be able to bear an irrefragable Teſtimony, will plainly ſhew my Innocence, and that I am accepted by God. Laſtly, The Goſpel which you will then publiſh, (the whole Deſign of which tends only to recommend the Practice of Virtue, and to reduce Mankind to the Worſhip of the true God,) will then undeniably evince that my Aim was all along to overturn that Empire which the Devil had eſtabliſhed among Men, by rooting up the Foundations on which it was ſupported, Vice and Idolatry.

VI. [o] I have not, as I told you [p], conceal'd any of my Father's Decrees from you, but you have not underſtood many Things I have declared to you, which therefore I ſhould repeat and unfold, were your Minds freed from thoſe Prejudices which hinder the due Reception of them. But when the Holy Ghoſt, the Comforter, ſhall come, he will ſhew you the Truth of all I have ſaid. That infallible Guide, with which you ſhall be then inſpir'd, will bring no new Doctrine, but explain whatever was obſcure in that which I have deliver'd. He ſhall alſo ſhew you what hereafter will come to paſs. He ſhall demonſtrate who I was, while he reminds you of what I before inſtructed you in, and does as it were repeat and illuſtrate it to you. If he reveals any thing elſe to you, (for Example, Things to come,) I may juſtly term them mine, inaſmuch as they are the Decrees of my Father, which he has communicated to me. A little while hence you will not ſee me, and not long after you ſhall ſee me again, tho' for a very ſhort Space; for I muſt aſcend to my Father.

VII. [q] *The Apoſtles here ask'd one another what was the Meaning of his laſt Words, in which* Jeſus *not obſcurely ſignified his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion into Heaven; not comprehending particularly what that ſhort Space meant, and being deſirous to aſk their Maſter concerning it.* Jeſus *taking Notice of their Concern;* Do you aſk, *ſaid he*, the Meaning of my laſt Words? Are they not plain of themſelves? I tell you of a Truth, the Time comes in which you ſhall lament, and mourn, while the *Jews* rejoice: But this your Sorrow ſhall ſhortly be turn'd into Joy: For as a Woman in Travel no longer regards her Pains after ſhe is deliver'd of a Son; ſo alſo ſhall you at my Return ſhake off this Melancholy and Sadneſs with which you are now oppreſs'd, and be fill'd with a Joy of which none ſhall ever deprive you, at the Certainty you will have of my being riſen from the Dead. At that Time you will be ſo fully inſtructed in whatever relates to the Goſpel, that you will no longer need my Preſence among you to remove any Doubts and Scruples. If any Difficulties ariſe, aſk of the Father, who will grant you whatever you ſhall requeſt of him, as being my Diſciples. Hitherto you have not aſk'd any thing in [r] my Name; now aſk and you ſhall receive, and your Joy ſhall be perfected. Theſe Things I intimated to you before obſcurely; but the Time comes in which I will no longer make uſe of dark Speeches, but plainly acquaint you with the Determinations of my heavenly Father. Then ſhall you obtain whatever you ſhall requeſt of him, as being my Diſciples. I ſhall not intercede with my Father for you; he himſelf loves you, becauſe you have lov'd me, and believ'd that I am ſent by him.

VIII. [ſ] I came from my Father to Men, and ſhall return to him that ſent me. *The Apoſtles ſaid unto him:* Now indeed ſpeakeſt thou to us plainly, and without Obſcurity. Hence we perceive that [t] thou knoweſt all Things, and that the moſt ſecret Thoughts of the Minds are not hid from thee, inaſmuch as without any Queſtion of ours thou kneweſt what it was we were concerned about. For this, beſides many other Cauſes, we firmly believe thou haſt been ſent by God. Jeſus *replied,* Have you at laſt then Faith in me? Alas! 'tis ſuch whoſe Weakneſs ſhall be very ſhortly manifeſted; for the Hour is at Hand in which you ſhall all forſake me, and leave me alone: Nevertheleſs I ſhall not then be alone, for my Father will be always with me. Theſe Things I have foretold you, that you may not be ſolicitous on my Account, nor afraid of what may befal you. Malicious Men ſhall perſecute you, yet do not deſpond, but be of good Comfort, by reflecting how by my Conſtancy I have overcome their Malice.

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[n] John xvi. 6——11.

[o] John xvi. 12——16.

[p] Some underſtand theſe Words of our Lord, *I have yet many Things to ſay unto you*, as relating to the Aboliſhment of the ceremonial Law, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith alone, &c. which Truths they were made fully acquainted with by the Holy Ghoſt after his Deſcent on them.

[q] John xvi. 17——27.

[r] That is, By me, as the Mediator betwixt God and Man, and with a Reſpect to my Merits and Interceſſion.

[ſ] John xvi. 28——33.

[t] By ſaying this, the Apoſtles ſufficiently declared, that they believed him to be God, tho' they did not expreſſly ſay ſo: For Omniſcience, and the Knowledge of the Heart, being peculiar Attributes of God, cannot be communicated to any Creature, which the Apoſtles certainly knew.

IX. [u] Jeſus *having thus exhorted and comforted his Apoſtles, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, addreſs'd himſelf to the Father after this Manner:* Father, I now perceive the Hour coming on, in which I muſt ſuffer all Manner of ignominious Uſage, and Death itſelf. Grant that I may behave myſelf as becomes him whom thou owneſt for thy Son, and that I may hereby increaſe thy Glory among Men. Thou haſt authoriz'd me to reward with eternal Felicity all thoſe whom thou haſt induc'd to believe on me; for the attaining of which everlaſting Happineſs there is no other Way than to know Thee, who art the [w] only True God, and Me whom thou haſt ſent, the Meſſiah. I have all along propagated thy Glory, and ſo finiſh'd the Buſineſs for which I came into the World. Re-admit me therefore now, O Father, to thoſe Honours which I [x] enjoy'd with thee before the World was made. I have acquainted thoſe whom thou haſt cauſed to believe in me, with what thou expecteſt from them. They believ'd before in thee, and thou haſt cauſed them alſo to believe in me from the Time they embrac'd the Doctrine I propounded to them. Now they underſtand that all I have, I have received from thee; becauſe I have expounded to them only thoſe Laws which thou gaveſt me in Charge to recommend, and which they having embraced, are convinc'd that I am truly ſent by thee to Men. At preſent I will not intreat thee for any others beſide thoſe who believe in me, and whom thou reckoneſt in the Number of thine. For all that have demonſtrated their being my Diſciples, belong to thee; and all that are truly thine, I eſteem my own, and they readily acknowledge the Character I ought to bear among them. Since I ſhall no longer continue among Men, being at the Point of returning to thee, and that my Apoſtles are to remain among them, O holy Father, ſecure them by thy Almighty Protection againſt all the Attempts of the Wicked, that ſo they may be unanimous, and jointly propagate the one true Doctrine which they have receiv'd from me. By the Power thou haſt given me I have hitherto protected them from all the Aſſaults of their Enemies, and do loſe him only, who by his Treaſon will work his own Ruin, that the Curſes predicted againſt him by the Prophets may be accompliſhed.

X. [y] Now my Departure to thee is at Hand, and I ſpeak this in the Hearing of my Apoſtles, that their Joy may be increas'd, and their Minds not overwhelm'd with Melancholy. I have expounded to them the Laws which thou gaveſt me in Charge to tender unto Men; they have embrac'd them, and the obſtinate hard-hearted *Jews,* whom neither I nor my Diſciples reſemble in our Actions, for this Reaſon hate them. I do not deſire thee to take them out of this World, but to defend them againſt their Enemies while they continue in it. They know how much my Way of Living is different from that of the Generality of Men, and herein they follow my Example: Grant they may be ſo ſincerely affected with the Truth of thy moſt holy Doctrine, that their Actions may be always conformable to it, ſince this Doctrine contains only thoſe Precepts which I have publiſhed by thy Authority. This is neceſſary, that they may rightly diſcharge the Truſt which I have repoſed in them: For as I have been commiſſion'd by Thee to invite Men to render themſelves capable of enjoying the Rewards annext to the Obſervance of thy Laws, ſo I have ſent my Apoſtles on the ſame Deſign, for whom I offer up myſelf a Victim to thee, that by their Obedience to thy Commands they may become conſpicuous for Integrity and Probity. Theſe Requeſts I make not only for my eleven Apoſtles, but for [z] all thoſe alſo who ſhall hereafter believe on me thro' their Preaching to them, that they may be in all Things unanimous. As I intirely acquieſce in thy Commands, and thou ratifieſt all my Actions, ſo alſo may they be one with us, by a perfect Compliance with the Laws of the Kingdom of Heaven. Hereby they may convert many to a Belief of my being ſent by thee, when they obſerve the Lives of my Diſciples exactly correſpond with the Doctrine they are to propagate.

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[u] John xvii. 1——12.

[w] That the Father is here called, *the only true God,* only in excluſion of thoſe whom the falſe Perſuaſion of the Gentiles had introduced as Gods, and not in excluſion of Chriſt, as the Socinians pretend, is manifeſt from this, becauſe Chriſt himſelf is elſewhere called *the true God,* as Dr. Whitby proves.

[x] Chriſt had a Glory with the Father before he took on him our Nature, which Glory he laid aſide when he became Man, as is manifeſt from many Places of Scripture: They are much in the Wrong therefore who imagine, that this Glory was only in the Appointment or Deſignation of the Father. See Philip. ii. 6, 7. with Dr. Whitby's Note thereon. Beſides, the Phraſe here tranſlated, *with thee,* ſignifies *in thy Preſence, in thy Company,* &c. according to the perpetual Uſe of Scripture.

[y] John xvii. 13——22.

[z] We ſee here that Chriſt, after having prayed for his Apoſtles in particular, that they might be filled with the Spirit in a Manner proportionate to their Office, puts up the ſame Requeſt for all that ſhould become his Diſciples, that they alſo might be repleniſhed with the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt: Which proves that the foregoing Words, *I pray not for the World, but for them which thou haſt given me,* have no Regard to the Election of a particular Number, but only to thoſe peculiar Gifts and Bleſſings which were neceſſary to the Apoſtles.

For this Purpoſe I have furniſh'd them with the like Power of working Miracles, which thou haſt conferr'd on me, that they may be all actuated by the ſelf-ſame Spirit, and be unanimous, as I have been with thee.

XI. [a] I have given them the ſame Authority that I receiv'd from thee, that we may be all of one Mind, and Men may thereby ſee I was indeed ſent by thee, and that thou haſt hitherto loved them as thou haſt loved me. My earneſt Deſire is, that theſe my Apoſtles, and the reſt of my Diſciples, may [b] after Death be with me in the ſame Seats of Happineſs, that they may behold the Honours which thou haſt conferred on me, according to the Love thou hadſt for me before the Creation of the World. O righteous Father, altho' moſt Men are ignorant of thy Will, yet I have been made thoroughly acquainted with it, and have reveal'd it to my eleven Apoſtles, who are firmly perſuaded thou didſt ſend me, and that the Way to Happineſs is to obey the Precepts which I have deliver'd to them. For I have declared what it is thou expecteſt from Men, and will continue to manifeſt it to them, that by their Obedience they may gain thy Favour, as I have done, and that I may continue my Affection for them, and beſtow on them the Rewards which thou haſt treaſur'd up for them that truly love thee.

DISSERTATION.

Of Self-denial, and Suffering for *Chriſt*'s Sake.

I. *Introduction to, and Summary of, the following Diſſertation.* II. Chriſt'*s Method of gaining Proſelytes.* III. *The Duty of Self-denial and taking up the Croſs explained.* IV. *What Sorts of Self-denial are not to be underſtood in our Saviour's Precept; as the giving up our Senſes, our Reaſon, or our own Happineſs. The Inſtances of* Moſes *and* Paul *conſidered.* V. *Chriſtian Self-denial poſitively defined.* VI. *The indiſpenſible Obligation to this Duty.* VII. Hobbes's *Hypotheſis in this Matter refuted.* VIII. *The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtian Self-denial vindicated; Firſt, from our Lord's Example.* IX. *Secondly, from the Promiſes of God to ſupport us.* X. *Thirdly, From the Aſſurance we have of an eternal Reward.* XI. *Inferences from the Whole.* 1ſt, *That we ſhould acknowledge the Goodneſs of God.* 2dly, *That we ſhould conſider our own Reſolutions.* 3*dly, That we ſhould be comforted under Afflictions.* 4thly, *That we ſhould deny ourſelves in little Matters, when great Occaſions are not offered.*

I. OUR bleſſed Saviour, when the Time drew nigh in which he was to leave his Diſciples, took ſeveral Opportunities to inform them of the many Sufferings they ſhould undergo for his Sake, and on that Occaſion to recommend to them the great Duties of Self-denial, and of bearing patiently whatſoever might be inflicted on them for adhering to ſo righteous a Cauſe. We have met with ſeveral Inſtances of this Nature in the preceding Chapters, and particularly in the laſt; from which we ſhall now take Occaſion to diſcourſe of theſe Duties, and to bring together the Subſtance of all that he ſaid to his Diſciples relating thereto.

For this Purpoſe there cannot be a better Text to begin with than that of the Evangeliſt *Matthew* [a]; *Then ſaid* Jeſus *to his Diſciples, If any Man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.*

[b] *Then ſaid* Jeſus *to his Diſciples,* that is, upon Occaſion of his former Diſcourſe with them, wherein he had acquainted them with his approaching Paſſion, that he muſt ſhortly go up to *Jeruſalem*, and there ſuffer many Things of the *Elders*, *Chief Prieſts*, and *Scribes*, and at laſt be put to Death by them; *Then ſaid* Jeſus *to his Diſciples, If any Man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.*

If any Man will come after me, or follow me; that is, If any Man will be my Diſciple, and undertake the Profeſſion of my Religion; if any Man chuſe and reſolve to be a Chriſtian; he muſt be ſo upon theſe Terms, he muſt *deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me*; he muſt follow me in Self-denial and Suffering.

In treating of the Duties here mentioned, we ſhall do the following Things. 1*ſt*, We ſhall conſider the Way and Method which our Saviour uſeth in making Proſelytes, and gaining Men over to his Religion. 2*dly*, We ſhall endeavour to explain the Duties of Self-denial, and Suffering for *Chriſt*'s Sake, as expreſs'd in theſe Words, *Let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me.* 3*dly*, We ſhall conſider the ſtrict and indiſpenſible Obligation of it, whenever we are called to it. *Without this we cannot be* Chriſt'*s Diſciples: If any Man will come after me, or be my Diſciple let him deny himſelf.* 4*thly*, We ſhall endeavour to vindicate the Reaſonableneſs of this Precept of Self-denial and Suffering for *Chriſt*, which, at firſt Appearance, may ſeem to be ſo very harſh and difficult. All theſe Particulars we ſhall go over as briefly as we can.

II. We will *firſt* conſider the Way and Method which our Saviour uſeth in making Proſelytes, and gaining Men over to his Religion. He offers no Manner of Force and Violence to compel Men to the Profeſſion of his Religion; but fairly propoſeth it to their Conſideration and Choice, telling them plainly upon what Terms they muſt be his Diſciples: If they like them, and are content, and reſolved to ſubmit to them, well; he is willing to receive them, and own them for his Diſciples: If not, it is in vain to follow him any longer; for *they cannot be his Diſciples.* As, on the one Hand, he offers them no worldly Preferment and Advantage to entice them into his Religion, and to tempt them outwardly to profeſs what they do not inwardly believe; ſo, on the other Hand, he does not hale and drag them by Force, and awe them by Terrors of Torture and Death to ſign the Chriſtian Faith, though moſt undoubtedly true, and to confeſs with their Mouths, and ſubſcribe with their Hands, what they do not believe in their Hearts. He did not obtrude his Sacraments upon them, and plunge them into the Water to baptize them, whether they would or no, and thruſt the Sacrament of Bread into their Mouths; as if Men might be worthy Receivers of that bleſſed Sacrament, whether they receive it willingly or no.

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[a] John xvii. 23—26.

[b] Or, perhaps, after the general Reſurrection; it being probable, that none of the Saints, not even the Apoſtles, are to be received into the ſupreme Heaven, to enjoy the beatific Viſion, before that Time.

[a] Matth. xvi. 24.

[b] Tillotſon's two Sermons on theſe Words.

Our bleſſed Saviour, the Author and Founder of our Religion, made uſe of none of theſe Ways of Violence, ſo contrary to the Nature of Man, and of all Religion, and eſpecially of Chriſtianity, and fitted only to make Men Hypocrites, but not Converts: He only ſays, *If any Man will be my Diſciple:* He uſeth no Arguments, but ſuch as are ſpiritual, and proper to work upon the Minds and Conſciences of Men. For as his [c] *Kingdom was not of this World*, ſo neither are the Motives and Arguments to induce Men to be his Subjects taken from this World, but from the endleſs Rewards and Puniſhments of another. [d] *The Weapons* which he made uſe of to ſubdue Men to the Obedience of Faith, were not *carnal*; and yet they were *mighty through God*, to conquer the Obſtinacy and Infidelity of Men. This great and infallible Teacher, who certainly came from God, all that he does, is to propoſe his Religion to Men, with ſuch Evidence and ſuch Arguments as are proper to convince Men of the Truth and Goodneſs of it, and to perſuade Men to embrace it; and he acquaints them likewiſe with all the worldly Diſadvantages of it, and the Hazards and Sufferings that would attend it: And now, if upon full Conſideration they will make his Religion their free Choice, and become his Diſciples, he is willing to receive them: If they will not, he underſtands the Nature of Religion better, than to go about to force it upon Men, whether they will or no.

III. We ſhall now, in the *ſecond* Place, endeavour to explain this Duty or Precept of Self-denial, expreſſed in theſe Words, *Let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs.* Theſe are difficult Terms, for a Men *to deny himſelf*, and *take up his own Croſs*, that is, willingly to ſubmit to all thoſe Sufferings which the Malice of Men may inflict for the Sake of *Chriſt* and his Religion. For this Expreſſion of *taking up one's Croſs*, is a plain Alluſion to the *Roman* Cuſtom, which was this; That he that was condemned to be crucified, was to take his Croſs upon his Shoulders, and to carry it to the Place of Execution. This the *Jews* made our Saviour [e] to do, till that being ready to faint under it, and leſt he ſhould die away before he was nailed to the Croſs, they compelled *Simon* of *Cyrene* to carry it for him. And yet he tells them, *they that will be his Diſciples, muſt follow him, bearing their own Croſs*; that is, being ready, if God call them to it, to ſubmit to the like Sufferings for him and his Truth, which he was ſhortly to undergo for the Truth, and for their Sakes.

But though theſe Terms ſeem very hard, yet they are not unreaſonable, as we ſhall ſhew in the Concluſion of this Diſcourſe. Some indeed have made them ſo by extending this Self-denial too far, attending more to the Latitude of the Words, than to the Meaning and Scope of our Saviour's Diſcourſe: For there is no Doubt, but that there are a great many Things, which may properly enough be called Self-denial, which yet our Saviour never intended to oblige Chriſtians to. It is, no doubt, great Self-denial, for a Man, without any Neceſſity, to deny himſelf the neceſſary Supports of Life; for a Man to ſtarve and make away himſelf: But no Man certainly ever imagined, that our Saviour intended by this Precept to enjoin this Kind of Self-denial.

It is plain then, that there is no Reaſon or Neceſſity to extend this Precept of our Saviour, concerning Self-denial, to every thing that may properly enough be called by that Name; and therefore this Precept muſt be limited by the plain Scope and Intendment of our Saviour's Diſcourſe. No Man can argue thus; *Such a Thing is Self-denial, therefore our Saviour requires it of his Diſciples:* For our Saviour doth not here require all Kinds of Self-denial; but limits it by his Diſcourſe to one certain Kind, beyond which, Self-denial is no Duty by Virtue of this Text; and therefore, for our clearer Underſtanding of this Precept of Self-denial, we ſhall remove ſome Sorts of Self-denial, which are inſtanced in by ſome, as intended in this Precept; and then ſhew what Kind of Self-denial that is, which our Saviour here intends.

IV. There are ſeveral Things brought under this Precept of Self-denial, which were never intended by our Saviour. We ſhall inſtance in two or three Things, which are moſt frequently inſiſted upon, and ſome of them by very devout and well-meaning Men; as, that in Matters of Faith, we ſhould deny and renounce our own Senſes and our Reaſon; nay, that we ſhould be content to renounce our own eternal Happineſs, and be willing to be damned for the Glory of God and the Good of our Brethren. But all theſe are ſo apparently and groſly unreaſonable, that it is a Wonder that any one ſhould ever take them for Inſtances of that Self-denial which our Saviour requires; eſpecially conſidering, that in all his Diſcourſe of Self-denial, he does not ſo much as glance at any of theſe Inſtances, or any Thing like to them.

1ſt, Some comprehend under Self-denial, the denying and renouncing our own Senſes in Matters of Faith. And if this could be made out to be intended by our Saviour in this Precept, we needed not diſpute any of the other Inſtances. For he that renounceth the Certainty of Senſe, ſo as not to believe what he ſees, may after this renounce and deny any Thing. For the Evidence of Senſe is more clear and unqueſtionable than that of Faith, as the Scripture frequently intimates. Our Saviour [f] reproves *Thomas*, for refuſing to believe his Reſurrection, upon any leſs Evidence than that of Senſe; *Becauſe thou haſt ſeen, thou haſt believed: Bleſſed are they which have not ſeen, and yet have believed*; which plainly ſuppoſeth the Evidence of Senſe to be the higheſt and cleareſt Degree of Evidence. To the ſame Purpoſe ſpeaks St. *Paul*, [g] *We walk by Faith, and not by Sight*; where the Evidence of Faith, as that which is more imperfect and obſcure, is oppoſed to that of Sight, as more clear and certain. So that to believe any Article of Faith, in Contradiction to the clear Evidence of Senſe, is contrary to the very Nature of Aſſent, which always yields to the greateſt and cleareſt Evidence.

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[c] John xviii. 36.

[d] 2 Cor x. 4.

[e] John xix. 17. compared with the other Evangeliſts.

Beſides, Our Belief of Religion is at laſt reſolved into a Certainty of Senſe: So that by renouncing that, we deſtroy and undermine the very Foundation of our Faith. One of the plaineſt and principal Proofs of the Being of God, which is the firſt and fundamental Article of all Religion, relies on the Certainty of Senſe; namely, the Frame of this viſible World, by the Contemplation whereof we are led to the Acknowledgment of the inviſible Author of it. So St. *Paul* tells us, 'That [h] *the inviſible Things of God, from the Creation of the World, are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the Things which are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead.*

And the great external Evidence of the Chriſtian Religion, we mean Miracles, is at laſt reſolved into the Certainty of Senſe, without which we can have no Aſſurance that any Miracle was wrought for the Confirmation of it.

And the Knowledge likewiſe of the Chriſtian Faith, is conveyed to us by our Senſes; the Evidence whereof, if it be uncertain, takes away all Certainty of Faith. [i] *How ſhall they believe,* ſaith St. *Paul*, *in him, of whom they have not heard?* And again, [k] *So then Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God.* So that to deny and renounce our Senſes in Matters of Faith, is to take away the main Pillar and Foundation of it.

2*dly*, Others, almoſt with equal Abſurdity, would comprehend under our Saviour's Precept of Self-denial, the denying and renouncing of our Reaſon in Matters of Faith. And this is Self-denial with a Witneſs, for a Man to deny his own Reaſon; for it is to deny himſelf to be a Man. This ſurely is a very great Miſtake, and though the Ground of it may be innocent, yet the Conſequence of it, and the Diſcourſes upon it, are very abſurd.

The Ground of the Miſtake is this. Men think they deny their own Reaſon, when they aſſent to the Revelation of God in ſuch Things, as their own Reaſon could neither have diſcovered, nor is able to give the Reaſon of: Whereas in this Caſe, a Man is ſo far from denying his own Reaſon, that he does that which is moſt agreeable to it. For what is more reaſonable than to believe whatever we are ſufficiently aſſured is revealed to us by God, who can neither be deceived himſelf, nor deceive us?

But though the Ground of this Miſtake may be innocent, yet the Conſequences of it are moſt abſurd and dangerous. For if we are to renounce our Reaſon in Matters of Faith, then we are bound to believe without Reaſon, which no Man can do; or if he could, then Faith would be unreaſonable, and Infidelity reaſonable. So that this Inſtance likewiſe of Self-denial, to renounce and deny our own Reaſon, as it is no where expreſſed, ſo it cannot reaſonably be thought to be intended by our Saviour in this Precept.

3*dly*, Nor doth this Precept of Self-denial require Men to be content to renounce their own eternal Happineſs, and to be willing to be damned for the Glory of God, and the Good of their Brethren. If this were the Meaning of this Precept, we might juſtly ſay, as the Diſciples did to our Saviour, in another Caſe, [l] *This is a hard Saying, and who can hear it?* The very Thought of this is enough to make human Nature to tremble at its very Foundation. For the deepeſt Principle that God hath planted in our Nature, is *the Deſire of our own Preſervation and Happineſs*; and into this the Force of all Laws, and the Reaſon of all our Duty, is at laſt reſolved.

From whence it plainly follows, that it can be no Man's Duty in any caſe to renounce his own Happineſs, and to be content to be forever miſerable; becauſe if once this be made a Duty, there will be no Argument left to perſuade any Man to it. For the moſt powerful Arguments, that God ever uſed, to perſuade Men to any Thing, are the Promiſe of eternal Happineſs, and the Terror of everlaſting Torments: But if this were a Man's Duty, to be content to be miſerable for ever, neither of theſe Arguments would be of Force ſufficient to perſuade a Man to it.

The firſt of theſe, namely, the Promiſe of eternal Happineſs, could ſignify nothing to him that is to be eternally miſerable; becauſe if he be to be ſo, it is impoſſible that he ſhould ever have the Benefit of that Promiſe: And the Threatening of eternal Miſery, could be no Argument in this Caſe; becauſe the Duty is juſt as difficult, as the Argument is powerful, and no Man can be moved to ſubmit to any Thing that is grievous and terrible; for if it be not, it is the ſame Thing, whether he ſubmit to it or not. And farther, no Man can be content to be eternally miſerable, only for Fear of being ſo; for this would be for a Man to run himſelf upon that very Inconvenience which he is ſo much afraid of; and it is Madneſs for a Man to die for Fear of Death.

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[f] John xx. 29.

[g] 2 Cor. v. 7.

[h] Rom. i. 20.

[i] Rom. x. 14.

[k] Ver. 17.

[l] John vi. 60.

By this it plainly appears, how unreaſonable it is to imagine, that by this Precept of Self-denial, our Saviour ſhould require Men to renounce everlaſting Happineſs, and to be content to be miſerable for ever, upon any Account whatſoever; becauſe this were to ſuppoſe, that God hath impoſed that upon us as a Duty, to oblige us whereto there can be no Argument offered, that can be powerful enough.

As for the Glory of God, which is pretended to be the Reaſon, it is an impoſſible Suppoſition; becauſe it cannot be for the Glory of God, to make a Creature for ever miſerable, that ſhall not by his wilful Obſtinacy and Impenitence deſerve to be ſo. But this is only caſt in to add Weight.

The other Reaſon, of the Good and Salvation of our Brethren, is the only Conſideration for which there is any manner of Colour from Scripture; and two Inſtances are alledged to this Purpoſe, of two very excellent Perſons, that ſeem to have deſired this, and to have ſubmitted to it; and therefore it is not ſo unreaſonable as we would make it, that our Saviour ſhould enjoin it as a Duty. The Inſtances alledged are theſe. *Moſes* deſired of God that he might [m] be blotted out of the Book of Life, rather than the People of *Iſrael*, whom he had conducted and governed ſo long, ſhould be deſtroyed: And in the New Teſtament St. *Paul* tells us, That [n] *he could wiſh, that himſelf were accurſed from* Chriſt *for his Brethren*; ſo earneſt a Deſire had he of their Salvation.

But neither of theſe Inſtances are of Force ſufficient to overthrow the Reaſons of what is already ſaid: For the Deſire of *Moſes* amounts only to a Submiſſion to a temporal Death, that his Nation might be ſaved from a temporal Ruin. For the Expreſſion of *blotting out of the Book of Life*, is of the ſame Importance with thoſe Phraſes ſo frequently uſed in the Old Teſtament, of *blotting out from the Face of the Earth*, and *blotting out one's Name from under Heaven*; which ſignify no more than temporal Death and Deſtruction; and then *Moſes*'s Wiſh was reaſonable and generous, and ſignifies no more, but that he was willing, if God pleaſed, to die to ſave the Nation.

As for St. *Paul*'s Wiſh, of *being accurſed from Chriſt*, it is plainly an hyperbolical Expreſſion of his great Affection to his Countrymen the *Jews*, and his Zeal for their Salvation, which was ſo great, that if it had been a Thing reaſonable and lawful, he could have wiſhed the greateſt Evil to himſelf for their ſakes: And therefore it is obſervable, that it is not a poſitive and abſolute Wiſh, but expreſſed in the uſual Form of uſhering in an Hyperbole; *I could wiſh*; juſt as we are wont to ſay, when we would expreſs a Thing to the Height, which is not fit, nor intended to be done by us, *I could wiſh ſo or ſo*; *I could even afford to do this, or that*; which kind of Speeches, no Man takes for a ſtrict and preciſe Declaration of our Minds, but for a figurative Expreſſion of a great Paſſion.

V. Having thus done with the *firſt* Thing propoſed for the Explication of this Precept, or Duty of Self-denial, which was to remove ſome Sorts of Self-denial, which by ſome are inſtanced in as intended by our Saviour in this Precept, we now proceed to the *ſecond* Thing propoſed, which is to declare poſitively, what that Self-denial is, which our Saviour here intends; and it is plainly this, and nothing but this: "That we ſhould be willing to part with all earthly Comforts and Conveniences, to quit all our temporal Intereſts and Enjoyments, and even Life itſelf, for the ſake of *Chriſt* and his Religion." This our Saviour means, by *denying ourſelves*: And then, which is much the ſame with the other, "That we ſhould be willing to bear any temporal Inconvenience and Suffering upon the ſame Account". This is *to take up our Croſs, and follow him*.

And that this is the full Meaning of theſe two Phraſes, of *denying ourſelves*, and *taking up our Croſs*, will clearly appear, by conſidering the particular Inſtances, which our Saviour gives of this Self-denial, whenever he hath Occaſion to ſpeak of it. Even in the very Text we are treating of, after our Saviour had told his Diſciples, that *he that would come after him, muſt deny himſelf and take up his Croſs*; it follows immediately, *For whoſoever will ſave his Life, ſhall loſe it*; *and whoſoever will loſe his Life for my Sake, ſhall find it*. You ſee here, that he inſtanceth in parting with our Lives for him, as the higheſt Piece of Self-denial, which he requires. And he himſelf elſewhere tells us, that [o] *greater Love than this hath no Man, that a Man lay down his Life for his Friend*. Elſewhere he inſtanceth in quitting our neareſt Relations for his Sake: [p] *If any Man come to me, and hate not his Father, and Mother, and Wife, and Children, and Brethren, and Siſters, yea, and his own Life alſo, he cannot be my Diſciple*; *and whoſoever doth not bear his Croſs, and come after me, he cannot be my Diſciple*.

Which Expreſſions of *hating Father, and Mother, and other Relations, and even Life itſelf*, are not to be underſtood rigorouſly, and in an abſolute Senſe, but comparatively; for it is an *Hebrew* Manner of Speech, to expreſs that abſolutely, which is meant only comparatively: And ſo our Saviour explains himſelf in a parallel Text to this; [q] *He that loveth Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me*; *he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me*; *and he that taketh not his Croſs, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me*. In another Place our Saviour inſtanceth in quitting our Eſtates for his Sake; [r] *Every one that ſhall forſake Houſes, or Brethren, or Siſters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands, for my Name's Sake*: By all which it appears, that this Self-denial, which our Saviour here requires of his Diſciples, is to be extended no farther, than to a Readineſs and Willingneſs, whenever God ſhall call us to it, to quit all our temporal Intereſts and Enjoyments, and even Life itſelf, the deareſt of all other, and to ſubmit to any temporal Inconvenience and Suffering for his Sake. And thus much for the Explication of the Precept.

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[m] Exod. xxxii. 32.
[n] Rom. ix. 3.
[o] John xv. 13.
[p] Luke xiv 26, 27.
[q] Matth. x. 37, 38.
[r] Matth. xix. 29.

VI. We proceed, in the *third* Place, to conſider the ſtrict and indiſpenſible Obligation of this Precept of Self-denial, and Suffering for *Chriſt* and his Truth, rather than to forſake and renounce them. *If any Man will come after me, or be my Diſciple, let him deny himſelf, and take up hs Croſs and follow me*; that is, upon theſe Terms he muſt be my Diſciple, in this Manner he muſt follow me. And in the Text we mention'd before, he declares again, that he that is not ready to quit all his Relations, and even Life itſelf, for his Sake, *is not worthy of him, and cannot be his Diſciple:* And again, *Whoſoever doth not bear his Croſs, and come after me, cannot be my Diſciple.* So that we cannot be the Diſciples of *Chriſt*, nor be worthy to be called by his Name, if we be not ready to deny ourſelves for his Sake: And not only ſo; but if for fear of the Croſs, or of any temporal Sufferings, we ſhould renounce and deny him, he threatens *to deny us before his Father which is in Heaven*, that is, to deprive us of eternal Life, and to ſentence us to everlaſting Miſery. [f] *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before Men, him will I confeſs before my Father which is in Heaven: But whoſoever ſhall deny me before Men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* And again, [t] *Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my Words, in this adulterous and ſinful Generation, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed, when he cometh in the Glory of his Father, with his holy Angels*; that is, when he cometh to judge the World, they ſhall not be able to ſtand in that Judgment; for that by his *being aſhamed of them*, is meant, that they ſhall be condemned by him, is plain from what goes before; [u] *What ſhall it profit a Man, if he ſhall gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul? Or what ſhall a Man give in Exchange for his Soul?* And then it follows, *Whoſoever therefore ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my Words.*

VII. But becauſe ſome have had the Confidence to tell the World, that our Saviour doth not require thus much of Chriſtians; but all that he obligeth us to, is to believe in him in our Hearts, but not to make any outward Profeſſion of his Religion, when the Magiſtrate forbids it, and we are in Danger of ſuffering for it; we ſhall therefore briefly examine what is pretended for ſo ſtrange an Aſſertion, and ſo directly contrary to the whole Tenor of the Goſpel, and to the expreſs Words of our Saviour.

The [w] Author of the Book called the *Leviathan* tells us, That we are not only not bound to confeſs *Chriſt*, but we are obliged to deny him, in caſe the Magiſtrate require us ſo to do. His Words are theſe; *What if the Sovereign forbid us to believe in* Chriſt? He anſwers, *Such forbidding is of no Effect, becauſe Belief and Unbelief never follow Mens Commands. But what*, ſays he, *if we be commanded by our lawful Prince to ſay with our Tongues, We believe not; muſt we obey ſuch Commands?* To this he anſwers, *That Profeſſion with the Tongue is but an external Thing, and no more than any other Geſture, whereby we ſignify our Obedience, and wherein a Chriſtian, holding firmly in his Heart the Faith of* Chriſt, *hath the ſame Liberty which the Prophet* Eliſha [x] *allowed to* Naaman. *But what then*, ſays he, *ſhall I anſwer to our Saviour, ſaying*, Whoſoever denieth me before Men, him will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven? His Anſwer is, *This we may ſay, that whatſoever a Subject is compell'd to in Obedience to his Sovereign, and does it not in order to his own Mind, but by the Law of his Country, the Action is not his, but his Sovereign's; nor is it he that in this Caſe denies* Chriſt *before Men, but his Governor, and the Laws of his Country.*

But can any Man, that in good earneſt pays any Degree of Reverence to our bleſſed Saviour and his Religion, think to baffle ſuch plain Words by ſo frivolous an Anſwer? There is no Man doubts, but if the Magiſtrate ſhould command Men to deny *Chriſt*, he would be guilty of a great Sin in ſo doing: But if [y] *we muſt obey God rather than Men*, and every Man muſt [z] *give an Account of himſelf to God*; how will this excuſe him that denies *Chriſt*, or breaks any other Commandment, upon the Command of the Magiſtrate? And to put the Matter out of all Doubt, that our Saviour forbids all that will be his Diſciples, upon Pain of Damnation, to deny him, tho' the Magiſtrate ſhould command them to do ſo, it is very obſervable, that in that very Place where he ſpeaks of confeſſing or denying him before Men, he puts this very Caſe of their being brought before Kings and Governors for confeſſing him. *Beware*, ſays he, *of Men, for they will deliver you up to the Councils, and they will ſcourge you in their Synagogues; and ye ſhall be brought before Kings and Governors for my Sake, for a Teſtimony againſt them and the Gentiles.* What Teſtimony would this be againſt them, if Chriſtians were bound to deny *Chriſt* at their Command? But our Saviour goes on, and tells them how to demean themſelves, when they were brought before Kings and Governors. [b] *But when they ſhall deliver you up, take ye no Thought how or what ye ſhall ſpeak; for it ſhall be given you in that very Hour what ye ſhall ſpeak.* What need of any ſuch extraordinary Aſſiſtance in the Caſe, if they had nothing to do but to deny him, when they were required by the Magiſtrate to do it? And then, proceeding in the ſame Diſcourſe, he bids them, [c] *Not to fear them that can kill the Body, and after that have no more that they can do*; that is, not to deny him, for fear of any temporal Puniſhment or Suffering that the Magiſtrate could inflict upon them; *but to fear* and obey *him who can deſtroy Body and Soul in Hell.* And upon this Diſcourſe our Saviour concludes, [d] *Whoſoever therefore ſhall confeſs me before Men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in Heaven: But whoſoever ſhall deny me before Men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* And now can any Thing be plainer, than that our Saviour requires his Diſciples to make Confeſſion of him before Kings and Governors, and not to deny him for fear of any thing which they can do to them.

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[f] Matth. x. 32.
[t] Mark viii. 38.
[u] Ver. 36, 37.
[w] Hobbes.
[x] 2 Kings v. 18, 19.
[y] Acts v. 29.
[z] Rom. xiv. 12.
[a] Matth. x. 17.
[b] Ver. 19.
[c] Ver. 28.

But let us enquire a little further, and ſee how the Apoſtles, who received this Precept from our Saviour himſelf, did underſtand it. We find *Peter* and *John* [e] ſummoned before the *Jewiſh* Magiſtrates, who *ſtrictly commanded them not to ſpeak at all, nor teach in the Name of* Jeſus. *But* Peter *and* John *anſwered and ſaid unto them, Whether it be right in the Sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* And when they ſtill perſiſted in their Courſe, notwithſtanding the Command of the Magiſtrate, and were [f] called again before the Council, and *the High Prieſt asked them, ſaying, Did we not ſtraitly command you, that you ſhould not teach in this Name? and behold you have filled* Jeruſalem *with your Doctrine*; They return them again the ſame Anſwer: *Then* Peter *and the other Apoſtles anſwered and ſaid, We ought to obey God rather than Men.*

And let any Man now judge, whether our Saviour did not oblige Men to confeſs him even before Magiſtrates, and to obey him rather than Men. And, indeed, how can any Man in Reaſon think, that the great King and Governor of the World ſhould inveſt any Man with a Power to controul his Authority, and to oblige Men to diſobey and renounce him, *by whom Kings reign, and Princes decree Judgment?* This is a Thing ſo unreaſonable, that it can hardly be imagined, that any Thing but down-right Malice againſt God and Religion could prompt any Man to advance ſuch an Aſſertion.

VIII. There remains only the *fourth* and *laſt* Particular, which we propoſed to ſpeak to, namely, To vindicate the Reaſonableneſs of this Self-denial and Suffering for *Chriſt*, which at firſt Appearance may ſeem to be ſo very difficult. And this Precept cannot be thought unreaſonable, if we take into Conſideration the following Things.

Firſt, That he, who requires us thus to deny ourſelves for him, hath given us the greateſt Example of Self-denial that ever was. Our Saviour knowing how unwelcome this Doctrine of Self-denial and Suffering muſt needs be to his Diſciples, and how hardly this Precept would go down with them, to ſweeten it a little, and take off the Harſhneſs of it, and to prepare their Minds the better for it, he tells them firſt of his own Sufferings, that by that Means he might, in ſome Meaſure, reconcile their Minds to it, when they ſaw that he required nothing of them, but what he was ready to undergo himſelf, and to give them the Example of it. And upon this Occaſion it was, that our Saviour acquaints them with the hard and difficult Terms upon which they muſt be his Diſciples. The Evangeliſt tells us, [g] that *Jeſus began to ſhew unto his Diſciples, how that he muſt go unto* Jeruſalem, *and ſuffer many Things of the Elders, and Chief Prieſts, and Scribes, and be killed. Then ſaid* Jeſus *unto his Diſciples*; that is, immediately upon this Diſcourſe of his own Sufferings, as the fitteſt Time for it, he takes the Opportunity to tell them plainly of their own Sufferings, and that unleſs they were prepared and reſolved to deny themſelves ſo far, as to ſuffer all Manner of Perſecution for his Sake, and the Profeſſion of his Religion, they could not be his Diſciples. *If any Man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me*; that is, let him reckon and reſolve upon following that Example of Self-denial and Suffering, in which I will go before him. Now the Conſideration of this Example of Self-denial and Suffering, which our Saviour hath given us, hath great Force in it to reconcile us to this difficult Duty, and to ſhew the Reaſonableneſs of it.

1ſt, In that he, who requires us thus to deny ourſelves, hath himſelf, in his own Perſon, denied himſelf more, and ſuffered more grievous Things, than any of us can do. He bore the inſupportable Load of all the Sins of all Mankind, and of the Wrath and Vengeance due to them. [h] *Never was Sorrow like to his Sorrow, wherewith the Lord afflicted him in the Day of his fierce Anger.* [i] *He was deſpiſed and rejected of Men; a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Griefs.* [k] *His Viſage was marred more than any Man's, and his Form more than the Sons of Men:* That is, He underwent more Affliction, and had more Contempt poured upon him, than ever was upon any of the Sons of Men: And yet he endured all this with incredible Patience and Meekneſs, with the greateſt Evenneſs and Conſtancy of Mind, and with the moſt perfect Submiſſion and Reſignation of himſelf to the Will of God, that can be imagined.

Such an Example as this ſhould be of great Force, to animate us with the like Courage and Reſolution, in leſſer Dangers and Difficulties. To ſee [l] *the Captain of our Salvation* going before us, and leading us on ſo bravely, and *made perfect by* greater *Sufferings* than we can ever be called to, or are any ways able to undergo, is no ſmall Argument and Encouragement to us, to *take up our Croſs and follow him.* The Conſideration of the unknown Sufferings of the Son of God, ſo great as we cannot well conceive of them, ſhould make all the Afflictions and Sufferings that can befal us, not only tolerable, but eaſy to us. Upon this Conſideration it is, that the Apoſtle animates Chriſtians to Patience in their Chriſtian Courſe, notwithſtanding all the Hardſhips and Sufferings that attended it: [m] *Let*

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[d] Matth. x. 32, 33.
[e] Acts iv. 14, 15, &c.
[f] Acts v. 28, 29.
[g] Matth. xvi. 21.
[h] Lam. i. 12.
[i] Iſai. liii. 3.
[k] Iſai. lii. 14.
[l] Heb. ii. 10.
[m] Heb. xii. 2, 3.

us run with Patience the Race which is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, who endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame. For conſider him, who endured ſuch Contradiction of Sinners againſt himſelf, leſt ye alſo be weary and faint in your Minds.*

And this Example is more powerful for our Encouragement, becauſe therein we ſee the World conquered to our Hands, and all the Terrors and Temptations of it baffled and ſubdued, and thereby a cheap and eaſy Victory over it obtained for us. By this Conſideration, our Saviour endeavours to inſpire his Diſciples with Chearfulneſs and Courage in this great Conflict: [n] *In the World ye ſhall have Tribulation: But be of good Chear, I have overcome the World.*

2dly, This Example of our Saviour is ſuch as, in all the Circumſtances of it, is moſt apt and powerful to engage and oblige us to the Imitation of it, becauſe all his Self-denial and Sufferings were for our Sakes, in Pity and Kindneſs to us, and wholly for our Benefit and Advantage. We are apt to have their Example in great Regard, from whom we have received great Kindneſs and mighty Benefits. This Patern of Self-denial and Suffering, which our Religion propoſeth to us, is the Example of one, whom we have Reaſon to eſteem, and love, and imitate, above any Perſon in the World. It is the Example of our Lord and Maſter, of our Sovereign and our Saviour, of the Founder of our Religion, and of *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith:* And ſurely ſuch an Example muſt needs carry Authority with it, and command our Imitation. It is the Example of our beſt Friend, and greateſt Benefactor; of him, who laid down his Life for us, and ſealed his Love to us with his deareſt Blood; and, even when we were bitter Enemies to him, did, and ſuffered more for us, than any Man ever did for his beſt Friend. If we ſhould be reduced to Poverty and Want, let us conſider him, [o] *who being Lord of all, had not where to lay his Head; who being rich, for our Sakes became poor, that we through his Poverty might be made rich.* If it ſhould be our Lot to [p] *be perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake*, and exerciſed with Sufferings and Reproaches, let us [q] *look unto* Jeſus, *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith, who endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame* for our Sakes. In a Word, can we be diſcontented at any Condition, or decline it in a good Cauſe; when we conſider how contented the Son of God was, in the meaneſt and moſt deſtitute; how meek and patient in the moſt afflicted and ſuffering Condition; how he welcomed all Events, and was ſo perfectly reſigned to the Will of his Heavenly Father, that whatever pleaſed God, pleaſed him?

And ſurely in no Caſe is Example more neceſſary than in this, to engage and encourage us in the Diſcharge of ſo difficult a Duty, ſo contrary to the Bent and Inclination of Fleſh and Blood. A bare Precept of Self-denial, and a peremptory Command to ſacrifice our own Wills, our Eaſe, our Pleaſure, our Reputation, yea and Life itſelf, to the Glory of God, and the Maintenance of his Truth, would have ſounded very harſh and ſevere, had not the Practice of all this been mollified and ſweetened by a Patern of ſo much Advantage; by one who in all theſe Reſpects denied himſelf, much more than it is poſſible for us to do; by one who might have inſiſted upon a greater Right, who abaſed himſelf, and ſtooped from a greater Height and Dignity; who was not forced into a Condition of Meanneſs and Poverty, but choſe it for our Sakes; who ſubmitted to Suffering, though he had never deſerved it. Here is an Example that hath all the Argument, and all the Encouragement that can be, to the Imitation of it.

Such an Example is of greater Force and Authority than any Precept or Law can be; ſo that well might our Lord, thus going before us, command us to follow him, and ſay, *If any Man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs and follow me.* For if he thus denied himſelf, well may we, who have much leſs to deny, but much more Cauſe and Reaſon to do it. He did it voluntarily, and of Choice; but it is our Duty. He did it for our Sakes; we do it for our own. His own Goodneſs moved him to deny himſelf for us; but Gratitude obligeth us to deny ourſelves in any Thing for him. We did not in the leaſt deſerve any Thing from him; but he hath wholly merited all this, and infinitely more from us. So that ſuch an Example as this is, in all the Circumſtances of it, cannot but be very powerful and effectual to oblige us to the Imitation of it.

IX. But the Reaſonableneſs of this Precept will yet farther appear, if we conſider in the *ſecond* Place, That God hath promiſed to all ſincere Chriſtians all needful Supplies of his Grace, to enable them to the Diſcharge of this difficult Duty of Self-denial, and to ſupport and comfort them therein. For the Spirit of *Chriſt* dwells in Chriſtians, and the ſame Glorious Power that raiſed up *Jeſus* from the Dead, works mightily in them that believe. [r] *That ye may know* (ſaith St. *Paul*, ſpeaking in general to all Chriſtians) *what is the exceeding Greatneſs of his Power to us-ward who believe, according to the Working of his mighty Power which he wrought in* Chriſt, *when he raiſed him from the Dead.* Of ourſelves we are very weak, and the Temptations and Terrors of the World very powerful; but there is a Principle reſiding in every true Chriſtian, able to bear us up againſt the World, and the Power of all its Temptations. [s] *Whatſoever is born of God*, ſaith St. *John*, *overcometh the World; and this is the Victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* [t] *Ye are of God, little Children, and have overcome the World; becauſe greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the World.*

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[n] John xvi. 33.

[o] Matth. viii. 20.

[p] Matth. v. 10.

[q] Heb. xii. 2.

[r] Eph. i. 19.

[s] 1 John. v. 4

[t] 1 John iv. 4.

And this Grace and Strength was afforded to the firſt Chriſtians in a moſt extraordinary Manner, for their Comfort and Support under Sufferings; ſo that they were *ſtrengthened with all Might, according to God's glorious Power, unto all Long-ſuffering with Joyfulneſs,* as St. *Paul*[u] prays for the *Coloſſians.* And theſe *Conſolations of the Spirit of* God, this *Joy in the Holy Ghoſt,* was not peculiarly appropriated to the firſt Times of Chriſtianity; but it is ſtill afforded to all ſincere Chriſtians, in ſuch Degree as is neceſſary and convenient for them. And whenever God exerciſeth good Men with Trials more than human, and ſuch Sufferings as are beyond the ordinary Rate of human Strength and Patience to bear, he hath promiſed to endue them with more than human Courage and Reſolution. So St. *Paul* tells the *Corinthians,* [w] *He is faithful that hath promiſed, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above what ye are able, but will with the Temptation alſo make a Way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it.* And why ſhould we be daunted at any Suffering, if God be pleaſed to encreaſe our Strength, in Proportion to the Sharpneſs of our Sufferings?

And bleſſed be God, many of our perſecuted Brethren in theſe latter Ages have remarkably found this comfortable Aſſiſtance and Support; though many likewiſe have fallen through Fear and Weakneſs; as it alſo happened in the primitive Times. But wherever this Promiſe is not made good, it is by Reaſon of ſome Fault and Failing on our Part. Either Men were not ſincere in the Profeſſion of the Truth, and then no Wonder, if [x] *when Tribulation and Perſecution ariſeth, becauſe of the Word, they are offended and fall off.* Or elſe they were too confident of themſelves, and did not ſeek God's Grace and Aſſiſtance, and rely upon it as they ought; and thereupon God hath left them to themſelves, as he did *Peter,* to convince them of their own Frailty and raſh Confidence: And yet, even in that Caſe, when there is Truth and Sincerity at the Bottom, there is no Reaſon to doubt but that the Goodneſs of God is ſuch, as by ſome Means or other to give to ſuch Perſons, as he did to *Peter,* the Opportunity of recovering themſelves by Repentance, and a more ſtedfaſt Reſolution afterwards.

X. Again, This will farther appear, If we conſider in the *laſt* Place, that our Saviour hath aſſured us of a Glorious and Eternal Reward of all our Self-denial and Sufferings for him; a Reward infinitely beyond the Proportion of our Sufferings, both in the Degree and Duration of it. Now the clear Diſcovery of this is peculiarly owing to the Chriſtian Religion, and [y] *the Appearance of our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus Chriſt, *who hath aboliſhed Death, and brought Life and Immortality to Light by the Goſpel.*

And as our Saviour hath aſſured us of this bleſſed State of Good Men in another World; ſo hath he likewiſe aſſured us, that greater Degrees of this Happineſs ſhall be the Portion of thoſe who ſuffer for him and his Truth. [z] *Bleſſed are they which are perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Bleſſed are ye when Men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all Manner of Evil againſt you falſly, for my Name's Sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your Reward in Heaven.* And nothing ſurely can be more reaſonable, than to part with Things of ſmall Value, for Things infinitely greater and more conſiderable; to forego the tranſient Pleaſures and Enjoyments, and the imperfect Felicities of the World, for the ſolid, and perfect, and perpetual Happineſs of a better Life; and to exchange a ſhort and miſerable Life, for eternal Life and Bleſſedneſs; in a Word, to be content to be driven home, to be baniſhed out of this World into our own native Country, and to be violently thruſt out of this *Vale of Tears,* into thoſe Regions of Bliſs, where are *Joys unſpeakable and full of Glory.*

This Conſideration, St. *Paul* tells us, ſupported the primitive Chriſtians, under their ſharpeſt and heavieſt Sufferings. [a] *For this Cauſe,* ſays he, *we faint not, becauſe our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory; whilſt we look not at the Things which are ſeen, but the Things which are not ſeen; for the Things which are ſeen are temporal, but the Things which are not ſeen are eternal.* So that our Sufferings bear no more Proportion to the Reward of them, than Finite does to Infinite, than Temporal to Eternal, between which there is no Proportion.

XI. All that now remains, is to draw ſome uſeful Inferences from what hath been diſcourſed, concerning this great and difficult Duty of Self-denial for the Sake of *Chriſt* and his Religion; and they ſhall be theſe following.

1ſt, To acknowledge the great Goodneſs of God to us, that all theſe Laws and Commands, even the hardeſt and ſevereſt of them, are ſo reaſonable.

God, as he is our Maker, and gave us our Beings, hath an entire and ſovereign Right over us, and by Virtue of that Right, might have impoſed very hard Things upon us, and this without the giving Account to us of any of his Matters, and without propounding any Reward to us, ſo vaſtly diſproportionable to our Obedience to him. But in giving Laws to us, he hath not made uſe of this Right. The moſt ſevere and rigorous Commands of the Goſpel are ſuch, that we ſhall be infinitely Gainers by our Obedience to them. If we deny ourſelves any thing in this World for *Chriſt* and his Religion, we ſhall, in the next, be conſidered for it to the utmoſt, not only far beyond what it can deſerve, but beyond we can conceive or imagine; for this periſhing Life, and the tranſitory Trifles and Enjoyments of it, we ſhall receive [b] *a Kingdom which cannot be ſhaken,* [c] *an uncorruptible Crown which fadeth not away, eternal in*

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[u] Col. i. 11.
[w] 1 Cor. x. 13.
[x] Matth. xiii. 21.
[y] 2 Tim. i. 10.
[z] Matth. v. 10, 11, 12.
[a] 2 Cor. iv. 16.
[b] Heb. xii. 18.
[c] 1 Cor. ix. 25. 2 Cor. v. 1.

the Heavens. For theſe are *faithful Sayings*, and we ſhall infallibly find them true, [d] *That if we ſuffer with* Chriſt, *we ſhall alſo reign with him*; [e] *if we be perſecuted for Righteouſneſs Sake, great ſhall be our Reward in Heaven*; if we part with our temporal Life, we ſhall be made Partakers of eternal Life. He that is firmly perſuaded of the Happineſs of the next World, and believes *the Glory which ſhall then be revealed*, hath no Reaſon to be ſo much offended at the Sufferings of the preſent Time, ſo long as he knows and believes that *theſe light Afflictions, which are but for a Moment, will work for him a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory.*

2*dly*, Seeing this is required of every Chriſtian, to be always in Preparation and Diſpoſition of Mind to deny ourſelves, and to take up our Croſs; if we do in good Earneſt reſolve to be Chriſtians, we ought to ſit down and conſider well with ourſelves what our Religion will coſt us, and whether we be content to come up to the Price of it. If we value any Thing in the World above *Chriſt* and his Truth, *we are not worthy of him.* If it come to this, that we muſt either renounce him and his Religion, or quit our temporal Intereſt; if we be not ready to forego theſe; nay, and to part even with Life itſelf, rather than to forſake him and his Truth; *we are not worthy of him.* Theſe are the Terms of our Chriſtianity, and therefore we are required in Baptiſm ſolemnly to renounce the World: And our Saviour, from this very Conſideration, infers, That all who take upon them the Profeſſion of his Religion, ſhould conſider ſeriouſly before-hand, and count the Coſt of it: [f] *Which of you*, ſays he, *intending to build a Tower, ſitteth not down firſt, and counteth the Coſt, whether he have ſufficient to finiſh it? Or what King going to War with another King, doth not ſit down and conſult, whether with ten Thouſand he be able to meet him that cometh againſt him with twenty Thouſand. So likewiſe, whoſoever he be that forſaketh not all he hath, cannot be my Diſciple.* Theſe are the Terms upon which we are Chriſtians; we muſt always be prepared in the Reſolution of our Minds to deny ourſelves, and take up our Croſs, though we are not actually put upon this Trial.

3*dly*, What has been ſaid is Matter of great Comfort and Encouragement to all thoſe who deny themſelves, and ſuffer upon ſo good an Account; of whom, God knows, there are too great a Number at all Times, in ſeveral Parts of the World; ſome under actual Sufferings, ſuch as cannot but move Compaſſion and Horror in all that hear of them; others who are fled hither, and into other Countries, for Refuge and Shelter from Perſecution. But they who ſuffer for Truth and Righteouſneſs Sake, have all the Comfort and Encouragement that the beſt Example, and the greateſt and moſt glorious Promiſes of God can give. They have the beſt Example in their View, [g] Jeſus, *the Author and Finiſher of their Faith, who endured the Croſs, and deſpiſed the Shame:* So that how great and terrible ſoever their Sufferings be, they do but tread in the Steps of the Son of God, and of the beſt and holieſt Man that ever was; and he, who is their great Example in Suffering, will likewiſe be their Support, and *their exceeding great Reward.*

So that though Suffering for *Chriſt* be accounted great Self-denial, and he is graciouſly pleaſed ſo to accept it, becauſe in denying Things preſent and ſenſible, for Things future and inviſible, we do not only declare our Affection for him, but our great Faith and Confidence in him, by ſhewing that we rely upon his Word, and venture all upon the Security which he offers us in another World; yet according to a right Eſtimate of Things, and to thoſe *who walk by Faith, and not by Sight*, this which we call Self-denial, is, in Truth and Reality, but a more commendable Sort of Self-love, becauſe we do herein moſt effectually conſult, and ſecure, and advance our own Happineſs.

4*thly*, and *laſtly*, Since God has been pleaſed for ſo long a Time to excuſe us from this hardeſt Part of Self-denial, let us not grudge to deny ourſelves in leſſer Matters, for the Sake of his Truth and Religion; not even to miſs a good Preferment, or to quit it when we have it, upon that Account; much leſs let us not think much to renounce our Vices, and to thwart our evil Inclinations for his Sake. As *Naaman*'s Servant ſaid to him, concerning the Means preſcribed by the Prophet for his Cure, [h] *If he had bid thee do ſome Great Thing, wouldeſt thou not have done it? How much more, when he hath only ſaid, Waſh and be clean?* So ſince God impoſeth no harder Terms upon us, than Repentance and Reformation of our Lives, we ſhould readily and thankfully ſubmit to them.

This, we know, is difficult to ſome, to [i] *mortify their earthly Members*, to [k] *crucify the Fleſh, with the Affections and Luſts of it*; it is like [l] *cutting off a Right Hand, and plucking out a Right Eye.* Some are ſo ſtrongly addicted to their Luſts and Vices, that they could with more Eaſe deſpiſe Life in many Caſes, than thus deny themſelves. But in Truth, there is no more of Self-denial in it, than a Man denies himſelf when he is mortally ſick and wounded, in being content to be cured, and willing to be well. This is not at all to our temporal Prejudice and Inconvenience, and it directly conduceth to our eternal Happineſs; for there is no Man that lives a holy and virtuous Life, and in Obedience to the Laws of God, that can lightly receive any Prejudice by it in this World. Since God doth not call us to ſuffer, we ſhould do ſo much the more for him. Since he doth not put us to teſtify our Love to him, by laying down our Lives for him, we ſhould ſhew it by a greater Care to keep his Commandments.

God was pleaſed to exerciſe the firſt Chriſtians with great Sufferings, and to try their

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[d] Rom. viii. 17. [e] Matth. v. 10, 12. [f] Luke xiv. 28. [g] Heb. xii. 2. [h] 2 Kings v. 13.
[i] Col. iii. 5. [k] Gal. v. 22. [l] Matth. v. 29, 30.

Love and Conſtancy to him and his Truth, in a very extraordinary Manner, by Severity and Contempt, by [m] *the ſpoiling of their Goods*, and *the Loſs of all Things*; [n] *by Bonds and Impriſonments; by cruel Mockings and Scourgings*; by the Extremity of Torments, and by [o] *reſiſting even unto Blood*; by [p] *being killed for his Sake all the Day long, and appointed as Sheep for the Slaughter.* God was pleaſed to make their Way to Heaven very ſharp and painful, and to [q] *hedge it in* as it were *with Thorns on every Side*, ſo that they could not, but [r] *through much Tribulation, enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Thus we ought all to be in a Readineſs and Reſolution to ſubmit to this Duty, if God ſhould think fit at any Time of our Lives to call us to it. But if he be pleaſed to excuſe us from it, and [s] *to let this Cup paſs from us*, which may lawfully be our earneſt Prayer to God, ſince we have ſo good a Patern for it, there will be another Duty incumbent upon us, which will take up the whole Man, and the whole Time of our Life, and that is [t] *to ſerve him without Fear, in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs before him all the Days of our Lives.*

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[m] Heb. x. 34.
[n] Heb. xi. 36.
[o] Heb. xii. 4.
[p] Rom. viii 36.
[q] Hoſ. ii. 6.
[r] Acts xiv. 22.
[s] Matth. xxvi. 39.
[t] Luke i. 74, 75.

CHAP. II.

I. *Jeſus* paſſes over the Brook *Cedron*, and goes to the Garden of *Gethſemane*; by the way foretelling that he ſhould be ſeized that Night, and that his Apoſtles ſhould deſert him. II. He falls into an Agony, in the Preſence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*; leaves them while he prays to the Father, and at his Return, wakes them from Sleep. III. He wakes them a ſecond and third Time. *Judas* comes to the Garden. IV. *Jeſus* is ſeized by a Band of Soldiers, with *Judas* at their Head. V. *Peter* cuts off the Ear of *Malchus*. *Jeſus* reproves him for it, and heals the Wound. VI. *Jeſus* queſtions the Officers about their taking him. A young Man eſcapes, leaving his Garment. VII. *Jeſus* is led to the Houſes of *Annas* and *Caiphas*. *Peter* and *John* follow him. VIII. *Peter* three times denies his having any Knowledge of *Jeſus*. The Cock crows twice, and *Peter* repents. IX. *Caiaphas* examines *Jeſus* before the Rulers, who at laſt ſuborn Evidence againſt him. X. He is brought before the *Sanhedrim*, and examined farther. XI. He owns himſelf to be the Meſſiah. The High-Prieſt rends his Garments, reviles, and condemns him.

I. [a] HAVING *ſpoken as in the preceding Chapter*, Jeſus *departed with his Apoſtles, and paſſed over the* [b] *Brook* Cedron, *deſigning to go to the Garden on the other Side. Upon the Way he ſaid unto them*, This Night you will forſake me, that the Words of the Prophet *Zachariah* may be fulfilled, [c] *I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the Sheep ſhall be diſperſed.* For I ſhall be put to Death, but will ſhortly after riſe, and go before you into *Galilee.* Peter *replied*, Though all the reſt ſhould forſake thee, yet will I conſtantly adhere unto thee. *Hereupon* Jeſus *put him in Mind, that he had already foretold him, that that very Night, before the Cock* [d] *crew twice, he would thrice deny his being his Diſciple.* But, *ſaid* Peter, were I to ſuffer Death together with thee, yet would I not deny thee: *And the ſame Proteſtations made the reſt of the Apoſtles. In the mean while they arrive at the Garden of* Gethſemane, *which being entered*, Jeſus *ordered the Apoſtles to tarry in a certain Place, while he retired for a while to pray; adviſing them to recommend themſelves to God by Prayer, that he might not ſuffer them to have too ſevere a Trial of their Conſtancy.*

II. [e] Jeſus *did not, however, leave them all at the Entrance into the Garden, but commanded* Peter, *and the two Sons of* Zebedee, *to go along with him. In their Preſence he began to be extremely ſorrowful and melancholy, at the Apprehenſion of the Torments he was to endure within a few Hours; telling them, that he was in a* [f] *perfect Agony, and commanding them to tarry with him, and watch. Then being withdrawn from them about a Stone's Throw, and proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, he cried out in a loud Voice*; O Father Almighty! thou art able if thou wilt to remove the Indignities and cruel Death I ſhortly expect to ſuffer; nevertheleſs, if thy eternal Wiſdom has unalterably decreed me to this End, I entirely reſign up myſelf to thy Diſpoſal. *Being in this Agony,* [g] *an Angel came down from Heaven, and comforted him; and the more he was oppreſſed with Sorrow, the more earneſtly he had Recourſe*

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[a] John. xviii. 1. Matth. xxvi. 31—36. Mark xiv. 27—32. Luke xxii. 40.

[b] Of the Brook Cedron, and the Garden Gethſemane, ſee what we have ſaid p. 250 of this Work.

[c] Zach. xiii. 7.

[d] There is a double Crowing of the Cock mentioned by heathen Authors; the firſt about Midnight, the ſecond at the fourth Watch, or at Day-break. The latter of theſe is emphatically called the Cock-crowing, and it was this that brought Peter to Repentance.

[e] Matth. xxvi. 37—41. Mark xiv. 33—38. Luke xxii. 41—46.

[f] See the following Diſſertation.

[g] In St. Jerom's Time, this Account of the Angel was wanting in ſome Copies, both Greek and Latin; but it ſeems to have been expunged by the Arians.

to God by Prayer: And ſo great was his Anguiſh, that the Sweat run down his Body as if it had been [h] *Drops of Blood falling to the Ground. Afterwards he aroſe, and returning to his Apoſtles, found them in a profound Sleep, which ſometimes ſucceeds an intenſe Grief and Melancholy.* Jeſus *beholding them, thus awakened them: Peter,* and you the Sons of *Zebedee,* do you now ſleep? Am I ſo little regarded by you, that you cannot watch for one Hour with me in my Affliction? Ariſe, and pray to God that he ſuffer you not to be overwhelmed in the Trial which will ſhortly be made of your Conſtancy and Fidelity: For tho' you are ſufficiently ſatisfied that it is your Duty to be inflexibly conſtant in your Profeſſion of being my Diſciples, yet ſuch is the frail Nature of Men as ſcarce to be able to withſtand the Shock, when diſturb'd by Fear, or any other Paſſion; in ſuch Caſes they are eaſily apt to give Ground, and deſpond.

III. [i] Jeſus *having thus admoniſh'd them, retir'd a ſecond Time from his Apoſtles, and put forth the ſame Petitions to God: But being return'd, he found them again faſt aſleep; for their Eyes were heavy. Having once more awakened them, and rebuk'd them for ſo great Negligence, they had nothing to alledge in their Excuſe. Then he went the third Time; and having repeated the ſame Requeſts, and obtained nothing of his Father, he acquieſced, and return'd fully reſolv'd to encounter courageouſly the Torments that were to be inflicted on him. Finding his Apoſtles the third Time aſleep;* Sleep on now, *ſaid he,* and take your Reſt; I no longer want your Company or Watching with me, being firmly reſolv'd to endure with Reſignation whatever the Rage of my Enemies ſhall inflict upon me. The Hour is at Hand in which I ſhall be deliver'd into the Power of wicked Men, *Romans* and *Jews*; at which if you have a Mind to be preſent, ariſe, let us go meet the Traitor, who is already upon the Way to ſeize me. *For* Judas *knowing very well the Places to which* Jeſus *uſed to reſort by Night with his Diſciples, came directly to the Garden with a Company of* Roman *Soldiers, and the Officers of the* Sanhedrim, *with Lamps and Torches, that they might find him out in Caſe he ſhould attempt to hide himſelf in the obſcure Places of the Garden.*

IV. [k] Jeſus *had ſcarce pronounced theſe Words, when they ſaw the Soldiers, and* Judas *at the Head of them, who had given them for a Sign, that whoever he ſaluted was the Perſon they were to ſeize on, and carry away ſafely to the* Sanhedrim. *Coming therefore near to* Jeſus; Hail! Maſter, *ſaid he,* and kiſſed him. Jeſus *replied,* Friend, wherefore comeſt thou with all this Guard about thee? Doſt thou betray me by a fawning Salutation? *Then turning to the Soldiers, as one who knew what would be the Event, he ſaid,* Whom ſeek ye? *They anſwer'd, that they ſought for* Jeſus *of* Nazareth. *He immediately own'd, He was the Man.* Judas *was now retir'd into the Company of the Soldiers, who no ſooner heard the Words of* Jeſus, *but they were ſtruck with Amazement, and fell back upon the Ground. At which Time* Jeſus *was ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, which he might eaſily have done, that he went a ſecond Time directly to them, and aſk'd them again, whom 'twas they ſought for. They having again anſwered him, that they ſought for* Jeſus *of* Nazareth; I have already, *ſaid he,* own'd myſelf to be that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* you ſeek after: If then it be only me that you want, *pointing to his Apoſtles,* let theſe Men alone. *Which having obtained of them, it happen'd that in this Senſe alſo was fulfilled what he had before ſaid,* Of them which thou haſt given me, have I loſt none.

V. [l] *The Tribune then advancing with his* [m] *Cohort, took him, and bound him; which the Apoſtles reſenting, two of them, who, as we have related, had Swords, aſk'd* Jeſus *whether they ſhould draw upon the Enemy, and repel the Violence that was offer'd him. One of them, by Name* Peter, *without ſtaying for his Maſter's Anſwer, drew his Sword, and cut off the right Ear of one of the High-Prieſt's Servants, whoſe Name was* Malchus. Jeſus *immediately commanded him to forbear, and put up his Sword, aſſuring him, that all who had taken up Arms againſt him, ſhould fall by the Power of their Enemies; adding moreover, that if he had deſign'd to reſiſt the* Jews *and* Romans, *he could have obtain'd of his heavenly Father, not a Guard of Men againſt them, but twelve or more Legions of Angels: But that his Purpoſe was to fulfil all the Prophecies that foretold his Death, by drinking the Cup, however bitter it was, which his heavenly Father reach'd out unto him. Then touching the Ear of* Malchus, *he immediately heal'd the Wound.*

VI. [n] *Afterwards addreſſing himſelf to the Chief Prieſts and Miniſters of the* Sanhedrim, *he aſk'd them, why they came ſo arm'd to take him, as if they were to apprehend ſome public Robber.* I have daily taught in the Temple, *ſaid he,* and you have not offer'd to lay hold on me. But the Time is come in which God has permitted you and the Angels of Darkneſs to execute your Deſigns againſt me, that the antient Prophecies concerning my Death may be accompliſhed. *Which Words were not ſpoken before the Apoſtles, according to his Prediction, all left him, and fled. But* [o] *a certain young Man, who came to ſee what the Matter was, having a Linen Cloth about his Body, was taken by the Soldiers: However he*

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[h] Theſe Words do not ſtrictly ſignify, that the Matter of this Sweat was Blood, but only that it was thick and viſcous: But there is no Reaſon why we may not think his Agony was ſo great, as to force Blood out of the capillary Veins to mix with the Sweat.

[i] Matth. xxvi. 42——46. Mark xiv. 39——42. John xviii. 2, 3.

[k] Matth. xxvi. 47——50. Mark xiv. 43, 44, 45. Luke xxii. 47, 48. John xviii. 4——9.

[l] Matth. xxvi. 50——54. Mark xiv. 46, 47. Luke xxii. 49, 50, 51. John xviii. 10, 11, 12.

[m] At the Time of the Paſſover, it was cuſtomary to ſend a whole Band of a thouſand Men to guard the Temple.

[n] Matth. xvi. 55, 56 Mark xiv. 48——52. Luke xxii. 52, 53.

[o] Some of the Fathers thought, but on ſlender Grounds, that this young Man was James the Brother of our Lord: Others, on ſtill leſs Foundation, believed it was St. John. But John followed to the High-Prieſt's Hall, and we have no Certainty who this other Perſon was.

eſcap'd from them naked, leaving his Garment in their Hands.

VIII. [p] *The Soldiers having thus ſeiz'd on* Jeſus, *led him away firſt to the Houſe of* Annas, *who was Father-in-Law to* Caiaphas, *the High Prieſt for that Year. Now this* Caiaphas *was he, who in the* Sanhedrim, *when they had the Debate concerning* Jeſus, *gave his Opinion that it was neceſſary that one Man ſhould die for the whole People; which was truer than he imagined, as we have already ſaid. But* Annas *ordered him to be carried before the High Prieſt, in whoſe Palace many of the* Sanhedrim *were aſſembled. To this Place* Peter, *and* John *the Son of* Zebedee, *followed him at a Diſtance.* John *being acquainted with the High Prieſt and his Family, went in after* Jeſus *into the Hall: But* Peter *ſtaid without, being denied Admittance by the Woman that looked to the Door; till* John, *perceiving his Companion was not let in, went out, and prevailed with the Porter to admit him.*

VIII. [q] Peter *being got in, ſat himſelf down by the Fire in the Hall with the Prieſt's Servants, to obſerve the Iſſue of the Buſineſs. While he was there, the Woman that let him in, looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, aſked him whether he were not one of the Diſciples of* Jeſus *of* Nazareth. Peter *told her, he was not, and that he could not imagine why ſhe ſhould accuſe him. A little while after, he went out of the Hall into the Porch, and the Cock crew. Then returning to the Company that were ſeated about the Fire in the Hall, another Woman, that had ſeen him going into the Porch, aſked him whether he were not one of the Diſciples of* Jeſus *of* Nazareth; *which* Peter *again denied with an Oath. About an Hour after, another Servant of the High Prieſt, related to him whoſe Ear* Peter *had cut off, affirmed he had ſeen him together with* Jeſus *in the Garden of* Gethſemane; *the reſt ſaying, it was not unlikely that he was one of his Followers, ſince by his Language they might perceive he was a* Galilean. Peter *then* [r] *denied, with Oaths and Imprecations, that he had any Acquaintance with him; and immediately after the Cock crowed a ſecond Time.* Jeſus *then, who was at that Time in the Hall, turning to him, by a ſilent Look upbraided him for the Crime he had committed: With which* Peter *was ſo ſenſibly affected, that remembring the Admonition of* Jeſus, *wherein he had forewarned him that before the Cock crowed twice he ſhould thrice deny him, he went out of the Hall, filled with Grief and Anguiſh, and with a Flood of Tears lamented the Fault he had committed.*

IX. [ſ] Jeſus *afterwards, being ſent for into the Room where the High Prieſt was ſeated, with ſeveral Members of the* Sanhedrim, *was by* Caiaphas *examined concerning his Diſciples and his Doctrine. To whom he thus replied:* I have at no Time taught in ſecret, but have openly delivered my Doctrine in almoſt all the Synagogues of *Judea*, and in the Temple itſelf, where there is always a great Reſort of People. There is then no Reaſon why you ſhould examine me concerning my Doctrine, ſince you may be informed of it by thoſe who heard me. *Upon this one of the Officers that ſtood by ſtruck him, for not ſpeaking reverently, as he pretended, to the High Prieſt. To whom* Jeſus *ſaid,* If I have ſpoken amiſs, ſhew wherein; if not, why doſt thou ſtrike me undeſervedly? *The Chief Prieſts, and the whole Aſſembly, were now at a Loſs for Witneſs againſt him: For though many were ready to teſtify againſt him, yet their Depoſitions were not ſufficient to prove him guilty of any capital Crime, becauſe they did not agree among themſelves. At laſt there appeared two falſe Witneſſes, who alledged, that they had heard* Jeſus *ſay, he would deſtroy this Temple made with Hands, and build another in three Days time, without any human Help. But neither was this Accuſation* [t] *ſtrong enough to condemn him to Death; which made the Chief Prieſts and* Jews, *aſſembled in the Houſe of* Caiaphas, *at a Loſs how to deſtroy him.*

X. [u] *The next Day, early in the Morning, the whole* Sanhedrim *being aſſembled in the uſual Place,* Jeſus *was brought before them by thoſe who had been in the Houſe of* Caiaphas, *and the Witneſſes were again examined; to whoſe Accuſations* Jeſus *making no Reply, the High Prieſt aroſe, and aſked him the Reaſon of his Silence. But* Jeſus *returning no Anſwer, many other Members of the* Sanhedrim *aſked him, Whether he were the Meſſiah or not, and commanded him to give an Anſwer to their Queſtion. Then ſaid* Jeſus, If I ſhould here profeſs myſelf the Meſſiah, you would not believe me; and if I ſhould propoſe any Queſtions to you, you would not diſmiſs me, though you would be unable to reply to what I could propound: For which Reaſon I think it not neceſſary to make any Defence, or plead for myſelf before this Aſſembly. *This, however, did not give them Satisfaction; for the High Prieſt, that he might get an Anſwer from him, began to* [w] *adjure him by the true God, to tell them whether he were the Meſſiah, the Son of God; and the others alſo urged him to the ſame Purpoſe.*

XI. [x] *At laſt, perceiving himſelf bound by ſo religious a Tie,* Jeſus *made this publick Profeſſion:* I am indeed him you mention, The Meſſiah; and hereafter you ſhall ſee me ſeated at the Right Hand of that inacceſſible Light, by which God manifeſts his Preſence in Heaven, and deſcending in the Clouds from Heaven, ſo as you ſhall no longer doubt whether I am the Meſſiah or not. *Upon hearing of which Words the High-Prieſt* [y] *rent his Garment, exclaiming againſt* Jeſus *as a Blaſphemer: And turning himſelf to the* Sanhedrim; What need, *ſaid he,* of any further Witneſs? You yourſelves have heard his Blaſphemy, what think you? *They replied, They thought he deſerved to die. At that time the Guard ſet over him began to ſpit on him, and to buffet him; and having blindfolded him, they ſtruck him with the Palms of their Hands, bidding him him gueſs who it was that ſtruck him, ſince being the Meſſiah, as he ſaid, he muſt needs be a Prophet alſo. After this Manner did theſe miſerable Wretches revile him; while the* Sanhedrim, *without any more to do, agreed among themſelves, that he was worthy of Death.*

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[p] John xviii. 13——16. Matth. xxvi. 57, 58. Mark xiv. 53, 54. Luke xxii. 54.

[q] Matth. xxvi. 58, 69——75. Mark xiv. 54, 66——72. Luke xxii. 55——62 John xviii. 17——27.

[r] It will not excuſe Peter to ſuppoſe he ſaid, *I know not the Man*, becauſe he knew him to be God: For this is ſo to defend the Servant, as to accuſe his Maſter of a Lie; as St. Jerom well expreſſes it: Since if Peter did not actually deny him, Chriſt muſt have falſly ſaid, *Thou ſhalt deny me thrice.*

[ſ] John xviii. 19——23. Matth. xxvi. 59, 60, 61. Mark xiv. 55——59.

[t] A vain-glorious Boaſt, ſuppoſing it had been ſo, that he would deſtroy the Temple, could not be capital, eſpecially as he promiſes to build it again in three Days. It muſt have looked more like Madneſs than a Crime.

[u] Luke xxii 66——70. Matth. xxvi. 62, 63. Mark xiv. 60, 61.

[w] An Adjuration of this Nature was equivalent to an Oath to the Perſon adjured, who was expected to ſpeak the whole Truth.

[x] Matth. xxiv. 64——68. Mark xvi. 62——65. Luke xxii. 70, 71. 63, 64, 65.

DISSERTATION I.

Of our Saviour's Anguiſh and Sorrow at the Time of his Sufferings.

I. *The Greatneſs of our Saviour's Sufferings. Several Circumſtances to prove it.* II. *That it was not occaſioned by the Fear of Death, nor the Apprehenſions of his Father's Wrath, or want of Love,* &c. III. *That the true Cauſe of it was his Knowledge and Abhorrence of Sin. His leſſen'd Senſe of the divine Favour, to what owing. That our Redemption was brought about by what our Saviour ſuffered in his Body.*

I. THERE are many Circumſtances in the Account of our Saviour's Paſſion, which ſeem to ſhew, that his Sorrow was exceeding great, even much beyond the common Sorrow of many who have been condemned to die, This to many appears very ſtrange, and below what might have been expected from the Son of God, who certainly had more to ſupport him than any other Man could have. It behoves us therefore, in the preſent Work, to enquire into the Reaſons of this extreme Sorrow; it being our Duty to endeavour to remove every Difficulty, and explain every Text, that ſeemingly tends the leaſt to the Diſhonour of our great Redeemer. And in order hereto, we ſhall firſt enumerate thoſe Circumſtances that prove the Greatneſs of our Saviour's Sorrows.

1ſt, The [a] emphatical Expreſſions in which the Scripture repreſents them, are a Proof of their Greatneſs: For to ſet them in the ſtrongeſt Colours, they are called *Deadly Sorrows.* His Anguiſh and Affliction was ſuch as reached to, and ſurrounded, his whole Soul: It filled him with Grief of Heart, as the Evangeliſts inform us. St. *Matthew* tells us, [b] *he began to be ſorrowful and very heavy:* St. *Mark,* that [c] *he began to be ſore amazed, and to be very heavy*; or, as others render it, *to be filled with Fear and Anguiſh:* And they both aſſure us in general, that he was very faint and reſtleſs in his Spirit; which is the leaſt that can be made of their Words.

2dly, The Greatneſs of the Sorrows he endured, may be concluded from his importunate Petitions to be delivered from what he feared; for he pathetically cries out, [d] *Father, if it be poſſible, let this Cup paſs from me!* This Prayer he thrice repeats upon his Knees, and falling flat upon his Face, to ſhew the Strength and Vehemence of his Deſire; and yet St. *Luke* adds, [e] that *being in an Agony, he prayed with greater Vehemence than before. He put up Prayers and Supplications,* [f] ſays the Apoſtle, *with ſtrong Crying and Tears.* And ſurely the Cup muſt be exceeding bitter, which he ſo highly dreaded, and which with ſuch Cries, and Tears, and humble Importunities, he deſired of his Father to be delivered from!

3dly, The Exceſs of our Saviour's Sorrow will be farther evident, if we conſider the Agonies he ſuffered in the Garden, upon the Apprehenſion of this bitter Cup; ſuch Agonies as forced open all his Pores, and made even Clods of Blood to iſſue from them, in the room of ordinary Sweat. Now if a ſudden watry Sweat, in another Perſon, ſhews the greateſt Extremity of Fear and Conſternation of Mind, who can ſufficiently conceive the Greatneſs of that Horror, which produced this unnatural and bloody Sweat in the Son of God?

4thly, The Conſideration of that Angel, which, by God's Commiſſion, came down from Heaven to ſtrengthen and ſupport him under the Apprehenſion of his Sufferings, is a farther Confirmation of the Vehemence of that Apprehenſion. Surely that burden muſt be very weighty, which our Lord ſeemed thus unable to ſuſtain, and under which his Father ſeemed ſo concerned to ſupport him!

5thly, The ſame thing may be concluded from that pathetical Expreſſion with which his Soul expired; [ff] *My God! my God! why haſt thou forſaken me?* Which Words, tho' they are not an Intimation of any Failure of his Truſt in God, are a Proof that he was then in a deep Anguiſh, and oppreſſed, as it were, with a Senſe of his Sufferings. For in the *Hebrew* Way of ſpeaking, God is ſaid to *leave,* or *forſake* any Perſon, when he ſuffers him to fall into great Calamities, and doth not immediately help him out of them. And therefore *Zion* being long afflicted, is brought in by the Prophet *Iſaiah* thus complaining, [g] *The Lord hath forſaken me, the Lord hath forgotten me.* And the *Pſalmiſt,* as he is [h] frequent in the ſame Complaint, ſo he manifeſtly explains himſelf in the following Words: [i] *Why art thou far from the Words of my Roaring,* or my Prayer —that *I cry — but thou heareſt not.* This Paſſage is looked upon as prophetical of our Saviour's Sufferings, during which, according to Dr. *Hammond*, the Divinity ſuſpended its Influence, ſo far as to deliver up his Body to Death. This was the Hour of the Prince of Darkneſs; tho', when he came, he found nothing for his Temptation to work upon.

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[y] The high-Prieſt was forbidden to rend his Garments, Lev. xxi 10. But Tradition ſo qualified this Precept, that he was allowed to rend them at the Bottom, tho' not from the Top to the Breaſt. Cunæus de Rep. Heb. l. 2. c. 3.

[a] Whitby on Matth. xxvi. 38. [b] Matth. xxvi. 37. [c] Mark xiv. 33. [d] Matth. xxvi. 39.

[e] Luke xxii 44. [f] Heb. v. 7. [ff] Matth. xxvii. 46. [g] Iſai. xl. 14. [h] Pſal. x. 11. xlii. 10. xliii. 2. [i] Pſal. xxii. 1, 2.

II. Having thus made it evident, that there was *no Sorrow like* our Saviour's *Sorrow, in the Day of his Viſitation*; we are next to enquire into the Reaſon of it. Now we cannot think, that this Exceſs of Sorrow could ariſe merely from the Apprehenſion that he was to die, that his Soul was for a Seaſon to be ſeparated from his Body, or that he was to ſuffer a Death full of Pain and Ignominy. The Apoſtle informs us, that [k] *he was heard in that he feared*, that is, was heard ſo far as to be delivered from his Fears, as the Words manifeſtly ſignify; for we know that he was not delivered from the Pain and Ignominy of the Croſs, but ſuffered Death upon it; therefore the Deliverance that he obtained, the Matter that he was heard in, was this Relief from his Fears; which certainly muſt prevent any Exceſs of Sorrow on that Account.

Beſides, ſuppoſing he had not been delivered in this extraordinary Manner from his Fears, it would nevertheleſs be very unjuſt to conclude, that ſuch an Exceſs of Sorrow and Conſternation, in the Son of God, could proceed only from the Fear of ſuch a Death as any mortal Man might ſuffer, for which he knew he ſhould be gloriouſly rewarded, and from which he knew he ſhould in three Days be delivered. For if this were ſo, we muſt confeſs, that he was more troubled at the Apprehenſion of Death than *Socrates*, and many other Philoſophers of old, who had learned not to be much afflicted with Calamities, who ſuffered Death with an undaunted Courage, and waxed not pale at the Divulſion or Breaking of their Limbs, tho' they had no ſuch Encouragement to ſuffer as he had; and that he was far more timorous than thoſe noble and glorious Martyrs, who, with unſhaken Reſolution, ſuffered for his Sake the greateſt Cruelties. This is a Conceſſion that muſt by no means be admitted: And it is very difficult to aſſign any other Cauſe of Sorrow that then ſeized him, than this Apprehenſion of Death; as will be manifeſt when we have gone through the following Conſiderations.

1ſt, That he could not be under the Senſe of any Anger or Indignation that God had conceived againſt him: For ſurely he could not think that God was then angry with him, when he was doing an Act of moſt profound Obedience to him, for which he declared his Father loved him, and for which he knew he would reward him: Nor is this well conſiſtent with his recommending his Soul into the Hands of his affectionate Father, as he did in his laſt Minute; his Aſſurance that he ſhould go immediately into Paradiſe, as expreſſed in his Diſcourſe with the Thief on the Croſs; or that conſtant Faith that he was ſtill the Son of God, in whom his Soul delighted, which he never appears to have been without.

2dly, That as he did not lie under any Apprehenſions of his Father's Anger, ſo neither could he lie under any Doubtings of his Love, or any Deſpondings on that Account. He ſtill makes his Addreſſes to him as his God and Father, and commends his Spirit into his Father's Hands. He declares that [l] *his Father therefore loved him, becauſe he laid down his Life for the Sheep.* And he thus ſuffered in [m] *proſpect of the Joy*, or the Rewards of theſe Sufferings, that *God had ſet before him.* From which Conſideration it demonſtratively follows, that he could not then doubt of his Father's Favour; ſuch Doubting being inconſiſtent with the Truſt he expreſſed. Beſides, had he thus doubted, it is apparent that Satan muſt have prevailed againſt him in this laſt Temptation, tho' he could not in the firſt; a Suppoſition that overthrows the Foundation of our Faith.

3dly, That it is ſcarcely probable, that God laid any Grief or Puniſhment upon the Soul of *Chriſt*, by his immediate Hand. If it be not neceſſary to ſay, as we conceive it is not, that the future Evils, which the Souls of wicked Men ſhall ſuffer, come from God's immediate Hand; if it be better to reſolve theſe into the eternal Duration of their Beings, their perpetual Excluſion from a State of Happineſs, and the natural Workings of their own Conſciences; doubtleſs it would then be abſurd to ſuppoſe, that God did that to his own beloved Son, when he became obedient to Death at his Command, which he doth not do to the Wicked. Neither can it be well conceived, what *Chriſt* could ſuffer from the immediate Hand of God. Could God withdraw from him the Senſe of his Favour whilſt he ſuffered, and yet not only highly love him at the ſame time for this very Action, but ſet before him the Joy, and the Reward, which he would confer upon him for thus ſuffering? This is ſuch a Contradiction, as no one ſurely will pretend to juſtify.

III. From neither of the foregoing Cauſes, we apprehend, could the Sorrow and Anguiſh of our bleſſed Lord proceed; that is, neither from the mere Apprehenſion of Death, nor from the Conſideration or Senſe of his Father's immediate Diſpoſition towards him at that Time. From what Cauſe then did it really proceed? This is the Queſtion which we are in the laſt Place to diſcuſs, and upon which we ſhall now enter.

The moſt probable Cauſe then of this Sorrow, ſeems to have been, "A Senſe of what might juſtly be inflicted on him for the Sins of Men, when he thus undertook to ſuffer in their Stead". A Senſe, we mean, not proceeding from God's immediate Hand, (which certainly was needleſs to him, who had the cleareſt View of the Deſert and Heinouſneſs of Sin, and the moſt perfect Knowledge of what God's Law had threatened to it;) but from his own perfect Omniſcience, his ſpotleſs Purity, and his unalterable Hatred of Sin. He was grieved, and filled with Sorrow, that Men ſhould have committed ſuch Crimes, as made it neceſſary for him to undergo ſuch ſevere Puniſhments in their Stead, before they could, in the leaſt Degree, be reſtored to his Father's Favour, which they had entirely forfeited, and muſt have loſt for ever, without this Means of reſtoring them thereto.

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[k] Heb. v. 7.

[l] John x. 17.

[m] Heb. xii. 2.

As to any ſeeming Diminution of a Senſe of the divine Love, and of a Senſe of Joy and Conſolation deriving from it, which the Redeemer might at this Time experience, that might very well be attributed to the aforeſaid Exceſs of Sorrow, ariſing on the Account of Man's Tranſgreſſion, which ſo poſſeſſed him during his Sufferings, as that his human Nature could not, as formerly, attend to any other Conſideration, not even to that of his Father's Love. And ſuch an Inattention as this to a Matter of the greateſt Moment, whilſt one is ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with ſome preſent Reflection, being innocent in itſelf, and what is ſometimes incident to the greateſt and beſt of Men, as a Thing inſeparable from the limited Conceptions of human Nature, might befal our Saviour, when he [n] *was in all Things, Sin only excepted, to be made like unto us*, that he *might be able to ſuccour us when we are tempted.* He was now to be conſidered in his Humanity, which was all of him that was capable of Suffering, and which was now wholly intent upon the great Work of our Redemption.

That only the Humanity of *Chriſt* was now concerned, nay, that it was his human Body only that purchaſed our Redemption, is evident from what the Scripture ſays of his Sufferings. [o] *The Lord*, we are told, *laid on him the Iniquities of us all*, or *made our Sins to meet upon him:* But they were then only thus laid on him, when he bare them. Now St. *Peter* aſſures us, that [p] *he bare our Sins in his own Body on the Tree*, and that by the *Stripes* with which he was there *ſmitten, we are healed.* It is ſaid indeed, that [q] *he gave his Soul an Offering for Sin:* But then 'tis evident, that his Soul there ſignifies only his Life; for ſo it follows, [r] *He poured forth his Soul unto Death:* In which Senſe *Chriſt* himſelf declares, that he [ſ] *gave his Life a Ranſom for many.* It is farther ſaid, [t] that *he was made a Curſe for us:* But then it is declared expreſly, that he was only ſo *by hanging on a Tree*, that is, by ſuffering that Death, which all who ſuffered were by the Law pronounced accurſed.

When we read, therefore, that *he ſuffered for our Sins, the Juſt for the Unjuſt*; we are to obſerve, that the Scripture repreſents him as doing the great Work of Redemption, rather by what he ſuffered for us in the Body, than by what he ſuffered in his Soul: For it informs us, that *he bare our Sins in his own Body on the Tree*; that *we are ſanctified through the Offering of the Body of* Chriſt; that *he died, and ſuffered for our Sins*; that *he ſhed*, or *poured out his Blood, for the Remiſſion of Sins*; that *he waſhed us from our Sins in his Blood*; that *he made our Peace thro' the Blood of the Croſs*; that *he obtained eternal Redemption for us by his own Blood*; that *he ſanctified us by his own Blood*, and by it *cleanſeth us from all Sins*; that *we have Redemption thro' his Blood, even the Remiſſion of Sins*; and, that *he is our Propitiation thro' Faith in his Blood.* And the Sacrament which we celebrate in thankful Remembrance of what he ſuffered, calls on us to remember only, that *his Body was given*, or *broken for us, and his Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of our Sins.* So that if we would ſpeak according to the conſtant Language of the Holy Ghoſt in Scripture, we muſt aſcribe the Work of our Redemption to our Lord's Sufferings in the Body for us; in which it is certain that he could ſuffer nothing anſwerable to the Puniſhment of damned Spirits, but only *give his Life a Ranſom for many:* And the Conſequence of this is, that it could be only his Knowledge and Abhorrence of our Sins, that made him ſo full of Sorrow at the Apprehenſion of, and under his Sufferings; ſince there was nothing elſe in thoſe Sufferings, which, to him, could be a ſufficient Ground for ſuch Exceſs of Anguiſh.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Courts of Judicature among the *Jews*, more particularly of the *Sanhedrim*, and its Authority.

I. *Of the ſeveral Kinds of Judges among the* Jews, *according to the* Rabbies, *and the Sacred Writings. Their Power, and Place of Sitting.* II. *The Court of Three, its Power,* &c. *The Court of Twenty-three, and its Manner of Sitting. Neither of thoſe Accounts ſupported by* Joſephus. III. *The* Sanhedrim, *how and where it ſat.* IV. *Its Original; the Qualifications of its Members, and their Authority.* V. *Succeſſion of the* Sanhedrim, *according to the* Rabbies*: Opinions of ſeveral Writers thereon.* VI. *Concluſions from the foregoing Remarks. That the* Sanhedrim *at the Time of our Saviour's Death had not the Power of Judging in Capital Caſes.*

I. MOSES ordained, [a] That Judges and Magiſtrates ſhould be appointed in every City, to terminate the Differences of the People; and that when any Affair of greater Conſequence ſhould happen, they ſhould remove to the Place where the Lord ſhould chuſe, in order to examine there the Difficulty before the Prieſts of *Aaron*'s Family, and before the Judge or Prince of the People, at that Time eſtabliſhed by the Lord; and he requires all to acquieſce in their Judgment upon Pain of Death. When *Jehoſhaphat* King of *Judah* reſolved upon reforming his Dominions, [b] he ſettled Judges in all the Cities, to whom he recommended Vigilance and Juſtice, as exerciſing the Authority of God himſelf. He likewiſe ſet up two Courts at *Jeruſalem*, one conſiſting of the Prieſts and Levites, and the other of the Heads of the Famimilies of *Iſrael*. The firſt had Cognizance of the Affairs which related to the Law, and the Ceremonies of Religion; the ſecond of *the King's Matters*, that is to ſay, of civil Affairs, and the Intereſts of private Perſons. Such was the Polity of the *Hebrews* before the Captivity, as far as we can judge from the ſacred Books.

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[n] Heb. ii. 17, 18. iv. 15, 16. [o] Iſai. liii. 6. [p] 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. [q] Iſai. liii. 10. [r] Ver. 12.
[ſ] Matth. xx. 28. [t] Gal. iii. 13.
[a] Deut. xvi. 18. & xvii. 8, 9. See likewiſe Exek. xliv. 24. and Joſeph. Antiq. l. x. c. ult.

But the *Jewiſh* Doctors gives us a very different Idea of theſe Judges. They maintain, that there was an Aſſembly at *Jeruſalem* conſiſting of ſeventy two Judges. This Aſſembly they call the *Sanhedrim*, which is a Word formed with ſome Variation from the *Greek Synedrion*. They believe, that this Council has always ſubſiſted in their Nation, ever ſince the [c] Eſtabliſhment of it by *Moſes*, when he appointed ſeventy two Elders, to whom God communicated his Spirit, in order to aſſiſt their Leader in the Government of the People. But [d] ſome are of Opinion, that this Settlement continued no longer than the Time of *Joſhua*'s dividing the promiſed Land, and that it was not reſtored till after the *Maccabees*. It was in Being, however, in our Saviour's Time, and laſted, probably, till the Deſtruction of the Temple, but not always with equal Authority: For after the Baniſhment of *Archelaus*, the *Romans* having reduced *Judea* into a Province, aſſumed the Right of Life and Death to themſelves alone.

The great *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem*, in the Time of its greateſt Authority, had the Cognizance of the moſt important Affairs of State and Religion, and of thoſe which concernd the King and the High-Prieſt. As to the inferior Courts, we have the following Account of what they were at the ſame Time, from the Rabbies and Interpreters. *Firſt*, there were three Judges in every City, who had the Cognizance of leſſer Faults, ſuch as Theft, and the like. *Secondly*, there was another Court compoſed of three and twenty Judges, who decided Matters of Importance, and of a more Criminal Nature; and their Sentences were generally ſuch as affected the Lives of Perſons, no Cauſes being brought before them but ſuch as were thought to deſerve the Penalty of Death. Over both theſe was the *Sanhedrim*; to which, and the Court of Twenty three, our Saviour is thought to have alluded, in the following Words: [e] *Whoſoever ſhall be angry with his Brother without a Cauſe, ſhall be in Danger of the Judgment*; that is to ſay, of the three and twenty Judges: *And whoſoever ſhall ſay to his Brother, Racha*, ſhall be in Danger of the Council; that is to ſay, of the greater *Sanhedrim*.

The Common Place where the Judges of the lower Claſſes aſſembled, was the City Gate. As the *Jews* were for the moſt Part employed in labouring in the Fields, it was wiſely provided, that Aſſemblies ſhould be held at the City Gates, and Juſtice adminiſtered there in a ſummary Manner, that thoſe labouring Men, who were buſy at their Work, might loſe no Time, and that the Country People, who had Affairs upon their Hands in the Town, might not be obliged to enter, and ſpend Time there. One particular Form of theſe Judgments is to be ſeen in that [f] which was given at the Gates of *Bethlehem*, between *Boaz*, and another Perſon, a Relation of *Naomi*'s, upon the Subject of *Ruth*'s Marriage, who was a *Moabite*. And in *Abraham*'s Purchaſe of a Field to bury *Sarah*, [g] *the Field of* Ephron *was made ſure unto* Abraham *for a Poſſeſſion, in the Preſence of the Children of* Heth, *before all that went in at the Gate of the City*. From this Cuſtom of Judging at the Gates, the Word *Gate*, in Scripture Language, is frequently uſed to denote a Place of public Aſſemblies, where Juſtice was adminiſter'd. As to the *Sanhedrim*, they met in the Temple, in a Place which we ſhall deſcribe hereafter.

II. We ſhall here add ſome Remarks, taken from the [h] *Miſhna*, and the Commentators of it, relating to the different Judges that were in *Paleſtine*, and their Juriſdiction, that the Reader may have all the Light we can procure, concerning this Matter. The Rabbies agree, that in every City, where there were reckoned to be at leaſt an hundred Perſons, there was to be a Court held, conſiſting of three Judges, before whom Cauſes of leſſer Conſequence were pleaded, concerning Loſs, Gain, and Reſtitution. Theſe three Judges had a Right only to condemn Perſons to be whipt. This Tribunal was conſulted about the Intercalation of Months: For the *Jews* had a Cuſtom of adding a thirteenth Month to their Lunar Year, at the End of every two or three Years, to make it equal with the Solar Year; which Month was added at the arbitrary Pleaſure of their Rulers, their wiſeſt Men being for the moſt Part very unskilful in Aſtronomy. Theſe three Judges might alſo confer Impoſition of Hands, and receive Doctors. They might likewiſe inſtal Judges, with theſe Words; *Thou*, Rabbi ſuch an one, *haſt been honoured with the Power of judging and inſtituting Penalties.* But for the Enjoyment of this Privilege, it was neceſſary that at leaſt one of the Judges had received Ordination, that he might have Power to give it unto others. The Parties named their Judges: One of them, the Plaintiff ſuppoſe, choſe his Judge firſt; the other Party then named a ſecond; and theſe two Judges took a third, with whoſe Aſſiſtance they decided the Cauſe.

The Idea that *Joſephus* gives us of the Polity of the *Jews*, is ſomewhat different from this. He ſays, that [i] *Moſes* ordained ſeven Judges of known Virtue to be eſtabliſhed in every City, or a Body of Senators compoſed of ſeven Judges, to whom were added two Miniſters out of the Tribe of

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[b] 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6, &c.

[c] Numb. xi. 16, 17.

[d] In particular Calmet, from whom this Diſcourſe chiefly is extracted.

[e] Matth. v. 21, 22. See page 394 of this Work.

[f] Ruth iv. 1, 2, &c.

[g] Gen. xxiii. 10, 18.

[h] Miſhna tract. Sanhedrim. tom. 4.

[i] Joſeph. Ant. l. 4. c. ult.

Levi: So that, according to this Author, there were in every City ſeven Lay-Judges, and two Miniſters of the *Levitical* Order. Now *Joſephus* is certainly more to be credited in Matters of this Nature than the Rabbies, becauſe he is much more Antient, and was better acquainted with Things than the *Jewiſh* Doctors. *Joſephus* ſaw the Commonwealth of the *Hebrews* in Being, and in a flouriſhing Condition: But the Rabbies came not till after the Deſtruction of the Temple, and the Diſperſion of their Nation. We leave this Queſtion, however, to the Reader's own Judgment.

The ſecond Tribunal, according to the *Miſhna,* was compoſed of three and twenty Judges, who gave Sentence in capital Cauſes, and condemned Men to Death, and Beaſts that had wounded any Man. This is agreeable to what we have before remarked from the Rabbies; but we do not find this Number of Judges appointed by *Moſes,* or mentioned in any of the Sacred Writings; nor are they taken notice of by *Joſephus.* That Hiſtorian only ſays, [k] that if the ſeven Judges above-mentioned found themſelves not ſufficiently qualified to decide any Cauſe that was brought before them, they then referred it to the High-Prieſt in the Holy City.

It may not be improper here to mention the Manner wherein the Judges of this Court are ſaid to have been ſeated, becauſe having ſome Relation to that of the great *Sanhedrim,* of which we are to ſpeak more large by and by, this may be of uſe to give a more exact Idea of it, and explain the Opinions of the *Jewiſh* Doctors concerning it.

The three and twenty Judges made a Semicircle: The Preſident, whom they called the Prince of the Senate, was ſeated in the Midſt; a Perſon always raiſed to this Dignity by his Wiſdom and Merit. The Father of the Senate was ſeated at his Right Hand, and held the ſecond Rank: But this Charge was imagined by the *Talmudiſt* Doctors. Every one of the three and twenty Judges took his Place, either near to or farther from the Preſident, at the Right Hand or the Left, according to his Rank. Some ſay there were three Secretaries; one for collecting the Votes of thoſe abſolved; the ſecond to gather the Votes of thoſe condemned; and the third to receive both the one and the other. There were three Orders of Diſciples placed on Forms, at the Bottom of the Hall, every one according to his Age and Capacity. They brought thither the ableſt Men out of all *Judea,* removing them from other Courts to this Court of three and twenty at *Jeruſalem.* They were placed firſt in the loweſt Claſs, and the Scholars roſe afterwards by Degrees to the Quality of Judges. By this Deſcription it appears, that the Rabbies deſigned to give a high Idea of their Magiſtracy and Magiſtrates: Nevertheleſs, People ſeem not inclined to prefer their Authority to that of *Joſephus,* who overſets all theſe magnificent Notions.

III. We have already ſaid, that the Name *Sanhedrim* comes from the *Greek Synedrion.* This Word ſignifies an Aſſembly, like thoſe of the *French* Parliaments and Sovereign Courts, where many Judges and Counſellors meet together, to conſult and determine great Affairs. The *Jews* alſo called it *Beth-Din,* which ſignifies *the Houſe of Judgment.* The ſeventy Senators, of which it conſiſted, aſſembled in an Apartment of the Temple of *Jeruſalem,* and there determined the moſt important Affairs of the Nation. Their Chief was called *Naſi,* or *Prince*; his Deputy was called *Abbeth-din, Father of the Houſe of Judgment*; and the Sub-Deputy was called *Chacam,* that is, *the Wiſe.* The reſt in general were called Elders, or Senators. The Room they met in was a *Rotunda,* or Round, half of which was built without the Temple, and half within: That is to ſay, there was one Semicircle of the Room within the Compaſs of the Temple, which was for thoſe who ſtood up, becauſe it was never allowed to ſit down in the Temple; the other half, or Semicircle, extended itſelf without the holy Place, and it was in this Part that the Senators had their Seats.

The *Naſi,* or Prince, ſat upon a Throne at the End of the Hall, having his Deputy at his Right Hand, and his Sub-Deputy at his Left. The other Senators were ranged in Order on each Side, according to *Calmet,* in three Rows. This Hall was called *Liſhcath-Haggazith,* or *The Hall paved with Stones*; and ſome think [l] it to be the ſame which in St. *John* is called [m] *the Pavement:* But [n] others ſay, that this is very improbable, believing it unlikely that they ſhould perſuade Pilate to come into the *Sanhedrim,* there to hear their Accuſations againſt *Jeſus.* This, however, is a Matter of ſmall Conſequence.

IV. As to the Original of the *Sanhedrim,* we have an Account of it given by [o] *Moſes* himſelf. That Leader being diſcouraged by the continual Murmurings of the *Iſraelites,* addreſſed himſelf to God, and deſired to be relieved at leaſt from ſome Part of the Burden of the Government. Then the Lord ſaid unto him, *Gather unto me ſeventy Men of the Elders of* Iſrael, *whom thou knoweſt to be the Elders of the People, and Officers over them; and bring them unto the Tabernacle of the Congregation, that they may ſtand with thee. And I will come down and talk with thee there; and I will take of the Spirit which is upon thee, and will put it upon them; and they ſhall bear the Burden of the People with thee, that thou bear it not thyſelf alone.* The Lord therefore poured out his Spirit upon theſe Men; and from that Time, ſays the *Jews,* they began to propheſy, and have not ceaſed ſince.

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[k] Loco ſupra citato.

[l] Caſaubon. in Sueton. l. 1. c. 46. Selden. de Synedris, l. 2. c. 13. ſect. 4. Lightfoot. hor. Hebr. in Joan. & alii.

[m] Λιθόστρωτος. John xix. 13.

[n] See Calmet.

[o] Numb. xi. 14, 15, 16, &c. in the Year of the World 2514.

B.C. 1486.

The *Sanhedrim* was compoſed of [p] ſeventy two Perſons, ſix out of each Tribe, who, with their Preſident, made in all a Court of ſeventy three. To prove the uninterrupted Succeſſion of the Judges of the *Sanhedrim*, there is nothing unattempted by the Partiſans of this Opinion: They find a Proof, ſays *Calmet*, where others cannot ſo much as perceive any Appearance or Shadow of it. Thoſe who are for examining the Queſtion to the Bottom, may conſult the Authors [q] here referred to.

One of the perſonal Qualifications of the Judges of this Bench was, that their Birth was to be untainted. They were often taken of the Race of Prieſts or *Levites*, or out of the Number of the inferior Judges, or from the leſſer *Sanhedrim*, conſiſting of twenty three Judges, as above related. They were to be ſkilful in the Law, as well traditional as written. They were obliged to ſtudy Magic, Divination, Fortune-telling, Phyſic, Aſtrology, Arithmetic, and Languages. The *Jews* ſay, they were to know to the Number of ſeventy Tongues; that is, they were to know all Tongues, for the *Hebrews* acknowledged but ſeventy in all; and perhaps this is too great a Number. Eunuchs were excluded from the *Sanhedrim*, becauſe of their Cruelty; alſo Uſurers, decrepid Perſons, Players at Games of Chance, thoſe that had any bodily Deformities, thoſe that had brought up Pigeons to decoy others to their Pigeon-Houſes, and thoſe that made Gain of their Fruit in the ſabbatical Year. Some alſo exclude the High-Prieſt and the King, becauſe of their too great Power; but others will have it, that the King always preſided in the *Sanhedrim*, while there were any Kings in *Iſrael*. *Laſtly*, it was required, that the Members of the *Sanhedrim* ſhould be of mature Age, rich, of handſome Countenance and Body. This is the Account given of them by the *Jewiſh* Doctors, whoſe Notions we only inſert, without pretending to warrant them. But this Account muſt ſerve inſtead of one that might appear more exact and probable, becauſe theſe are the only antient Authors who have treated particularly of the *Sanhedrim*.

The Authority of the great *Sanhedrim* was vaſtly extenſive: It decided ſuch Cauſes as were brought before it by Appeal from inferior Courts; and the King, the High-Prieſt, and the Prophets, were under its Juriſdiction. If the King offended againſt the Law, for Example, if he married above eighteen Wives, if he kept too many Horſes, if he hoarded up too much Gold and Silver, the *Sanhedrim* had him ſtripped and whipped in their Preſence. Perhaps thoſe *Engliſh* Monks, who whipped King *Henry* the Second, by way of Penance, for the Murder of *Thomas a Becket*, might take this *Jewiſh* Court for their Patern: But Whipping, they ſay, among the *Hebrews*, was not at all ignominious; and the King bore this Correction willingly by way of Penance, himſelf making Choice of the Perſon that was to exerciſe this Diſcipline over him. The general Affairs of the Nation were alſo brought before the *Sanhedrim*, as before a Council of State. The Right of judging in capital Caſes belonged likewiſe to this Court, and Sentence of Death was frequently pronounced in the paved Hall above-mentioned: Some ſay, it could not be pronounced any where elſe, and that for this Reaſon they were obliged to quit this Hall, when the Power of Life and Death was taken out of their Hands, which was forty Years before the Deſtruction of the Temple, and three Years before the Death of our bleſſed Saviour.

V. In the Time of *Moſes*, this Council was held at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony: And when the *Iſraelites* were in Poſſeſſion of the Land of Promiſe, the *Sanhedrim* always followed the Tabernacle, ſo long as the Ark of God dwelt in Tents. It was kept ſucceſſively at *Gilgal*, at *Shiloh*, at *Kirjath-jearim*, and at *Gibeon*, in the Houſe of *Obed-Edom*. But when the Temple was built, it was ſettled at *Jeruſalem*, and continued there till the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. During the Captivity, it was kept at *Babylon*; and after the Return, it was fixed again at *Jeruſalem*, and remained there till the Time of the *Sicarii* or Aſſaſſins. But it then appearing that theſe profligate Wretches, whoſe Number encreaſed every Day, ſometimes eſcaped Puniſhment by the Favour of the Preſident or Judges, it was removed to *Hanoth*, which were certain Abodes, ſituated, as the Rabbies tell us, upon the Mountain of the Temple. From thence the Senators came down into the City of *Jeruſalem*, withdrawing themſelves by Degrees from the Temple. Afterwards they removed to *Jamnia*, thence to *Jericho*, to *Uzzah*, to *Shepharvaim*, to *Bethſanim*, to *Sephoris*, and laſt of all to *Tiberias*, where they continued to the Time of their utter Extinction. This Account the *Jews* themſelves give of the *Sanhedrim*.

But the learned Moderns do not agree with the Rabbies in all this. Father *Petavius* [r] reduces the Beginning of the *Sanhedrim* to the Time that *Gabinius* was Governor of *Judea*, who erected Tribunals at [s] *Jeruſalem*, at *Gadara*, at *Amathus*, at *Jericho*, and at *Sephoris*, the five principal Cities of his Province. *Grotius* [t] places the Beginning of this Aſſembly under *Moſes*, as the Rabbies do; but he makes it determine at the Beginning of *Herod*'s Reign. Mr. *Baſnage* [u] makes it commence under *Judas Maccabæus*, or under his Brother *Jonathan*, in whoſe Reign we read, [w] that the Senate with the High-Prieſt ſent an Embaſſy to the *Romans*. The Rabbies ſay, that *Alexander Jannæus*, King of the *Jews*, appeared before the *Sanhedrim*, and claimed a Right of ſitting there, whether the Senators would or no. *Joſephus* informs, that when *Herod* was but yet Governor of *Judea*, he was ſummoned before the Senate, where he appeared. This is a Proof that the *Sanhedrim* was in Being before the Reign of *Herod*; and that it was in Being afterwards, we learn from the [x] Goſpel, and from the [y] *Acts of the Apoſtles*: For undoubtedly it was before this Court that our Saviour was brought, as we have affirmed in the preceding Chapter; and the Apoſtles were alſo carried before it ſeveral Times.

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[p] Others are for keeping ſtrictly to the Words of the Text, and allowing but ſeventy Counſellors to this Court. It is certain, however, that in Scripture the round Number is ſometimes put, and the Units omitted: And probably it is ſo here, becauſe bare Seventy Men could not be choſen equally out of each Tribe.

[q] Grotius de Jure Bell. & Pac. l. 1. c. 3. Art. 20. Selden de Synedriis vet. Hebræor. and Calmet's Diſſertation before his Comment on Numbers.

[r] Petav. de doct. temp. l. 2. c. 26.

[s] Joſeph. Ant. l. 19. c. 10. & de Bell. l. 1. c. 6.

[t] Grot. ad 1 Paral. xxi. 4.

[u] Hiſt. of the Jews, l. 1. c. 4. l. 5. c. 1. Art. 12.

[w] 1 Macc. xii. 6. This was in the Year of the World 3860.

VI. From this whole Deduction it appears, that the Original of the *Sanhedrim*, as related by the Rabbies, is by no Means to be depended on; it being a Doubt, whether the Seventy Elders eſtabliſhed by *Moſes*, were what the *Hebrews* underſtand by the Name of *Sanhedrim*. We are not ſure that this Aſſembly ſubſiſted, either under *Joſhua*, the Judges, or the Kings; there being nothing to be found of it till the Time of *Jonathan Maccabæus*. As for the Tribunals erected by *Gabinius*, they were very different from this; there being five of them of equal Authority, at five different Cities; whereas this was the only one of the Kind, and fixed at *Jeruſalem*. On the other Hand, we are certain, as above obſerved, that this Senate was in Being in our Saviour's Time, and when the Evangeliſts writ their Goſpels, becauſe is is mentioned in their Writings, tho' the Power of Life and Death was then taken from it, as the *Jews* themſelves inform us, in their [z] Anſwer to *Pilate*.

Mr. *Lightfoot* indeed affirms, [a] that the *Sanhedrim* had yet all its Authority; but that the great Number of Malefactors, and the Remiſſneſs of the Judges, were the Cauſe that it was not made uſe of at the Time of *Jeſus Chriſt*. To which Father *Lamy* adds, [b] that they were obliged to aſk the Leave of the *Roman* Governor for the Execution of their Power, which made them apply to *Pilate*: And whereas they ſay, *It is not lawful for us to put any Man to Death*, it muſt be added, *becauſe of the Feaſt*; which was a High-Day, and which they could not have kept after condemning a Man to Death, and crucifying him.

But it is ſurpriſing to ſee the Pains that ſome learned Men take, to darken what is clear and plain. [c] The *Jews* were actuated by a helliſh Fury againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*: They had him in their Hands, and they hazarded all by ſubmitting to the Judgment of a Pagan, who was not tranſported with Zeal ſo much as they were. Nevertheleſs, the *Sanhedrim* did not condemn him, but only proſecuted him to Death, and juſtify their ſo doing, by ſaying, *It was not lawful for them to put any Man to Death*. One muſt needs be ſtrangely prepoſſeſſed to affirm, that the *Sanhedrim* had Power to ſentence to Death, after they had publickly confeſſed that they had not. *Pilate* had no Mind to take upon himſelf the Guilt, which he found would be contracted by condemning *Jeſus Chriſt*, as appears from his being willing to ſend him back to his Accuſers. *Take ye him*, ſays Pilate, *and judge him according to your Law*. Was not this giving them leave to make uſe of their Authority, provided they had had any? However, thoſe inveterate Enemies of the Meſſiah did not preſume to make uſe of this Leave, becauſe *it was not lawful for them* to do ſo. They do not here make any Exception on Account of the Feſtival, as they had done when their Buſineſs was to enter into the *Prætorium*; neither do they confine themſelves to the inſtance of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who had been taken into Cuſtody at an extraordinary Time; but the Confeſſion is made in general, that they might not put *any Man* to Death. And this Diminution of the Authority of the *Jews*, was according to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*, who uſually dealt thus by all their conquer'd Provinces.

Thus have we given the beſt Account we are able, of that celebrated Aſſembly of the *Jews*, the *Sanhedrim*; and, in particular, have endeavoured to exhibit a genuine View of their Power at the Time of their proſecuting our Saviour. We might have been more prolix upon this Article, and have ſhewn, from ſeveral Places in the *Acts*, that immediately after our Lord's Crucifixion their Power was no more than what we have here repreſented it: But the Proof here taken from their own Mouths, as ſpoken at the very Time of which we treat, is more than ſufficient for our Purpoſe. What Confuſion or Obſcurity may appear in the reſt of this Diſcourſe, is owing to the Authors from whom it is collected, who are far from having given us a probable, or even conſiſtent Account of their own Polity. And indeed, ſo little Certainty is there in the Hiſtory of the *Sanhedrim*, that we ſhould not have attempted to meddle with it at all, if we had not imagined it would be expected from us, that we ſhould ſay ſomewhat of an Aſſembly ſo often mentioned in this Work, as well as on other Occaſions.

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[x] Compare Matth. v. 21, 22. with Mark xiii. 9. xiv. 55. xv. 1. Luke xxii. 52, 66. John xi. 47.

[y] See Acts iv. 15. v. 21.

[z] John xviii. 31.

[a] Lightfoot in Evang.

[b] Lamy Conc. Evang. Appar. Chron. p. 11. c. 3. ſect. 4.

[c] Baſnage's Hiſt. of the Jews. p. 401.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I. *Jeſus* led before *Pilate.* He bids the *Jews* judge him, which they refuſe. II. Their Accuſation. *Jeſus* is ſilent. III. *Jeſus* confeſſes himſelf a King. *Pilate* would have releaſed him, but the *Jews* prevent it. IV. *Pilate* ſends *Jeſus* to *Herod*, who, after hearing his Accuſers, ſends him back again. V. *Pilate* gives the *Jews* their Choice of *Jeſus* or *Barabbas* to be releaſed. His Wife cautions him againſt condemning *Jeſus.* VI. The *Jews* prefer *Barabbas. Pilate*, ſtriving in vain to ſoften their Rage againſt *Jeſus*, orders him to be ſcourged. VII. He ſhews *Jeſus* to them, and at laſt, unwillingly, conſents that he ſhall be crucified. VIII. *Pilate* interrogates *Jeſus* further, being ſtill willing to ſave him. IX. At laſt, waſhing his Hands in Token of his own Innocence, he delivers him to the *Jews*, who uſe him contemptuouſly. X. *Judas* relents, carries back the thirty Shekels, and hangs himſelf. The Potter's Field bought. XI. *Simon* the *Cyrenian* compelled to carry the Croſs. *Jeſus* foretells the Ruin of the *Jews.* XII. He is crucified between two Malefactors, and his Garments are divided. XIII. *Pilate* puts an Inſcription over the Croſs, which he refuſes to alter. XIV. The Rabble, the Chief Prieſts, and the Soldiers, ſcoff at him. XV. One of the ſuffering Thieves does the ſame, but the other reproves him, and receives a Promiſe of being with *Jeſus* in Paradiſe. *Jeſus* recommends his Mother to *John.* XVI. A Darkneſs for three Hours. *Jeſus* calls on his Father, and expires. XVII. The Prodigies that attended the Death of *Jeſus.* The Soldiers and Multitude amaz'd. Women preſent at the Crucifixion. XVIII. The Legs of the two Malefactors are broken, and the Side of *Jeſus* is pierced with a Spear. XIX. *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* and *Nicodemus* beg the Body of *Jeſus*, which they bury in a Linen Cloth.

I.[a] JESUS *having been thus examined by them, the whole* Sanhedrim *aroſe, and went directly to the Judgment-Hall, to impeach him before* Pontius Pilate *the* Roman *Governor. Thither they led* Jeſus. *However, they themſelves went not in, that they might not be defiled by going into the Houſe of a Heathen Man, and thereby be excluded from eating of the Victims that were that Day to be ſacrificed, and which were wont, as the other Sacrifices offered up during the eight Days that the Feaſt laſts, to be called,* [b] The Paſſover. *But* Pilate *being informed that the* Jews *waited without with a Man bound, whom they deſigned to deliver into his Hands as worthy of Death, indulging their Superſtition in this Particular, came out and aſked them what Crime they accuſed him of. They replied, (half angry that* Pilate *ſhould ſuſpect them as deſigning to deſtroy an innocent Perſon,) that if he had not been a Malefactor, they would not have brought him before him.* Pilate *then bid them take him, and judge him according to their Law. They anſwered, they had already examined him, and found him worthy of Death, which the* Roman *Laws prohibited them to put in Execution. By which Means came to paſs what* Jeſus *had foretold concerning the Death he ſhould die; the* Romans *being wont to crucify ſuch Strangers as were condemned to Death, which was contrary to the Cuſtom of the* Jews, *who, beſides, could not then execute any one, unleſs upon ſome ſudden Tumult.*

II. [c] *The* Jews *then urged againſt* Jeſus, *that they knew he endeavoured to foment a Tumult, and raiſe an Inſurrection againſt the* Roman *Government, by* [d] *forbidding the People's paying Tribute to* Cæſar, *affirming that himſelf was King of the* Jews. Pilate *then aſked* Jeſus, *who ſtood before him, whether he were the King of the* Jews, *which he owned without the leaſt Concern. In the mean Time the Members of the* Sanhedrim *alledged many Crimes againſt him, which* Jeſus *diſdained to anſwer; not willing to do or ſay any Thing that might argue a Deſire to eſcape Death.* Pilate, *who knew not his Deſign, aſked him why he took no notice of what they laid to his Charge, and whether he did not hear what he was accuſed of. But* Jeſus *continued ſtill ſilent, which made* Pilate *greatly wonder.*

III. [e] *Then coming again to the Judgment-Hall, he ſent for* Jeſus, *while the* Jews *were without, and aſked him a ſecond Time, whether he were indeed the King of the* Jews. Jeſus *aſked him in his Turn, whether he put the Queſtion to him of his own Accord, or being inſtigated by the* Jews? *To whom* Pilate, *in a ſort of Paſſion*; I am no Jew, *ſaid he*, nor deſirous to be acquainted with any of their Cuſtoms: Thy own Countrymen, and the Chief Prieſts, have delivered thee into my Hands: Wherein haſt thou offended them? Jeſus *then told him, that he was truly called the King of the* Jews, *but that his Regal Dignity was not of that Nature, as to create the leaſt Jealouſy among the* Romans, *his Kingdom not being terreſtrial like that of the* Roman *Empire. For had his Kingdom been of this World, he ſhould have raiſed Men to defend him againſt the Power of the* Jews *his Enemies.* But, *ſaid he*, my Kingdom, as I have told thee, is not of this World. *Which when* Pilate *heard, he ſaid,* Thou art then a King however. *To whom* Jeſus *made anſwer,* Thou ſayeſt I am a King, and that truly; for this Purpoſe was I born, that I might found an

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[a] Matth. xxvii. 1, 2. Mark xv. 1. Luke xxiii. 1. John xviii. 28—32.

[b] Otherwiſe the Chagigah, or Paſchal Sacrifices.

[c] Luke xxiii. 2, 3. Matth. xxvii. 11—14. Mark xv. 2—5.

[d] That they here lye againſt their own Conſciences is evident from Matth. xxii. 21. But this Lye had two ſpecious Pretences. 1ſt, That he profeſſed himſelf King of the Jews. 2dly, That he was a Galilean, and probably of the Opinion of Judas Gaulonites. On either of which Accounts it was not likely that he would own the Authority of Cæſar.

[e] John xviii. 33—38. Luke xxiii. 4, 5.

Empire; and I am come to Men on purpoſe to ſhew them the Truth, which whoever loves, eaſily aſſents to me. Pilate *then preſently enquired, what that ſame Truth was which* Jeſus *taught; but without ſtaying for an Anſwer, and perceiving plainly that* Jeſus *was no way diſpoſed to cauſe a Rebellion, he went out to the* Jews, *and told them, that he found no manner of Crime in him. But they the more vehemently urged againſt him, that his Doctrine tended to ſtir up the* Jews *to Rebellion, as that he had ſpread it abroad all over* Judea, *not excepting* Jeruſalem, *having begun in* Galilee.

IV. [f] Pilate *hearing* Galilee *mentioned, enquired whether he were a* Galilean: *Which being informed of, he commanded him to be carried before* Herod Antipas, *who at that Time was in* Jeruſalem, *as one born and educated in his Province; requiring his Accuſers alſo to repair thither, and impeach him;* Herod *being better acquainted with the Buſineſs.* Herod *at the Sight of Jeſus was extremely pleaſed, hoping to ſee ſome Miracle performed by him in his Preſence. To which End he put ſeveral Queſtions to him, to which* Jeſus *diſdained to make any Reply, not willing to ſatisfy a vain Curioſity, or ſhew any Reluctancy againſt the Death he knew he was to ſuffer. In the mean while ſeveral Members of the* Sanhedrim *prefer'd their Accuſations againſt him. But* Herod *not being able to get any Anſwer from him, nor judging him any way formidable to the* Roman *Government, he and his Courtiers had him in Deriſion; and having cauſed him to be clothed in a white Robe, as a Token of his Innocency, he ſent him back to* Pilate. *Before that* Herod *and* Pilate *had been at Variance, but upon this Occaſion were that Day reconcil'd.*

V. [g] Jeſus *being brought back to* Pilate, *he ſummoned the* Sanhedrim, *and the reſt of the* Jews, *whom he thus accoſted:* You have brought, *ſaid he*, this Man before me, as one turbulent and ſeditious, and affirmed that he has endeavoured to raiſe a Mutiny againſt the *Roman* Government. I have examined him, and find him not guilty of what you lay to his Charge: And *Herod* the Tetrarch of *Galilee*, in whoſe Juriſdiction you ſay he was born and bred, has alſo acquitted him. I will therefore chaſtiſe him, and ſet him free. *Now it was cuſtomary for the Governors of* Judea, *to gratify the* Jews *with the*[h] *Releaſe of a Priſoner during the Feſtival of the* Paſſover. *And at that Time having a notorious Robber, whoſe Name was* Barabbas, *that was taken with ſeveral ſeditious Perſons in a Riot, and had likewiſe committed Murder; and the Multitude importuning* Pilate, *that according to Cuſtom he would releaſe a Priſoner, as he had always done ſince he had govern'd* Judea; Pilate *therefore demanded which they would rather have ſet free,* Jeſus *called the Meſſiah, and King of the* Jews, *or* Barabbas? *For* Pilate *having before heard of the Fame of* Jeſus, *knew very well that the Chief Prieſts ſought his Death out of Envy to the great Eſteem he had gain'd among the People by his Doctrine and Miracles, and not becauſe they thought him guilty of any capital Crime. While theſe Things were tranſacting,* Pilate's *Wife ſent for him, as he was ſitting upon the Tribunal, intreating him to ſpare that innocent Perſon whom the* Jews *accuſed, affirming ſhe had been greatly troubled in a Dream wherein he ſeemed to condemn him.*

VI. [i] Pilate *having thus left it to the Choice of the Multitude, the* Sanhedrim *inſtigated them to deſire that* Jeſus *might be put to Death, and to have* Barabbas *freed, who was accuſed of Robbery and Murder. But* Pilate *chuſing rather to ſet* Jeſus *free becauſe of his Innocency, and his Wife's Dream, aſked them again aloud, Whom they choſe,* Jeſus *or* Barabbas? *The Multitude incenſed, and urged to it by the* Sanhedrim, *again replied,* Barabbas. Pilate *then aſked them, what they would have done with* Jeſus, *who was called the Meſſiah, or King of the* Jews. *They told him, They were ſo far from being willing to have him ſet free, that they deſired he might be crucified.* Pilate, *ſtill endeavouring to ſoften their Rage, told them that he had not upon Examination found him guilty of any Thing that deſerved Death according to the* Roman *Laws:* Wherefore, *ſaid he*, I will chaſtiſe him, and diſmiſs him. *But the* Jews, *notwithſtanding, continued their Clamors to have him crucified.* Pilate, *however, was not yet prevailed with to gratify their Requeſt, but commanded* Jeſus *to be ſcourged, hoping by that Puniſhment to appeaſe the Malice of his Enemies. The Soldiers not only did what they were commanded, but made a Mock of him, putting a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, and a Purple Robe about him. Having thus a while derided him, and ſaluted him King of the* Jews, *they abuſed him more outrageouſly by ſtriking him.*

VII. [k] *After this* Pilate *came again into the Judgment-Hall, and commanded* Jeſus *to follow him, telling the* Jews *he came on purpoſe to teſtify to them, that he had not found* Jeſus *guilty of any Crime, and that if he had offended in any Particular, by being ſcourged he thought he had ſufficiently atoned for it. At the ſame Time* Jeſus *alſo appeared, having the Crown on, and the Purple Robe; whom* Pilate *ſhewed to them, that he might excite their Compaſſion, by a View of the Puniſhment and ignominious Uſage which one of their own Countrymen had ſuffered undeſervedly. When the High Prieſts and their Followers, who came on purpoſe to incite the Multitude, beheld him, they again cried out,* He ought to be crucified. Pilate *then bid them take him,*

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[f] Luke xxiii. 6——12.

[g] Luke xxiii. 13——17. Matth. xxvii. 15——10. Mark xv. 6——10. John. xviii. 39.

[h] Some think this was done in Memory of the Releaſe out of Egypt, there being no ſuch Releaſe made by the *Roman* Governors at any other Feaſt of the *Jews*.

[i] Matth. xxvii. 20——23. Mark xv. 11——14. Luke xxiii. 18——22. John xviii. 40. xix. 1, 2, 3.

[k] John xix. 4——8.

and [l] *crucify him if they would; but as for his Part, he ſaw no Manner of Crime in him. The* Jews *then told him, that by* [m] *their Law he ought to be put to Death, inaſmuch as he made himſelf the Son of God, or the Meſſiah. Which* Pilate *hearing, who was not ignorant of the many Miracles that* Jeſus *was ſaid to perform, he began the more to be afraid, leſt he ſhould be forced by their Clamors to condemn not only an innocent Perſon, but one begotten by a God, as many among the Heathens were by them ſuppoſed to have been.*

VIII. [n] *Being in the Judgment Hall, he again interrogated* Jeſus, *that he might know who that Man was, and from whence he came, of whom he had heard ſo many ſtrange Relations, and on whoſe Deſtruction the* Jews *were ſo eagerly bent. But* Jeſus *made him no Reply, that he might not ſeem to ſhun the Death he was to ſuffer. Whereupon* Pilate *ſaid to him,* Knoweſt thou not that I have Power to crucify thee, or to ſet thee free, notwithſtanding all the Malice of the *Jews* againſt thee? Why then anſwereſt thou me nothing? Jeſus *told him, He could have no ſuch Power, but by the divine Permiſſion.* But of theſe Things, *ſaid he*, and many others with which the *Jews* are acquainted, thou art ignorant: They therefore offend more againſt the divine Juſtice than thou doſt; though thou haſt greater Reſpect to the Favour of the *Jews* than to the Laws, ſince thou haſt commanded me to be ſcourged, whom thou thyſelf haſt openly declared innocent. Pilate *reflecting on this Reply of* Jeſus, *greatly deſired to abſolve him; upon which the* Jews *redoubled their Cries to have him crucified, ſaying, If he diſmiſſed him, he was none of* Cæſar's *Friend; ſince whoever ſet himſelf up for a King in a* Roman *Province, without* Cæſar's *Appointment, was to be accounted an Enemy to* Cæſar. Pilate *was not yet ſo terrified, but that he was ſtill deſirous to reſcue* Jeſus. *He therefore brought him out to them again, and ſat down on the Judgment Seat, in a Place called the* Stone-Pavement, *in* Hebrew, Gabbatha. *(Now this happened on a* Friday, *one of the Paſchal Days, which according to the* Jewiſh *Cuſtom are reckoned from the preceding Evening, about three Hours after the Sun was riſen.) Then ſaid he to the* Jews. Behold your King: *The divine Providence inſtructing them what they ought to think of him by the Mouth of a Heathen. But they with greater Fury demanded to have him crucified.* What then, *ſaid* Pilate, ſhall I crucify your King? *God by him ſeeming to upbraid them with their nefarious Cruelty. The Chief Prieſts replied,* They had no King but *Cæſar*.

IX. [o] Pilate *perceiving he could no way mitigate their Rage, but that they were more and more inflamed, to ſhew that he gave him up unwillingly, he called for a Baſon of Water to be brought into Court; and having waſhed his Hands before them all, he ſaid unto them,* I am no way the Author of this innocent Man's Death: Look ye to it. *Whereupon the whole Multitude cried out,* If he be innocent, may the Puniſhments due for the ſhedding of his Blood light upon us and our Children. Pilate *then, willing to gratify the* Jews, *commanded* Barabbas, *who was committed for Murder and Sedition, to be releaſed according to their Deſire; and having already commanded* Jeſus *to be ſcourged, he now delivered him up to the Soldiers to be crucified; who having gathered a whole Cohort, carried* Jeſus *into the common Hall, and began to mock and deride him in the ſame Manner as they had done before, clothing him with the Purple Robe, and putting the Crown of Thorns on his Head, and a Reed for a Scepter into his Hand. Having thus diſguiſed him, they bowed their Knees before him, and ſaluted him with,* Hail, King of the Jews! *After they had thus for a while ignominiouſly ſcoffed at him, they took the Purple Robe off, and the Reed out of his Hand, with which they ſtruck him; and having clothed him with his own Garments, they led him out to the Place appointed for his Crucifixion.*

X. [p] *Now* Judas, *who perhaps never thought Things would have been puſhed on to that Extremity, perceiving* Pilate *had condemned his Maſter, touched with Remorſe at the Villainy he had committed, and to give a public Demonſtration of it, returned to the* Sanhedrim, *with the thirty Shekels which he had received according to his Bargain, ſaying,* I have ſinned in that I have betrayed my innocent Maſter. *But they, as wholly unconcerned, and no way partaking of the Crime, replied,* That is nothing to us, do thou look to it. Judas *then throwing down the Money in the Middle of the Temple, went out and hanged himſelf; and the Rope* [q] *breaking, by his Fall to the Ground he burſt, and all his Bowels guſhed out. The Chief Prieſts ſecured the Money; but looking on it as polluted, having been employed for betraying a Man that was to ſuffer Death, they would not put it in the Treaſury, but with it bought the* Potter's Field, *for a Burying-Place for Strangers that ſhould die at* Jeruſalem. *And this was ſo notorious to all the Inhabitants of that City, that from thence that Field was called in their Language* Hakeldama, *which ſignifies,* The Field of Blood. *Thus happened to him ſomething like what we read in the Prophecy of* [qq] Zechariah, *where he is ſaid to receive the thirty Pieces of Silver, the Price he was valued at by the* Jews, *and to caſt it out to the Potter.*

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[l] Dr. Whitby thinks, that Pilate here did not give them Leave to crucify Jeſus, but rather meant, that if they would have it ſo, they might do it themſelves at their Peril; but that for his Part, he could not condemn a Man without a Cauſe.

[m] This could not be the Law againſt falſe Prophets, Deut. xviii. 20. becauſe the Reaſon there aſſigned could not prove him ſuch. It is probable, therefore, that the Law they here mean, is that againſt Blaſphemy, Lev. xxiv. 16. for which they had before attempted to ſtone Jeſus, John x. 33. 36 Stoning being the Death aſſigned to Blaſphemers.

[n] John xix. 9——15.

[o] Matth. xxvii 24——31. Mark xv. 15——20. Luke xxiii. 24, 25. John xix. 16.

[p] Matth. xxvii 3——10. Acts i. 18, 19.

[q] Or perhaps, by the ſudden Jerk which he received, his Peritonæum broke, and his Bowels fell into his Scrotum; which frequently happens upon Leaping, and other violent Motions of the lower Parts.

[qq] Zach. xi. 12.

XI. [r] *Now* Jeſus [s] *bearing his Croſs, was led forth to the Place called* The Place of a Scull, *in the* Hebrew Golgotha: *But being unable to ſupport the Weight of it, by reaſon of the continued Fatigue he had endured all the preceding Night and that Day, the Soldiers compelled one* Simon *a* [t] Cyrenian, *who by chance was returning that way Home out of the Country, to carry the Croſs for him. This* Simon *was the Father of* Alexander *and* Rufus, *two Perſons well known in their own Country. In the mean time a great Multitude of all Sorts of People were gathered together, who followed him, as is uſual on all ſuch Occaſions, to be Spectators of the Tragedy that was to be acted. Among them were ſeveral Women belonging to* Jeruſalem, *who greatly bemoaned his Misfortune. But* Jeſus *turning about to them*; Do not lament my Death, *ſaid he*, but the Calamities that ſhall befal you and your Children: For the Time approaches, in which *Jeruſalem* ſhall be reduced to ſo great Straits, that thoſe Women only ſhall be judged happy who are barren, and have no Children to take care of. At that time, the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* ſhall be driven to ſuch Deſpair, that they ſhall wiſh for the Hills and Mountains that are within their Walls to cover them, rather than fall into the Power of their Enemies. For if the *Jews*, who are now quiet and ſubmiſſive under the *Roman* Government, are yet ſo ſeverely uſed by their Governors, what ſevere Vengeance will they execute againſt them when they ſhall have broke out into open Rebellion?

XII. [u] *There were alſo led, together with* Jeſus, *two Malefactors to be crucified. Being arrived at the Place appointed for the Execution, the Croſſes being fixed, and all Things ready, the Soldiers offered* Jeſus *a Drink made of* [w] *Vinegar and Myrrh*; *of which having taſted, he refuſed to drink. Afterwards having ſtripped him naked, and divided his Clothes into four Parts, ſo that each of the Quaternion who were his Executioners might have a Share, they faſtened him to the Croſs. But the Coat, which was all of a Piece, and without Seam, they caſt Lots for*; *by which that truly befel* Jeſus, *which* David *ſpoke figuratively concerning himſelf:* [ww] They divided my Garments among them, and caſt Lots for my Veſture. *Now the Soldiers, after they had crucified thoſe who were condemned, ſat by the Croſſes to guard them, leſt their Friends ſhould attempt their Reſcue.*

XIII. [x] *Upon the Top of the Croſs on which* Jeſus *hung, there was an* [y] *Inſcription fixed by* Pilate's *Order, in* Hebrew, Greek, *and* Latin, *in theſe Words:* THIS IS *JESUS* OF *NAZARETH*, THE KING OF THE *JEWS*. *Thus was fulfilled that Prophecy of Scripture, which foretold that the* Meſſiah *ſhould be reckoned among the Malefactors. Now the Place where Chriſt was crucified, commonly called* Mount Calvary, *being not far from the City, it was read by many of the* Jews; *the Inſcription being, as we ſaid, in three Languages, that it might be underſtood by any that were ſkilled in either of them. For which Reaſon the Chief Prieſts accoſted* Pilate, *and deſired him to alter the Form a little, and to order it to be written thus:* This is *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, who ſaid, he was the King of the *Jews*. *But* Pilate *refuſed to alter a Tittle of what he had commanded to be written*; *Providence ſo ordering it, that the* Jews *might be acquainted by a Heathen with the real Dignity of that* Jeſus, *whoſe Death they had with ſo much Fury ſollicited.*

XIV. [z] *It was about the third Hour after the Sun roſe that* Jeſus *was crucified, and the two Thieves with him, one on his Right-hand, and the other on his Left. The Ignominy and Cruelty of ſuch barbarous Uſage were ſo far from working their uſual Effects in* Jeſus, *that inſtead of Curſes, and direful Imprecations, he prayed to God to forgive his hard-hearted Enemies, ſince many of them ſinned through Ignorance. Notwithſtanding, the inſolent Rabble, who were got together, reviled and jeer'd him, ſhaking their Heads at him, and ſaying,* O thou that uſedſt to boaſt, that thou wouldſt deſtroy the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and rebuild it in three Days, now ſave thyſelf, and come down from the Croſs, if thou art the Meſſiah. *In like Manner the Chief Prieſts, and others of the greateſt Quality among the* Jews, *upbraided him, ſaying,* If he has indeed cured ſo many of their Diſtempers as is commonly reported, let him now exert that Power in his own Behalf: But we ſee he is no ways able to ſave himſelf from Puniſhment: The Miracles therefore attributed to him, deſerve no Credit among us. If he be the Meſſiah, the Deliverer of our Nation, let him firſt deliver himſelf from the Danger he is now in: Let this King of the *Jews* come down from the Croſs in our Preſence; at Sight of ſuch a Miracle we ſhall no longer diſtruſt the Truth of his Pretenſions. He ſeemed to acquieſce in a firm Reliance on God's Favour to him; let God then ſet free his beloved Son. *The Soldiers alſo offering the Vinegar, ſcoffed at him, ſaying*; If thou art the King of the *Jews*, come down from the Croſs, and ſave thyſelf.

XV. [a] *One of the Thieves alſo, that were crucified at the ſame Time with him, thus contumeliouſly upbraided him:* If thou art the Meſſiah, ſave thyſelf and us. *But the other, who before his Crucifixion was penitent, and acquainted with*

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[r] John xix. 17. Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 21. Luke xxiii. 26——31.

[s] It was the Cuſtom, that he who was to be crucified ſhould bear his own Croſs, and this they compelled Jeſus to do as long as he was able.

[t] Cyrene lay beyond Egypt weſtward, not far from the Mediterranean Sea: It was a very conſiderable City.

[u] Luke xxiii. 32, 33, 34. Matth. xxvii. 32——36. Mark xv 22, 23, 24.

[w] St. Matthew ſays *Vinegar mixed with Gall*; St. Mark, *Wine mingled with Myrrh*. It appears to have been a Liquor given to intoxicate the ſuffering Perſon, and make him inſenſible of Pain.

[ww] Pſalm. xxii. 9.

[x] John xix. 18——22. Matth. xxvii. 37. Mark xv. 26. 28. Luke xxiii. 38.

[y] It was cuſtomary among the Romans, to carry written the Title of their Crimes before Criminals, or to affix it to the Inſtrument of their Puniſhment.

[z] Mark xv. 25. 27——32. Matth. xxvii. 38——43. Luke xxiii. 33——37.

[a] Luke xxiii. 39—43. Matth. xxvii. 44. Mark xv. 32. John xix. 25, 26, 27.

the Doctrine and Miracles of Jeſus, *rebuked his Companion, ſaying,* Haſt thou no Reverence for God, not even yet when thou art almoſt ready to expire on the Croſs? To which we indeed by our Crimes are juſtly faſtened; but as for him whom thou jeereſt, he has done nothing that can deſervedly be blamed: Nor do I in the leaſt doubt but that God, who has given him the Power of working ſo many Miracles, will deliver him in a Manner ſuitable to the divine Wiſdom, although he now hangs on the Croſs like one of us. *Then turning himſelf to* Jeſus, Lord, *ſaid he,* when thou ſhalt enter upon the Poſſeſſion of thy Kingdom, remember me. Jeſus *immediately replied, that for the Sake of his extraordinary Faith, he ſhould that very Day be together with him in thoſe Seats of Bliſs, whither the Souls of the Juſt are tranſlated after their Separation from the Body. At that Time there ſtood by the Croſs of* Jeſus, Mary *his Mother, and* Mary *the Daughter of* Cleopas, *his Mother's Siſter, and* Mary Magdalene, *with* John *the Son of* Zebedee; *whom* Jeſus *beholding, he thus comforted his Mother:* Woman, *ſaid he,* this Man ſhall be [b] inſtead of a Son to thee. *Then looking on that Diſciple, he commanded him to reverence her as his Mother. From that Time* John *took* Mary *Home with him, and had the ſame Affection and Kindneſs for her as if ſhe had been his own Mother.*

XVI. [c] *Now when* Jeſus *had hung three Hours on the Croſs, about the ſixth Hour a* [d] *dark and thick Vapour hover'd over all the Land of* Judea, *ſo that the Light of the Sun was obſcured; and about the ninth Hour* Jeſus *cried out with a loud Voice in the* Jewiſh *Language,* ELOHI, ELOHI, LAMMAH SABACTHANI? *Which ſignifies,* My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? *From which Exclamation might be underſtood the Greatneſs of the Pain he endured. But ſome of the Spectators, not ſufficiently heeding it, and miſtaking the Words, thought he had invoked the Prophet* Elias. *One of them therefore filled a Spunge with Vinegar, and having faſtened it to a Reed, reached it to* Jeſus *to refreſh him, till* Elias *ſhould come, whom he imagined* Jeſus *had called upon, and whom he and many other By-ſtanders imagined would come and reſcue* Jeſus. *But* Jeſus *now perceiving the End of his Sufferings to draw near, recollecting his Spirits, ſaid,* I thirſt. *Now there was placed by the Croſs a Veſſel filled with Vinegar, mixed with Myrrh; in which one of the By-ſtanders dipping a Spunge, and faſtening it to the End of a Blade of Hyſſop, reached it to him; ſo as that befel* Jeſus *which* David *ſaid of himſelf,* In my Thirſt they gave me Vinegar to drink. Jeſus *having taſted it, ſaid,* It is finiſhed; *and then with a loud Exclamation thus recommended his Soul to God,* Into thy Hands, O Father, I commend my Spirit. *After which bowing down his Head, he breathed out the laſt Gaſp.*

XVII. [e] *At the ſame Time there were many ſtrange Prodigies: For the Veil of the Temple was rent in two; and there was ſo great an Earthquake, that the Rocks ſplit, and the Monuments of the Dead were opened; and the Bodies of many holy Perſons aroſe, and were after* Jeſus's *Reſurrection ſeen by many in* Jeruſalem. *The Centurion and the three Soldiers that guarded the Croſſes, perceiving the Earthquake that immediately ſucceeded the laſt Groans of* Jeſus *and his Expiring, together with the Darkneſs that continued for three Hours, cried out,* Truly this Man was innocent, and the Son of God. *The Multitude alſo obſerving theſe Prodigies, were greatly aſtoniſhed, and returned Home, ſtriking their Hearts, and filled with Grief and Indignation againſt thoſe that had cauſed* Jeſus *to be crucified. There were ſeveral Women at a Diſtance among the Spectators, particularly* Mary Magdalene, Mary *the Mother of* James *and* Joſes, Mary *the Wife of* Zebedee *and Mother of two of the Apoſtles, and* Salome, *who had all attended on* Jeſus *in his Progreſs through* Galilee, *and were wont to miniſter to him, and his Apoſtles; beſides many others, who believed on* Jeſus, *and were now at* Jeruſalem *becauſe of the Paſſover.*

XVIII. [f] *It being now* Friday, *and the Preparation for the Sabbath, as the* Jews *are wont to call that Day, and the following Sabbath being to be celebrated in a more ſolemn Manner than ordinary, as falling upon one of the eight Paſchal Days; the* Jews *came to* Pilate, *and intreated him to order the Legs of the Condemned to be broken before the Sabbath begun, that their Country might not be polluted by their hanging all Night on the Croſs.* Pilate *granted their Requeſt, and Soldiers were appointed to put it in Execution, who accordingly having found the two Thieves yet alive, brake their Legs to haſten their Death; but perceiving* Jeſus *already dead, they did not break his Legs, but one of them pierced his Side with a Lance, and out of the Wound iſſued Blood and Serum: Of which* John *the Son of* Zebedee *was an Eyewitneſs; and this is recorded by him to aſcertain the Reality of* Chriſt's *Paſſion, whoſe Teſtimony is of unqueſtioned Authority, as being one who would not be himſelf impoſed on in ſo remarkable a Particular, and who could have no Deſign to impoſe on others. Now this befel* Jeſus, *not without the ſingular Providence of God, That that might be fulfiled in him which God has promiſed to the Pious,* [g] That not a Bone of them ſhall be broken *without his Permiſſion. There is alſo another Scripture in part fulfilled by this piercing of* Jeſus's *Side, in which the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem *are ſaid* to look on him whom they had pierced.

XIX. [h] *Towards the Evening, the Sabbath now drawing near,* Joſeph *of* Arimathea, *a Man of Probity and Religion, and a Member of the* Sanhedrim,

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[b] Hence it is gathered that Joſeph the Husband of Mary was then dead, whence Chriſt takes care ſhe ſhould not be deſtitute, by committing her to the Charge of his beloved Diſciple.

[c] Matth. xxvii. 45——50. Mark xv. 33—37. Luke xxiii. 44, 45, 46. John xix. 28, 29, 30.

[d] Of this Darkneſs, and the other Prodigies that attended our Saviour's Death, we ſhall treat in a ſubſequent Diſſertation.

[e] Matth. xxvii. 51——56. Mark xv. 38——41. Luke xxiii. 46——49.

[f] John xix. 31——37.

[g] Pſalm xxxiv. 21.

[h] Matth. xxvii. 57——60. Mark xv. 42—46. Luke xxiii. 50—54. John xix. 38—42.

hedrim, *a Diſciple of* Jeſus *alſo, though in private, for fear of the other Members of that Aſſembly, and who was in Expectation of the Kingdom of the* Meſſiah, *came boldly to* Pilate, *and begged the Body of* Jeſus. *There came along with him* Nicodemus *alſo, whoſe Diſcourſe with* Jeſus *we have formerly related, and who had prepared an hundred Pounds of Ointment, compoſed of Myrrh and Aloes, to embalm his Corps.* Pilate *being at the ſame Time informed that* Jeſus *had been ſome time dead, wondring it ſhould happen ſo ſoon, inquired of the Centurion whether it were truly ſo or not; of which being certified, he permitted them to take down the Body, and diſpoſe of it as they pleaſed.* Joſeph *therefore immediately haſtened to Mount* Calvary, *and took down the Corps of* Jeſus *from the Croſs; and having wrapped it up in a clean Sheet, with the Spices and Ointments that* Nicodemus *had prepared, they carried it to a Sepulchre which* Joſeph *had cauſed to be hewn out of a Rock, and in which no Corps yet had been depoſited, in a Garden adjoining to Mount* Calvary: *For* Friday *being almoſt ended, they had not Time to remove it farther by reaſon of the approaching Feſtival.* Joſeph *having taken care to have the Entrance into the Sepulchre cloſed with a great Stone, returned into the City.*

DISSERTATION I.

Some Account of *Pilate:* Of our Saviour's Perſon; of his Crucifixion, and the Circumſtances attending it.

I. Pilate, *his Character, and Hiſtory to the Crucifixion of our Saviour.* II. *Other Particulars concerning him to the Time of his Death.* III. *Of the Acts of* Pilate, *and Goſpel of* Nicodemus. IV. *Of* Pilate's *two Letters to* Tiberius. V. *The Letter of* Abgarus *to our Saviour, and our Saviour's Anſwer.* VI. *The Letter of* Lentulus, *&c.* VII. *The* Jews *alter their Idea of the expected* Meſſiah. Romiſh *Writers particularly fond of our Saviour's Beauty.* VIII. *The Prophecies of* Iſaiah *concerning our Saviour's Beauty explained.* IX. *The Opinions of ſome Authors concerning it.* X. *Crucifixion, a Deſcription of it, and an Account of Perſons crtcified.* XI. *Our Saviour's Croſs, Traditions concerning it,* &c. XII. *Of the Drink that was given our Saviour upon the Croſs.* XIII. *Of his Garment without Seam.* XIV. *The Prodigies attending his Death; the Earthquake, the Eclypſe,* &c.

I. THIS Diſſertation ſhall conſiſt of a few miſcellaneous Enquiries, concerning *Pontius Pilate* the *Roman* Governor, and Judge of our bleſſed Saviour; and concerning our Saviour's Perſon, and ſome remarkable Circumſtances that attended his Death. It is not known what Family or Country *Pilate* was of; but it is generally believed he was of *Rome*, or at leaſt of *Italy*. A *French* Author, however, [a] ſays he was of *Dauphiné*, born in a Place not far from *St. Vallier* upon the *Rhone*; and *Theophylact* [b] believes he was originally of *Pontus*, becauſe of his Name *Pontius*. He was ſent to govern *Judea* in the Room of *Gratus*, in the Year twenty ſix or twenty ſeven of the *Vulgar Æra*. In this Province [c] he preſided for ten Years, from the twelfth or thirteenth Year of *Tiberius* to the twenty ſecond or twenty third Year of the ſame Emperor.

Pilate was a Man of an impetuous Temper, who diſturbed the Repoſe of *Judea*, and gave occaſion to the Troubles and Revolt that followed after. Having ſent his Troops from *Cæſared* to *Jeruſalem*, in order to paſs the Winter in this City, he [d] cauſed at the ſame Time his Enſigns to be carried, in which were the Images of the Emperor; whereas the other Governors did not uſe to let their Enſigns into the City, becauſe they would not exaſperate the *Jews*, who thought that all Images and Repreſentations were contrary to their Religion. *Pilate* would have had a hard Task to have done this, if he had not cauſed them to be brought in covered, and only by Night. But the Day following the Matter being diſcovered, the *Jews* from the Country ran into the City, and afterwards went in great Numbers to *Cæſarea*, to intreat *Pilate* to take away thoſe Images. *Pilate* refuſed it, and the People continued five Days and five Nights, making Supplications to him, without any Intermiſſion.

At laſt, on the ſixth Day, having cauſed a Tribunal to be ſet up in an open Place of *Cæſarea*, *Pilate* ſent for the *Jews*, as if he intended to give them an Anſwer. But he had poſted Soldiers round the Place, who incloſed them in as ſoon as they were aſſembled, and threatned to maſſacree them every one, if they did not retire. Hereupon the *Jews* threw themſelves upon their Faces, and preſented their Necks to the Soldiers, as being ready to receive the Blow: Which Intrepidity ſo aſtoniſhed *Pilate*, that he changed his Reſolution, and immediately cauſed his Standards to be brought back to *Ceſarea*.

Philo relates [e] another Hiſtory, not much unlike the foregoing from *Joſephus*, of a Thing that happened under *Pilate*. He bethought himſelf of conſecrating golden Bucklers to *Tiberius*, in the Palace of *Herod*. Theſe Bucklers were without Figures or Images, and had only an Inſcription, importing, that they were conſecrated to the Emperor. But this, however, alarmed the *Jews*, who were jealous for their Religion. The Magiſtrates of *Jeruſalem*, with the four Sons of *Herod* at their Head, and followed by all the People, came to *Pilate*, deſiring him not to ſuffer a Thing ſo contrary to their Law. But *Pilate*, with his uſual Obſtinacy, was inflexible to their Intreaties. They perſiſted however, and conjured him not to put them under a Neceſſity of ſending a Deputation to the Emperor, to cauſe this Order to be revoked. *Pilate* was greatly afraid of this Deputation, apprehending the *Jews* would then make known his Inſolence, Cruelty, Rapines, and Outrages, to the Emperor. But they contented themſelves with only writing to *Tiberius*, who writ back the ſame Day to *Pilate*, telling him that he was very much diſſatisfied with his Undertaking, and ordering him immediately to remove thoſe Bucklers from *Jeruſalem*; which was done accordingly.

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[a] Peter le Mangeur.
[b] Theophyl. in Matth. xxvii.
[c] Joſeph. Ant. l. i. c. 5.
[d] Ant. l. xviii. c. 4. & de Bell. l. ii. c. 14.
[e] Philo legat. ad Caium. The Time of this Event is not known.

St. *Luke* acquaints us,[f] that *Pilate* had mingled the Blood of ſome *Galileans* with their Sacrifices, and that the Matter having been related to *Jeſus Chriſt*, he ſaid, *Suppoſe you that theſe* Galileans *were Sinners above all the* Galileans, *becauſe they ſuffered ſuch Things? I tell you nay*; *but except you repent, you ſhall all likewiſe periſh*. 'Tis unknown upon what Occaſion *Pilate* cauſed thoſe *Galileans* to be ſlain in the Temple, while they were ſacrificing; (which is the Meaning of that Expreſſion, of mingling their Blood with their Sacrifices:) Some[g] thinking that they were the Diſciples of *Judas Gaulonites*, who taught that the *Jews* ought not to pay Tribute to a foreign Prince; for which *Pilate* put ſome of them to Death, even in the Temple: Others[h] believing, that they were *Samaritans*,[i] whom *Pilate* cut to Pieces in the Village of *Tirataba*, as they were preparing to go up to Mount *Gerizim*, where a certain Impoſtor had promiſed to diſcover Treaſures to them. But this Event did not happen till the Year 35 of the Vulgar Æra, and conſequently not till two Years after the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*: And as to the other Opinion, there is no Proof of it in Hiſtory.

We have already ſeen, how unwilling *Pilate* was to deliver up *Jeſus* into the Hands of the *Jews*. This will appear to be the Work of Providence, if we reflect a little on the Character of the Man: For he does not ſeem to have ſo tender a Regard for Juſtice, as to have endeavoured to ſave an innocent Man, merely becauſe he was innocent, againſt the general Senſe of the People. If he had been reſolutely juſt, to ſpeak in a human Manner, the Power was ſtill in his Hands, and he might have done as he pleaſed at laſt. But it ſeems to have been ſo ordered, as that his Vindication was juſt carried far enough to juſtify *Jeſus*, and caſt a terrible Reproach on the *Jews* for their Malice; but not to clear his own Integrity as a Judge, whoſe Duty it no doubt was, to aſſert the Cauſe of oppreſſed Innocence even to the utmoſt. His Wife's Character is left by the ſacred Penmen in a much better Light than his; and ſome of the[k] Fathers have gone ſo far as to ſay, that ſhe embraced the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and was numbered among the Saints. As to the Dream which ſhe had on Account of our Saviour, ſome[l] think that it was ſuggeſted to her by the Devil, who was in Suſpenſe about ſomething, and in fear of the Subverſion of his Empire. Others[m] impute it to a good Spirit. Her Name was *Procula*, or *Proſcula*, or *Claudia Procula*, according to the ſpurious Goſpel of *Nicodemus*.

II. About a Year after the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Pilate*[n] undertook to bring Water to *Jeruſalem* by an Aqueduct. This Water was about two hundred Furlongs, or between ſeven and eight Leagues, from the City. To perform this Deſign, *Pilate* took the Money out of the ſacred Treaſury. The People made an Uproar, and gathered together to the Number of ſome Thouſands, making Outcries againſt the Governor. There were ſome ſo violent, as even to ſpeak injurious Things of him. *Pilate* coming into the City, cauſed many of his Soldiers to diſguiſe themſelves, and mix with the Multitude; than calling them together, as ſoon as they began to cry and ſpeak inſolently, he made a Sign to the Soldiers, who falling on, ſtruck indifferently all about them, without diſtinguiſhing the Innocent from the Guilty; and by this violent Means he appeaſed the Sedition.

After this Story, *Joſephus*[o] relates what we have mentioned before, concerning the *Samaritans*, who being ſeduced by an Impoſtor, that promiſed to diſcover many precious Veſſels, which he ſaid had been hid by *Moſes* in Mount *Gerizim*, aſſembled together in great Numbers. They had armed themſelves, and made a Stop at the Village of *Tirataba*, that they might aſcend to the Mountain all together. But *Pilate* having before taken Poſſeſſion of the Top of the Mountain with his Soldiers, fell upon this mad Multitude at *Tirataba*, defeated them, ſlew a great Number, put the reſt to flight, and executed the Chief of thoſe that fell into his Hands. Upon this the *Samaritans* went with their Complaints to *Vitellius*, at that Time Governor of *Syria*, to whom *Pilate* was ſubordinate, maintaining that the Conflux of People at *Tirataba* was with no Intention to revolt, but only to ſecure themſelves from the Severity of *Pilate*: And *Vitellius* hereupon ſent *Marcellus*, one of his Friends, into *Judea*, to take care of this Province; at the ſame Time ordering *Pilate* to repair to *Rome*, and give an Account of his Conduct to the Emperor *Tiberius*. In this Manner *Pilate* quitted the Government of *Judea*, about three Years after the Death of *Chriſt*; but the Emperor was dead before he arrived at *Rome*.

We know not the Particulars of what happened afterwards to this Governor, but it is received as an antient Tradition,[p] that he was baniſhed to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, where he was reduced to ſuch Extremity, that in Deſpair he killed himſelf with his own Sword. *Euſebius* [q] quotes this Fact as extracted from Authors, who, he ſays, had digeſted the *Roman* Hiſtory by Olympiads. He ſeems to intimate *Phlegon*, the Freed-Man of *Adrian.* They ſhew a Lake above *Lucern* in *Switzerland*, called the Lake of *Pilate*, wherein they affirm this Governor threw himſelf, being purſued in his Flight from the Place of his Exile. The People add, that upon a certain Day of the Year, they ſee an Apparition in the Habit of a Judge, which preſently diſappears, by plunging itſelf into the Lake. The People of *Lucern* are perſuaded, that if the Water of this Lake is diſturbed, or if any Thing be caſt into it, a Storm would be immediately raiſed in the Country. Wherefore they take great Care to warn the Travellers that go to ſee it, not to throw any Thing in that may trouble the Water. But thoſe that have given us a Deſcription of it, and have examined it with ſome Care, [r] make themſelves Mirth with theſe popular Opinions.

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[f] Luke xiii. 1, 2, 3. Anno Chriſti. 32.

[g] See Theophyl. Euthym. Grot. Brug &c.

[h] Maldon. Bez.

[i] Joſeph. Ant. l. 18. c. 5.

[k] Menolog. Græc. apud Cornel. a Lapides.

[l] Evang. Nicodemi, Cyprian. de Paſſione. & alii.

[m] Ambroſ. Chryſoſtom. Hieron. Leo Magn. &c.

[n] Joſeph. Ant. l. 18. c. 4.

[o] Antiq. l. 18. c. 5.

[p] Ado Chron. Ætat. 7.

M. *Simon*, in [s] his Dictionary of the Bible, has gathered together ſeven or eight pretended Sentences of *Pilate* againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, or rather the Sentence of this unrighteous Judge modelled after eight different Manners by Modern Authors. But we ſhall be eaſily forgiven, if we omit both theſe and their Authors, as being of no Authority. The Goſpel does not ſay ſo much as that *Pilate* pronounced any Sentence againſt *Chriſt*, but only that he gave him up to the Will of the *Jews*, who demanded with loud Cries, that he ſhould be crucified. And it was in effect to pronounce a Sentence againſt him, to conſent to what they demanded, and to ſuffer them to execute that Sentence which they had already pronounced againſt him themſelves.

This Governor is deſcribed by [t] *Philo* the *Jew*, as a Judge that uſed to ſell Juſtice, and that would, for Money, pronounce any Sentence that was deſired. This is the more to be minded, as coming from a Man that had not that particular Horror for the Name of *Pilate*, as a Chriſtian might be ſuppoſed to have. He goes on to mention his Rapines, his Injuries, his Murders, the Torments he inflicted upon the Innocent, and the Perſons he put to Death without any Form of Proceſs: In a Word, he deſcribes him as a Man that exerciſed an exceſſive Cruelty, during the whole Time of his Adminiſtration.

We ſhall conclude what we have to ſay of the Perſon of *Pilate*, with the popular Tradition of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné* concerning him. It is this, That *Pilate* was baniſhed to this City, which was the Place of his Nativity. For which Reaſon, to this Day, they call an antient Edifice, which has the Form of a Temple, and which is alſo called *Notre Dame de la Vie*, or *Our Lady of Life*, by the Name of *Pilate's Prætorium.* Upon this Tradition, the Magiſtrates had cauſed it to be inſcribed upon the Front of the Edifice, *This is the Head of* Pilate's *Sceptre.* Mr. *Chorier*, in his Antiquities of *Vienne*, has attempted to confute theſe Suggeſtions: He thinks the Memory of a certain *Italian*, called *Humbert Pilati*, has given occaſion to call a Tower at *Vienne*, near the *Rhone*, by the Name of *Pilate's Tower*; and a Country-Houſe near *Vallier*, *The Houſe of Pilate.*

III. [u] *Juſtin Martyr*, [w] *Tertullian*, [x] *Euſebius*, and after them ſeveral others, both Antient and Modern, aſſure us, that it was formerly the Cuſtom for *Roman* Magiſtrates to prepare Copies of all verbal Proceſſes and judicial Acts, which they paſſed in their ſeveral Provinces, and to ſend them to the Emperor. And *Pilate*, they ſay, having ſent word to *Tiberius* of what had paſſed relating to *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Emperor writ an Account of it to the Senate, in a Manner that gave Reaſon to judge, that he thought favourably of the Religion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and ſhewed that he ſhould be willing they would decree divine Honours to him. But the Senate was not of the ſame Opinion, and ſo the Matter dropped. It appears by what *Juſtin* ſays of theſe Acts, that the Miracles of *Jeſus Chriſt* were mentioned there, and even the Particular of the Soldiers dividing his Garments among them at his Crucifixion. *Euſebius* inſinuates, that they ſpoke alſo of his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion. *Tertullian* and *Juſtin* refer to theſe Acts with ſo much Confidence, as would make one believe they had had them in their Hands.

However, neither *Euſebius* nor *Jerom*, who were both inquiſitive and underſtanding Perſons, nor any other Author that writ after them, ſeem to have ſeen them, at leaſt not the true and original Acts. For as to what are now to be ſeen in great Numbers, they are not authentic, being neither antient nor uniform. The Pagans, [y] about the Beginning of the fourth Age, forged falſe Acts of the Paſſion of *Chriſt:* Without doubt, they were little favourable to us, and very different from thoſe that *Juſtin* and *Tertullian* had cited in the ſecond Age. The [z] *Quartodecimans* had alſo the Acts of *Pilate*, by which they juſtified themſelves in their Error. They were, however, different from thoſe now mentioned; it not being to be ſuppoſed, that Chriſtians would have recourſe to a Work contrived by the Pagans: And they varied from each other; the one aſſerting, that *Jeſus Chriſt* ſuffered on the eighteenth, the other on the twenty fifth of *March.* In a Word, theſe Acts are not allowed to be authentic by thoſe that have ſpoke of them, as particularly St. *Epiphanius.*

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[q] Euſeb. l. 2. c. 7. Vid. Oroſ. l. 7. c. 5.

[r] See Geſner. in the Deſcription he has made of it, and Hofman's Dictionary, in the Article Pontius Pilate.

[s] A Work publiſhed long before the Dictionary of Calmet, but much leſs perfect.

[t] Philo. Jud. de Legatione ad Caium. [u] Juſt. Apol 2.

[w] Tert. Apol. c. 5. 21. [x] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 2. [y] Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 9. c. 5.

[z] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 50. c. 1. The Quartodecimans were a Sect of Chriſtians that would celebrate Eaſter on the fourteenth Day of the Moon, what Day of the Week ſo ever it happened.

Gregory of Tours thought he had gotten the real Acts of *Pilate*; but the Fragment he [a] cites from it plainly proves, that it was probably the falſe Goſpel of *Nicodemus*, which has been ſuppreſſed more than once, and wherein is to be [b] found the Subſtance of what is related by *Gregory* of *Tours*; which is, That the Prieſts having laid hold of *Nicodemus*, ſhut him up in a Chamber, and there kept him themſelves; but that he was miraculouſly delivered, the Walls of the Priſon being taken up into the Air by the Help of Angels, and being afterwards reſtored to their former Condition. And when the Chief Prieſts required of the Soldiers to produce the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which had been committed to their Charge, this Goſpel tells us they anſwered, *Do you yourſelves produce* Nicodemus, *whom you had ſhut up: For, to ſpeak the Truth, neither can you render* Nicodemus, *who was the faithful Servant of God, nor can we render* Jeſus, *who was the Son of God.* At theſe Words the Prieſts, in great Confuſion, ſent away the Soldiers. This Sketch of the Goſpel of *Nicodemus*, may give an Idea of the Work itſelf, which is of the ſame Character with many others that are fathered upon the Apoſtles, and the firſt Chriſtians.

IV. We have, beſides theſe pretended Acts, a Letter of *Pilate* to *Tiberius*, which was formerly read in the Churches of *France*. It is found in the [c] Recapitulation of the falſe *Hegeſippus*, and in a [d] Writing aſcribed to *Marcellus*, the Diſciple of St. *Peter*. It may be ſeen printed in the *Chronicon* of *Martinus Polonus*, in [e] *Sixtus Senenſis*, and in ſeveral others, tho' with ſome Variations. 'Tis thus tranſlated from the *Latin*.

Pontius Pilate to [f] *Claudius* wiſheth Health.

BY *the Envy of the* Jews *a Thing has lately happened here, of which myſelf was a Witneſs, which will involve them and their Children in a dreadful Puniſhment. For their Fathers having had Aſſurances from God, that he would ſend them his Saint from Heaven, to be their real King, and who was to be born of a Virgin; God did really accompliſh this Promiſe to them, while I was Governor of* Judea. *And the* Jews *having ſeen, that he reſtored Sight to the Blind, and Health to the Paralytics; that he cleanſed Lepers, drove out Devils from them that were poſſeſſed, had Command over the Winds, walked dry upon the Sea, and did many other Miracles; while the whole Multitude looked upon him as the Son of God, the Chief of the* Jews *conceived an extreme Envy and Jealouſy againſt him. They ſeized him, delivered him up to me, and formed many falſe Accuſations againſt him, ſaying, he was a Magician, and a Tranſgreſſor of their Law. As to myſelf, thinking what they ſaid of him to be true, I cauſed him to be whipped, and then delivered him up to their Will. They crucified him, and ſet a Watch at his Sepulchre: But the third Day he roſe again, while my Soldiers guarded his Tomb. The Malice of the* Jews *was ſuch, that they gave Money to the Soldiers, and bid them ſay that his Diſciples took away his Body. But when the Soldiers had received the Money, they could not retain from owning the Truth. They declared that* Jeſus Chriſt *was riſen, and that the* Jews *had given them Money not to ſpeak of it. Of this I thought proper to give you Notice, that Credit may not be given to the Lies of the* Jews.

There is yet another pretended Letter of *Pilate* to *Tiberius* in *Florentinius*; and another in the Hiſtory of *Jeſus Chriſt*, written in *Perſian* by *Jerome Xavier*. And beſides theſe, there is a ſpurious Hiſtory of our Saviour, which, it is pretended, was ſent by *Pilate* to *Tiberius*. Mr. *Fabricius* [g] has given us one in *Greek*, which is taken from a Manuſcript in M. *Colbert*'s Library: Nor is this the only one; for there is yet another in the King of *France*'s Library, which is quoted by M. *Cottelier*. But none of theſe are better in their Kind than the Letter above given; and therefore, having once mentioned them, we ſhall ſay no more of any of them, except the other Letter preſerved in *Florentinus*, which runs as follows.

Pilate to *Tiberius Cæſar* wiſheth Health.

JESUS CHRIST, *whom I mentioned to you in my Laſt, was at length executed at the Importunity of the* Jews, *but againſt my Will and Conſent. One certainly never ſaw, nor ever ſhall ſee, a Man of Piety and Integrity equal to his. But the People, with their Scribes and Elders, reſolving on his Death, have at laſt crucified this Preacher, as their Prophets and our Sybyls have foretold. While he was faſtened to the Croſs, many Prodigies were ſeen, which, in the Opinion of the Philoſophers, threatened the World with immediate Ruin. This Man's Diſciples remain with us at preſent; and they are ſo far from being a Reproach to their Maſter's Sanctity, that, by their own Conduct and Good Life, they do him Honour. If I had not apprehended a Mutiny among the People, this pious Perſon perhaps ſhould have been ſtill alive: And tho' I did not make all the Oppoſition I was able, to prevent his Enemies from apprehending him, yet I delivered him to them much againſt my Inclination; and it was only the Fear of expoſing my Dignity, which obliged me to abandon the Blood of this juſt Man to the Malice of his Enemies. It is true, he was innocent of the Crimes he was charged with; but, according to the holy Scriptures, he ought to die for our Good. Farewell.*

This Letter, as well as the former, it is generally thought, carries the Face of Falſhood: The Writer ſpeaks more like a Chriſtian than a Pagan; and a ſmall Taſte of Antiquity will diſcover, that this Piece is of no Authority. Neither the Turn, nor the Manner, nor the Taſte of it, come nigh the Force, the Purity, and the Elegance, that Perſons of Conſideration wrote with in the Time of *Tiberius*. From the general Character of *Pilate*, as well as from the Traditions extant concerning him, there is ſmall Room to conclude any Thing about his Repentance. This, however, may be gathered from theſe Forgeries, that the Contrivers of them had heard of certain Letters of *Pilate* to *Tiberius*, which ſpoke favourably of *Chriſt* and his Followers, but were then not extant: And as they were unwilling to loſe what they thought would ſo much turn to their Advantage, they foiſted in theſe ſpurious Writings, as they did many others in the Room of Works that they knew were wanting, to the no ſmall Diſcredit of Chriſtianity among Unbelievers, and to their own eternal Infamy in the Church.

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[a] Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Franc. l. 1. c. 21.

[b] Vid. Evang. Nicod. c. 13. & 15.

[c] Bibliot. pp. T. 7. p. 573.

[d] Vide apud Florentinium Vetuſt. Martyrol.

[e] Sixt. Senenſ. l. 2. Bibl.

[f] Tiberius was of the Claudian Family.

[g] Fabric. in Append. Apocryph. N. T. p. 971, 972.

V. Having had this Occaſion to mention the Acts and Letters of *Pilate* concerning our Lord, it may not be amiſs to take ſome Notice of the Correſpondence between our Lord and *Abgarus*, or *Abgarus*, King of [i] *Edeſſa*, which has been much inſiſted on among the Writers of the Church; that ſo we may here make a Collection of the moſt curious Pieces of this Nature, and leave them to the Conſideration of the judicious Reader.

Abgarus, being contemporary with *Chriſt*, was afflicted with a very grievous Diſeaſe, for which he could find no Remedy. While he lay in this Condition, he was informed of the miraculous Cures which were performed by *Chriſt* in *Judea*; whereupon he ſent a Courtier to him, whoſe Name was *Ananias*, to invite him to *Edeſſa*; and with him a Painter, to take the Picture of *Chriſt*; giving them a Letter, which was drawn up in the following Terms.

Abgarus King of *Edeſſa*, to *Jeſus*, the merciful Saviour of Mankind, who has appeared clothed with human Fleſh, in the Country of *Jeruſalem*, wiſhes Health.

I HAVE been made acquainted with the Prodigies and Cures wrought by you, without the Uſe of Herbs or Medicines, and by the Efficacy only of your Words. The Report is, that you make the Lame to walk, that you reſtore Sight to the Blind, that you cleanſe the Leprous, that you caſt forth Devils and malignant Spirits from the Bodies of the Poſſeſſed, that there is no Diſeaſe, however inveterate or ſeemingly incurable it may be, which you do not heal; and, that you even reſtore the Dead to Life. Underſtanding theſe Things of you, I believe you are either God himſelf, who has vouchſafed to deſcend from Heaven, or elſe that you are the Son of God, to be able to work ſuch Miracles as theſe: For which Reaſon I have preſumed to ſend you this Epiſtle, moſt affectionately beſeeching you, that you would give yourſelf the Trouble of coming to me, and of curing the Indiſpoſition under which I have ſo long laboured. I underſtand that the Jews *perſecute you, that they murmur at your Miracles, and lie in wait for your Deſtruction. I have here a City both beautiful and commodious, which, though it be not very large, will be ſufficient to ſupply you with every Thing that ſhall be neceſſary.*

The Anſwer of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

YOU are happy, O Abgarus, *in that you have believed in me, though you never ſaw me: For it is written, that they who believe in me, without ſeeing me, ſhall be ſaved. As for your Requeſt, that I would come to ſee you, I am to let you underſtand, that all thoſe Things for which I am ſent muſt be accompliſhed in the Country where I am; and after all theſe Things are fulfilled, I muſt return to him that ſent me. However, after my Aſcenſion, I will ſend you one of my Diſciples, who ſhall deliver you from your painful Diſeaſe, and ſhew both yourſelf, and all your Friends, the Way to Life eternal.*

Euſebius affirms, [k] That he copied theſe Letters out of the Records of the City of *Edeſſa*, and tranſlated them out of the *Chaldee*: To which he adds, That *Thomas*, after the Reſurrection of our Saviour, ſent *Thaddeus*, one of the ſeventy Diſciples, different from the Apoſtle of this Name, to preach *Jeſus Chriſt* in this City, and heal *Abgarus*. *Thaddeus* accordingly went thither, converted the King and all his People, wrought an infinite Number of Miracles there, and among others reſtored the King's Health. Both Papiſts and Proteſtants are divided in their Opinion concerning the Letters and Story. Dr. *Cave*, in his *Hiſtoria Literaria*, and *Pearſon*, in his Vindication of *Ignatius*, have taken up the Notion of their being genuine: But the [l] greateſt Part of Critics reject the whole as a Fable. *Calmet* ſays, [m] That it is a common Tradition among the *Eaſtern* People, both Chriſtians and Mahometans, that *Abgarus* wrote a Letter to our Saviour, and received an Anſwer from him, with an Handkerchief bearing the Impreſſion of our Saviour's Face upon it. This Handkerchief, we ſuppoſe, was in the Place of the Picture which the Painter was ſent to draw: It has ſo much of the *Eaſtern* Air, that it takes from the Credit of the whole Story. However, the Author laſt quoted thinks, that a certain King of *Edeſſa* was undoubtedly converted in the earlieſt Ages of Chriſtianity, by one of the ſeventy Diſciples, and that after his Example the whole City embraced the Chriſtian Faith. As to the Name *Abgarus*, it is ſaid to have been common to all the Kings of *Edeſſa*. There might then be genuine Letters ſent, though the preſent ſhould prove falſe and corrupted; as we before intimated concerning thoſe of *Pilate*. But be this as it will, it is certain that the *Greeks* believe the whole Story; and at this Time they obſerve a Feſtival, which, in Honour of the leaſt credible Part of it, they call, *The Tranſlation of the Picture*.

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[i] Edeſſa was a City of Meſopotamia, built by the great Seleucus, about four hundred Years before Chriſt.

[k] Euſeb. l. i. Hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 18.

[l] See F. Alex. M. du Pin, M. de Tillemont. M. Baſnage.

[m] See his Dictionary in the Article Abgarus.

VI. To purſue the Subject: *Pilate* was not the only *Roman* Governor, who, it is pretended, wrote to the Emperor concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*. We have alſo a Letter of *Lentulus*, who, it is ſaid, governed *Judea* immediately before *Pilate*. He gives Teſtimony to his Miracles, and deſcribes him as a Man of a comely Stature, a majeſtic Air, tempered with Sweetneſs and Severity, which at the ſame Time made him both beloved and reſpected. We ſhall preſent our Readers with a Tranſlation of the Letter.

Lentulus, Proconſul of *Judea*, to the *Roman* Senate.

T*HERE has a Man appeared here, who is ſtill living, named* Jeſus Chriſt, *whoſe Power is extraordinary. He has the Title given him of the great Prophet; his Diſciples call him the Son of God. He raiſes the Dead, and heals all Sorts of Diſeaſes. He is a tall, well-proportioned Man; there is an Air of Serenity in his Countenance, which attracts at once the Love and Reverence of thoſe who ſee him. His Hair is of the Colour of new Wine from the Root to his Ears, and from thence to the Shoulders it is curled, and falls down to the loweſt Part of them. Upon the Forehead it parts in two, after the Manner of the* Nazarenes. *His Forehead is flat, and fair; his Face without any Defect, and adorned with a graceful Vermillion. His Air is majeſtic and agreeable: His Noſe and Mouth are well proportioned; and his Beard is thick and forked, of the Colour of his Hair. His Eyes are grey, and extremely lively. In his Reproofs he is terrible, but in his Exhortations and Inſtructions amiable and courteous. There is ſomething wonderfully charming in his Face, with a Mixture of Gravity. He is never ſeen to laugh, but he has been obſerved to weep. He is very ſtrait in Stature: His Hands are large and ſpreading, and his Arms very beautiful. He talks little, but with great Gravity; and is the handſomeſt Man in the World.*

We look upon this Letter as a Piece that is not much to be regarded; (for which ſeveral Reaſons might be given, were they neceſſary, and did not the Letter itſelf plainly enough betray its Original:) But as it has been printed in ſeveral Places, and in divers Forms, and is thereby become very common, we thought the Reader would not be out of Humour to ſee it here, but would rather have blamed us if we had omitted it.

On this Occaſion, however, we may take ſome Notice of a Diſpute that has divided the Learned, concerning the Perſon and Shape of *Jeſus Chriſt*; eſpecially as we can be aſſiſted by a curious [m] Pamphlet on that Subject, which was lately printed. From this Piece then we ſhall extract the following Paragraphs relating to the ſaid Diſpute, without intermixing any Conjectures of our own.

VII. Our Author opens his Work with obſerving, that although the antient *Jews* had juſt Notions of the Meſſiah, the Nature of his Kingdom, and the Manner of his Coming; yet their Poſterity, eſpecially towards the End of their Republick, entertained quite different Notions of theſe Things, expecting a mighty Monarch, like *Cyrus* or *Alexander*, and a Conqueror of Kingdoms, to deliver them from the Talons of the *Roman* Eagle, and extend their Empire over all the Nations of the Earth. He is to rebuild the Temple, ſay the modern *Jews*; to raiſe all our Anceſtors from the Dead, from *Abraham*; to be the Arbitrator of Differences between Pagan Kings, and to convert the World to our Religion: He is to treat his Subjects with the Female *Leviathan*, preſerved in Salt by God from the Creation; to entertain them with *Behemoth*, which eats the Graſs of a thouſand Mountains in one Day; and with the Bird *Ziz*, which is ſo big, that one of her Eggs falling, deſtroyed and overwhelmed ſixty Villages. As to his Perſon, his Form was to be noble and majeſtic; his Body framed by the moſt exact Proportion; his Stature tall and princely; his Countenance charming and moſt lovely to his Friends, but dreadful and terrible to his Enemies; his Eyes engaging the Affection and Eſteem of his Followers, but darting Fire and ſcattering Death and Confuſion among all that oppoſe him. They could not, it ſeems, dignify him ſufficiently, without raiſing his Stature to ſo gigantic a Size, as to be able to ſtand with one Foot on Mount *Horeb*, and the other on Mount *Sinai*.

The *Jews*, ſeduced with theſe Expectations, were ſcandaliz'd at the outward Appearance, the Humility, and Meanneſs of our Saviour's Perſon; and, rather than receive him as the Meſſiah, denied and perverted the Prophecies which foretold that *Chriſt* was to appear without any Marks of Pomp and Grandeur, but in Circumſtances low and forbidding, without any Thing extraordinary and inviting, either in his Perſon or Fortune. For this Purpoſe, that famous Text in *Iſaiah*, ever litterally underſtood by the old *Hebrews*, was miſapplied by *Abarbinel*; [n] *He ſhall grow up before him as a tender Plant, and as a Root out of the dry Ground: He hath no Form nor Comlineſs; and when we ſhall ſee him, there is no Beauty that we ſhould deſire him.* The literal Senſe, ſays he, of this Paſſage, deſcribes a Man ill-ſhap'd, deform'd, melancholy, of a dejected Look, and a weak Conſtitution; which cannot relate to the Meſſiah, becauſe the wiſeſt Part of Chriſtians contend, that the Meſſiah was exceeding handſome, lovely, and agreeable. Obſerve the Advantage taken by a crafty *Jew*, who evades the Force of a moſt remarkable Prophecy, on account of a fantaſtical Opinion, embraced by Chriſtians, concerning the Shape and Beauty of our Saviour's Perſon.

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[m] An Enquiry into the Shape, Beauty, and Stature of Jeſus Chriſt. By T. Lewis M. A.

[n] Iſai. liii. 2.

The Writers of the Church have been commonly divided, when they had occaſion to ſpeak on this Subject: The Fathers of the firſt Centuries having been of contrary Sentiments; ſome aſcribing the moſt extravagant Beauties and Accompliſhments to the Body of *Chriſt*; others again degrading it to the loweſt State of Uglineſs and Deformity. The *Romiſh* Writers, ſome very few excepted, contend tenaciouſly for the outward Beauty of our Saviour's Body. This Opinion is likewiſe follow'd by many Learned among *Proteſtants*, but with quite different Effects. The Popiſh Clergy bind this Doctrine upon the Conſciences of their Subjects, and raiſe a deal of Pageantry and Superſtition upon it. *There are few Chriſtians, ſays* [o] Calmet, *who would not engage to prove, by irreſiſtible Arguments, the Beauty of their Saviour; who would not feel ſome ſort of Indignation to hear it doubted or diſputed. The Pulpits reſound the Praiſes of of this God incarnate, the moſt beautiful of the Children of Men; Books of Piety and Devotion are full of them.* It ſeems, it is the higheſt Blaſphemy to call it in queſtion, to ſuſpect that the *Queen of Angels*, as they call the Mother of our Saviour, ſhould bring forth a Son with no Diſtinction of Beauty upon his Perſon, but upon a Level with the Meaneſt of his Subjects. Were this Doctrine received, what would become of thoſe fine Statues and Paintings of the Virgin *Mary* and her Son, which are ſo beautifully drawn and carved, on purpoſe to inſpire a falſe and enthuſiaſtic Piety, and to promote Image-worſhip and Idolatry? The Mother is repreſented like the *Cyprian Goddeſs*; the Son like *Cupid*, with Features and Poſtures moſt unmanly and effeminate. Thus they expreſs the Infancy of *Chriſt*: The Virgin, in the moſt beautiful Figure, dreſſed in an embroider'd Robe, after the Cuſtom of the *Eaſt*, ſits upon a Chair of State gilt with Gold, attended by an *Ethiopian*; the Infant, with golden Rays of Glory about his Head, upon a rich Mantle, lies in her Lap; and *Joſeph*, in a Gown of Purple, is ſeen upon his Knees, looking as if he was tranſported with the Charms and Lovelineſs of the Child's Body: Whereas, ſays *Chryſoſtom*, they ſhould rather have repreſented a poor narrow Cottage, a vile filthy Manger, with an Ox and an Aſs tied to it, much fitter for Beaſts than Men; a Child covered with the worſt of Rags; the Mother ſcarce having one Gown, not worn for the Ornament of her Body, but out of mere Neceſſity to cover her. *Hadſt thou*, ſays the pious *Anſelm*, *made thy Entrance into thy own World with all the Pomp and State of earthly Princes, yet even thus the Condeſcenſion had been amazing; but when thou wert born, there was no room for thee in the Inn, no Bed nor Cradle of State, but a Manger and a Stable only. Learn what an Eſtimate you ought to make of painted Roofs and curious Hangings, when the King of Kings deſpiſed thoſe Vanities, and rather choſe to grace the Mattreſſes of the Poor, prefer'd a Truſs of Straw, and a Cratch in common with Beaſts, before your Down, and all your Silks and Velvets.*

VIII. Mr. *Lewis* proceeds to examine the antient Fathers, and the more modern Writings of the Doctors of the Catholic Church, and produces from them the moſt remarkable [oo] Authorities, and the moſt colourable Reaſons, which have been offered in Support of their Opinion who contend for the perſonal Beauty of our Saviour. To give the Reader theſe, would be to tranſcribe his Book; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that having firſt demonſtrated, that the Authorities uſually produced on the Subject of the Beauty of *Chriſt*, are by no means ſtrong, or capable of forcing Belief; and that the Arguments adduced to fortify thoſe Authorties, are weak and inconcluſive; he goes on to ſhew, what has been offered on the contrary Opinion; and, in giving an Account of his Sentiments in this Matter, we ſhall keep as ſtrictly as poſſible to his own Words; as having no Deſire to trouble the World with any of our own Thoughts on ſo nice and intricate a Subject.

The Reverence that is juſtly due to the Body of the Meſſiah, requires, ſays our Author, that this Subject ſhould be treated with the greateſt Decency and Reſerve: I am ſenſible of the Danger there is of ſaying too much or too little. Let it be remember'd then, that in this Place I am to ſpeak of our Saviour as a mere Man, and that the Point in Queſtion is no Article of Faith, but left indifferent for every one to believe as he pleaſes. I ſhall therefore at preſent draw a Veil before the Divinity of *Jeſus*, and conſider him in the loweſt State of Miſery and Humiliation, wherein he is repreſented, (if Credit may be given to the moſt antient Writers, who may be ſuppoſed to come nigheſt the Truth,) as a very mean Man, whoſe divine Doctrine drew upon him the Malice and Cruelty of the moſt ſavage Enemies, and, to make him *perfect by Suffering*, expoſed him to Indignity and Contempt; which to a generous Mind is worſe than Death.

The Prophecy of *Iſaiah* is remarkable for many extraordinary Paſſages relating to the Perſon of the Meſſiah; but the Prediction that follows is confeſſed to be as particular and expreſſive as any in the whole Book: [p] *As many were aſtoniſhed at thee, (his Countenance was ſo marred more than any Man, and his Form more than the Sons of Men,) ſo ſhall he ſprinkle many Nations: The Kings ſhall ſhut their Mouths at him; for that which had not been told them they ſhall ſee, and that which they had not heard they ſhall conſider. Who hath believed our Report, and to whom is the Arm of the Lord revealed? For he ſhall grow*

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[o] In his Diſſertation before his Comment on *Iſaiah*.

[oo] Some of theſe Authorities are Part of the Letters above quoted.

[p] Iſai. lii. 14, 15. liii. 1——4.

up before him as a tender Plant, and as a Root out of dry Ground. He hath no Form nor Comelineſs; and when we ſhall ſee him, there is no Beauty that we ſhould deſire him. He is deſpiſed and rejected of Men; a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Grief; and we hid, as it were, our Faces from him: He was deſpiſed, and we eſteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows; yet we did eſteem him ſtricken, ſmitten of God, and afflicted.

The old *Hebrews* underſtood this Prediction to relate literally to the Perſon and Sufferings of the Meſſiah; but the *Jews*, ſome Ages before the Diſſolution of their Government, denied that this Deſcription related to him at all: For, being frequently ſubdued and harraſſed by different Nations, the *Syrians*, the *Babylonians*, and the *Romans*, they expected a Meſſiah, as was obſerved, like *Cyrus* or *Alexander*, to fight their Battles, and deſtroy their Enemies.

It is the general Opinion of the Fathers and Commentators, that this Prophecy is literally to be underſtood of the Meſſiah; but with this Difference, that ſome, and the moſt by far, apply this Deſcription to the Perſon of *Chriſt*, from the State of Manhood to the Time of his Death; whereas others contend, that the Character of him in this Prophecy relates only to the Time when he was under the Proſecution of his Enemies, and the Inſults he ſuffered before he was crucified: Or, in other Words, ſome would have it, that our Saviour, all his Life long, *had no Form nor Comelineſs*; that he was always *a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Grief*: When others aſſert, that he was exceedingly handſome and beautiful, with an open and engaging Aſpect, till he was apprehended, ſcourged, buffeted, and ſpit upon; *then*, indeed, *he was without Form or Comelineſs; his Countenance then was ſo marred more than any Man, and his Form more than the Sons of Men.* To this Purpoſe is the Obſervation of a learned Writer upon the preceding Verſes: Lyranus, ſays he, *and other more modern Interpreters, reſtrain the Deſcription given of the deformed Aſpect of* Chriſt *to the Time of his Paſſion, when his Face was all over black and blue with Buffets, and bedaubed with Blood, and Sweat, and Duſt, and when his Cheeks were torn by pulling off his Beard.* But theſe Words are improperly confined to that Time; for the Prophet ſpeaks afterwards of the Paſſion of *Chriſt*: In this, and the following Verſe, he is wholly taken up in ſetting before us the humble Appearance and Condition of *Chriſt* all his Life long. The ſame Writer, in his Comment upon this Prophecy, remarks, that *Cyrus* may indeed, in ſome reſpect, be ſtyled a Type of the Meanneſs of our Lord's outward Appearance; for he ſpent the firſt Part of his Life among Shepherds, in a poor Cottage; but his Countenance was far from being aſtoniſhing and frightful to thoſe who ſaw him; ſuch a Character agrees with much more Propriety to the Perſon of Chriſt: His Form was not ſo beautiful and agreeable, nor ſo full of Majeſty to look upon, as to attract the Eyes of the Beholders, or to captivate their Affection and Wonder upon the Account of the Delicacy of his Shape. And this Author ſpeaks the Sentiments of the beſt Expoſitors. Beſides, what Meanneſs and Diſgrace could attend a condemned Perſon for having his Face and Body appear diſagreeable and frightful, when he lay under the Stripes and Cruelty of an enraged Populace? There is nothing in this ſo particular, as to have a Prediction founded upon it, when it was impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe: Therefore *Cornelius a Lapide* remarks juſtly upon this Prophecy, "That *Chriſt* was without Comelineſs from the Beginning of his Life to his Crucifixion."

IX. He then proceeds to mention the Opinions of *Grotius, Sanctius, Pool, Bynæus*, and other eminent Commentators on the Scriptures, in reſpect to the Texts relating to the Perſon of *Chriſt*. Then he gives us the Sentiments of the Fathers, expreſſed in their Writings, according to the Order of Time in which they wrote.

The Writers of the firſt Century, ſays he, are ſilent, and give no Light into this Enquiry; but *Irenæus*, who flouriſhed in the ſecond, aſſerts poſitively, [q] that our Saviour was no way beautiful; that *Chriſt*, as Man, was not handſome, but expoſed to the common Accidents of human Life; that he rode upon an Aſs, and drank Vinegar; but, as God, he was wonderful, moſt lovely, and powerful.

Clemens of *Alexandria*, a Writer in the third Century, takes frequent Occaſions to ſpeak of our Saviour's Body: He ſays, [r] that the Prophet *Iſaiah* evidently foretold that the Meſſiah ſhould appear in the Fleſh without any Diſtinction of Beauty upon his Perſon. *But if Beauty were a real Happineſs*, ſays the Father, *who deſerved it more, or had a better Right to it? If he had not the leaſt Beauty in the Fleſh, which appears to the outward Eyes, yet he was all beautiful within; he fully poſſeſſed all the Graces and Accompliſhments of the Mind. The Beauty of the Soul conſiſts in univerſal Beneficence to all Mankind, and that of the Body in being immortal.* He ſays, in another Place, that, *according to the Opinion of a certain Philoſopher, wiſe Men are always beautiful; and the ſame may be ſaid of juſt Perſons, tho' they were not handſome in their Bodies, becauſe their Manners and Behaviour were Holy and Good.* And, to ſupport this Obſervation, he cites the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, which, he thinks, aſſerts, that the Body of our Saviour ſhould be *without Form or Comelineſs.* He obſerves farther, in another Book, that *the Head of the Church appeared in the Fleſh without the Ornament of perſonal Beauty, to inform us, that we ought rather to raiſe our Hearts to inviſible Objects, and diſengaged from Matter.* And again, *It was not without Reaſon that our Lord choſe to appear in a Form mean and contemptible, and not pleaſing to the Eyes; leſt Men, by being too much engaged by outward Charms, ſhould loſe that Reliſh and Eſteem which belong to Things Spiritual and Divine.*

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[q] Iren. De Hæreſ. l. 3. c. 19. nov. Edit.

[r] Clem. Alex. Pæd. l. 3. c. 1. & Strom. l. 1. & 3.

Origen was the Diſciple of *Clemens*, and conform'd with the Sentiments of his Maſter. *Celſus*, the Great Enemy to Chriſtianity, objected, [s] that *Jeſus Chriſt* was *of a ſmall Stature*, and of a low obſcure Birth: From whence he concluded, that he could not be God: *For*, ſays he, *ſince the divine Spirit reſided in his Body, he ought to have been more excellent than other Men in Stature, in Beauty, in Voice, in Majeſty, and Eloquence; for it is incredible, that a Perſon that has more Divinity in him, ſhould not be more illuſtrious than other Men; but* Jeſus *was no way preferable to any one elſe; he was, as the Chriſtians confeſs, little and contemptible. Origen* anſwers this Objection, by replying, that *it was allowed that the Body of* Chriſt *was not beautiful; but not that he was of low Stature, nor of a mean, obſcure, and deſpicable Deſcent, as* Celſus *would have it: For the Prophet* Iſaiah *foretold, that the Meſſiah, in human Nature, ſhould neither be diſtinguiſhed by the Beauty of his Face, nor by any extraordinary Qualities of his Body.* This was the Opinion of the Church in the Beginning of the third Century.

Porphyry, *Celſus*, *Julian*, and other obſtinate Enemies to Chriſtianity, [t] objected to the Fathers, that they worſhipped *Chriſt* as God, who was a diminutive Perſon: But, notwithſtanding this, our pious Anceſtors, Men truly Chriſtian, did confeſs ſuch a *Chriſt*, and believed him to be God, who, with that diminutive Body, perform'd the moſt beneficent Actions for Mankind.

In the ſame Age lived *Tertullian*, a ſtrong Apologiſt for the Service of Chriſtianity, who is very expreſs againſt the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of our Lord's Perſon. [u] *His outward Form*, ſays this Father, *had nothing that could attract Conſideration and Reſpect*." Our Author cites afterwards St. *Auſtin*, and ſeveral other Fathers, to the ſame Purpoſe: Then he gives us the Sentiments of *Michael Medina*, who aſſiſted at the Council of *Trent*, and of the famous *Capellus*. Laſtly, we have his own, which incline the ſame Way, and which he fortifies with ſome farther Obſervations on the Scripture.

From all that has been here produced, we may conclude, that the Chriſtians of the primitive Ages believed *Jeſus Chriſt* to have been rather ill-favoured than handſome, according to his human Nature; that the contrary Opinion is more modern, at leaſt that it has not been generally received till of late Ages; that either the one or the other may be maintained, as it ſhall ſeem moſt probable, becauſe neither of them can be eſteemed an Article of Faith. With theſe Remarks we diſmiſs this Subject.

X. Another Thing that naturally falls under our Conſideration, is the Puniſhment of the Croſs, or Crucifixion, which was inflicted on *Jeſus Chriſt* by the Malice of the *Jews*. Every one knows, that by the Word *Croſs*, we underſtand a Gibbet made of two Pieces of Wood put croſswiſe; whether they croſs with right Angles at the Top of one of them, or in the Middle of their Length, or like St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, or forkwiſe. It was invented for the Puniſhment of the vileſt Slaves; and therefore, to be crucify'd was a great Mark of Infamy to Soldiers, Officers, and Men of Quality. This Puniſhment was ſo common among the *Romans*, that Pains, Afflictions, Troubles, and unproſperous Affairs, were by them called Croſſes, as they are at preſent by us; and the Verb *Cruciare*, which properly ſignifies only to crucify, was uſed for all Sorts of Chaſtiſements, and for all Afflictions either of Body or Mind.

The Puniſhment of the Croſs, ſays *Calmet*, was common among the *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Perſians*, *Africans*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Jews*. *Pharaoh*'s chief Baker was [w] beheaded, according to *Joſeph*'s [x] Prediction, and his Carcaſe afterwards faſtened to a Croſs. *Haman* had prepared a great Croſs to hang *Mardecai* upon, [y] but he was himſelf executed on it. *Joſhua* [z] gave orders for the hanging the King of *Ai* upon a Croſs. *Moſes*, in like Manner, [a] hung the Princes of *Iſrael* upon Stakes or Croſſes, who had fallen into the Abomination of *Baal-Peor*. Every one knows, that this Puniſhment was very common among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; ſo that it would be needleſs to produce Proofs or Examples of what is every where to be met with in Hiſtory. We would, however, take Notice in this Place, that in the Inſtances here produced from Scripture, the Word *Croſs* is not to be found in our Bibles, but only *Tree*, or *Gallows*, by which thoſe who are converſant in Antiquity, know the Croſs to be meant: And it was in Conformity to this Mode of Speaking among the *Jews*, that the Apoſtle *Peter* accuſes his Countrymen with having [b] *ſlain* Jeſus Chriſt, *and hanged him on a Tree.*

The *Jews* confeſs, that indeed they crucified People in their Nation, but deny that they inflicted this Puniſhment on any Body alive. They firſt put them to Death, and then faſtened them to the Croſs, either by the Hands or Neck; accordingly many Inſtances are to be met with of Men thus hung upon a Stake after Death. But there are indiſputable Proofs to be brought of their crucifying Men frequently alive. The Worſhippers of *Baal-Peor*, and the King of *Ai*, whom we have mentioned, were hung up alive; and ſo [c] were the Deſcendants of *Saul*, who were put into the Hands of the *Gibeonites*. The *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaking of the Death of the Meſſiah, ſays, [d] *They pierced my Hands and my Feet; I may tell all my Bones.* The Prophet *Zachary* ſays, [e] That at the Day of Judgment, the *Jews* ſhall look upon him whom they have pierced with Nails. *Joſephus* relates, [f] That *Alexander* King of the *Jews* having ordered eight hundred of his rebellious Subjects to be crucified, commanded their Wives and Children to be executed before their Eyes at the Foot of the Croſs, whilſt they were yet living.

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[s] Orig. cont. Celſum.

[t] According to Rigaltius.

[u] Tertull. de Idolat.

[w] Gen. xl. 20, 21.

[x] Ver. 19.

[y] Eſth. vii. 10.

[z] Joſh. viii. 29.

[a] Numb. xxv. 4.

[b] Acts v. 30. x. 39.

[c] 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

[d] Pſal. xxii. 17.

[e] Zach. xii. 10.

[f] Joſeph. Ant. l. 13 c. 22.

The Law ordained, that the Perſons executed [g] ſhould not be left upon the Croſs after Sun-ſet, becauſe he that is hanged in this Manner is curſed of God. *His Body ſhall not remain all Night upon the Tree, but thou ſhalt in any wiſe bury him that Day; for he that is hanged is accurſed of God.* The King of *Ai*'s Body [h] was left upon the Croſs no longer than till the Evening. The *Jews* believe, [i] That the Souls of thoſe who remain upon the Gibbet, and without Burial, enjoy no Peace, but wander up and down till their Bodies are buried: Which agrees with the Notion that [k] the *Greeks* and *Romans* had of this Matter.

Sometimes the Criminal was crucified on a Tree, and faſtened to it with Cords. After this Manner *Tiberius* [l] ordered the Prieſts of *Saturn* to be crucified at *Carthage*, upon Trees. *Auſonius*, after the ſame Manner, [m] deſcribes *Cupid* as crucified on a Tree. Sometimes he that ſuffered was faſtened with his Head downwards: Thus St. *Peter* choſe to be crucified, [n] out of Reſpect to his Maſter *Jeſus Chriſt*, not thinking himſelf worthy to be fixed to the Croſs like him. *Seneca* [o] ſpeaks of this Puniſhment: And *Euſebius* remarks, [p] that in *Egypt* it was often inflicted upon the Martyrs. Sometimes a Fire was kindled at the Foot of the Croſs, that ſo the Sufferer might periſh by the Smoke and Flame. The Emperor *Alexander Severus* [q] commanded one to be executed in this Manner, who was a Cheat, a Quack, and a Dealer in Smoke, that by this Means there might be ſome Relation between his Crime and his Penalty. The common Way of crucifying was by faſtening the Criminal with Nails, one at each Hand, and one at both his Feet, or ſometimes one at each of them; for this was not always performed in the ſame Manner. But they were alſo frequently bound to the Croſs with Cords, as the Prieſts of *Saturn* above-mentioned were; which Manner, though it ſeems in one Senſe gentler, becauſe it occaſioned leſs Pain, in another Senſe was more cruel, becauſe the condemned Perſon by this Means was made to languiſh for a longer Time. But this Manner, we may ſuppoſe, was not in Uſe among the *Jews*, who durſt not leave the Body all Night on the Croſs. St. *Andrew* is thus [r] ſaid to have been faſtened with Cords, and to have continued three Days alive upon the Croſs. Sometimes both Nails and Cords were made uſe of: *Lucan* ſpeaks of one who was thus crucified. When this was the Caſe, there was no Inconveniency in lifting up the Perſon who was thus to ſuffer, together with the Croſs: He was ſufficiently upheld by the Cords; and People concerned themſelves very little about leſſening the Pains and Torments of a Malefactor, condemned to die in this ignominious Manner.

Before they nailed the Party to the Croſs, they generally ſcourged him with Whips; or with leathern Laſhes, which was thought to be ſeverer, and more infamous, than to be ſcourged with Cords. Sometimes little Bones, or Pieces of Bones, were tied to theſe Scourges, that ſo the condemned Perſon might ſuffer more ſeverely. Slaves, when guilty of any Crime, were often faſtened to a Gibbet or Croſs; and in this Condition were led about the City, and beaten with Rods. And when they were executed, it was uſual to make them carry their own Croſſes to the Place of Execution, as our Saviour did. Frequently alſo they were loaded with Fetters when they went, which made the Fatigue more intolerable. When they came there, they ſtripped quite naked, and their Clothes was taken by thoſe who had the Charge of their Execution.

We have before taken Notice, that among the *Jews* the Bodies of Criminals were not to hang on the Croſs till after Sun-ſet. But among other Nations they were ſuffered to continue there a long while; and ſometimes, when they were bound only with Cords, they were devoured alive by Birds and Beaſts of Prey. If they were low enough, the Wolves and Dogs had generally a Repaſt on their Carcaſſes: But if the Croſſes were high, the Bodies either were a Prey to the Birds, or they putrified and fell to Pieces: For Guards [ſ] were appointed to obſerve, that none of their Friends or Relations ſhould take them down, and bury them. The Hiſtory of the *Epheſian* Matron, and of the Soldier who was ſet to guard the Croſſes, is well known; and it may ſerve as properly for a Proof of what we here ſay, as for a Satire on the Inconſtancy of Women.

XI. The Croſs to which our Saviour was nailed, is ſaid to have been [t] made in the Form of the Letter T, or the old *Samaritan* Tau, which reſembled the *Greek* Tau, and not that of the preſent *Hebrews*. But we are not to underſtand this rigorouſly: For the Letter Tau is one Line drawn over another at right Angles; whereas our Saviour's Croſs repreſented a Line croſſing another at right Angles, and traverſing it thus †. In this Form old Monuments, the Coins of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, and the antient religious Croſſes, deſcribe it to us. St. *Jerom* [u] compares it to a Bird flying, a Man ſwimming, or praying with his

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[g] Deut. xxi. 22.

[h] Joſh. viii. 29.

[i] Talmud. tract. Sanhedrim. Rab. Bar-Nachman in Bereſhith Rabba. c. 22.

[k] Hom. Iliad. iv. Virg. Æneid. vi.

Nec ripas datur horrendas & rauca fluenta
Tranſportare prius quam ſedibus oſſa quierunt.

[l] Tertull. in Apol. c. 9.

[m] Hujus in excelſu ſuſpenſum ſtipite Amorem
Devinctum poſt terga manus, ſubſtrictaque plantis
Vincula mærentem, nullo moderamine pœni
Affigunt. Auſon. in Cupidine affixo.

[n] Chryſoſt. in Pet. & Paul. Abdias in Petro.

[o] Sen. Conſol. ad Matr. c. 20.

[p] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. viii. c. 8.

[q] Lamprid. in Alexandro.

[r] Abdias l. iii.

[ſ] Vide Lipſ. de cruce l. ii. c. 15. 16.

[t] Hieron in Ezek. c. ix.

[u] Idem in Marc. xi.

Arms extended. Beſides the Trunk therefore, and the Arms, there was a Piece of Wood which roſe above them: And in this *Pilate* ordered the following Words to be inſcribed, *Jeſus of* Nazareth *the King of the* Jews, which expoſed the Crime whereof our Saviour was thought to be guilty.

The Antients repreſent *Jeſus Chriſt* to us ſometimes as crucified with four Nails, and ſometimes with three. *Cyprian* [w] is of the former Opinion, and *Gregory Nazianzen* [x] of the latter. That he was crucified naked we need not queſtion: For what Reaſon have we to think that the Saviour of the World, amidſt all the Indignities that were offered him by the enraged *Jews*, was uſed more tenderly in this Particular, than others on whom this Puniſhment was inflicted? The Soldiers divided his upper Garments among them, and caſt Lots for his *Veſture*, or *Tunic*, which was an under Garment worn over the Fleſh like a Shirt. Chriſtians out of Reſpect, and a Principle of Modeſty, have repreſented *Jeſus Chriſt* covered in a decent Manner, ſometimes dreſſed entirely, ſometimes only from his Loins to his Knees, and ſometimes with thoſe Parts only covered with a Veil which Modeſty requires us to conceal: But this does by no Means prove the general Practice to be ſuch, nor that they had this Regard to *Jeſus Chriſt*, whom the *Jews* hated, the *Romans* did not know, and neither the one nor the other regarded beyond a common Malefactor; and who, for his own Part, came with Deſign to load himſelf with the Shame, as well as the Puniſhment, that was due to us for our Sins againſt God.

Several Queſtions have been ſtarted, either out of a pious Regard for every Thing that has any Relation to the Saviour of Mankind, or merely for the Exerciſe of Fancy, concerning the Croſs on which *Jeſus Chriſt* was crucified. Some think that [y] it was made of four different Kinds of Wood, one Piece of Cypreſs, another of Cedar, a third of Pine, and the laſt of Box. St *Bernard* ſays, [z] it was made of Cypreſs, Cedar, Olive, and Palm-tree. The Foot or Baſis of it was of Cypreſs; the Top of it of Cedar; the [a] Chapitre of it, if it may be ſo called, of the Olive-Tree; and the Arms of the Palm-tree. *Proba Falconia*, in her Rhapſodies, ſays it was made of Oak. The Author of *Hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, and many others after him, tell us, that the Queen of *Sheba*, as ſhe entered *Solomon*'s Palace, which was called *The Houſe of Cedar*, took Notice of a Beam there, which, ſhe foretold, would ſome Time or other be made uſe of in the Execution of a Man, who ſhould cauſe the Deſtruction of all *Iſrael*. *Solomon*, to prevent this Misfortune, ordered, as they ſay, that this Beam ſhould be buried in that very Spot where the Pool was in the Sheep-market, which is taken notice of by [b] St. *John*. At the Time of our Saviour's Paſſion, this Piece of Wood was diſcovered, and uſed in making up his Croſs.

Others, not content with theſe Fables, add farther, that *Seth*, the third Son of *Adam*, going to Paradiſe, procured of the Angel, who kept guard there, three Kernels of the Tree of Life, which he planted on his Father's Grave. From theſe three Kernels ſprung three little Trees, which, being joined together, formed the Beam in *Solomon*'s Palace above-mentioned, which was afterwards uſed in the Crucifixion of our Saviour. But the bare relating of ſuch Fables, would be doing them too much Honour, were it not that it ſerves to expoſe the faulty Superſtition of ſome Chriſtians, who were otherwiſe perhaps very ſincere, but who thought they could never let their Invention run too far in Matters of this Nature. 'Tis likely they wrote not theſe Things without intending ſome Myſtery, the Meaning of which none but themſelves could ever come at, for want of their leaving us a Key to it. But the ill Uſe that has been made of this myſtical Manner of Writing of the Antients, by a late [c] Author, whom we have endeavoured to refute in ſeveral Parts of the preſent Work, is enough to deter any future Chriſtian from ſuffering his Devotion and Fancy to get the Start of his Judgment, in ſpeaking of any Thing that has the leaſt Relation to the Hiſtory of our Redemption.

Some ſay, that our Saviour's Croſs was fifteen Foot high, that the Arms of it were ſeven or eight Foot long, and that the Top, to which the Writing was faſtened, was a Piece of Wood, or Board, added afterwards. None of this is impoſſible, the Dimenſions ſeeming to be taken from what was common, and the other Suppoſition being well enough founded: But it is not eaſy to get any certain Knowledge of theſe Matters, which neither the ſacred Writers, nor the primitive Fathers, take any Notice of. Thoſe Authors who have ſpoken of them, are too modern to prove a Matter of Fact of this Nature.

Painters commonly repreſent the Croſs to be pulled down, when our Saviour is faſtened to it; and afterwards to be ſet up again, and the Body of our Saviour to be raiſed with it: Speculative Perſons make uſe of theſe Conſiderations, to aggravate the Exceſs of Pain which he endured at his Crucifixion. But this Opinion is not at all probable. Is it common to have the Gibbet firſt pulled down, when the Criminal is to be hanged upon it, in order to be put up again when the condemned Perſon is affixed to it? The Shaking and Motion of the Croſs, together with the Weight of the Body, might, without any Thing elſe, have broken the crucified Perſons Hands and Feet, and have looſened him from the Croſs with inexpreſſible Pains. Is it likely then, that they would run the Hazard of ſuch a probable Accident, which could not but often happen where ſuch a Method was uſed? *Nonnus*, [d] St. *Auſtin*, [e] and the moſt learned Interpreters, are of Opinion, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was nailed to the Croſs as it ſtood already erected.

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[w] Cyprianus de Paſſion.

[x] Greg. Naz. Carm. de Chriſto Patiente.

[y] Chryſoſt. ſeu alius Serm. de cruce.

[z] Bernard. in Cant. vii. 8.

[a] A little Piece that croſſed the Top, to contain the Inſcription.

[b] John v. 2, 3, 4.

[c] Woolſton.

It has been the Opinion of ſome, [f] that before the crucified Perſon's Feet, there was a kind of Footſtool, or Piece of Wood jutting out, upon which his Feet were laid and faſtened. *Gregory* of [g] *Tours* particularly intimates this, and there are many Croſſes to be ſeen made after this Manner. It muſt be confeſſed, that without this the Criminal was not likely to continue long nailed to the Croſs, the whole Weight of his Body bearing upon his Hands. But others aſſert, [h] that there are no Marks of this Footſtool to be ſeen in the Deſcription of the Croſs, which the moſt antient *Greek* and *Latin* Writers have left us. But the Antients ſpeak, however, of a kind of wooden Horſe, upon which the ſuffering Perſon was, as it were, mounted, that ſo his Hands might not be torn aſunder by the Weight of his Body. This was a large Peg fixed about half-way the Croſs; as appears from [i] *Juſtin*, [k] *Irenæus*, and [l] *Tertullian:* And the ſame is aſſerted by ſeveral eminent [m] and able Critics. This Peg might anſwer the ſame End as a Foot-ſtool below.

We ſhall take no Notice of the Superſtition paid to the Croſs by the Papiſts, and of the vaſt Quantity of Wood that has been received as Part of it: Every one has heard of theſe Things. It is well known alſo that our Saviour, in the following Words, foretold, that *Peter* would die upon a Croſs. [n] *When thou waſt young, thou girdedſt thyſelf, and walkedſt whither thou wouldeſt: But when thou ſhalt be old, thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thy Hands, and another ſhall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldeſt not.* Only we may here obſerve, that it was the Cuſtom to gird thoſe who were thus to be crucified, as is here intimated. And we would alſo remark once more, that it was in Alluſion to the Sufferings of thoſe who were crucified, that our Saviour often tells his Followers, that they who would be his Diſciples, muſt take up their Croſs and follow him. The Croſs was the Sign of Ignominy and Sufferings; and it is now, if we may be allowed the Expreſſion, the Device and Glory of Chriſtians. St. *Paul* ſays, [o] that he is *crucified with* Jeſus Chriſt, that he *glories only in the Croſs of* Chriſt, and that *they who are* Chriſt*'s have crucified the Fleſh, with the Affections and Luſts. Jeſus Chriſt* is the Way that we are to follow: There is no attaining to that Glory and Happineſs which is promiſed to us, by any other Means than by the Croſs.

XII. We read in the Evangeliſts of three Sorts of Drink that they offered to our Saviour at his Paſſion. This is a Difficulty that requires to be cleared up. St. *Matthew* ſays, [p] *that when they came to Calvary, they gave him Vinegar,* or Wine, *to drink, mixed with Gall; but when he had taſted thereof, he would not drink it.* St. *Mark*, relating the ſame Thing, ſays, [q] *that they offered him Wine mixed with Myrrh; but he would not drink of it.* And again, St. *Matthew* ſays, [r] that *Jeſus Chriſt* being upon the Croſs, and crying out, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* a Soldier ran to him, and *filling a Spunge with Vinegar, put it upon a Reed, and reached it to* Jeſus. Of this laſt Drink, which was different from the other two, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter: Our Buſineſs at preſent ſhall be, to reconcile St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* together, and to know whether the Vinegar mingled with Gall, mentioned by St. *Matthew*, be the ſame as St. *Mark*'s Wine mixed with Myrrh. Now concerning this, we meet with the following Conjectures.

The Text of St. *Matthew*, [ſ] in ſeveral *Greek* Copies, intimates, that they offered our Saviour Vinegar mingled with Gall, as we have it in our Tranſlation. But many excellent Manuſcripts, as well as the Vulgate, read Wine, the ſame as in St. *Mark:* And many of the Antients, both *Greek*, and *Latin*, have taken it thus. Beſides, it is well known, that the Subſtance of Vinegar is Wine; and therefore many [t] place Vinegar and Wine under the ſame Category. We ought therefore, it is preſumed, to obſerve the ſame Reading in both the Evangeliſts.

To reconcile theſe two Evangeliſts, as to the Gall and the Myrrh, ſome have advanced, [u] that St. *Matthew* having written, that it was Wine mixed with Gall which they offered our Saviour; St. *Mark* intended to expreſs the Bitterneſs of the Gall by the Word Myrrh, which is a very bitter Ingredient. Others have thought, that St. *Matthew* writing in *Hebrew*, made uſe of the Word *Roſch*, which ſignifies Poiſon, Bitterneſs; and that St. *Mark*, being willing to ſpecify what ſort of Bitterneſs this was, rendered it by Myrrh: But the *Greek* Interpreter of *Matthew* tranſlated by Gall, thinking that to have been the Bitterneſs intended by *Matthew*. This Conjecture, however, deprives *Matthew*'s Interpreter of divine Inſpiration; which it ſeems neceſſary to allow him, becauſe his Verſion, if the Goſpel of *Matthew* in *Greek* be indeed a Verſion, is the only Copy of that Evangeliſt which is now extant.

Some have [w] conceived, that theſe two Potions were offered our Saviour at different Times; that the devout Women, who attended on him, offer'd him Wine of Myrrh, to diminiſh his Senſe of Pain, but that the Soldiers mingled

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[d] The Author of the Tragedy entitled, *The Suffering Jeſus.*

[e] Vide Bynæum de Morte Chriſti. l. ix. c. 6. Art. 7. Lipſ. de cruce, l. 2. c. 7.

[f] Lipſ. Not. in l. 2. c. 10, de cruce. Fuardent. Not. in Iren. l. 2. c. 42. Heinſ. in Par. Nonni in Joan. xx.

[g] Greg. Tur. de gloria Martyr. l. 2. c. 9.

[h] Scaliger Animad. in Euſeb. Digreſſ. de liter. gonicar. lit. T. Bynæus de morte Chriſti, l. 3. c. 5. Art. 11, 12, 13.

[i] Juſtin. Dial. cum Tryph.

[k] Iren. l. 1. c. 46.

[l] Tertull. l. 1. cont. Nationes.

[m] Scaliger loc. citat. Salmaſ. de cruce. Bartholin. de lat. Chriſti aperto, & de cruce. Bynæus T. iii. c. 5. Art. 12.

[n] John xxi. 18.

[o] Gal. ii. 19. v. 24. vi. 14.

[p] Matth. xxvii. 34.

[q] Mark xv. 23.

[r] Matth. xxvii. 48.

[ſ] Ita Syr. Origen. Hieron.

[t] Vide Bartholin. de Vino Myrrhato ſect. 2.

[u] Vid. Aug. l. 3. de conſenſ. Evang. c. 11.

[w] Vide Bed. in Matth. xxvii.

Gall with it. But all this is only ſaid by Conjecture. What appears to us the moſt probable, is, that the Gall of St. *Matthew*, and the Myrrh of St. *Mark*, [x] ſignify but one and the ſame Thing; that is, ſomething very bitter.

As to the Wine mixt with Myrrh, or *Vinum Myrrhatum*, of St. *Mark*, the Antients knew a Sort of Wine, which they called *Murinum Vinum*, which was a very delicious Wine. But this was not that which was offered to *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſince St. *Matthew*, or his old Interpreter, explains it by Wine that was bitter, or mingled with Gall. Wine of Myrrh then, was Wine in which Myrrh was diſſolved. The Antients put in this Drug, either to give it a Body, and make it keep longer; or [y] to haſten the Death of thoſe that ſuffered, to whom they uſed to give it, if we may believe *Maimonides*, *Kimchi*, and *Fagius*.

Others think, whoſe Judgment we have followed in a Note on the Hiſtory of this Tranſaction, that Myrrh had almoſt the ſame Effect in Wine as Incenſe; that it ſtupified the Patient, cauſed a kind of Intoxication, and took away the Senſe of Pain. It is certain, that the Antients gave their Elephants Wine, in which Incenſe had been infuſed, to inebriate them, and take away the Horror of ſhedding Blood. We ſee an Inſtance of this in the apocryphal [z] third Book of *Maccabees*, which the Learned may conſult. *Apuleius* ſays, [a] that a certain Perſon had fortified himſelf againſt the Violence of Blows, by taking of Myrrh. And elſewhere, he makes [b] it effectual to harden againſt the Vehemence of Fire itſelf. It was probably with ſuch a View, that they gave our Saviour *Vinum Myrrhatum*, and that this is the true Senſe both of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*.

We are now to add a Word or two concerning the *Vinegar*, which one of the Soldiers gave our Saviour in a Spunge, juſt before his Expiring. Now the Antients, beſides the Vinegar which they uſed for Sauces, had alſo ſeveral Sorts of Vinegar which they uſed to drink. The Emperor *Peſcennius* gave Orders, [c] that his Soldiers ſhould drink nothing but Vinegar during their March. *Boaz* told *Ruth*, [d] that ſhe might come and dip her Bread in Vinegar, along with his People. Harveſters made uſe of this Liquor, ſays [e] *Pliny*, for their Refreſhment. There is great Probability therefore, that the Vinegar which the *Roman* Soldiers offered our Saviour at his Crucifixion, was the ſame which they made uſe of for their own drinking: And no doubt they had a Quantity of it at Hand, to refreſh them during the Time that they were obliged to ſtand Centinel by the Croſſes. *Conſtantine the Great* allowed his Soldiers Wine and Vinegar alternately, every Day.

This Vinegar was a ſmall ſort of Wine, of which ſome [f] Antient Authors have given us the Compoſition. They ſtill make great Uſe of it in *Spain* and *Italy*, in Harveſt-Time. They uſe it alſo in *Holland*, and on Ship-board, to correct the ill Taſte of the Water. The Scripture forbids the *Nazarites* [g] to uſe Vinegar, and all ſorts of Liquor that come from the Vine, and which are capable of inebriating. *Pliny* [h] enumerates ſeveral ſorts of this potable Vinegar.

It muſt be allowed, however, that there was a kind of ſtrong Vinegar, which was not proper for drinking, or which was not uſed till it was diluted. The *Pſalmiſt* complains [i], that they had given him Vinegar to drink; which Words muſt allude to this ſharp ſort of Vinegar: And *Jeſus Chriſt*, to fulfil this Prophecy in his own Perſon, would not drink the Vinegar that was offered him. *Solomon* ſays, in his *Proverbs*, [k] *As Vinegar to the Teeth, and as Smoke to the Eyes, ſo is the Sluggard to them that ſend him.* It follows then, upon the whole, that, as we ſaid at firſt, Vinegar was looked upon as a Liquor that was very agreeable to drink, but that we muſt diſtinguiſh between that Vinegar, or ſmall Wine, which was uſed as a Drink, and in which Harveſt-People dipt their Bread, and that Vinegar which was made uſe of for Sauces, or which needed diluting to make it pleaſant. And we have good Reaſon to think, that the Vinegar given our Saviour was of the ſort that was commonly drank.

XIII. The Coat without Seam, for which the Soldiers caſt Lots at our Saviour's Crucifixion, was no extraordinary Thing among the the *Jews*. They wore no other Clothes but a [l] Coat, or Tunic, and a [m] Cloke. The Coat, or Tunic, was their Under-Garment, which they wore next the Skin: It was commonly made of Linen; and the Cloke, or looſe Garment, which they wore over this, was of Stuff, or Woollen. Theſe two Garments together make what the Scripture calls *a Change of Raiment*, [n] which *Noaman* brought as a Preſent to the Prophet *Eliſha*. The Cloke was only a great Piece of Stuff, that was not cut, and therefore Preſents were often made of the Parts of it. This was what the Soldiers divided among them under the Croſs; as the Tunic, or Coat, was *the Veſture for which they caſt Lots.*

Theſe Coats were often without Seam, and wove in Loom. They had no Slit, either at the Breaſt, or the Sides; but only at the Top, to let the Head through. The [o] Coats of the Prieſts were of this Kind; and for ſuch a Garment, when it belonged to ſeveral, it was much more rational to caſt Lots, to determine the Poſſeſſion of the whole, than to divide it, becauſe the Parts could not be of that Uſe as the Parts of the *Hebrew* Cloke, or Mantle. St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Theophylact*, and *Theophanes*, are of Opinion, that it was made of two Pieces of Woollen Stuff wove in a Loom, and fine-drawn together with a Needle and woollen Yarn, as the Pieces of a wove Stocking are joined together, ſo as to ſeem but one Piece. Others will have it to be all Needle-work, from Top to Bottom. But we need only conſult two learned Diſſertations on this Subject, written by *Braunius* and *Calmet*, to be convinced, that it was wove all together in a Loom. They make them after the ſame Manner in the Eaſtern Countries.

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[x] Vide Tho. Bartholin. de Vino Myrrhatos ſect. 5.

[y] Aëtius ſet. 4. Serm. 41. c. 123.

[z] It is not in the Collection of Apocryphal Books inſerted in our *Engliſh* Bibles, but may be ſeen in *Tremelius*'s *Latin* Bible.

[a] Apulei Metam. l. 8.

[b] Id. ib. l. 10.

[c] Spartian. in Peſcennio.

[d] Ruth. ii. 14.

[e] Hiſt. Nat. l. 23. c. 1.

[f] Columella, Cato, Pliny, &c

[g] Numb. vi. 3.

[h] Hiſt. Nat. l. 14 c. 16.

[i] Pſal. lxviii. 26.

[k] Prov. x. 26.

[l] Called in Hebrew Chetonet.

[m] In Hebrew Mehil.

[n] 2 Kings v. 15.

[o] Exod. xxviii. 32.

'Tis an antient Tradition, [p] that the Holy Virgin herſelf wove her Son's Coat: 'Twas the Women formerly that made the Stuffs and the Cloth, not only for their own Clothes, but alſo for their Husbands and Children. This appears from the Example of the virtuous Woman, whoſe Character *Solomon* [q] gives us in his *Proverbs*; and alſo from that of *Penelope*, the Wife of *Ulyſſes*, whoſe Hiſtory is given by *Homer* in his *Odyſſeis*. *Pallas*, the Goddeſs of Wiſdom, was the Inventreſs of Weaving among the Heathens; and this aſcribing the Original of it to a Female Deity, is not a weak Intimation, that it was chiefly practiſed by the Fair Sex. We are informed of *Alexander the Great*, *Auguſtus*, and *Charlemain*, that they all wore Clothes made by the Hands of their Mothers, their Wives, or their Daughters.

'Tis another popular Tradition, that the Coat of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for which the Soldiers drew Lots, was the ſame that he had received from the Virgin *Mary* while he was yet a Child, and that it had continually grown with him, without being worn out. But this Tradition is not vouched for by Antiquity, and ſeems to have been taken from what was before received concerning the Clothes of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs. *Moſes* informs us, [r] that the Clothes which the *Hebrews* uſed in the Wilderneſs did not wear out. *Thy Raiment did not wax old upon thee, neither did thy Foot ſwell for theſe forty Years.* Which Words [s] *Juſtin Martyr*, and ſome [t] modern Interpreters, following the Rabbies, have taken in a literal Senſe; adding to it, as their own Opinion, that not only the Clothes of the *Iſraelites* did not grow old, but alſo that thoſe of their Children grew along with them, and were always fit for them at every Age. St. *Jerom* aſſerts, [u] That ſo much as their Hair or their Nails did not grow too long. But [w] others think, with much more Probability, that *Moſes* intended no more, than that God ſo provided them with Neceſſaries, that they did not ſo much as want Clothes in all their Journey.

To ſee Garments, or Frocks, entire without Seam, with Sleeves and Quarters of the ſame Piece, wove together in the Loom, is no Rarity in the Eaſt. We are told, that, [x] in the *Maldivee* Iſlands, there are Workmen ſo ingenious at Weaving, that they make entire Shirts and Waiſtcoats of the Tow of the Cocoa-tree, after a Manner, that the Reader may ſee deſcribed in *Braunius*'s [y] Diſſertation before referr'd to, and in *Calmet*'s Dictionary, under the Word *Veſtments*. And in other Places [z] we hear of Clothes wove of Cotton after ſo particular a Manner, that the like is not to be found elſewhere. Theſe are generally round Garments, and wove ſo fine, that it is ſaid they may be drawn thro' the Eye of a Needle moderately large.

The *Romaniſts* pretend, that the Coat of our Saviour is ſtill preſerved in the Cathedral Church of *Treves*. There is another Garment alſo at *Argeneuil*, near *Paris*, which is called our Saviour's Coat; but this is not a Coat, ſuch as we have here deſcribed, but a Cloke. It is of a purple Colour, as the Clokes of the *Jews* frequently were; whereas their Tunics, or Coats, were generally white. The ſacred Tunic, as the *Romaniſts* call it, which is kept at *Treves*, and which is without a Seam, [a] is in Length five Foot within half a Finger. Its Width, from the End of one Sleeve to the End of the other, is five Foot four Fingers: And as it is narrower juſt below the Sleeves, and then goes widening downwards, it is in the narroweſt Place but two Foot four Inches. But we have been long enough upon this Subject.

XIV. Concerning the Time of Day at which our Saviour was crucified, the Reader may conſult what we have ſaid in a [b] former Diſſertation, in which we have endeavoured to reconcile ſeveral ſeeming Contradictions in the Evangeliſts. In the ſame [c] Diſcourſe he will likewiſe find ſomewhat about the Thief, or Thieves, (for the Evangeliſts differ in Point of Number,) that reviled *Chriſt* upon the Croſs. The Reſurrection of the Saints, who appeared to many in the holy City, we ſhall ſpeak of when we come to our Saviour's Reſurrection. What now remains to be taken Notice of here, is the evangelical Account of ſeveral Prodigies that appeared at the Time of our Saviour's Death, particularly the Earthquake, and the Eclipſe.

Many are of Opinion, that the Earthquake which happened at our Saviour's Death, was felt by all the World: But others maintain, that it was ſenſible only in *Judea*, or even in the Temple, the Gates whereof were ſhaken, and the Veil rent aſunder. St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſays, [d] that the Rocks upon Mount *Calvary* were ſtill ſhewn in his Time, which had been ſplit by the Force of the Earthquake. Modern Travellers affirm the ſame Thing at preſent, and the Reader may ſee Mr. *Maundrell*'s Account of it in [e] this Work. It muſt have been attended with very terrible Circumſtances, ſince the Centurions, and they that were with him, were ſo affected with it, as [f] to be induced by it to acknowledge the Injuſtice of our Saviour's Condemnation. *Phlegon*, *Adrian*'s Freed-man, who gives an Account of the Eclipſe, relates, that at the ſame Time there was likewiſe a very great Earthquake, which was felt principally in *Bithynia*.

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[p] Vid. Euthym. in John xx.

[q] Prov. xxxi. 13.

[r] Deut. viii. 4.

[s] Juſtin Martyr. Dial. cum Tryphone.

[t] Vide Grot. Bonfr. Janſen. &c.

[u] Hieron. Ep. 38. p. 325. Nov. Edit.

[w] Abenezra, Ceſm. Monach. l. 5 p. 205. Vide & Junium, Druſium, Joan. Clericum, &c.

[x] Voyages to China, by two Arabians, in the ninth Century, Paris, 1718. 8vo. p. 2.

[y] Braunius De Veſtitu Sacerdotum Hebræorum, l. 1. c. 16

[z] Voyage to China, &c. p. 21.

[a] Maſen. Add. ad Annales Bronveri. T. 1. p. 583.

[b] See p. 146.

[c] p. 149.

[d] Cyril. Hieroſol. Catech. Com. 13.

[e] See p. 245.

[f] Luke xviii. 47.

What the Veil of the Temple was, which was rent in twain by this Earthquake, we may learn from *Maimonides*. They built no Partition Wall, he tells us, in the ſecond Temple, between the Holy Place and the Moſt Holy. In the firſt Temple there was a Wall built betwixt them, of the Thickneſs of a Cubit: But in the ſecond, in the Room of this Wall, there were two Veils, one from the Extremity of the Holy Place, the other from the Extremity of the Moſt Holy, with a void Space between them of a Cubit, to anſwer the Thickneſs of the former Wall. And ſo likewiſe was it, ſays [g] *Joſephus*, in the Temple reſtored by *Herod*, in which there were two Veils, one for the Holy Place, another for the Adytum: The Veil of the moſt Holy Place, according to the Apoſtle, [h] ſignifying, that *the Way into the Holy of Holies was not yet opened*; Chriſt's *Death procuring a new and living Way into it.* And therefore, *Chriſt* having ſuffered, this Veil was rent, as a Token that all Obſtruction was removed.

The Eclipſe which happened at our Saviour's Death, is a Miracle not to be conteſted, ſince the Moon, being then at the Full, could not naturally cauſe an Eclipſe of the Sun. Beſides, Eclipſes of the Sun generally laſt about an Hour only, whereas this continued three Hours, with a total Darkneſs; that is, from Noon till three o' Clock in the Afternoon. *From the ſixth Hour there was Darkneſs over all the Land unto the ninth Hour.* *Origen*, [i] and ſeveral others after him, as *Vatablus*, *Eraſmus*, *Maldonat*, were of Opinion, that this Darkneſs was peculiar to *Judea*, which is very often deſcribed by the Name of all the Earth. St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Euthymius*, *Theophylact*, and ſome others, aſſert, that it extended over our whole Hemiſphere. The Cauſe of it, according to *Origen*, whom we have followed in our Hiſtory, was a thick Miſt, which deprived Men of the Sight of the Sun: And it is certain, that we can ſcarce conceive of it otherwiſe, ſince the Moon being then at the Full, a natural Eclipſe of the Sun, by the Moon's Interpoſition between the Earth and us, was, as we juſt now obſerved, impoſſible.

[k] *Julius Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Jerome*, in their ſeveral Chronicles, refer that Eclipſe of the Sun, which is mentioned by *Phlegon*, the Freed-Man of *Adrian*, to the Time of our Saviour's Death. This Author ſays, that in the fourth Year of the two hundred and ſecond Olympiad, which was the Year of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s Death, there was the greateſt Eclipſe of the Sun that had been ſeen till that Time, for at Noon-day the Stars in the Heavens were diſcernible. *Tertullian* [l] refers the Heathens to their public Archives, for an Account of that Darkneſs which happened at Noon upon the Day of our Saviour's Death; *which*, he ſays, *was taken for a* natural *Eclipſe, by thoſe who knew not that this was foretold concerning* Chriſt. The Author known by the Name of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, ſays, that [m] when he was at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, he obſerved the Eclipſe which happened upon this Occaſion; and as he knew that according to the Rules of Aſtronomy it could not happen at that Time, *Allophanes*, who was then his Fellow-Student in that City, cried out, *Theſe, my dear* Dionyſius, *are ſupernatural and divine Changes!* meaning, that they were Changes of Things that are divine. Which Thought *Suidas* makes *Dionyſius* himſelf expreſs in theſe Words; [n] *Either the Divinity himſelf ſuffers, or compaſſionates ſome other who is ſuffering.*

Lucian, a Prieſt of *Antioch*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the Year 312, is introduced by *Rufinus*, ſpeaking in this Manner to the Heathens: [o] *Conſult your Annals, and you will find, that when* Jeſus Chriſt *died, the Sun diſappeared, and the Day-light was interrupted by an uncommon Darkneſs.* *Thallus*, an Antient, is likewiſe named by *Africanus*, as having taken notice of the extraordinary Darkneſs attending the Paſſion of our Saviour. In a Word, *Euſebius* in his Chronicle, at the eighteenth Year of *Tiberius*, introduces the Teſtimony of *Phlegon* in this Manner: Chriſt *ſuffered this Year, in which Time we find in other Commentaries of the Heathens theſe Words, There was a Defection of the Sun,* Bithynia *was ſhaken with an Earthquake, and many Houſes fell down in the City of* Nice. Thoſe who have a Mind to ſee more concerning this Event, may conſult the Commentators on St. *Matthew*; the eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, ſuch as Cardinal *Baronius*, M. *de Tillemont*, and others; and alſo ſeveral Diſſertations which have been written thereon, as that of *Calmet*, and ſome that have been lately publiſhed in our own Language.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, and his Deſcent into Hell.

I. *That* Chriſt's *Satisfaction was ſufficient, though his Torments were not equal to thoſe of the Damned, and though his Death was only temporal.* II. *That it is not neceſſary a Subſtitute ſhould ſuffer what is accidental to the Puniſhment. The Eternity of Death accidental only.* III. *That* Chriſt's *Puniſhment had ſome Analogy with the Puniſhments which Sinners are to ſuffer.* IV. *A general Idea of our Redemption by* Chriſt, *in the ſeveral Branches of it.* V. Chriſt's *Deſcent into Hell, mentioned in the Creed, what we are to underſtand by it.*

I. THE great Objection that has been made againſt the Satisfaction of *Chriſt*, runs to this Effect: *The Death which* Chriſt *ſuffered for our Sins, was only temporal: But the Puniſhment which we deſerved, and therefore ſhould*

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[g] Joſeph. de Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 14.

[h] Heb. ix. 8.

[i] Orig. in Matth. xxvii.

[k] Jul. African. ap Syncell. Euſeb. & Hieron. in Chron.

[l] Tertull. Apol. c. xxi.

[m] Dionyſ. Areop. Ep. vii. ad Polycarp.

[n] Suidas in Dionyſ.

[o] Rufin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ix. c. 6.

have ſuffered in our Perſons for them, was eternal Death: Therefore Chriſt *did not ſuffer the Puniſhment of our Iniquities.*

Now in anſwer to this, [a] It is confeſſed, that our Saviour did not ſuffer the Torments which the Damned ſhall hereafter ſuffer, for that, in the midſt of all his Agonies, he lay not under any Deſperation, or under any Senſe of the Indignation of God againſt him, as we made evident in a [b] former Diſcourſe.

It is alſo confeſſed, that he could not ſuffer Death eternal, or eternal Puniſhments; for his Sufferings and Death laſted not three Days. To ſay, he ſuffered theſe Puniſhments intenſely, is to ſay nothing to the Purpoſe, ſince Eternity, applied to Puniſhments, plainly reſpecteth the Duration, not the Intention or Severity of them. 'Tis alſo certain, that our Lord ſuffered only in his human Nature: Now that was not capable of ſuch intenſe Puniſhments, as could be equal to the eternal Puniſhments of the whole World, for which he died. Nor can the Dignity of the Perſon be conſidered here; for though that makes the Sufferings more valuable, it does not make them either more durable, or more intenſe; ſince a Peaſant ſuffers as much by hanging on a Croſs the ſame Time, as a Prince can do.

Indeed, it is hard to conceive, wherein *Chriſt* could ſuffer ſuch intenſe Puniſhments, as could be any way equivalent to the eternal Torments of the Damned. Not in his Soul: For could that Soul, which knew no Sin, lie under a Remorſe of Conſcience for any Thing it had not done? Could *the Worm that never dies*, lodge in his ſacred Breaſt? Could he, who *for the Joy that was ſet before him endured the Croſs*, lie under any Senſe of God's unchangeable Diſpleaſure? Could he, who knew his *Soul ſhould not be left in Hell*, nor ſhould *his Body ſee Corruption*, lie under any Apprehenſion of an unavoidable Pain, or of no Releaſe from what he was to ſuffer? Now in theſe Things conſiſt the Miſeries and Torments of the damned Spirits. Nor could he ſuffer theſe eternal Puniſhments in his Body, for that could only die, by what he ſuffered on the Croſs.

And as it was impoſſible, ſo it was unneceſſary, that *Chriſt* ſhould ſuffer Death eternal. It was unneceſſary that he ſhould do it for the Sake of the Impenitent; for they, in their own Perſons, are, by the Order and Decree of God, to ſuffer an eternal Death; and why ſhould our Lord ſuffer that for them, which, notwithſtanding all that he had ſuffered, they muſt in their own Perſons actually ſuffer? No Sacrifice for Sin, not even that of our bleſſed Saviour, can avail any thing for the Impenitent and Ungodly; becauſe it cannot, merely as being offered, render them pure from habitual Sin, nor *create in them a clean Heart*, nor give them a divine Nature, or a Likeneſs to God; and ſo it cannot fit them for a State of Happineſs, or exempt them from being everlaſtingly excluded from the Face of God, and ſo for ever miſerable. Why therefore ſhould our Saviour ſuffer ſuch direful Puniſhments for them, who could receive no Benefit from what he ſuffered?

As for the true penitent Believers, *Chriſt* came to ſave them from the Wrath to come by ſuffering, and to obtain Grace and Mercy for them in the Pardon of their Sins, and to eſtabliſh that new Covenant in his Blood, in which God promiſeth *to be merciful to their Iniquities, and to remember their Sins no more, and to juſtify them freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in* Chriſt Jeſus. Now, had *Chriſt* ſuffer'd for them Death eternal, or all that Juſtice could demand by way of Puniſhment for them in whoſe Stead he ſuffered, what need was there of procuring this rich Grace and Mercy, in the Pardon of thoſe Sins for which he had already paid the uttermoſt Farthing? How could he then eſtabliſh a new and better Covenant in his Blood, ſince no Covenant did, nor could, require more than the full Puniſhment which our Sin deſerved? How was this a Covenant to be *merciful to our Iniquities?* Where is the Grace and Freeneſs of that Juſtification, which, after a full Payment, only imputeth to one nothing of that Debt which is entirely diſcharged?

II. But farther, we anſwer in the *ſecond* Place, That where there is a Surrogation or Subſtitution in the Caſe of Puniſhment, it is not neceſſary that the Subſtitute ſhould ſuffer what is accidental to the Puniſhment: Yet this *Chriſt* muſt have done, had he ſuffered eternal Death for us.

Death to us is eternal only accidentally; becauſe we have no Power, being dead, to raiſe our Bodies into Life; nor have we any Promiſe, that our dying Bodies ſhall not ſee Corruption. It was our Sin that gave *Satan* a Power to detain us in the State of Death, till *Chriſt* had made a Satisfaction for it: But this could not be the ſame to *Chriſt*, who knew no Sin, and who had a Power to re-aſſume his Life, and a Promiſe that his Body ſhould not ſee Corruption. And yet his Death was truly ſuch as that which Sinners ſuffer in the Body, becauſe it was as much a Diſſolution of Soul and Body, and a Ceſſation of the Functions of human Life, in him as in them. But it was not therefore neceſſary to our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, in order to redeem us from Death eternal, that he ſhould ſuffer the ſame Death; only that he ſhould attone for that Sin, which made us ſubject to Death, and procure for us a bleſſed Reſurrection. Now all this he has done: [c] *For as by Man came Death, by Man alſo came the Reſurrection of the Dead; and as in* Adam *all Men die, ſo in* Chriſt *ſhall be made alive.*

And as Death itſelf, ſo moſt of the Evils which the Soul ſuffers after Death, are accidental alſo, and may be more properly ſtiled the neceſſary Conſequents, than the formal and poſitive Puniſhments of Sin. For inſtance, that Souls departed are deprived of the Love of God, are

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[a] Whitby's Appendix to Matth. xxvi.

[b] Of our Saviour's Anguiſh and Sorrow, &c. p. 669. of this Work.

[c] 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.

Objects of his Wrath, and are excluded from his Preſence, is not merely becauſe they are Souls ſeparated from the Body; for pious Souls, when ſeparated from the Body, are entirely exempted from theſe Evils; but this ariſes from the natural Purity and Holineſs of Good, and the Defilement and Impurity which theſe unhappy Souls lie under: It is [d] becauſe *God is of purer Eyes than to behold Iniquity, neither ſhall Evil dwell with him*; there being *no Communion betwixt Light and Darkneſs*; and becauſe *nothing that is defiled, or unclean, can enter into the New Jeruſalem*, or be capable of enjoying Happineſs from God. The Worm of Conſcience, the Deſpair and direful Expectation which follow this Senſe of Loſs, and this Excluſion from the divine Preſence, are alſo natural Reſults of the Soul's Separation in an impenitent State, and an unſanctified Condition, and of its being conſcious of its own Doom, and of thoſe wilful Follies which ſubject it to that Doom.

But *Chriſt*, being the Lamb of God, without *Spot or Blemiſh*, and being *an High Prieſt that was holy, harmleſs, and ſeparate from Sinners*; he could not be expoſed to the Evils that are conſequent to the Separation of unholy Souls. And ſince, as we have obſerved, the Sufferings of another for us, can never of themſelves renew our Nature, and render us holy; therefore *Chriſt*, that his Members might be exempted from thoſe Evils, was not only to ſuffer for them, but alſo to make them holy by his Word and Spirit, *by the Waſhing of Regeneration, and Renewing of the Holy Ghoſt*: Where we are ſaid, not only to be *juſtified by the Name of the Lord* Jeſus, but to [e] *be ſanctified by the Spirit of* God. And upon this Sanctification depends our Intereſt in the Blood of *Chriſt*: For, [f] *if we walk in the Light, as God is in the Light, we have communion with him, and the Blood of* Chriſt *cleanſeth us from all Sin.* And tho' *Chriſt*, doubtleſs, *ſuffered to redeem us from all Iniquity, and to purify to himſelf a peculiar People, zealous of Good Works*; yet it is ſaid, that [g] *he gave himſelf to the Death for us, that he might cleanſe us by the Waſhing of Water and the Word.* His Death is indeed a moſt powerful Motive to Holineſs of Life; but yet this Life is the immediate Fruit of his holy Spirit, and his Word. 'Twas alſo neceſſary for this End, that he ſhould purchaſe for us an Entrance into the Holy of Holies, and that he ſhould there appear before God with his Purchaſe: For by this, ſaith the Apoſtle, [h] we *obtain a Liberty of Entrance into the Holy Place.*

Again, the Reſurrection of the Bodies, and the Union of the Souls of wicked Men with them, is the natural Reſult of that impartial Juſtice, *which will render to every Man according to what is done in the Fleſh.* That being raiſed, and ſentenced to Condemnation, and puniſhed with everlaſting Separation from the Preſence of the Lord, they are tormented in the Flames which will then ſeize upon the World, happeneth becauſe they are not able to convey themſelves out of thoſe Flames, and are not worthy to be ſnatched up to Heaven, there *to live for ever with the Lord.* Therefore, that *Chriſt* might exempt the Members of his Body from theſe Puniſhments, it was not neceſſary that he ſhould deſcend to Hell, or be caſt into thoſe Flames; but only that he ſhould free them from Condemnation at that Day, as he hath moſt certainly done, there *being no Condemnation to them that are in* Chriſt Jeſus: Theſe *will be caught up by him into the Clouds, to meet the Lord in the Air, and ſo to be for ever with him*, as the [i] Apoſtle aſſures us.

III. A *third* Argument to prove the Sufficiency of *Chriſt*'s Satisfaction is this: That tho' he did not undergo eternal Puniſhments, yet he ſuffered ſuch Evils as contained ſome Analogy, and a certain Reſemblance, to thoſe which Sinners are to ſuffer, and which he would not otherwiſe have ſuffered, had he not been puniſhed for our Sins.

1ſt, As the Sinner lies under the Sentence of Condemnation, and is ſure to find a public exemplary Judgment; ſo was our Saviour ſolemnly condemned, and ſentenced as a Malefactor, not without the Appearance of Law and Juſtice to warrant their Proceedings. The *Jewiſh* Doctors told *Pilate*, that they would not have delivered this *Jeſus*, had he not been *a notorious Malefactor.* They laid upon him the Imputation of *an Impoſtor, a ſeditious Perſon, a Perverter of Nations, a Rebel* unto *Cæſar*, and *a Blaſphemer againſt God*; pretending to deſire his Execution out of pure Zeal to their Law: *For by our Law*, ſay they, *he ought to die, becauſe he maketh himſelf the Son of God.* Thus was he *numbered with the Tranſgreſſors.*

2dly, As Sinners will be expoſed to Shame and Ignominy at the Day of Judgment, before Men and Angels; ſo did *Chriſt* ſuffer a very ſhameful and ignominious Death: The Puniſhment that he endured was what, by the *Law*, only Slaves were to ſuffer; it was attended with all the Mockeries, Affronts, and Obloquies, that his Enemies could caſt upon him: As for the Rulers, they *reviled and ſnuffed up their Noſes at him*; and they that went by, *wagged their Heads*, and with their Tongues vented their Blaſphemies againſt him. He himſelf declares to his Diſciples, [k] that he ought to ſuffer theſe Indignities; that he ought to be reprobated by the Chief Prieſts, and the Elders of the *Jews*; that he ought to be vilified, and ſet at nought by them. This Condemnation therefore, and this Shame, was Part of what he was deſigned to ſuffer for us.

3dly, As Sinners, beſides their Condemnation and Shame, are obnoxious to Sufferings in their Bodies; ſo *Chriſt* ſuffered in his Body a Death ſo painful, that the moſt exquiſite Torments and Afflictions have their Names [l] from thoſe of the Croſs. What ſharp, what pungent Grief muſt he ſuffer, when his Hands were pierced and nailed to the Croſs, and when by thoſe Nails the chief, if not the whole Weight of his Body was ſuſtained! What a continual Rack and Torture muſt he feel, when all his Bones were as it were out of Joint, by being thus ſtretched upon the cruel Tree! when extended and nailed in this Manner, he was left to die no other Death, but what the Sharpneſs of his Pains, and the Exceſs of his Torments would procure!

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[d] Hab. I. 13.

[e] 1 Cor. vi. 11.

[f] 1 John i. 7.

[g] Eph. v. 26.

[h] Heb. ix. 19.

[i] Theſſ. iv. 17.

[k] Luke ix. 22. Mark ix. 12.

[l] Cruciatus.

4thly, As the Soul of the Sinner will be puniſhed together with his Body, ſo did *Chriſt* in his Soul ſuffer moſt dreadful Agonies. It is to the Sufferings of his Body, indeed, that our Redemption is chiefly aſcribed; but yet [m] the Senſe of our Sins lay heavily upon him, ſo as to make him confeſs, that he was troubled in Spirit, and that his Soul was filled with deadly Sorrow: And this Sorrow appears to be even beyond what the Fear of Death could occaſion, in any Man, as we have [n] elſewhere ſhewn.

Here it is proper we ſhould take notice, that though we have before denied that *Chriſt* ſuffered any Thing from the immediate Hand of God, yet ſeveral Texts of Scripture ſeem to intimate, that what he ſuffered from the Hands of Men, befel him according to his over-ruling Providence, *who orders all Things according to the Council of his own Will.* It was *God*, ſays the Apoſtle, [o] *that delivered him up for us all*, and that [p] *made him to be Sin for us, who knew no Sin.* That is, God in his Providence ſo ordered it, that he ſhould be dealt with as a Criminal, or Sinful Perſon, for our Sakes, who in himſelf was wholly innocent. It was by Men who acted in God's Name, and claimed his Authority, that he was ſentenced to Death: It was by them who ſat in *Moſes*'s Chair, that he was adjudged worthy of Capital Puniſhment, and by the Father's Vicegerents that he was delivered to be crucified. For this Reaſon he tells *Pilate*, [q] *Thou couldſt have no Power over me, had it not been given thee from above. It pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him*, ſaith the [r] Prophet, *and to put him to Grief, and to make our Sins to meet upon him.* What Men did againſt him therefore, was only [ſ] what *God's Hand, and determinate Council*, had before concluded ſhould be done.

Now from this fair Reſemblance between what our Lord actually ſuffered, and what Sinners had deſerved to ſuffer, there ſeems ſufficient Ground to ſay, That he bore the Puniſhment of our Iniquities, and ſuffered in our Stead, altho' he did not undergo what accidentally the Sinner was to ſuffer, and what it was impoſſible for him to ſuffer, being innocent and perfectly holy. Had not our Lord been holy in Perfection, and altogether ſeparate from Sinners, he muſt have ſuffered for his own Sins; and ſo he could have been no Saviour to us by his Sufferings: And being thus holy, he could not be obnoxious to thoſe Puniſhments which are the Effects only of perſonal Sin. Now is it not unreaſonable to ſay, that *Chriſt* could not ſuffer in our Stead, or for our Sins, unleſs he ſuffered that eternal Death which we had deſerved? Is it not unreaſonable, we aſk, to ſay this, when this is plainly to affirm, that he could not ſuffer in our Stead without being a Sinner as we were? That is, unleſs he had been incapable of ſuffering for us, and liable to ſuffer for his own Offences.

IV. Let us now, in a few Words, ſurvey the Account which the New Teſtament gives of the Redemption wrought for us by *Chriſt*. [t] It is this; "That his Death was a Satisfaction made to the divine Juſtice for the Sins of Mankind: That thro' Faith in him, we are aſſured of the Forgiveneſs of our Sins upon our Repentance and Amendment: That being forgiven, we are juſtified in the Sight of God: That being juſtified in his Sight, we are reconciled to him: That he who reconciles us to God, ſanctifies our Hearts by the holy Spirit, to enable us to perform the Will of God, and thereby to continue in his Favour: That for the ſame End, he mediates and intercedes for us with God, while we continue in this preſent Life; and, That thro' him we have the Promiſe of Life Eternal." This is a Scene full of Comfort to all thoſe who comply with the Terms of the Goſpel; and, that every one may be aſſured that this is the true Account, and that by Conſequence the Hope and Comfort which good Chriſtians build upon the Redemption wrought for them by *Chriſt*, and their Truſt in him, are well founded, we will here ſet down in one View, and in the Words of Scripture, what is plainly delivered there, upon each of the fore-mentioned Heads.

Firſt, We are aſſured, that *Chriſt*, by his Death, made *Satisfaction* to the divine Juſtice for the Sins of Mankind. This the Scripture ſets forth by the Expreſſion, Of dying for us, Of bearing our Sins, Of taking away our Sins, Of being a Propitiation for our Sins, Of purchaſing and redeeming us with the Price of his Blood.

1ſt, Of *dying* for us: *He* [u] *died for our Sins:* [w] *He laid down his Life for us:* [x] *He gave himſelf for us:* [y] *He was delivered for our Offences:* [z] *He taſted Death for every Man:* Agreeably to the Prophecy concerning him, [a] *He was wounded for our Tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our Sins.*

2dly, Of *Bearing* our Sins: [b] *He was once offered to bear the Sins of many:* [c] *He bore our Sins in his own Body on the Tree:* Agreeably to the Prophecy concerning him, [d] *He hath borne our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows;* [e] *the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquities of us all.*

3dly, Of *Taking away* our Sins: [f] *He was manifeſted to take away our Sins:* [g] *He put away*

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[m] See p. *669*, &c.

[n] Ibid.

[o] Rom. viii. 32.

[p] 2 Cor. xv. 21.

[q] John xix. 11.

[r] Iſai. liii. 10. 6.

[ſ] Acts iv. 28.

[t] Biſhop of London's ſecond Paſtoral Letter, p. 171. &c. ed. in 12°.

[u] 2 Cor. xv. 3.

[w] 1 John iii. 16.

[x] Tit. ii. 14.

[y] Rom. iv. 25.

[z] Heb. ii. 9.

[a] Iſai. liii. 5.

[b] Heb. ix. 28.

[c] 1 Pet. ii. 24.

[d] Iſai. liii. 4.

[e] Ver. *6*.

[f] John iii. 5.

[g] Heb. ix. 26.

Sin by the Sacrifice of himſelf: [h] *He hath waſhed us from our Sins in his own Blood:* [i] *The Blood of* Jeſus Chriſt *cleanſeth us from all Sin.*

4thly, Of being *a Propitiation* for our Sins: [k] *Him hath God ſet forth to be a Propitiation thro' Faith in his Blood:* [l] *God ſent his Son to be a Propitiation for our Sins:* [m] *He is the Propitiation for our Sins; and not for ours only, but alſo for the Sins of the whole World.*

5thly, Of *Purchaſing and Redeeming* us with the Price of his Blood: [n] *He purchaſed the Church of God with his own Blood:* [o] *He came to give his Life a Ranſom for many:* [p] *He gave himſelf a Ranſom for all:* [q] *We are bought with a Price:* [r] *In him we have Redemption thro' his Blood:* [ſ] *He hath redeemed us to God by his Blood:* [t] *We are redeemed with the precious Blood of* Chriſt.

Secondly, The divine Juſtice being ſatisfied, we are aſſured of the *Forgiveneſs of our Sins* thro' *Chriſt*, upon a ſincere Repentance. His Fore-runner, *John the Baptiſt*, [u] *preached the Baptiſm of Repentance for the Remiſſion of Sins.* Chriſt tells us, [w] *His Blood was ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.* After the Reſurrection, the Apoſtles are directed by him, [x] *to preach Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins in his Name, among all Nations.* Accordingly their Preaching was this; [y] *Him hath God exalted with his Right Hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give Repentance to* Iſrael, *and Forgiveneſs of Sins:* [z] *Repent and be baptized every one of you in the Name of the Lord* Jeſus, *for the Remiſſion of Sins:* [a] *Thro' this Man is preached unto you the Forgiveneſs of Sins:* [b] *To him all the Prophets witneſs, that thro' his Name whoſoever believeth in him ſhall receive Remiſſion of Sins:* [c] *God was in* Chriſt *reconciling the World to himſelf, not imputing their Treſpaſſes unto them:* [d] *In him we have Redemption thro' his Blood, the Forgiveneſs of Sins.* And we are commanded [e] *to forgive one another, even as God, for* Chriſt's *Sake, hath forgiven us.*

Thirdly, Our Sins being forgiven, we are *juſtified* by *Chriſt* in the Sight of God. [f] *By him all that believe are juſtified:* [g] *We are juſtified in the Name of the Lord* Jeſus: [h] *We are juſtified freely by his Grace, thro' the Redemption that is in* Chriſt Jeſus: [i] *Being juſtified by his Blood, we ſhall be ſaved from Wrath through him:* [k] *God hath made him to be Sin for us, who knew no Sin, that we might be made the Righteouſneſs of God in him:* [l] *Even the Righteouſneſs of God, which is by Faith of* Jeſus Chriſt, *unto all, and upon all them that believe.*

Fourthly, being juſtified by *Chriſt*, we are *reconciled* to God. [m] *Being juſtified by Faith, we have Peace with God, through our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt: [n] *We are reconciled to God by the Death of his Son:* [o] *Us, who were Enemies, hath* Chriſt *reconciled in the Body of his Fleſh, through Death:* [p] *He hath made Peace thro' the Blood of the Croſs, by him to reconcile all Things unto himſelf:* [q] *God hath reconciled us to himſelf by* Jeſus Chriſt; [r] *who ſuffered for Sin, that he might bring us unto God:* [ſ] And *we are accepted in the Beloved.*

Fifthly, Having reconciled us to God, he *ſanctifies* our Hearts by the Holy Spirit, to enable us to perform our Duty, and thereby to continue in God's Favour. [t] *We are choſen to Salvation, thro' Sanctification of the Spirit;* [u] and *through Sanctification of the Spirit unto Obedience:* [w] *We are ſanctified, thro' the Offering of the Body of* Chriſt Jeſus: [x] *God hath not called us to Uncleanneſs, but unto Holineſs; who hath alſo given us his Holy Spirit.* [y] *The Spirit of God dwelleth in us*, and [z] *our Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt*; and [a] *we are an Habitation of God thro' the Spirit.* [b] *We are renewed by the Holy Ghoſt*, and [c] *quickened by the Spirit*, and [d] *ſtrengthened with Might by the Spirit in the Inner-Man:* And [e] *it is thro' the Spirit that we mortify the Deeds of the Body*; by which Deeds, [f] *we grieve and quench the Spirit.*

Sixthly, He who aſſiſts [ff] us by his Spirit on Earth, to enable us to do the Will of God, and thereby to continue in his Favour, is our conſtant *Mediator*, *Interceſſor*, and *Advocate* with God in Heaven, to preſent our Prayers for the Supply of our Wants, and to obtain a compaſſionate Regard to our Failings and Infirmities. [g] *He is the Mediator of the New Covenant.* [h] *There is one Mediator between God and Man, even the Man* Chriſt Jeſus. [i] *He makes Interceſſion for us at the Right Hand of God:* [k] *He appears in the Preſence of God for us:* [l] *No Man cometh unto the Father but by him.* [ll] *He is able to ſave them to the uttermoſt, who come to God by him; ſeeing he ever liveth to make Interceſſion for them.* [m] *If any Man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father,* Jeſus Chriſt *the Righteous:* [n] *He is touched with a Feeling of our Infirmities, and therefore let us come boldly to the Throne of Grace, that he may find Grace and Mercy to help in Time of Need:* And [o] *let us draw near with a true Heart, and full Aſſurance of Faith:* For [p] *in him we have Boldneſs, and Acceſs with Confidence.*

Seventhly, As it is he who enables us to do the Will of God, and to preſerve his Favour in this Life, ſo it is thro' him that we are made Partakers of *Life eternal.* [q] *The Father ſent the Son to be the Saviour of the World;* [r] *To ſeek and to ſave that which was loſt;* [ſ] *that we might live through him; that the World thro' him might be*

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[h] Rev. i. 5.
[i] 1 John i. 7.
[k] Rom. iii. 25.
[l] 1 John. iv. 10.
[m] 1 John ii. 2.
[n] Acts xx. 28.
[o] Matth. xx. 28.
[p] 1 Tim. ii. 6.
[q] 1 Cor. vi. 20.
[r] Eph. i. 7.
[ſ] Rev. v. 9.
[t] 1 Pet. i. 19.
[u] Luke iii. 3.
[w] Matth. xxvi. 28.
[x] Luke xxvi 47.
[y] Acts v. 31.
[z] Acts ii. 38.
[a] Acts xiii. 38.
[b] Acts x. 43.
[c] 2 Cor. v. 19.
[d] Eph. i. 7.
[e] Eph. iv. 32.
[f] Acts xiii. 39.
[g] 1 Cor. vi. 11.
[h] Rom. iii. 24.
[i] Rom. iv. 9.
[k] 2 Cor. v. 21.
[l] Rom. iii. 22.
[m] Rom. v. 1.
[n] Rom. v. 10.
[o] Col. i. 21, 22.
[p] Col. i. 20.
[q] 2 Cor. v. 18.
[r] 1 Pet. iii. 18.
[ſ] Eph. i. 6.
[t] 2 Theſſ. ii. 13.
[u] 1 Pet. i. 2.
[w] Heb. x. 10.
[x] 1 Theſ. iv. 7, 8.
[y] Rom. viii. 9.
[z] 1 Cor. vi. 19.
[a] Eph. ii. 22.
[b] Tit. iii. 5.
[c] John vi. 63.
[d] Eph. iii. 16.
[e] Rom. viii. 13.
[f] Eph. iv. 30. 1 Theſ. v. 19.
[ff] Luke xi. 13.
[g] Heb. xii. 24.
[h] 1 Tim. ii. 5.
[i] Rom. viii. 34.
[k] Heb. ix. 24.
[l] John xiv. 6.
[ll] Heb. vii. 25.
[m] 1 Jonn ii. 1.
[n] Heb. iv. 15, 16.
[o] Heb. x. 22.
[p] Eph. iii. 12.
[q] John iv. 14.
[r] Luke xix. 10.
[ſ] 1 John iv. 9.

ſaved; [t] *that believing we might have Life through his Name*; [u] *that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting Life.* [w] *Through him we are ſaved from Wrath.* [x] *He hath delivered us from the Wrath to come.* [y] *Eternal Life is the Gift of God, through* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord.* [z] *God hath given us eternal Life, and this Life is in his Son*; [a] *who is the Captain of our Salvation,* and [b] *the Author of eternal Salvation to all them that obey him:* [c] *Neither is there Salvation in any other*; *for there is none other Name under Heaven given among Men, whereby we muſt be ſaved.*

Thus our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son of God, who took our Nature upon him, hath ſatisfied the divine Juſtice by dying for us, and is appointed the Interceſſor between God and Man, and the Mediator of a new Covenant; by which all who ſincerely deſire and endeavour to perform their Duty, are not only aſſured of ſupernatural Aſſiſtance to enable them to diſcharge it, but alſo upon a ſincere Repentance, and Faith in him, are entitled to Pardon and Forgiveneſs if they tranſgreſs it, and aſſured that upon thoſe Terms they ſhall be reſtored to the Favour of God, and the comfortable Hope of eternal Life, notwithſtanding ſuch Tranſgreſſions. And from this whole View of the New Covenant in *Chriſt*, it manifeſtly appears, that the Method which the Goſpel lays down for our Salvation, is throughout a conſiſtent and uniform Scheme, worthy of God, and contrived with the greateſt Wiſdom and Goodneſs for the Comfort and Happineſs of Man.

V. Before we part with the Subject of *Chriſt*'s Death, it ſeems requiſite to take notice of one Difficulty that occurs in our common Creed, uſually called the Apoſtles Creed; we mean, the Article of *Chriſt*'s *deſcending into Hell.* And this is the more neceſſary, becauſe it has been long an eſtabliſhed Opinion, that it is a [d] Chriſtian's Duty to believe every Part and Article of this Creed, ſaid to be delivered down to us by the Church from the Apoſtles, as a Form or Summary of ſound Doctrine, and either the firſt Copy, or an Extract, of that Tradition, or oral Doctrine, [e] *that Faith which was once delivered unto the Saints*, which the Apoſtles agreed on at the Time of their parting from one another to preach the Goſpel to all Nations. Be this as it will, thus much is certain, that the agreeing on any one Senſe, where into interpret every Article of it, is not abſolutely neceſſary; but ſome of the Articles, as this in particular of *Chriſt*'s Deſcent, may be taken in a Latitude, and either not determined to any one Interpretation, or ſuppoſed to be capable of more: For ſo the Words be received, the particular Senſe, one way or other, will be indifferent to them that ſincerely follow that Light which is offered to them: For which Reaſon we conceive it is, that the Article of our Church ſets it down in that large indefinite Form, *We believe that* Chriſt *deſcended into Hell*, adding no other Words of binding Interpretation to it.

Now as to the Senſe of this Article, among divers others we ſhall pitch on two Opinions, either of which may be piouſly believed, having good Grounds whereon each of them may be built. The firſt is taken from the Opinion and Interpretation of many ancient and modern Worthies of the Church, That *Chriſt*, in the Space betwixt his Death and Reſurrection, went down locally into Hell, as that ſignifies the Place of the Damned; not to ſuffer there, for all was finiſhed upon the Croſs; but to triumph over Satan in his own Quarters, and openly to ſhew him the Victory, that by Death he had gotten over him, and over Death itſelf, and all the Powers of Darkneſs. This Senſe being ſufficiently evident, we ſhall not enlarge on it. The ſecond Opinion we ſhall more at large inſiſt on, and leave the Reader to judge of the Truth of it.

Theſe Words, [f] *He deſcended into Hell*, being affirmed of *Chriſt* in the Creed, but not found in Words in the New Teſtrment, will not neceſſarily ſignify any farther than either the Places of the New Teſtament, from whence the Compilers of the Creed may ſeem to have collected it, will import; or, than the Uſe of the Phraſe, among either profane or Scripture Writers, will require; or, than the Context, or Circumſtances in the Creed, will enforce. And all theſe will not neceſſarily extend its Senſe any farther than this, That for the Space *of three Days he was, and truly continued to be, deprived of his natural Life.*

For the *firſt*, the Scriptures from whence this Article ſeems to have been taken, are not many, indeed but [ff] one, that in the [g] *Acts*, cited out of the Pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt not leave my Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer thy Holy One to ſee Corruption.* Now in that Place the Word which we render *Hell*, may ſignify the common State of the Dead; the Word *Soul*, the living Soul, or that Faculty by which we live: And the *not leaving* the Soul in Hell, the not ſuffering him ſo long to continue deprived of Life, as that *his Body ſhould ſee Corruption*, that is, not above the Space of three Days; which Term, conſiſting of ſeventy two Hours, is the Space required for the Revolution of Humours; after which, Phyſicians obſerve, the Body that continues ſo long dead, naturally putrifies, which is implied by that Speech concerning *Lazarus*, [h] *By this Time he ſtinketh, for he hath been dead four Days.* So that all which that Place diſtinctly affirms, is, that he ſhould not be deprived of his natural Life above the Space of three Days, that Death ſhould no longer have Dominion over him. And, indeed, if this be not the Importance of that Prophecy in the Pſalmiſt, it will be hard to find any convincing Prophecy concerning *Chriſt*'s riſing again the third Day: For that of *Jonah* related in the Goſpel, and others which by the Fathers are applied to that Purpoſe, were but Types, not Prophecies: And yet it is ſaid, *That* Jeſus *began to ſhew his Diſciples*, that is, to demonſtrate out of Scripture, *that it behoved him*, for the fulfilling of the Prophecies, to *riſe the third Day*. If this be not neceſſarily the Meaning of thoſe Words in the *Acts*, and the Pſalm, we conceive no Man can ſhew convincingly what is their true Meaning.

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[t] John xx. 31.

[u] John iii. 16.

[w] John iii. 17.

[x] 1 Theſſ. i. 10. Rom. v. 9.

[y] Rom. vi. 23.

[z] 1 John v. 11.

[a] Heb. ii. 10.

[b] Heb. v. 9.

[c] Acts iv. 12.

[d] Hammond's Pract. Catechiſm.

[e] Jude ver. 3.

[f] κατῆλθεν εἰς ἅδȣ.

[ff] As for Eph. iv. 9, *He deſcended into the lower Parts of the Earth*, it belongs clearly to the Incarnation, or Deſcent to the Mother's Womb, which is expreſſed by that Phraſe, Pſalm cxxxix. 15. *When I was made in Secret, and curiouſly wrought in the loweſt Parts of the Earth* : Or elſe poſſibly to the Grave, called the *Mother's Womb* alſo Job i. 22, ſo ſtiled, Pſalm lxiii. 9.

[g] Acts ii. 27. Pſalm xvi. 10.

[h] John xi. 39.

Secondly, For the Uſe of the Phraſe among profane Writers, it is clear that the Word *Hades* ſignifies not with them the Place of the Damned, nor any peculiar Place of happy Souls neither, but the common State of the Dead. We will give in the Margin ſome [l] Inſtances, by which they that are ſkilled in thoſe Authors, may be able to judge. Many other Places might be added; but the Writers which conduce moſt to the explaining of the New Teſtament, are the *Greek* Tranſlators of the Old Teſtament, and therefore among them it will be more penitent to enquire. In the [m] Lamentation of *Jacob* for his Son *Joſeph*, we render out of the *Hebrew* literally, *I will go down to the Grave to my Son mourning:* But the Word which we render *to the Grave*, cannot in that Place be properly ſo rendered; becauſe *Jacob* believed that his Son was torn in Pieces with wild Beaſts, and not buried; and therefore the Addition of thoſe Words, *to my Son*, make it neceſſary to render it in that Place thus, *I will go Mourning out of this Life*. I will no live no longer, ſeeing my Son is dead. And the Phraſe, *I will go down to* Hades, is exactly parallel to this in the Creed, *he went down to* Hades, and may very well be thought the fitteſt to interpret it, being the neareſt to it of any in the Scripture.

Now *Thirdly*, for the Context in the Creed, if we compare it with the Story of *Chriſt*'s Death in the Goſpel, we ſhall ſee how well it will bear this Senſe. To which Purpoſe we muſt premiſe this one Thing, that a Man conſiſts of three Parts, a Body, a *living Soul*, an *immortal Spirit*. St. *Paul* [n] divides the whole Man into thoſe three Parts, and in the Creation of Man there is Mention of all theſe. The Body is called, the *Duſt of the Earth*, of which it was formed. The Soul is called, the *living Soul*. The Spirit is called, the *Breath of Life*; and in other Places, *Breath and Life*. Of theſe three Parts *Chriſt* as Man conſiſted, and at his Death all theſe three are ſeverally diſpoſed of. His Spirit, the immortal Soul, he *commended into the Hands of his Father*, in reſpect of which he is ſaid to be *that Day in Paradiſe*; for Paradiſe and God's Hands are all one: His Body was put in the Grave; and ſo all of him diſpoſed of, but the living Soul: And in Reſpect of that, ſaith the Creed, *He went into* Hades, that is, not into the Place of Hell, nor into Paradiſe, nor into the Grave, for that was ſaid before in the Word *buried*; but he was three Days deprived of his natural Life, which is properly his living Soul; he continued really without exerciſing, or a Power of exerciſing, his vital Faculty, and taſted the [o] common State of the Dead for us.

Thus in the *Revelations*, after the Mention of Death, there is added in our Tranſlation, *and Hell was a Follower of it, and a Companion with it.* But that it refers not to that which we call *Hell*, much leſs to Paradiſe, but only to that temporal Separation of Soul and Body, may farther appear by the Effects there mentioned of it. [p] *There was given them Power to kill, with the Sword, with Famine, and with Death, and with the Beaſts of the Earth.* And ſo [q] *Death and* Hades *are caſt into the Lake of Fire, and give up thoſe that were in them.* So [r] we read of *him that raiſeth the Dead from Death, and from* Hades. And in the [ſ] *Song of the three Children*, God's delivering them from *Hades*, will not be extended to Hell, but only to Death; as follows in the next Words. And ſure *Eleazar*, who deſires his Friend [t] to *bring him on his Way to* Hades, doth not deſire to be diſpatched to Hell. And that the antient Writers of the Church, ſome of them at leaſt of the moſt antient, meant no other than this by the Article of *Chriſt*'s Deſcent to *Hades*, may be gueſt by two ancient Paſſages, the one [u] in *Thaddeus* Creed, affirmed to be given by him unto the King of *Edeſſa*; the other in the primitive Martyr [w] *Ignatius*; both agreeing in this, that *Chriſt* aſcended with many, but deſcended alone:

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[l] Fornutus, or Cornutus, with whom Hades goes for a God, ſaith he is called Pluto, *becauſe there is nothing but at laſt comes to him, and becomes his Poſſeſſion.* And again, *Hades is the laſt Region of the Air, which receives Souls*, and is called *a good Friend or Counſellor, becauſe it befriends Men, in giving them Ceſſation from Labours and Cares*; which is the very Thing that the Spirit affirms of the *Dead that die in the Lord, They are bleſſed, for they reſt from their Labours*, Rev. xiv. 13. So Heraclitus ſpeaking of the Helmet of *Hades*, which makes Men inviſible, he ſaith it is the *End or Death of every one, to which he that comes becomes inviſible.* And the Author of the Book of Wiſdom, hath a like Phraſe, *Our Spirit ſhall vaniſh as the ſoft Air*; where ſpeaking in the Perſon of the Atheiſt, who acknowledged not the Immortality of the Soul, the Word Spirit is taken for *living Soul*.

[m] Gen. xxxvii. 35. [n] 1 Theſſ. v. 23.

[o] To which Purpoſe it will be obſervable what Heraclitus in Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i. ſets down out of Serapion an antient Poet, ſpeaking of Sibylla, and undertaking to ſhew how ſhe propheſied even after her Death. For, ſaith he, *That Part of her which went into the Air did propheſy, by Voices heard in the Air. The Body, or that Part wich is changed into the Earth, brought forth Graſs, and the Beaſts that fed exactly on the Place, did, by their Bowels or Entrails, when they were killed, declare to Men what was to come. As for her Soul*, he conceived that to be that *Face that appears in the Moon*, and that helped the *Aſtrologers to divine alſo.* Thus we ſee three Parts of a Woman, according to that antient Philoſophy. Of which three, by Death, one, ſaith he, was ſent to the Earth; another to Heaven; a third went into the Air; that third, we conceive, is the ſame of which the Atheiſt in the Book of Wiſd. c. ii. 3. affirms, that it ſhall vaniſh at Death, be diſſolved or poured abroad, as the ſoft or moiſt Air, which is there the *Breath* or *Spirit*, all one with the Breath in the Noſtrils, but much differing from the immortal Spirit among Chriſtians. And that which he thus ſaith went into the Air, is the ſame which in Chriſt is ſaid to have gone, or deſcended, to *Hades*, that State of Separation of Soul from Body, which doth not by any Neceſſity imply or import the Place of the Damned in Hell. So in Nicodemus's Goſpel there is mention of the Saints that are in *Hades*, and rejoice there.

[p] Rev. vi 8. [q] Rev. xx. 14. [r] Eccluſ. xlviii. 5. [ſ] Ver. 65. [t] 2 Macc. vi. 23. [v] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. [w] Ep. ad Trall.

Where though the Deſcent were, in their Words, to *Hades*, yet *Hades* cannot there be thought to ſignify the Place of the Damned, unleſs *Chriſt* ſhould be conceived to have returned from thence alſo with a great Multitude; which though it were perhaps agreeable with ſome Men's [x] Fancies, yet cannot eaſily be thought to be the Meaning of thoſe ancient Writers, or of that Text to which they refer, *that the Bodies of many that had ſlept, aroſe*; for out of Hell there was not, in their Opinion, any ſuch Poſſibility of riſing.

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[x] As of thoſe that teach that Chriſt going to Hell, was met, and believed on by the Heathen Philoſophers there, and particularly by Plato in the Front; and that he brought them out along with him.

CHAP. IV.

I. Women obſerve the Interment of *Jeſus*, and buy Spices to embalm him. II. *Pilate*, at the *Jews* Requeſt, order the Sepulchre to be guarded. III. The Women go to the Sepulchre. IV. They ſee two Angels, one of whom tells them that *Jeſus* is riſen. V. They go and inform the Apoſtles. *Peter* and *John* run to the Sepulchre, and find the Body gone. VI. *Mary* continues there, and ſees *Jeſus*, who ſends her to the Apoſtles. VII. The Apoſtles disbelieve her. The other Women ſee him, and are alſo ſent by him to the Apoſtles. VIII. The Soldiers declare the Reſurrection to the Chief Prieſts, who bribe them to conceal it. IX. *Jeſus* joins himſelf to the two Diſciples on the Road to *Emmaus*, and diſcourſes with them concerning himſelf. X. He upbraids them for their Stupidity, and is diſcovered to them in breaking of Bread. XI. They return to *Jeruſalem*, and declare what they have ſeen: But both they and *Peter* are diſcredited. *Jeſus* appears to all the Apoſtles but *Thomas*. XII. He convinces them that his Body is real, and promiſes the Holy Ghoſt. XIII. He inſtructs them in their future Office. XIV. He breathes on them, and diſappears. *Thomas* refuſes to believe the Teſtimony of his Brethren. XV. *Jeſus* appears to them while *Thomas* is preſent, who now owns his Lord and Maſter. *Jeſus* pronounces thoſe happy, who believe without ocular Evidence.

I. [a] THERE *were preſent at the Interment of the Corps of* Jeſus, Mary Magdalene, *and the Mother of* Joſes, *and other Women who followed* Jeſus *out of* Galilee, *who in the mean time ſat oppoſite to the Sepulchre, that they might ſee in what Place, and after what Manner they buried him. Of which having taken exact Notice, they returned in all Haſte to* Jeruſalem, *and bought Spices and Ointments, wherewith to embalm his Body after the Sabbath ſhould be ended, which they kept exactly according to the Letter of the Law.*

II. [b] *Upon the Sabbath Day the Chief of the* Jewiſh *Nation came to* Pilate, *telling him, they remembred how that Impoſtor, (ſo they termed* Jeſus,) *who was crucified the Day before, boaſted while he was alive, that he ſhould riſe again to Life within three Days. They therefore beſought* Pilate, *that he would command the Sepulchre to be guarded during that Time, leſt his Diſciples ſhould ſteal away his Body, and that* [c] *laſt Error be of more dangerous Conſequence than the former.* Pilate *replied, that they had a Cohort, who kept Guard in the Porches of the Temple; and that they might take from them what Number of Soldiers they pleaſed. The* Jews *having obtained what they requeſted, repaired to the Tomb with ſome Soldiers, whom they placed about it, and ſealed up the Stone that lay at the Entrance, charging them to have a watchful Eye over it till the End of the third Day.*

III. [d] *On* Sunday, *early in the Morning, before the Sun was up, and about ſix and thirty Hours after* Chriſt's *Body had been laid in the Sepulchre,* Mary Magdalene, Mary *the Mother of* James, *and* Salome, *and the other Women, taking the Spices and Ointments with them, which they bought, as we related, on* Friday, *to imbalm the Body of* Jeſus, *came to the Monument juſt about the Time of Sun-riſing. As they were going, they aſked one another how they ſhould get the Stone removed, which they ſaw roll'd againſt the Entrance into the Cave. But in the mean while there aroſe a ſudden Guſt of Wind; and an Angel coming down from Heaven, remov'd the Stone, and ſat upon it. After that* Jeſus, *leaving his Sheet in which he was wrapped, being revived,* [e] *aroſe, and went out of the Tomb.*

IV. [f] *The Women finding the Paſſage free, went into the Sepulchre, but found not the Body, and ſaw only a young Man in white Raiment, ſitting on the right Side of the Sepulchre. At their Return therefore out of it, while they were wondring at what had happened, and not knowing to what Place they might have removed the Corps, two Men appeared to them in white Apparel, who indeed were Angels; the one of which, as we ſaid, removed the Stone, and ſat upon it, and the other was on the Cave; at the Sight of whom the Watchmen were ſo terrified, that they look'd rather as if they had been dead, than living. Nor where the Women a little aſtoniſh'd at the Apparition. But*

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[a] Matth. xxvii. 61. Mark xv. 47. Luke xxiii. 55, 56.

[b] Matth. xxvii. 62——66.

[c] See theſe Words explained in the ſubſequent Diſſertation.

[d] Matth. xxviii. 1, 2. Mark xvi 1——4. Luke xxiv. 1, 2. John xx. 1.

[e] See an Examination of all the Proofs of our Saviour's Reſurrection in Diſſert. i. after this Chapter.

[f] Matth. xxviii. 3——7. Mark xvi. 5, 6, 7. Luke xxiv. 3——7.

one of the Angels thus accoſted them: Fear not, I know you ſeek *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, who was crucified, and buried in this Tomb; He is no longer here, but is riſen to Life again, as he himſelf foretold. Examine the Sepulchre as diligently as you pleaſe, but be mindful you do not ſeek for the Living among the Dead. He is revived, and has left this Place, according to what he himſelf predicted while he was yet in *Galilee*, which you muſt needs remember. For he plainly foretold, that he ſhould be delivered up into the Power of the *Gentiles*, that he ſhould be crucified, dead, and buried, and riſe again to Life on the third Day. But now make haſte to his Apoſtles, and acquaint them, eſpecially[g] *Peter*, with the News, and tell them he will go before them into *Galilee*, where they ſhall again ſee him according to his Prediction. Take Notice of what I ſay unto you, and remember to execute the Meſſage you are charged with.

V. [h] *The Women then recollected, that he had actually foretold his Reſurrection on the third Day; and making haſte from that Place, being divided between Fear and Joy, they imparted their News to none upon the Way, for fear of the* Sanhedrim, *but made what haſte they could to acquaint the eleven Apoſtles with theſe joyful Tidings.* Mary Magdalene *therefore, as we ſaid, and* Joanna, *and* Mary *the Mother of* James, *and ſome others, related what they had heard and ſeen to the Apoſtles, who were ſtill ſo ſtupid as not to remember the repeated Prediction of* Chriſt *concerning his Reſurrection; or at leaſt not rightly underſtanding it, they* [i] *looked upon this Relation of the Women as a Dream or Viſion. Then* Mary Magdalene *aſſured* Peter *and* John *apart, that ſhe had been in the Tomb, which ſhe found empty; and that if* Jeſus *was not riſen to Life again, they had however removed his Body, nor could ſhe poſſibly gueſs where they had lain him. Upon this* Peter *and* John *ran both to the Sepulchre; and* John, *the youngeſt of the two, being got thither firſt, ſtooped down, and looked into the Tomb, where he ſaw only the linen Clothes in which the Body had been wrapped, but went not in.* Peter *ſhortly after came, and went in, and took notice of the linen Clothes, and beſides of the Napkin with which his Head had been covered, lying apart from the Clothes.* John *then went in alſo, and having narrowly viewed the Sepulchre, doubted no longer of the Truth of what* Mary Magdalene *had told them, namely, that Somebody had removed the Body of their Maſter. For as for his Reſurrection, they did not yet underſtand the Prophecies concerning it. They returned therefore from the Sepulchre, greatly wondering what was become of their Maſter's Body. But* Mary *continued at the Monument, bemoaning herſelf, for not being able to ſee* Jeſus *either dead or alive.*

VI. [l] Peter *and* John *being, as we ſaid, departed,* Mary *again went into the Tomb, to aſſuage, if poſſible, the Violence of her Grief, and there again beheld the two Angels, one of them ſitting at the Place where* Jeſus's *Head lay, the other at his Feet, who thus accoſted her:* Woman, why weepeſt thou? *She replied,* Becauſe they have taken the Body of my Lord from hence, and I know not where they have laid it. *As ſoon as ſhe had ſaid this, ſhe turned about, and ſaw* Jeſus *himſelf ſtanding by her; but knew him not.* Jeſus *aſked her, why ſhe wept, and whom ſhe ſought?* Mary, *ſuppoſing him to be the Gardener, anſwered,* Sir, if thou haſt taken away the Corps, tell me, I pray, where thou haſt laid it, that it may be transferred to a more convenient Place, and no more removed. *Jeſus ſaid unto her, Mary! This Surpriſe made her look more attentively on* Jeſus, *whom ſhe now owned to be the ſame, her Lord and Maſter, and fell down at his Feet to embrace them. Then ſaid* Jeſus, Touch me not, neither loſe Time by tarrying here to demonſtrate thy Reverence and Love for me; make haſte to my Diſciples, whom I eſteem as my Brethren; tell them thou haſt ſeen me, and that I have aſſured thee, I ſhall quickly leave this World, and aſcend to the [m] God and Father of us all, unto thoſe happy Manſions, where he manifeſts his Preſence in a moſt eſpecial Manner, according as I told them before my Death. Mary, *according to his Command, immediately departed to acquaint the Apoſtles with this joyful Meſſage.*

[n] VII. *Thus* Mary Magdalene *was the firſt that ſaw* Jeſus *early on the* Sunday *Morning, after his riſing from the Dead. This was the ſame out of whoſe Body* Jeſus *had caſt ſeven evil Spirits; for which Benefit ſhe afterwards conſtantly attended on him. But when ſhe delivered her Meſſage to the Apoſtles and Diſciples, they gave no Credit to her ſtrange Relation, ſo blinded were they, or ſo unmindful of the Promiſes of their Maſter. The other Women alſo, whom we mentioned, having in like Manner gone a ſecond Time to the Sepulchre, which they found empty, upon their Return to the Apoſtles, to aſſure them that they could no where find the Body of their Maſter,* Jeſus *himſelf met them, and firſt ſaluting them, was immediately known to them. They immediately proſtrated themſelves at his Feet, altho' they were greatly afraid. But* Jeſus *bid them not fear, but go to his Apoſtles, whom he honoured with the gracious Appellation of his Brethren, and tell them that he would go be-*

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[g] Peter is here named, not as the Prince of Apoſtles, but for his Conſolation, to take off the Scruple which might lie upon his Conſcience, whether, after his threefold Denial of his Maſter, he had not forfeited his Right to be one of *Chriſt's* Diſciples.

[h] Luke xxiv. 8—12. Matth. xxviii. 8. Mark xvi. 8. John xx. 2—10.

[i] The Difficulty with which the Apoſtles believed their Maſter's Reſurrection, takes away all Probability of their being impoſed on. Hence one of the Antients ſays, Their Doubtings is the Confirmation of our Faith, and the more Difficulty they ſhew'd in believing Chriſt's Reſurrection, the greater Reaſon have we to believe it.

[k] From the Backwardneſs of the Apoſtles to believe any Thing concerning Chriſt's Death and Reſurrection, it ſeems that the Jews then underſtood not that any of their Sacrifices were Types of our Saviour's Paſſion, or availed to procure the Remiſſion of Sins on that Account; and ſo they could have no explicit Faith in his Blood, nor expect Juſtification by it.

[l] John xx. 11—18.

[m] Becauſe Chriſt, in this Place, ſtiles the Father his God, as well as the God of his Diſciples, (*My God and your God*) hence the Socinians argue, that Chriſt is not God; but from thoſe Words it only follows, that he was not God according to that Nature which aſcended. Thus the Pſalmiſt ſays of Chriſt, *God, even thy God, hath anointed thee*; and yet he adds of the ſame Perſon, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever.*

[n] Mark xv. 9, 10, 11. Matth. xxviii 9, 10.

fore them into Galilee, *and that they ſhould ſee him.*

VIII. [o] *Mean while ſome of the Soldiers, who had been placed for a Guard to the Sepulchre, having ſeen the Angels, and* Jeſus's *Reſurrection, went into the City, and acquainted the Chief Prieſts with it, who immediately convening the* Sanhedrim, *adviſed the Bribing of the Soldiers; and accordingly a great Sum was paid them down, upon Condition they ſhould give out, that his Diſciples had ſtolen away his Body while they ſlept; telling them alſo, that if this ſhould come to the Governor's Ear, they would ſecure them harmleſs. The Soldiers performed their Part, having received the Money; and this Rumour, which was then divulged, was believed for many Years after.* Jeſus *alſo appeared to* Peter, *tho' the Circumſtances are not recorded.*

IX. [p] *The ſame Day two of the Diſciples went from* Jeruſalem *to* Emmaus, *a Village about ſix or ſeven Miles off the City; and diſcourſing concerning* Jeſus *and his Crucifixion,* Jeſus *himſelf came up to them, and bore them Company; nevertheleſs they knew him not, as not in the leaſt expecting any Thing like it. He then asked them,* [q] *what was the Subject of their Diſcourſe, and the Occaſion of their Sadneſs. One of them, named* Cleopas, *replied, he wondered how a Man who ſeemed to come from* Jeruſalem, *ſhould be ignorant of what had been tranſacted there but the laſt* Friday. Jeſus *demanded, What.* Cleopas *and his Companion made anſwer, That they meant the Crucifixion of* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *a Man who certainly was a Prophet, and in great Eſteem among the People, by Reaſon of his Doctrine and Miracles, whom the* Sanhedrim *delivered up to* Pilate *as a Malefactor, who commanded him to be crucified by the* Roman *Soldiers: That for their Parts, they truſted it had been he who was to deliver them from their Subjection to the* Roman *Nation, namely, the Meſſiah: Nevertheleſs, that it was now the third Day ſince his Deceaſe, ſo as that they had no Hopes left; altho' certain Women, Diſciples of* Jeſus, *who had been early at the Sepulchre that Morning, reported they had ſeen a Viſion of Angels, who affirmed that* Jeſus *was alive. But ſome of the Diſciples going thither alſo, found the Sepulchre indeed empty, as the Women had done, but ſaw neither* Jeſus, *nor the Angels.*

X. [r] Jeſus *then having upbraided them for their Stupidity and Obſtinacy, as not having a clear Notion of the Prophecies ſo often explained to them, nor yet giving a full aſſent to them, he* [ſ] *ſhewed them how by God's Appointment, and the Prophecies concerning him, the Meſſiah was to be put to Death, and after that to take Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; citing and expounding all the Paſſages relating to himſelf in* Moſes *and the Prophets. In theſe Diſcourſes they paſſed the Time till they were come unto* Emmaus, *when* Jeſus *pretended he was to go further, that he might experience their Good-will to him. But they urged him to ſtay with them, becauſe Night was now come on: Being therefore, as it were, prevailed on by their Intreaties, he went in with them, as if he deſigned to tarry there. While they were at Supper,* Jeſus [t] *took Bread, and having broke it, divided it among them; at which Time they took Notice of him, and plainly perceived it was their Maſter, who preſently vaniſhed out of their Sight. They then confeſſed to one another, that they felt a more than ordinary Commotion in their Minds while he was diſcourſing with them, and expounding the more difficult Paſſages of Scriptures; which had they reflected on, they might have known that none but* Jeſus *could interpret ſo clearly to them.*

XI. [u] *Hereupon they returned immediately to* Jeruſalem; *and having met the Apoſtles with the other Diſciples, who were informed of his Reſurrection, not only by the Women, but by* Peter *alſo, who, as we have related, had alſo ſeen him, they acquainted them with all that had happen'd to them upon their Journey, and how he was known to them by breaking of Bread and Prayer. But they gave no Credit to them, notwithſtanding there were many, both Men and Women, that had now ſeen him. On that ſame Day, late in the Evening, the Doors being cloſe ſhut for fear of the* Jews, *and all the Apoſtles, except* Thomas, *diſcourſing about theſe Affairs, while* Cleopas *was yet ſpeaking, the Doors on a ſudden opening as of their own accord,* Jeſus *appeared in the midſt of them, and ſaluted them according to his Cuſtom, reprehending them for their Obſtinacy, in not believing the many Eye-witneſſes of his Reſurrection. Yet they were ſtill ſo blinded with Prejudice, as not to believe their own Eyes, but thought it was ſome Angel in his Shape that appeared to them.*

XII. [w] *Then ſaid* Jeſus, Why are you diſturb'd at my Appearance, and why do you entertain ſuch vain Imaginations? [x] Look upon my Hands and my Feet, behold the Marks of my Crucifixion, and no longer doubt whether I am your Maſter or no. Angels, 'tis true, appear ſometimes in a bodily Shape, but have neither Fleſh nor Bones, as you ſee me have. *Having thus ſpoke, he ſhewed them his Hands and Feet, and his Side wounded with the Lance. Several of them perceiving this Accompliſhment of his Prophecy, which foretold his Reſurrection, were filled with exceeding Joy; but ſome yet heſitating thro' an Exceſs of it, and ſtanding amazed at the Greatneſs of the Miracle, he asked them whether they had any Thing to eat. They then ſet before him a Piece of a broil'd Fiſh, and a Honey-Comb, of which he* [y] *eat in their Preſence.* You ſee now, *ſaid he,* the Accompliſhment of what I told you before my Death, that it ought thus to happen to me, that the Prophecies in the Scriptures might be fulfill'd. *Then he expounded to them thoſe Paſſages relating to himſelf, which foretel that the* Meſſiah *muſt be put to Death, and riſe again to Life on the third Day.* The ſame, *ſays he,* ſhew you that you are now to go and preach Repentance, and the Conſequence of it, Pardon and Remiſſion of Sins, to all Nations, by my Command and Authority: Nor can there be any more proper for this Employment than you, as having conſtantly attended on me in the whole Courſe of my Miniſtry: And to enable you to acquit yourſelves as becomes thoſe that are commiſſioned by me, I will ſend you the Holy Ghoſt, whom my Father has promiſed ſhall be conferred upon you, and whom you ſhall receive at *Jeruſalem:* To which End continue here till you have received this Divine Influence, after your Return out of *Galilee,* before *Pentecoſt.*

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[o] Matth. xxviii. 11—15. 1 Cor. xv. 5. [p] Mark xvi. 12. Luke xxiv. 13—24.

[q] Not becauſe he was ignorant, but as an Introduction to his Converſation with them.

[r] Luke xxiv. 25—32. [ſ] See Diſſertation II. after this Chapter.

[t] The Papiſts bring this as an Inſtance of Chriſt's giving the Sacrament in one kind only; but they might as well ſay he gave the Sacrament when he diſtributed Bread to the five Thouſand, or the four Thouſand, here being no more of the Form of giving the Sacrament than at any one of thoſe Diſtributions. [u] Luke xxiv. 33—37. Mark xvi. 13, 14. John. xx. 19. 1 Cor. xv. 5.

[w] Luke xxiv. 38—49. John xx. 20.

[x] See what has been ſaid concerning this Appeal of Chriſt to their Senſe in the Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation, at p. 646.

[y] He did not eat to ſatisfy Hunger, but as a farther Proof that his Body was really raiſed.

XIII. [z] Jeſus *then again ſaluting them, and wiſhing them Peace, that is, all Manner of Felicity, thus continued:* As I have been ſent by my Father on purpoſe to reclaim Mankind, and propoſe a Religious and Holy Courſe of Life to them; ſo alſo do I now ſend you on the ſame Deſign, that having received the gracious Aſſiſtances of the Holy Spirit, you may preach my Goſpel not only in *Judea,* but all the World over, and give a general Invitation to all Men to accept of the Rewards annexed to the Obſervance of my Goſpel. Whoever believes the Goſpel, and, after having been baptiz'd by you, ſhall publicly profeſs his Belief of it, [a] ſhall obtain eternal Happineſs; but whoever refuſes to believe your Doctrine, ſhall be condemned for ever. Now that you may convince the moſt Refractory of the Truth of it, and that you really act by a Divine Authority, I will enable you to work theſe and the like Miracles: At the Pronouncing of my Name, you ſhall drive out the Evil Spirits from the Bodies of Men, you ſhall ſpeak Languages fluently which you never learnt. So far ſhall you be from receiving Hurt from venomous Beaſts, that you ſhall be able at your Pleaſure to kill them with your naked Hands, without the leaſt Danger; you ſhall [b] drink the moſt deadly Poiſon, and it ſhall not hurt you; and by a bare Impoſition of your Hands, you ſhall cure all manner of Diſtempers.

XIV. [c] *After this, to aſſure them by an outward Symbol of the Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, he breath'd on them, and ſaid,* Receive the Holy Ghoſt; *as if he had ſaid, that within a few Days they ſhould be influenced by that Divine Spirit, as certainly as he had now breath'd upon them: Adding, that whoſeſoever Puniſhments for Sin, ſuch as are Diſtempers inflicted by God, they ſhould deſire to have remitted, God would accordingly remit them; and whomſoever they deſired ſhould be puniſhed, ſhould not be cured of their Diſeaſes till pardoned by them. Now* Thomas, *ſurnam'd* Didymus, *was abſent when* Jeſus *appeared to the other Apoſtles; and being informed by them of his appearing to and converſing with them, he told them, he ſhould never believe their Story, unleſs he himſelf ſaw him, and the Wounds he had received upon the Croſs, and could touch and handle them.*

XV. [d] *After this the eleven Diſciples went into* Galilee, *where* Jeſus *promiſed to viſit them again. Upon the eighth Day after his Reſurrection, the Apoſtles being met, and* Thomas *alſo with them, the Doors being cloſe ſhut, for fear ſomebody might overhear them, and inform againſt them to the* Sanhedrim, *on a ſudden, no one opening the Doors,* Jeſus *ſtood in the midſt of them; and having ſaluted them, he turned about to* Thomas, *and ſaid to him,* Behold my Hands and my Side; touch them, and convince thyſelf of the Reality of my Reſurrection. Thomas, *after this ſo ſenſible Demonſtration of the Truth of it, cried out,* Thou art the ſame Maſter I attended on before thy Death: Thou art alſo [e] my God, who by thy Reſurrection haſt overcome Death. Jeſus *replied,* Thou, O *Thomas,* believeſt after this Evidence to thy Senſes; much more [f] noble will be their Faith, and more worthy of Reward, who have not ſeen, and yet believe the Reality of my Reſurrection. *Theſe Words ſpake* Jeſus *at that Time before his Diſciples, and then withdrew out of their Company.*

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[z] John xx. 21. Mark xvi. 15——18.

[a] That is, provided he continues ſtedfaſt in that Belief, and do not recede from his baptiſmal Covenant.

[b] There are four Inſtances of this recorded in Hiſtory; one of *Barſabas* by *Papias*; and another by *Ado*, of a *Cæcilian* Soldier; a third of *Sabinus*, Biſhop of *Capoſo*, by *Gregory* of *Tours*; a fourth is in the *Jewiſh* Talmud, of one *Joſhua Ben Levi*, who was cured by pronouncing the Name of *Jeſus*.

[c] John. xx 22—25.

[d] Matth. xxviii. 16. John xx. 26—29.

[e] Some have objected, that *Thomas* ſaid not this to *Chriſt*, but by Way of Admiration to God the Father. But this is a weak Suppoſition, and rejected even by the wiſeſt *Socinians*. For if *Thomas* had not ſpoken to *Chriſt*, how could the Evangeliſt have told us, that *Thomas* anſwered and ſaid unto Him? To whom did he anſwer? Doubtleſs to him who in the preceding Verſe had ſaid *Be not faithleſs, but believe.*

[f] For Faith is not Praiſe-worthy upon this Account, that we believe what we ſee with our Eyes, and can no longer doubt of; but on this Account, that we yield to Arguments highly probable, and againſt which we have nothing ſolid to object.

DISSERTATION I.

In Defence of the Reſurrection of our Bleſſed Saviour.

I. *No Covenant between the* Jewiſh *Rulers and the Apoſtles in ſealing our Saviour's Sepulchre. Such a Covenant, if it had been, could not have obliged* Jeſus. *The Caſe of* Daniel *and that of* Jeſus *compared.* II. *Proofs that one whole Day and two whole Nights was agreeable to* Jeſus's *Prophecy of being three Days and three Nights in the Grave. Phraſes equivalent to this in the Scripture, and in the* Greek *and* Roman *Writers.* Jonah *and* Jeſus *compared.* III. *That the Guards of the Sepulchre did not conſiſt of a ſmall Number only, and that it was impoſſible they ſhould be intoxicated, or practiſed upon in any other Manner, by the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles' Innocence apparent from all the Circumſtances of the Story.* IV. *No probable Reaſon to be aſſigned, why the Apoſtles ſhould act a fraudulent Part with regard to their Maſter's Body.* V. *That a publick Manifeſtation of* Jeſus *to the* Jews *after the Reſurrection was both unneceſſary and improper.* Origen's *Opinion of this Matter.* VI. *The Veracity of the Apoſtles defended with regard to the Reſurrection of* Lazarus, *and their Maſter. Several Calumnies againſt them obviated, and the Credibility of their Teſtimony aſſerted.* VII. *The ſeveral Appearances of* Jeſus *to his Diſciples after his Reſurrection defended, and the Reality of his Body proved. Probable Reaſons for his ſo often varying his Appearance.* VIII. Jeſus's *Reſurrection proved from the fulfilling of his Promiſes to his Diſciples, and from the great Succeſs of the Goſpel. The Abſurdity ſhewn of ſeveral pretended Reaſons why this Succeſs was ſuffered by Providence.*

I. HAVING already vindicated the Truth of the [a] three Reſurrections that are recorded in the Goſpels, and evinced that they were performed in the plain and literal Senſe, we now proceed to the like Vindication of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt* from all the Abſurdities, Improbabilities, and Incredibilities, with which that great Confirmation of his Religion [b] ſtands charged by Mr. *Woolſton* in the moſt bold and licentious Manner. And as this is the fundamental Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, on which the Truth of the whole entirely depends, the Objections offered againſt it ſhall be conſidered with the greateſt Impartiality.

Our Author pretends he is [c] *ſenſible of his own Inſufficiency how to ſap this Foundation of the Church*; and that therefore he applied to the *Jewiſh Rabbi*, whoſe Sentiments have been already examined about the other Reſurrections mentioned in the Goſpels, for his Thoughts about the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*; which he has given us in a long Letter, containing the Strength of the *Jewiſh* Objections againſt the Reſurrection of our Saviour. He accordingly [d] begins his Letter with very harſh and abuſive Language about *Jeſus*, and takes for granted what he ought to have proved, the Detection of an Impoſture in the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*.

After ſo bare-faced a Begging of that Queſtion; as likewiſe after a very weak Inſinuation, that *Pilate*, out of political Views, was not [e] *intent on the Prevention of Fraud, or would willingly have connived at it, in the Caſe of* Jeſus's *Reſurrection, in Order to increaſe the Diviſions and Diſtractions of the* Jewiſh *Nation*; after this Introduction, our *Jew* [f] propoſes his *firſt* Objection againſt the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*. The Subſtance of which is this; *That the Sealing of the Stone at the Mouth of the Sepulchre of* Jeſus *was a Covenant between the* Jewiſh *Governors and the Diſciples of* Jeſus; *and that therefore that Seal ought not to have been broke open but in the Preſence of the* Jewiſh *Rulers, in Point of Honour and Honeſty: Since they intended, agreeably to that Compact, to be preſent at the Reſurrection, if it had been real, on the third Day after his Death, according to the repeated Prediction of* Jeſus.

But this Compact is merely fictitious, and is indeed a moſt extravagant Suppoſition. For the Diſciples of *Jeſus* cannot poſſibly be preſumed to have entered into any ſuch Covenant with the *Jewiſh* Rulers, either directly or indirectly, in Conſequence of thoſe Rulers ſealing the Stone of the Sepulchre, ſince the Diſciples did not expect the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*. There is no Account pretended to of any explicite Covenant made between them, neither indeed was it poſſible there could be any ſuch Thing; ſince as one of them had denied his Maſter, and all the reſt had forſook him and fled upon his Apprehenſion, ſo we are aſſured that after his Death they all ſoon retired to their reſpective Homes, in extreme Sorrow and abſolute Deſpair of their former Schemes. Even then *they knew not the Scriptures*, that he was *to riſe again from the Dead*. They not only were very much offended at him for his own prophetical Account of his Sufferings, Death, and Reſurrection on the third Day, with regard to which it is expreſly ſaid, that [g] *they underſtood none of theſe Things, and this Saying was hid from them, neither knew they the Things which were ſpoken*; they not only carried on ambitious Conteſts for Places of Honour in his expected temporal Kingdom, after that Declaration of his approaching Death and Reſurrection; but it appears plainly both from the ſubſequent Deſertion of him, and their immediate Flight whilſt he was living, and from their Doubts and Diſtruſts for ſome Time even after his Reſurrection, that they had dropt all Hopes of him at his Death; and ſome of them expreſſed the Senſe of the reſt when they ſaid, [h] *We truſted that it had been he*

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[a] Thoſe of Jairus's Daughter, the Widow of Naim's Son, and Lazarus

[b] Diſc. vi. p. 1. Vind. Vol. II. p. 428, &c.

[c] Ib. p. 3.

[d] P. 4, 5, 6, 7.

[e] P. 9.

[f] P. 10, 11, &c.

[g] Luke xviii. 31, 32, 33, 34.

[h] Luke xxiv. 21.

which ſhould have redeemed Iſrael: An Expreſſion, which implies, that they then expected no ſuch Redemption from him, and conſequently no Reſurrection of him. In ſhort, nothing but the repeated Appearances of *Jeſus* to them after his Reſurrection, and his eating and drinking with them, and the Permiſſion he gave them to feel his Body and examine his Wounds, could prevail with them to believe he was riſen again. And therefore all Pretence to an explicite or implicite Contract between the Diſciples of *Jeſus* and the *Jewiſh* Governors, is a Thing incapable of any juſt Defence.

And indeed his Diſciples were ſo far from being under any Obligation to be preſent at the pretended Opening of the Seal affixed on the Sepulchre, that it was not put on with their Participation, nor even their Knowledge; and conſequently, they were as much unconcerned at the Opening of the Seal on the third Day, as they were with the Affixing it on the ſecond. If therefore the *Jewiſh* Rulers and the Apoſtles acted different Parts, independently of one another, and with oppoſite Views, they cannot be ſuppoſed, with any Propriety, to join in any implicite Compromiſe to open the Seal together.

But ſince our *Jew* pretends, [i] that *Nobody could queſtion but* Jeſus *would wait their coming, and riſe to Life, if he could, in their Sight*; it remains to be conſider'd how ſuch a ſuppoſed, tho' really impracticable Compact, between the *Jewiſh* Rulers and the Diſciples of *Jeſus*, upon the Sealing of his Sepulchre, could affect *Jeſus* himſelf. Was ſuch a Compact obligatory in the leaſt upon *Jeſus?* Or is it ſo much as pretended that there was any Compact between him and the *Jewiſh* Rulers? Was he any more obliged to riſe again when they opened the Seal, than to come down from the Croſs when they bid him do ſo? He was obliged, indeed, agreeably to his own Prediction, to riſe again the third Day; but had he promiſed, or was he engaged to thoſe Rulers, that he would not riſe again till they thought fit to attend the Sepulchre, and view his Reſurrection? So far was he from doing ſo, that in his own Prophecy, delivered to his Diſciples, he did not ſo much as fix the Time of the Day when he would ariſe; nay, he uſed ſome Latitude of Expreſſion about it, namely, *on the third Day, and after three Days*, and the like; Phraſes which ſhall be conſidered in their proper Place. And indeed he was not to be confined in the Grave beyond his own Time and Pleaſure, by any pretended Compacts of Men; ſince, as he roſe again by his own Omnipotence, he was at Liberty to exert that Power in any Part of the third Day that he pleaſed to chuſe.

A pretended Parallel is next offered, to ſhew that the Seal ought not to have been opened without the Conſent of both the Parties concerned; [k] The Sealing of the Lion's Den in which *Daniel* was impriſoned, which is compared with the Sealing of *Jeſus*'s Sepulchre. It is neceſſary therefore to conſider the Diſparity of their reſpective Circumſtances. For theſe Caſes are far from being parallel, ſince it appears from the Hiſtory of *Daniel*, that the Seal of the Lord's was affixed, with that of the King himſelf, on the Lion's Den; whereas it has been ſhewn, that the Seal only of one Party, the *Jewiſh* Rulers, was affixed on the Sepulchre of *Jeſus*, without any Participation or Conſent, either explicite or implicite, of *Jeſus* himſelf or his Diſciples. And therefore, even in the Judgment of [l] *Grotius*, (who muſt be allowed to have underſtood perfectly well the Nature of Covenants) the only Agreement between the two Sealings was this: That *as the former Seals were fixed in order to diſcover whether* Daniel *was ſaved from the Lions by any human Help, ſo the latter Seal was affixed in order to diſcover whether* Jeſus*'s Body was carried off by any human Means.*

Indeed the Sealing of the Stone placed on the Den of Lions, in which *Daniel* was confined, may be allowed in ſome reſpects to ſhadow out, and to be figurative of, the Story of the Sealing the Stone on the Sepulchre of *Jeſus*; as it was intended that neither of their Perſons ſhould be carried off by any human Power without Diſcovery. So that they both agree in this, that thoſe Seals were put on for the Diſcovery of Fraud, or to ſhew the Interpoſition of human Power; and they likewiſe agree in this, that the Sealing could only relate to human Interpoſition, but not to that which is Divine. As *Daniel* was ſhewed by it not to have been ſaved from the Lions by any human Power, ſo was *Jeſus* from the Grave. But in neither Caſe could the Power of God be circumſcribed, or receive any Obſtruction, which ſaved the one from the Lions, and the other from the Power of Death. The Sealing of the one therefore was in the ſame Manner a Confirmation of the Truth of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, and evinced it to have been wrought by God, as the Sealing of the other demonſtrated that *Daniel* was preſerved by the Power of God.

But tho' there was no juſt and proper Parallel, excepting in the Particulars now aſſigned, between the Sealing of the Lions Den, and that of the Stone on *Jeſus*'s Sepulchre, yet it is readily granted, that from *Jeſus*'s own Prediction he was obliged to riſe again in three Days: If he did ſo, he proved himſelf to be the true Meſſiah; and if he did not ſo, he muſt have been acknowledged to have been an Impoſtor. So that from the particular Nature of his Caſe, and not from a chimerical Compact about Opening the Seal on his Sepulchre, he was engaged to perform that neceſſary Condition, by which he has in fact evinced himſelf to be *the Son of God with Power by his Reſurrection from the Dead.*

II. The *ſecond* Objection is taken from the [m] *Extent of Time meant by* Jeſus, *when he ſaid that* after three Days, *or* on the third Day *after his Paſſion, he ſhould riſe again:* As if one whole Day, and two whole Nights, with Part of two Days, during which *Jeſus* was in his

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[i] P. 12.

[k] Dan. vi. 17.

[l] See Annot. on Matth. xxvii. 64.

[m] P. 13.

Grave, were not agreeable to his Prophecy of being three Days and three Nights in it. Now, in order to ſet this Matter in a true Light, it is neceſſary to conſider the Propriety of theſe Expreſſions, which we ſhall do in a gradual Manner.

And *firſt*, We ought to obſerve what are the Expreſſions uſed by *Jeſus* himſelf, in a prophetical Manner, about the Day of his own Reſurrection. Now it appears clearly to any Perſon that will conſult the ſeveral Paſſages relating to that Matter, that *Jeſus* moſt commonly ſpoke of his riſing again [n] *on the third Day*; and therefore, tho' he ſometimes uſed other Expreſſions, for Inſtance, *within three Days*, and *after three Days*, thoſe Expreſſions are, in all Equity, to be explained by that Phraſe which was moſt generally uſed by him on that Occaſion.

Secondly, It is evident that the *Jews* themſelves underſtood the fore-mentioned Expreſſions as equivalent, and therefore could not, as our *Rabbi* [o] pretends, expect that *Jeſus* ſhould riſe, if at all, on the Day after that on which he actually did. For we find in St. *Matthew*'s Narrative, that after the *Jewiſh* Rulers had ſaid to *Pilate*, as in the Perſon of *Jeſus*, [p] *After three Days I will riſe again*; they added, *Command therefore that the Sepulchre be made ſure until the third Day*. Where this latter Phraſe is explanatory of the former, and ſhews that the *Jews* underſtood that *Jeſus* had foretold that he would riſe again on the *third* Day; and that therefore by that Expreſſion, *after three Days*, was meant *the third Day* among them: For otherwiſe, no doubt, they would have deſired that the Stone of the Sepulchre ſhould have been made ſure until the *fourth Day*, that is till three whole Days were paſt; and that the Guard ſhould be continued until the fourth Day, for the ſame Reaſon as they actually did until the third Day. This appears too from other Paſſages recorded in St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, in which ſome of *Jeſus*'s falſe Witneſſes are introduced as ſaying, [q] *This Fellow ſaid, I am able to deſtroy the Temple of God, and to build it in three Days:* Which is thus varied in *Mark*, [r] *Within three Days I will build another made without Hands.* And probably from this very Paſſage the *Jews* underſtood that he had ſaid, [ſ] *After three Days I will riſe again.* And in the ſame Evangeliſt it is recorded, that they who reviled him on the Croſs ſaid, [t] *Ah thou that deſtroyeſt the Temple, and buildeſt it in three Days, ſave thyſelf.* And this is agreeable to the very Expreſſion which *Jeſus* himſelf uſed in St. *John*'s Goſpel, [u] *Deſtroy this Temple, and in three Days I will raiſe it up.* From which Paſſages, compared together, it appears, that the old contemporary *Jews* underſtood theſe Expreſſions by a common *Synecdoche*, in which, as is well known, a Part is put for the Whole; and conſequently, they decide the Caſe of the *three Days* here againſt the Opinion of our modern *Rabbi*.

Thirdly, It likewiſe appears that the *Jews* had good Reaſon ſo to underſtand *Jeſus*, ſince ſo great a Variety of Paſſages of the like Nature occurs in the Old Teſtament, as fully to prove that theſe Expreſſions, uſed by *Jeſus* were ways of ſpeaking agreeable to what was uſual among the *Jews*; for ſuch is the equivalent Senſe of *within three Days*, *after three Days*, and *on the third Day*. And in Proof of this Aſſertion we think it very proper to refer both to the Judgment of, and ſome of the Inſtances produced by, one of the greateſt *Hebrew* Grammarians of the laſt Age, the famous *Glaſſius*; who, upon an accurate Compariſon of the ſeveral *Hebrew* Paſſages of the old Teſtament with the *Septuagint* Verſion of them, writes thus; [w] *The Prepoſition*, metà, *poſt*, after, *if it is underſtood of Time, is ſometimes taken for the Word* within; *or it ſignifies that the laſt Space of Time which is notified by it, is not always complete and paſt.* —— Again, *that Prepoſition does not always declare any following Time, but ſometimes the Space between, and as yet ſubſiſting.* Some of the Inſtances he mentions are the following: It is ſaid in *Deuteronomy*, according to the *Hebrew*, [x] *At the End of three Years thou ſhalt bring forth all the Tythe:* Which according to the *Septuagint* runs, *after three Years*, that is, every *third* Year, or *within* three Years: For this ought to have been done every *third* Year, as appears from [y] another Text of the ſame Book; where more expreſly it is mentioned, *When thou haſt made an End of Tything all the Tythes of thine Increaſe the third Year, which is the Year of Tything*; and in the *Septuagint* it is rendered, *from the third Year.* So again in the ſame Book, according to the *Hebrew* it is read, [z] *At the End of every ſeven Years, in the Solemnity of the Year of Releaſe, in the Feaſt of Tabernacles*; and in the *Septuagint*, *after ſeven Years.* What follows makes it plain that it was done every ſeventh Year, which was the Year of [a] Releaſe.

We ſhall only ſubjoin a Paſſage or two from *Joſephus*, by way of Commentary on what has been now aſſerted, as he was a Perſon whoſe Authority is deciſive in the preſent Caſe. That Writer [b] cites the Book of *Samuel* for the Expreſſion, *after three Days*, as the Time appointed for aſſembling the Men of *Judah*. And again, whereas the *Jewiſh* Prieſts in their Courſes were reſpectively obliged to miniſter one Week, the ſame Hiſtorian [c] explains it by ſaying, that they miniſter'd *for eight Days*, that is, *from one Sabbath to another.* And once more, [d] he obſerves about the Feaſt of Tabernacles, that it was kept *for eight Days*, tho' we [e] find it was inſtituted only for *ſeven Days.*

Fourthly, As the fore-mentioned Phraſes, *within three Days*, *after three Days*, and *on the third*

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[n] Matt. xvi. 21. xvii 23. xx 19. Mark ix. 31. x. 34. Luke ix. 22. xviii. 33. xxiv. 7, 46.

[o] See p. 13, 27, 63, 64.

[p] Matth. vii. 63, 64.

[q] Matt. xxvi. 61.

[r] Mark xiv. 58.

[ſ] Matt xxvii. 63.

[t] Mark. xv. 29.

[u] John ii. 19.

[w] Vid. Glaſſii Philolog. Sacr. l. 3. tract. 6. p. 770, 771. Ed. Francof. 1604.

[x] Deut. xiv. 28.

[y] Deut. xxvi. 12.

[z] Deut. xxxi. 10.

[a] Thoſe who would ſee more of theſe Inſtances may conſult *Glaſſius*, or the Extract from him in the Biſhop of Litchfield's Vindication, from which this Diſcourſe is taken.

[b] 2 Sam. xx. 4.

[c] Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. 7. 9.

[d] Vid. Joſeph. Antiquit. l. 3. c. 10. p. 123. Vol. 1. Oxon.

[e] Lev. xxiii. 39.

Day, have been ſhewn to be equivalent in the Old Teſtament; ſo ſeveral Paſſages occur in the New, which is wrote in the *Helleniſtical* Dialect, and contains the Hebraiſms of the Old, that confirm this equivalent Senſe; even ſuch Paſſages as do not relate to *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection: An Inſtance or two of which we ſhall here produce. It is ſaid, that [f] *on the eighth Day they came to circumciſe the Child, John* the *Baptiſt*; whereas it [g] was appointed that the Child who was *eight Days old* ſhould be circumciſed: And that Precept was ſo practiſed by [h] *Abraham*. And thus *Jeſus* [i] was likewiſe circumciſed *when eight Days were accompliſhed*, tho' *John* was circumciſed *on the eighth Day*. Again, we find that *Jeſus* is ſaid [k] to have taken the Cup *after* Supper, that is, *in the midſt* of Supper; ſince we are informed [l] by another Evangeliſt, that *as they were eating*, or were at *Supper*, Jeſus *took the Cup*. And once more, in [m] *Luke* it is mentioned that *about eight Days after* was the *Transfiguration*; inſtead of which it is ſaid in [n] *Matthew* and [o] *Mark*, that it was *after ſix Days* that it happened; namely, ſix complete Days, and two imperfect ones. More Inſtances might be aſſigned on this Occaſion, but would be ſuperfluous.

Fifthly, Our *Rabbi* objects, that [p] "former Ages and Nations, as well as the antient *Jewiſh* Nation, computed otherwiſe than what has been now mentioned." We ſhall therefore now ſhew, that the other antient Nations allow'd the ſame, or the like Liberty, in the Computation of Time. And we ſhall inſtance in the Accounts of the moſt learned Nations, the *Greeks* and *Romans*. With regard to the former, we are told by *Cenſorinus*, [q] that "that Space of Time was called, *Trieteris*, which was intercalated every third Year, tho' the Space of two Years only was completed; and that when the more correct Computation was uſed of the *Pentaeteris*, or Period of *five Years*, the *Greeks* underſtood only *the Return of four* Years, which they called an *Olympiad*. And theſe were ſome of their moſt ſolemn Deſignations of Time. And thus a Fever is ſaid in good *Greek* Authors [r] to be of the *third* Day, tho' in that Fever there was only one whole Day of Intermiſſion. As there was only one whole Day in which *Jeſus* was confined to the Grace. And the ſame Senſe is given of the [s] *fourth* Day, as applied to a *Quartan* Fever; which, tho' it returns every fourth Day, has but two Days of Intermiſſion In the ſame Senſe it is ſaid of *Neſtor*, as a Perſon that has lived three Ages, that [t] he who returns home towards the End of a Day, and goes abroad early in the Morning of the third Day from his Return, is ſaid to go abroad on the *third* Day, tho' he completed at home but one intermediate Day. And thus *Neſtor* is ſaid to have ſeen three Generations,

With regard to the like Computation of Time by the *Romans*, we refer again to *Cenſorinus* about that Space of Time which was called *Luſtrum*, and only comprehended four Years, tho' the *Cenſus* was made every five Years. He mentions likewiſe that the *Romans* computed their Day from the Middle of every Night to the Middle of the following Night, even with regard to their greateſt Solemnities, and particularly thoſe of their Magiſtrates: Of which Computation he ſpeaks thus: [u] *If any Thing is done before the Middle of the Night, it is reckoned to the Day which preceded that Night; but if any Thing is done after the Middle of that Night, and before Day-break, it is ſaid to have been done on that Day which follows that Night.* And he particularly obſerves, that "they who were born within thoſe four and twenty Hours, that is, as reckoned from the Middle of the preceding Night to the Middle of the following, were conſider'd as Perſons that had the ſame Birth-day." To this Account of *Cenſorinus* we ſhall add, by way of Commentary on the preſent Subject, that [w] *Plutarch* reckons the Birth-day of *Cicero* as after the third Day of the Kalends, that is, *on the third Day of* January. And indeed that great Maſter of *Roman* Propriety and Eloquence uſes not only the Space of three Days, for any Time within three Days; but ſeems to have uſed the Phraſe, *after the third Day*, in a Senſe equivalent to that, *on the third Day*. But we need not make more Quotations, becauſe what we principally inſiſt on in this Argument, is, what has been already evinced at large, that the promiſcuous Uſe of the Phraſes, *after three Days*, *within three Days*, and *on the third Day*, as ſynonymous and equivalent, is an *Hebraiſm* ſpread throughout the Old and New Teſtament.

Sixthly, It is ſaid, that [x] *in Accompliſhment of* Jonas's *Prophecy, and of his own Prediction*, Jeſus *was to have been buried three Days and three Nights*. In anſwer to which it is proper to conſider the true Meaning of the Compariſon of *Jonas* with *Jeſus* on this Occaſion. The Prophecy of *Jeſus*, as recorded in *Matthew*, is this; [y] *As Jonas was three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly, ſo ſhall the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth.* Now here it is to be obſerved, that a [z] *Night* and a *Day*, in the *Hebrew* Language, which has no compounded Word that anſwers to the *Greek Nychthemeron*, or *Night-day*, ſignify together the ſame with that *Greek* Word. To which *Hebrew* way of ſpeaking the Writers of the New Teſtament have conformed their Style, and *Jeſus* himſelf accommodated his preſent Prophecy. If then by the *Son of Man*'s being *three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth*, be underſtood three Days including the Nights, in the moſt extended Senſe of the Word, it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe that *Jonas* was no longer in the Whale's Belly; ſince the three Days and three Nights that he is ſaid to have been there, are the very ſame with the three Days and three Nights that *Jeſus* was in the Grave; which we are aſſured was one whole Day, the End and Beginning of two other Days, and two whole Nights. And therefore till any one can produce a Demonſtration that *Jonas* was longer than that Time in the Whale's Belly, this Accouut may fairly be acquieſced in.

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[f] Luke i. 59.
[g] Gen. xvii. 12. xxi. 4.
[h] Gen. xxi. 4. Acts vii. 8.
[i] Luke ii. 21.
[k] Luke xxii. 20.
[l] Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.
[m] Luke ix. 28.
[n] Matth. xxvii. 1.
[o] Matth. ix. 2.
[p] See p. 13.
[q] Vide Cenſorinum De die Natali. c. 18. p. 91. Ed. Lindenbrog. Hamb. 1614.
[r] τριταῖος.
[s] τεταρταῖος.
[t] Scholia Bibliothecæ Mediceæ optima & antiquiſſima in Homerum. Vid. Alex. Mori Not. in N. T. p. 46. Edit. Fabr. Hamburg.
[u] Vide. Cenſorin. c. 23. ibid.
[w] Vid. A. Schotti Obſervat. Humanas, p. 248, &c. Hanov. 1615.
[x] P. 14.
[y] Matth. xii. 40.
[z] Vid. Ger. Voſſ. Inſtit. Orat. part. 2. p. 146. L. B. and Vind. ſupra citat.

III. Another Objection offered by the *Rabbi* is, That [a] *the Guards of the Sepulchre of* Jeſus *conſiſted of ſo ſmall a Number, that it was practicable for* Jeſus's *Diſciples to have taken away his Body in a fraudulent Manner*. Indeed it is not pretended by the *Rabbi*, that his Diſciples beat the Guards, and took away his Body by Force and Violence, but that they defeated them by a clandeſtine and diſhoneſt Artifice. And it is ſaid by him that the Watch was very ſmall, as being ſet only againſt Fraud, and not againſt Violence. But this is aſſerted precariouſly: For tho' the Chief Prieſts and *Phariſees* uſed what they thought a proper Precaution againſt Fraud by ſealing the Sepulchre, yet the Watch that they both deſired and ſet was compoſed of ſo large a Body of Soldiers, that it ſeems to have been deſigned to prevent any Act of Violence as well as of Fraud; and more eſpecially ſince the latter was ſufficiently guarded againſt by fixing a Seal on the Sepulchre of *Jeſus*. Now, that the Word which [b] we render the *Watch*, ſignifies elſewhere, as well as here, a large Body of Soldiers, and not three or four only, as our *Rabbi* pretends, is evident from the Account of that Word in the beſt and moſt antient Lexicographers. [c] *Heſychius*, the moſt learned of them, ſpeaks of it as of a conſiderable Number. As to the Word which we tranſlate a [d] *Band* or Cohort, ſuch as was preſent at *Jeſus*'s Apprehenſion, *Suidas* ſpeaks [e] of it as a large Body of Men. And tho' the Accounts we have of a *Roman* Cohort are ſomewhat different, yet they all agree in ſuppoſing that they were a large Number of Soldiers. *Vegetius* [f], an authentic Writer on this Subject, informs us, that as a Legion was more than ſix thouſand Men, ſo a Cohort was a tenth Part of a Legion: And accordingly the ſmaller Cohort conſiſted of more than five hundred Men, partly Horſe, and partly Foot. Indeed *Polybius*, [g] an accurate Writer, ſpeaks of a leſſer Band, or the third Part of a Cohort. But even this lower Account of the *Roman* Band will amount to one hundred twenty eight Soldiers. The Number over which, according to the Account of the Old Diſcipline, a Centurion antiently preſided, and which ſeemed a ſufficient Guard for ſecuring the Sepulchre of *Jeſus*.

The Text too of St. *Matthew* himſelf confutes this vain Suppoſition of reducing the Guard on the Sepulchre to three or four Soldiers; for it is ſaid, that [h] *ſome of the Watch came into the City, and ſhewed unto the Chief Prieſts all the Things that were done.* Whence it is evident, that the Watch conſiſted of more than *three or four Soldiers*; ſince two or three of them at leaſt muſt be ſuppoſed to be ſent into the City, and ſome others muſt be as neceſſarily ſuppoſed to be left by the Sepulchre; for only *ſome of the Watch* are ſaid to *come into the City*. But indeed the Nature of the Thing itſelf ſpeaks aloud, that ſince ſo much Caution was uſed by the *Jewiſh* Rulers for preventing the carrying off the Body of *Jeſus*, either by the Force or Fraud of his Diſciples; and ſince they had the Permiſſion of *Pilate* to have as large a Guard as they pleaſed, they did certainly depute ſo large a Number of Soldiers, as might prevent any poſſible Surprize either by Force or Fraud.

But our *Rabbi* pretends, not only that Fraud in general was uſed, but he likewiſe ſpecifies that very Fraud, [i] *That the Diſciples intoxicated the* Roman *Guard that was ſet on the Sepulchre, and then carried off the Body of* Jeſus.

Open Force, our Author was ſenſible, could not execute that Scheme; and therefore he recurs to Art and Tricking. Now how abſurd and impracticable will ſuch a Suppoſition appear, when we recollect that the Guard ſet conſiſted of ſo conſiderable a Number of Soldiers as has been ſhewn; every one of whom muſt unavoidably be ſuppoſed to be intoxicated before the Body of *Jeſus* could be carried off? It would here have become our *Jew* alſo to have conſidered how ſuch indigent Perſons, as the Apoſtles are acknowledged to have been, could procure ſuch a Quantity of Wine or other intoxicating Liquor. [k] *For Silver and Gold they had none*; not even *Peter* and *John*, ſome of the Chief Perſons among them. Neither had the Apoſtles Courage enough left to make ſuch an Attempt. *They all forſook their Maſter, and fled*, upon his Apprehenſion: One of them openly denied him, and not one of them had Spirit enough to intercede, or bear their Teſtimony, for him at his Trial. They were, upon his Death, under the greateſt Conſternation, Sorrow, and Deſpair. They neither underſtood that he was to riſe from the Dead, nor expected ſuch a Reſurrection; as has been evinced before. And indeed they were ſo far from venturing abroad among Soldiers, that we find they abſconded, and ſhut themſelves up for Fear of the *Jews*, after their firſt mean Flight. So that all Attempts in Favour of ſuch a Scheme are the weakeſt Suppoſitions imaginable, with regard to the Apoſtles themſelves.

And with regard to the Soldiers, ſuch an Hypotheſis is equally weak. For in the preſent Caſe, do the Soldiers themſelves, bribed as they were by the Chief Prieſts, ever pretend that the Apoſtles had laid them faſt aſleep by exceſſive Drinking? Do they ſo much as inſinuate, that any one of the Diſciples ever appeared among them, or tamper'd with them, whilſt they were on the Guard? Do they excuſe their want of Diligence in watching the Body, committed by ſo groſs an Intemperance, as agreeably to the Strictneſs of the *Roman* Diſcipline was a capital Crime? And were not the *Roman* Soldiers thoſe very *Gentiles*, who actually treated *Jeſus* in a moſt deſpiteful Manner during his Paſſion, and inſulted him with great Barbarity on the Croſs itſelf? And is it then credible that *Roman* Soldiers, bred up to the ſevereſt Diſcipline, obnoxious to the Sentence of Death, and exaſperated perſonally to the higheſt Degree of a furious Zeal againſt *Jeſus*, ſhould have entertained any Correſpondence with his Diſciples, or have been trick'd into Drunkenneſs by Men whom they muſt be preſumed to have hated proportionably with their Maſter? No, theſe are all ſuch ſenſeleſs Suppoſitions, that the Perſon who made them muſt himſelf have been intoxicated either with Ignorance or Malice, or both together.

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[a] P. 19, 20.
[b] Κουστωδία.
[c] Vide Heſychium in voc. κουστωδία.
[d] Σπεῖρα.
[e] Vid. Suidam in voc. σπεῖρα.
[f] Vid. Vegetium de Re militari, l. 2. c. 2, 6. p. 30, 33, 34. Veſal. 1670.
[g] Vide Lipſium de Roman. Militia, p. 68, 70, 82, 83, 85, &c. Ed. Antverp.
[h] Matt. xxviii. 11.
[i] P. 20, 21.
[k] Acts iii. 6.

But *Herodotus* [l] tells us a Story of a dead Body's being ſtolen away by the Corruption of the King of *Egypt*'s Guards, which was done by a ſeeming Accident, but a ſtudied Artifice, of burſting ſome Veſſels of Wine before them, and making a large Diſtribution of more amongſt them. This Inſtance is preſumed [m] ſufficient to juſtify the Suppoſition of the Guards being intoxicated by the Diſciples. There is, however, no Manner of Parallel to be drawn between the two Caſes propoſed. In the one, the Perſon who intoxicated the Guards of *Rhampſinitus* is confeſſed by the Hiſtorian to have been, in other Inſtances, a moſt crafty, as well as profligately wicked Perſon; one who was known to be guilty of the complicated Crimes of Lewdneſs, Murther of his own Brother, and Robbery of the Public Treaſure. In the other Caſe, the Perſons ſaid to have ſtolen away the Body of *Jeſus* were known to have been Men of ſuch an artleſs Simplicity, and to have been under ſo great a Fright on the Apprehenſion of their Maſter, that it was morally impoſſible they could, at that Juncture, have formed a Project of intoxicating the *Roman* Guards, who were well-diſciplined, and ſet with great Zeal to watch the dead Body of *Jeſus*, and that only for a ſhort limited Time, and in great Numbers. And indeed they were utterly incapable of executing ſo bold and extravagant a Scheme, had they been wicked enough to have projected it. The Inſtance therefore produced by the *Rabbi*, proves nothing but the diſordered Ideas of the Perſon who produces it by way of Parallel.

It was, indeed, pretended by the Watch, that they [n] *were aſleep*, and that the Diſciples took that Opportunity of ſtealing away the Body of their Maſter. But as ſuch a Piece of Negligence was a capital Crime among the *Romans*, and therefore would have been guarded againſt with the utmoſt Diligence; ſo we are aſſured by the Evangeliſt, a moſt credible contemporary Witneſs, that they were ſuborned by the high Bribes of the Chief Prieſts to make ſuch a ſenſeleſs Apology; an Apology that confutes itſelf effectually; ſince if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe that ſo great a Number of Soldiers, ſet on purpoſe to watch, could univerſally, and to a Man, have fallen aſleep, how is it poſſible farther to ſuppoſe, that in that State of a profound Sleep they could know who took away the Body of *Jeſus*, that was committed to their Care? Or if it could be imagined that the Diſciples, in Contradiction to their eſtabliſhed Character, were wicked enough to be capable of ſuch an Act, why did they not take away the Body of *Jeſus* the firſt Night it was put in the Sepulchre, and uſe the critical Opportunity of doing ſo [o] before any Guard was ſet upon it by the *Jewiſh* Rulers? Or if they had Courage enough to attempt ſuch a Reſcue afterwards, how is it conceivable that ſuch Perſons could have Leiſure enough, in the Sepulchre, to ſtrip the Body of its Funeral-clothes, that were faſtened to it both by Rolls and Ointments, and to leave in order the Linen Clothes there, and to [p] *wrap together the Napkin that was about* Jeſus's *Head* in a Place by itſelf. Surely the [q] *hundred Pound Weight of Spices, a Mixture of Myrrh and Aloes*, which was bound up with the Clothes, could not be ſeparated in an Inſtant from the Body, and the Linen Bandages about the Body required ſome Time for unfolding. Would not Men that were reſolved and cunning enough to execute ſuch a Reſcue, have likewiſe been cunning enough to carry off the Body of *Jeſus* in all its Funeral-clothes, without any Loſs of Time, whilſt they were ſurrounded with *Roman* Soldiers? Any one of theſe, if he had awakened, muſt have given an Alarm that would have ſurprized ſuch bungling Robbers in the very Act, to their eternal Diſhonour, as will as their juſt Puniſhment by the *Jewiſh* Governors: And therefore it deſerves ſome Enquiry, why, in Conſequence of this pretended Information of the Chief Prieſts by the Soldiers, the Diſciples were not immediately proſecuted for ſo ſacrilegious an Attempt, and brought to condign Puniſhment for ſo horrid a Crime. Such an Omiſſion of calling the Apoſtles to a ſolemn Account, by Adverſaries ſo malicious and inveterate as the Chief Prieſts are known to have been, betrays the Subornation of the Soldiers by them; and clearly demonſtrates, that ſince they found they could not prevent the Reſurrection of *Jeſus* by any Guards or Seals, they would obſtruct the Belief of his Reſurrection as much as was poſſible by Bribes and Lyes. And as for the Impunity of the Watch, it is an incredible Thing, after they had accuſed themſelves in good earneſt; for we find in another Caſe, that [r] the Keepers of the Priſon were not only examined, but commanded to be put to Death upon *Peter*'s Reſcue and Deliverance; which was a Matter of much leſs Conſequence than the pretended Reſcue of the Body of *Jeſus*. And indeed in neither Caſe can it be ſuppoſed that the Watch would univerſally accuſe themſelves of betraying their Truſt by ſleeping. So that it appears that the *Jewiſh* Rulers were ſo ſelf-condemned as to be quiet, and to diſmiſs all Proſecution both of the Watch and of the Apoſtles, the ſuppoſed Criminals on both Sides.

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[l] Vid. Herodot. l. 2. ſect. 121.

[m] P. 20, 21.

[n] Matth. xxviii. 13.

[o] See Matt. xxvii. 62.

[p] John xx. 6, 7.

[q] John xix. 39, 40.

[r] Acts xii. 10, 11, 19.

Upon Examination then of all Circumſtances, it appears to the meaneſt Capacity, to be impoſſible that the Guards could know the Diſciples did ſteal away the Body when they were all aſleep; and there is poſitive Evidence of the Evangeliſt, on the Credibility of whoſe Teſtimony this Matter muſt finally reſt, that they were largely bribed to ſay ſo; as likewiſe there is the ſame full Evidence given of the actual Reſurrection of *Jeſus* by the divine Power, and of the great Fright that the Guards were under upon the [ſ] Angel's Deſcent with a terrible Aſpect, *like that of Lightening*, his rolling back the Stone from the Door, his ſitting upon it, and all this attended with a very great Earthquake.

IV. But beſides all this, it deſerves to be a little conſidered, upon what Motive, and to what End, the Apoſtles can be ſuppoſed to have acted this fraudulent Part. The *Jews* indeed apprehended that *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection might be believed, if his Diſciples ſtole away his dead Body. But this was a vain Suſpicion, and could be grounded on nothing but the Conſciouſneſs of their own Guilt in murthering him. For if the Diſciples had been bold and dextrous enough to have made ſuch an Attempt, yet what could induce them to it? What Advantage would even their Succeſs in it have given them? All their Hopes were defeated by the Death of their Maſter. They had truſted, but in vain, as they thought, that it was he that ſhould have been the Reſtorer of *Iſrael*. They neither underſtood what he ſaid about his Reſurrection, nor ſeem to have remember'd or to believe he would riſe again: But if they had remember'd or believed ſo, he muſt have been believed to be able to do ſo merely by the infinite Power of God. And in that Caſe there was no manner of Occaſion for ſtealing away his Body; ſince, if he did not riſe again, as he foretold, by the immediate Interpoſition of the Divine Power, within the Time limited by him, his own Apoſtles, as well as the other *Jews*, and indeed the reſt of the World, muſt have acknowledged him to have been a Deceiver, as the chief Prieſts ſtiled him.

But if it were ſuppoſed that they were capable of attempting to ſteal away *Jeſus*'s Body, it muſt be granted, that they did ſo in abſolute Deſpair of his Performance of his Promiſe to riſe again. And if this was the real Caſe, beſides the ſuppoſed Conſciouſneſs of Guilt in lying for the Honour of their Maſter, who had ſo fatally deceived them, what Proſpect could they have of any Succeſs, in giving out that he was riſen, upon carrying off his dead Body? It is certain they could expect none from God, or that he would favour them in the ſucceſsful Propagation of a Lye, if they were falſe Witneſſes of his Reſurrection. They could not expect that the reſt of the World, the Great, the Learned, and the Wiſe, would, any more than the *Jews* themſelves, believe ſo incredible a Story of a few illiterate Fiſhermen; and that in Oppoſition to the received Opinion every where, which run very ſtrong againſt any Reſurrection of the Dead. None but mere Fools can be ſuppoſed capable of endeavouring to obtrude ſuch a Story on the whole World, merely on the Bottom of their own little Credit: And that the Apoſtles were not Fools, appears moſt clearly from the acknowledged Acuteneſs and Strength of their Writings, their admirable Precepts, and the Prudence of their Conduct in oppoſing their greateſt Adverſaries.

It is not therefore at all ſurpriſing, that our *Rabbi* was obliged to confeſs, that [t] *it is difficult to know upon what Principle the Project and Story of* Jeſus's *Reſurrection was at firſt deviſed.* He intimates indeed, that it was owing to Ambition or Revenge; but ſuch a ſort of Principle was too weak to be defended, and therefore he did not think fit to inſiſt farther upon it. For what could be the Ambition of a few Perſons of a mean Education, and that were engaged in low Life, and eſpecially when they were defeated in their Expectations by the Death of their Maſter, on whom all their Hopes depended? And what Ground could there be for any Revenge on thoſe that crucified a Perſon, who ſeemed then by his Death to have deceived them into an imaginary Kingdom, *a Kingdom not of this World*; the Reverſe which was what they hoped for. And indeed in the then Defeat of their Expectations of being Miniſters of State, and of having Poſts of Honour conferred upon them, in the expected ſecular Kingdom of *Jeſus*, what Ground could there be for any Thoughts of Revenge? which, if entertained at all, would probably have been rather exerted on the Memory of their dead Maſter, as being then preſumed to have impoſed on their Credulity, than on their living Governors.

V. Another Objection offered by our *Rabbi* againſt the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*, is, [u] *that he did not publickly manifeſt himſelf to the* Jewiſh *People, or the chief Part of them, after his Reſurrection.* And ſince he pretends that this has been a conſtant Objection of the *Jews* againſt his Reſurrection, both in antient and modern Times, we ſhall, in anſwer to it, here recapitulate and reinforce what has been ſaid by the Antients and Moderns on this Occaſion; and that gradually, and in the following Method.

Firſt, It is to be conſidered, that the Fact of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection is the very ſame Thing whether he publickly ſhewed himſelf or not after his Reſurrection. In other Words, it is far from being a good Conſequence, that if *Jeſus* did not publickly ſhew himſelf at this Juncture, therefore he did not riſe at all.

[ſ] Matth. xxviii. 2, 3, 4.

[t] P. 26.

[u] P. 23, 24.

Secondly, Though a public Manifeſtation of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection, ſhould be allowed to have carrried a ſtronger Conviction with it than the ſeveral Appearances that he actually made, yet there may be many wiſe and good Reaſons, known to God, for his not giving the greateſt Demonſtration poſſible to all Men, nor the utmoſt Conviction that the Nature of the Things is capable of. This appears reaſonable, when we conſider that God has not given ſo irreſiſtible a Conviction as no doubt he could have given to all Mankind, of his own Exiſtence and Government of the World, and the beſt Way of Worſhipping him; but has left Men to the Uſe of their Reaſon, and their Obſervations of Nature, to find out Things ſo important. And if for wiſe Reaſons he thought fit to do ſo, and not to give an univerſal irreſiſtible Conviction; why was he more obliged to give the moſt perfect Demonſtration poſſible of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*, when he has given ſufficient Evidence both of the one and the other?

Thirdly, It appears more particularly, from the Conſideration of the Circumſtances of the *Jews* at that Juncture, as compared with thoſe of *Jeſus* himſelf, that ſuch a ſuppoſed irreſiſtible Conviction was unſuitable to either of them. As for the *Jews*, they were unqualified by their late Barbarities to *Jeſus* for any ſuch Favour from him. And indeed they were under that Sentence of Deſtruction, which had been pronounced by him. And with regard to *Jeſus*, it was no more fit and becoming of him irreſiſtibly to force ſuch obſtinate and profligate Wretches into a Submiſſion to him, than it would have been to have gratified them in deſcending from the Croſs, when they ſcornfully offered to believe on him if he did ſo. For, as the Manifeſtation of *Jeſus* is [w] ſaid by himſelf to be an Act of Favour and Love to thoſe *who keep his Commandments*; ſo the *not Manifeſting himſelf to the World*, and more eſpecially to his Murtherers, muſt be underſtood as a judicial Act. And indeed, till the latter had ſeriouſly repented of all the Indignities put upon him, it was ſolemnly declared they ſhould not ſee him: [x] *Your Houſe is left unto you deſolate: For I ſay unto you, Ye ſhall not ſee me henceforth, 'till ye ſhall ſay, Bleſſed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* It is evident then, that, after this Sentence paſſed upon the *Jews*, the Condeſcenſion of *Jeſus* in manifeſting himſelf to ſuch condemned Criminals was not to be expected, as they were precluded from it by a judicial Determination.

Fourthly, Beſides all this; how poſitively ſoever it may be aſſerted, that a public Manifeſtation of *Jeſus* to the *Jews*, after his Reſurrection, would have produced a Converſion of the unbelieving *Jews*; ſuch a Suppoſition of a general Converſion in thoſe Circumſtances is very juſtly to be doubted of, or rather that the contrary Effect would have happened, is extremely probable. For as the *Jews* were divided into two Sects, thoſe that believed there is no Reſurrection, nor Angel, nor Spirit, and thoſe who believed a Reſurrection and the Exiſtence of ſuch Beings; ſo we are aſſured that the former Sort were [y] numerous among the ruling Part of the *Jews*, and that therefore no Manifeſtation of *Jeſus* could poſſibly convince Perſons of that Opinion. And as for the latter Sort, the *Phariſees*, and all that were under the great and wide Influence of that Sect, they, as well as the chief Prieſts and Elders, were ſo deeply intereſted in the late Tranſactions againſt *Jeſus*, and would have been ſo much affected with the political Conſequences of a public Acknowledgment of him to be the Meſſiah, that if they had been favoured with a Sight of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection, no doubt they would have revived their old Calumnies againſt his repeated Miracles on that Occaſion: And as when formerly they could not deny the Facts, they gave a ſpiteful Turn to them, ſo they would now moſt probably pretend that theſe Appearances of *Jeſus* after his Death were Deluſions carried on by *Satan*, to whom they had imputed his other Miracles; and that the Body now manifeſted to the People was only aſſumed by *Beelzebub*, in order to carry on his former Impoſture. And others probably would have ridiculed all ſuch Manifeſtations, in the ſame Manner [z] that *Celſus* did, as idle Stories of Spectres and Apparitions. And conſequently, ſuch a Concurrence of the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* in the moſt malicious Repreſentations of *Jeſus's* public Appearances, would have rendered the Reſurrection of *Jeſus* as dubious to the People as they had done his former Miracles. The Experiment made of their Infidelity in the Caſe of *Lazarus*'s Reſurrection, is a Demonſtration of the Truth of this Aſſertion. For if they were not convinced of the Reality of his Reſurrection when they ſaw him with their own Eyes riſe out of his Grave and walk, though bound Hand and Foot, at the powerful Command of *Jeſus*; how could it be expected that they would have dropped all their Prejudices againſt *Jeſus* at once, and not have eluded the Reſurrection by ſome malicious Hypotheſis, tho' they ſaw him themſelves as they had done *Lazarus?*

Fifthly, If it be ſaid farther, that a public Manifeſtation of *Jeſus* to the *Jews*, after his Reſurrection, would not only have had the greateſt Influence on the *Jews* at that Time, but in all future Ages of the World; this is aſſerted very precariouſly. For, as it has been ſhewn, the Converſion of thoſe prejudiced, obſtinate, and abandoned *Jews*, who reſiſted the Force of *Jeſus*'s other Miracles, is very uncertain, and indeed highly improbable, on the preſent Suppoſition. And even if it were granted, that they had come into the Acknowledgment of his Reſurrection upon a perſonal View of him, nothing but their Teſtimony could have been tranſmitted to Poſterity. Now a ſufficient Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection is by no means wanting at preſent; ſince, beſides the proper Teſtimony of the Apoſtles, we have that of above five hundred Brethren at once. And ſurely this is a Number as large as any Teſtimony needs to be, in order to be credible; ſince ſo many Perſons cannot be imagined to have been deceived themſelves, or to be capable of joining in an undetected Confederacy to deceive others. And ſince all the Force of a public Manifeſtation of *Jeſus* would have depended on the additional Teſtimony of ſome ſuppoſed converted *Jews*, how eaſy and natural would it have been for the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the wiſe and learned Part of the World, who always treated the *Jews* with great Contempt, to ridicule their Teſtimony, and thereby obſtruct the Progreſs of the Goſpel? And how much would the Argument taken from the Simplicity, Honeſty, and low Circumſtances of the Apoſtles, in favour of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*, have ſuffered from the ſuſpected Teſtimony of the great and powerful, the rich and the cunning Men among the *Jews*?

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[w] John xiv. 21, 22.

[x] Matth. xxiii. 38, 39.

[y] Acts xv. 17.

[z] Orig. c. Celſ. l. 2.

Sixthly, To what has been now advanced in Anſwer to our *Rabbi*'s preſent Objection, we ſhall add what *Origen* ſays by way of Solution of it. Now the Subſtance of *Origen*'s Anſwer amounts to this; " [a] That the Divinity of *Jeſus* ſhone ſo bright after his Reſurrection, that none but his Diſciples were capable of bearing it, and they themſelves not conſtantly, but by Intervals; and that his Enemies, and in particular thoſe that inſulted, condemned, and murdered him, were incapable of ſuſtaining the Glory of his divine Preſence; and therefore *Jeſus* is preſumed to have ſpared them, in not manifeſting himſelf to them, ſince they muſt have been ſtruck with Blindneſs if he had exhibited himſelf to them in all his Majeſty, after he had ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, and was inveſted with all Authority in Heaven and Earth: He therefore manifeſted himſelf to Men in various Manners, agreeably to their reſpective Capacities, and as they were qualified for the Sight of him, which was now become too glorious for common Eyes."

Whether this Anſwer of *Origen* was not more agreeable to his Notion of a [b] luciform Body or Vehicle, with which the *Platoniſts* ſuppoſed ſeparated Spirits to be inveſted, than to any Revelation in Scripture of the inſupportable Brightneſs of the Body of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection, we ſhall not now determine. However, tho' it be allowed that *Origen* gave this Anſwer agreeably to the *Platonic* Principles he had imbibed, it has been the general received Opinion of Chriſtians, that the Body of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection, tho' it was the ſame real Body that had ſuffered on the Croſs and died, was altered in ſeveral Qualities of an human Body; in which Reſpect it might be ſaid to have reſembled a glorified Vehicle. And indeed as to the Godhead that dwelt in *Jeſus*, we find he occaſionally exerted it, even before his Death, and particularly when the Guards, and others, who came to apprehend him, fell back to the Ground with the Awe of his Majeſty. So that tho' this Solution be peculiar to *Origen*, it is an *Hypotheſis* by no Means deſpicable.

VI. We proceed to another Objection of our *Rabbi*, the Attack he has made on the Veracity of the Apoſtles in giving their Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection; with regard to which he has had the Aſſurance to ſay, [c] *that they not only ſtole away the Body of* Jeſus, *but were diſcovered to be Cheats in the known Impoſture of* Lazarus (which is ſaid to be [d] intimated by the Evangeliſt;) and that *tho' the Apoſtles died in Confirmation of their Teſtimony of* Jeſus's *Reſurrection, yet ſo have ſeveral Cheats and Criminals done with a Lye in their Mouths, who have aſſerted their Innocency, and denied their Guilt in their laſt Agonies.*

Now to this we reply, that this bold Aſſertion does by no means come up to the preſent Caſe; for no manner of Parallel can be drawn between the impudent Behaviour of ſome few Perſons of immoral and profligate Lives, who muſt be preſumed to die without any Senſe of Religion, and the Courage of thoſe that have been eminent for the Practice of Virtue and Piety, and have ſpent their Lives in promoting them among Mankind, and at laſt have laid down their Lives in Confirmation of that Reſurrection of *Jeſus*, which eſtabliſhed all his Doctrines of Virtue and Piety. Perſons of the one ſort die hardened, and in an Inſenſibility of all that is good; and thoſe of the other are not only good to a high Degree, but advance the Honour and Intereſt of all that is good with their own Blood. Indeed thoſe Impoſtors that have died with a Lye in their Mouths, have generally falſified with an Intention to ſave their Lives; whereas the Apoſtles died for the Sake of Truth, and might have ſaved their Lives by a Falſhood, if they had been capable of ſo wicked a Fraud: So that the Difference of the two Caſes propoſed is never to be reconciled. And if it be ſaid that *Vaninus*, and poſſibly ſome few others, have ſuffered for their falſe Opinions, it may be replied, that Opinions, whether true or falſe, may have an equal Influence on the Minds of Men. But the Caſe of Facts is entirely different in their Operation on the Mind: And no Inſtance is to be aſſigned of a Man's perſevering in his Teſtimony of what he knew to be a Lye, even to Death, when he might have ſaved his Life by confeſſing the Truth that he was conſcious of. And as for any Inſtances of ſuffering for falſe Opinions, ſuch as that of *Vaninus* for Atheiſm, beſide the conceited and vain-glorious Opinion he had of himſelf, it is certain from his Writings he was an aſtrological Atheiſt, and acted upon the Principle of Fatality; and as he was a Fataliſt, he might poſſibly think himſelf under a Neceſſity of ſuffering for his Opinion.

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[a] Vid. Orig. con. Celſ. l. 2. p. 99, 100.

[b] Vide Orig. ibid. p. 97.

[c] P. 27. &c.

[d] The Word πλάνη, which in our Tranſlation is rendered *Error*, (*the laſt Error ſhall be greater than the firſt*) it is pretended, might as properly have been rendered *Impoſture*, and ought to have been ſo in this Place.

However, this brings us to what moſt juſtly deſerves our Conſideration, namely, The Reaſons there are to induce us to believe the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles about *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection. And here we ſhall firſt obviate the *Rabbi*'s Calumny on the Apoſtles, and then ſhew the Credibility of their Teſtimony on that Occaſion.

He inſinuates how abſurd it is to ſuppoſe that the chief Prieſts, and therefore others, ſhould [e] *take the Word of the Diſciples for* Jeſus's *Reſurrection, and look upon them as Men of Veracity, when they knew and experienced them to be grand Cheats, not only in ſtealing away the Body of* Jeſus, *but in the known Impoſture of* Lazarus's *Reſurrection.* We have tranſcribed this Paſſage, not for the Force or Argument of it, but on Purpoſe to ſhew how blind a Thing Malice is. The Queſtion is, Whether *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection is proved a real Fact, upon the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles; or whether they ſtole away the Body of *Jeſus*, and pretended he was riſen again? No, ſays the *Rabbi*, they are not to be believed, becauſe they were known to have ſtolen away the Body of *Jeſus*; that is, the Thing is conteſted, and yet ſaid to be known; than which a more ſhameful Begging the Queſtion cannot poſſibly be contrived.

And as to the other Inſtance, the pretended Impoſture of the Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, this is likewiſe an egregious Fallacy of the very ſame Nature, in which that is taken for granted which is the Point conteſted, as has been already ſhewn in the Conſideration of that Miracle. However, we cannot but here obſerve, that the Uſe of the Word *pláne* by the Evangeliſt, and which might have been render'd *Impoſture* as well as *Error*, gives not the leaſt Advantage towards proving it to be a known Impoſture, or any way ſhews *that the Evangeliſts implicitely called it ſo.* All that the Evangeliſts mention, with relation to that Word, is Part of the Speech of the Chief Prieſts to *Pilate*, when they deſire a Watch on the Sepulchre; in which Caſe they could not, agreeably to their own Opinion, give any other Title but that of Impoſture to the actual Reſurrection of *Lazarus*, and the foretold one of *Jeſus*: For otherwiſe they had ſpoke out of Character, and in a Manner unſuitable to the Occaſion of their Requeſt, for a Watch to be ſet on *Jeſus*'s Sepulchre. And ſurely it is very ridiculous to pretend that the Evangeliſt, who only repeats the Words of the Chief Prieſts, did implicitely ſtile the Reſurrection of *Lazarus* a known Impoſture.

We ſhall here, in a few Words, conſider the true Meaning of this Expreſſion of the Chief Prieſts, upon which ſuch Streſs is laid. The Original Word ſignifies, no doubt, both *Error* and *Impoſture*: In the Senſe of *Error*, as we tranſlate it, *by the laſt Error being worſe than the former*, is to be underſtood, that the Omiſſion of the Chief Prieſts to ſet a Guard, which might give Occaſion to the ſtealing of *Jeſus*'s Body by his Diſciples, and to their then pretending he was riſen again, would be of more fatal Conſequence to their Cauſe, and make more Proſelytes to *Jeſus* after they had murthered him, than any former Omiſſion in their Conduct. What that former Omiſſion was, is capable of being explain'd in two or three different Senſes: One of them is this; That if *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection were generally believed, that ſingle Miracle would be of a more unhapy Conſequence to the *Jewiſh* Government than the People's Belief of all his former Miracles; which ſhould have been prevented by taking away his Life ſooner; and that they did not ſo was an Error in their Politicks, but not ſo great as that of taking it away when he had gained Authority by them. Another Meaning of that Expreſſion may be aſſigned with regard to *Pilate* himſelf: That as he was prevailed with to put *Jeſus* to Death, out of an Apprehenſion of Danger to the *Roman* State, and conſequently to himſelf; ſo if *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection were believed by the People, there would be greater Danger than before to the *Roman* Government in general, and to himſelf in particular. Another Application of that Paſſage may be naturally enough made with reſpect to *Lazarus*: That as the former Error conſiſted in not putting *Lazarus* to death immediately after his Reſurrection, ſince ſo many Perſons believed on *Jeſus* on that Account; ſo the laſt and greater Error would be, that if *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection were believed by the People, much greater Numbers of them would believe on *Jeſus* on Account of his own Reſurrection, than did ſo before on Account of that of *Lazarus*. From all which it fully appears, that ſince ſeveral Expoſitions may juſtly be given of that general Alluſion of a greater and leſs Error, it is by no means neceſſary to recur to the *Rabbi*'s Interpretation of that Paſſage in the way of Impoſture. But if the original Word be render'd *Impoſture*, it only ſhews what is not conteſted, that many of the *Jews* took the Reſurrections of *Jeſus* and *Lazarus* to be equally ſo; but that the Belief of that of *Jeſus* would be of worſe Conſequence to the Chief Prieſts, as more particularly concerned in the Murther of *Jeſus*.

Having thus removed ſome pretended Obſtacles out of the way, we now go on to ſhew what Reaſon we have to believe the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles about *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection to be true. Now that they were Men of Veracity in general, appears moſt clearly from the ſeveral Qualifications of a credible Witneſs, by which they were eminently diſtinguiſhed: Such, for inſtance, are theſe; That they were Men of great Simplicity, and unaffected Sincerity. Theſe are Characters that appear to Demonſtration in their artleſs Writings; Writings indeed ſo very artleſs, as to admit of ſome ſmall Variations of Circumſtances of Facts recorded in them; but which thereby evince they were not wrote by Concert. The Simplicity of the Writers too appears in the undiſguiſed Acknowledgments of their own Miſtakes and Frailties; as likewiſe does their Sincerity in their expoſing themſelves to all ſorts of Sufferings, and Death itſelf, for the Sake of their Teſtimony given to *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, without any tolerable Reaſon to be aſſigned, beſides the certain Knowledge of it, for their perſevering in it to the laſt Extremity. Now if Perſons of this Character, who ſhew'd the World that they themſelves moſt firmly believed what they atteſted even with their Blood, had likewiſe all poſſible Opportunities of knowing the Truth of what they ſo atteſted, their Teſtimony muſt be acknowledged to be as firmly eſtabliſhed as the Teſtimony of any Matter of Fact is capable of being. With regard to their Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, it was founded upon Ocular Demonſtration, and indeed the Concurrence of all thoſe Senſes that are capable of being uſed in a Caſe of that Nature.

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[e] P. 23.

But the Apoſtles are to be conſidered not merely as competent Witneſſes, for Reaſons common to all other credible Witneſſes, but as Witneſſes eminently credible, as they were ſolemnly conſtituted, and particularly choſen by *Jeſus* himſelf, to be Witneſſes of his Doctrine and Miracles, his Life, Death, and Reſurrection, to the whole World. Says he, before his Death, to them, [f] *Ye alſo ſhall bear Witneſs, becauſe ye have been with me from the Beginning.* And after his Reſurrection they were ſolemnly appointed by him to be the proper Witneſſes of his Reſurrection, his Appearances among them, and the Doctrines he then more fully taught them. Says he then, in an authoritative Manner, [g] *Ye are Witneſſes of theſe Things.* And conſequently, as they were thus deputed, and as they had all Qualifications in common with all other credible Witneſſes, and likewiſe as *Jeſus*, for great and wiſe Reaſons, thought fit to exhibit and ſhew himſelf after his Reſurrection only to his Diſciples, thoſe Diſciples are not only of themſelves ſufficient Witneſſes, without the Concurrence of others, but they are the moſt proper and credible Witneſſes of his Reſurrection, as they were ſpecially appointed by himſelf, and entruſted with his own Credentials.

For, *laſtly*, the Apoſtles were not only the moſt competent, proper, and credible, but the moſt authentic Witneſſes of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, as their Teſtimony was confirmed by the Power committed to them by God, of performing Miracles themſelves, in full Eſtabliſhment of the Veracity of their Teſtimony. For [h] *if we receive the Witneſs of them as Men, the Witneſs of God by them is greater.* And conſequently, as their Evidence, and particularly with regard to *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, had a divine Sanction communicated to it by the Credentials of repeated Miracles, it muſt be conſidered by unprejudiced Perſons as vaſtly ſuperior to all other human Teſtimonies whatſoever. And the Connection between their Miracles, and their Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, is ſo firm and clear, that their Performance of the former gives the greateſt Credibility poſſible to the latter. But we ſhall have further Occaſion to enlarge on thoſe Credentials in the Series of this Diſcourſe.

VII. Having thus vindicated the Veracity of the Apoſtles in their Accounts of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, we proceed in the next Place to anſwer the Objections which our *Rabbi* has ſtarted againſt the ſeveral Appearances and Manifeſtations of *Jeſus* to his Diſciples after his Reſurrection. The *Jew* indeed pretends, that [i] *he does not think himſelf obliged at all to refute them*; for he ſays, *they confute themſelves by their Incoherence and Abſurdity.* And he adds, [k] *that he has not here Room to make any Remarks upon them; and that he dares not do ſo:* And again, [l] *that he depends on the ſingle Argument of the Nature and Deſign of Sealing the Sepulchre*; which has been already conſidered. But under another Character, that of [ll] Dr. *Emms*, which he falſly propoſes as a parallel Caſe, notwithſtanding all his affected Modeſty, he has dared to [m] reflect in a moſt impious and virulent Manner on the ſeveral Appearances of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection. And the Objections, which are transferred from the real Appearances of *Jeſus* to the ſuppoſed one of Dr. *Emms*, are ſet off with an indecent Air of Ridicule and Contempt, even after the *Rabbi* had thought fit to poſtpone the Uſe of ſuch ludicrous Arguments on this ſolemn Occaſion, and to adhere only to his ſingle grave Reaſon about the Seal. But ſtripping his pretended Reaſons of all Ridicule, we ſhall now conſider them in a manner more ſuitable to ſo ſerious and great a Subject.

Now the firſt Appearance of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection, that is reflected on by the *Jew*, under the borrowed Character of Dr. *Emms*, is that which was made to ſome of the Women who formerly attended on him. [n] Theſe are ſaid to have *known him not ſo much by his Countenance, for their Eyes were holden, as by his Talk on Scripture-Prophecy; which was his uſual Cant before his Death.* But this Account is abſolutely falſe: For there is no mention made, in the Narrative of his Appearance to *Mary Magdalene*, of any Prophecy in the Old Teſtament, which alone he could ſtile Scripture-Prophecy; and no other Prophecy is there mentioned, but that he [o] would appear to his Diſciples in *Galilee*, as he had told them before his Death. But this cannot be called Scripture-Prophecy, as not being then written, but only ſpoke by him. And indeed it is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that a *Jewiſh Rabbi* ſhould treat any Diſcourſe about Scripture-Prophecy as mere Cant, ſince it is ſo diſagreeable to his ſuppoſed Veneration for the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament. But as *Origen* obſerves more than once of *Celſus*, that he advanced ſeveral Things more agreeable to the Character of an *Epicurean*, than that of a *Jew* whom he perſonated; ſo our *Rabbi* ſometimes drops the Character of a *Jew*, and aſſumes that of a Deiſt, as recommending with ſo much Zeal that *Golden Religion of Nature, to which the Wiſdom of God deſigned to reduce the World in the Perfection of Time.*

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[f] John xv. 27.

[g] Luk. xxiv. 46, 47, 48.

[h] 1 John v. 29.

[i] P. 29.

[k] P. 31.

[l] P. 32.

[ll] A famous Impoſtor of the preſent Age, who deceived a great number of Enthuſiaſts with a Pretence that he ſhould riſe again on the third Day, which however none of them ever preſumed to ſay he did.

[m] P. 33.

[n] Ibid.

[o] See Matth. xxviii. 10.

The *Rabbi* goes on to tell us, [q] that *the Women were admoniſhed of the Certainty of* Jeſus's *Reſurrection by a Youth, or an Angel or two, they could not tell whether*; *but that they were as like two Angels, which they never ſaw in their Lives, as Youths could be.* But this is a very low Piece of Rallery under a ſhew of Argument. For as *Matthew* ſpeaks of one Angel on this Occaſion, ſo *Mark* ſpeaks of the ſame as one Youth; that is, as reſembling a Youth. And again, as *Luke* ſpeaks of two Men, ſo *John* ſpeaks of two Angels. Which Difference in Point of Number was occaſioned, as [r] *Grotius* well obſerves, by one of the Angels being nearer than the other, and as he was the Speaker for both of them. And therefore the *Rabbi* ought to have recollected, how very uſual a Thing it is, both for Angels to be ſtiled Men, and for more Angels than one to be conſidered as one Perſon, when one only was the Spokeſman among them. This is confeſſed by the real *Rabbins* [ſ] that have commented on *Geneſis*, to whom we refer him.

Now as in all the Narratives of the Miracles of *Jeſus* there is ſome peculiar Criterion, or diſtinguiſhing Circumſtance, inſerted to evince the Truth of each Fact; ſo in every Appearance of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection there is added ſome diſtinguiſhing Circumſtance, which proves the Reality of that Appearance. Such a Circumſtance in this Appearance to *Mary Magdalene* is here diſcoverable, that by *Jeſus*'s ſpeaking of the ſingle Word *Mary*, the former Impediment in knowing him was removed, and ſhe immediately anſwered him by *Rabboni*, or *my Maſter*. And if it be farther enquired, how ſhe knew him by that Word, it is plainly anſwered, that ſhe knew him by that Tone of his Voice to which ſhe had been long accuſtomed, as well as by the Familiarity of that Expreſſion; not to mention the Efficacy of his own Power, in affecting her Mind with the immediate Knowledge of him.

We take this Opportunity of obviating a moſt indecent as well as falſe Aſſertion, about the Appearance of *Jeſus* to *Mary Magdalene*, which is given in the following Words: [t] Jeſus *modeſtly appeared* naked *to* Mary Magdalene, *unleſs he ſlipt himſelf by ſtealth into Clothes of the Gardener, which might be the Reaſon of her Miſtake, for ſhe ſuppoſed ſhe ſaw the Gardener.* Now the Abſurdity of this Imputation moſt clearly appears from the particular Circumſtances of this very Story. For it is evident that *Jeſus* appeared to *Mary* as clothed, ſince ſhe miſtook him for the Gardener; unleſs it can be proved that the Gardener then went naked. And as to *Jeſus*'s taking the Clothes of the Gardener, was there any Neceſſity for a Perſon, who is ſaid to have Power to raiſe himſelf from the Dead, and to appear after his Reſurrection, to recur to ſo vile an Artifice of being clothed? And that the Clothes which *Jeſus* appeared in could not be the Occaſion of *Mary*'s Miſtake of him for the Gardener, is evident from hence, that ſhe knew the Gardener no more than his Clothes, ſince ſhe only ſuppoſed *Jeſus* to be the Gardener; which ſhe could not have done, if ſhe had known the Gardener.

We cannot omit to add, on this Occaſion of *Mary Magdalene*, a ſupplemental Argument to what has been before advanced, in Anſwer to the Objection drawn from the pretended Covenant in ſealing his Sepulchre. It is ſaid by *Matthew*, [u] that *Mary Magdalene, and the other* Mary, *were ſitting over againſt the Sepulchre,* when the Body of *Jeſus* was buried, or placed in the Tomb. It is likewiſe ſaid by *Mark*, [w] that *Mary Magdalene, and* Mary *the Mother of* Joſes, *beheld where he was laid.* And again it is aſſerted in *Luke*, [x] that *the Women who came with him from* Galilee *followed after, and beheld the Sepulchre, and how his Body was laid*: As likewiſe that *they returned*, and *reſted the Sabbath-Day according to the Commandment.* St. *John* is ſilent about them, after he and *Jeſus*'s Mother had retired home. However, [y] *John* and the other three Evangeliſts concur in aſſerting, that *Mary Magdalene* came early the firſt Day of the Week to ſee the Sepulchre, and, as [z] *Mark* and *Luke* add, to anoint the Body of *Jeſus*, in the Company of ſome other Women. Now this is a Tranſaction that can only be explained by their not knowing that a Watch was ſet, and a Seal affixed on the Sepulchre of *Jeſus*. For otherwiſe a few Women never could have attempted to enter the Sepulchre, and anoint there the Body of *Jeſus*, when it was ſo ſtrictly guarded. They had in the Evening before the Sabbath ſeen the Place, and obſerved how his Body lay in the Sepulchre; but we find they were only ſolicitous how to roll away the great Stone from the Door of the Sepulchre which they had ſeen placed there. And they do not ſeem to be at all apprehenſive of any *Roman* Guard that was ſet, or any Sealing that was fixed upon the Sepulchre. For they go boldly thither early in the Morning, on a ſeeming Preſumption that they might have had free Admiſſion into the Sepulchre, if the Stone could be rolled away. All this is unaccountable, if they had learned that the Sepulchre was guarded, and ſealed. But this Courage of the Women is very accountable, if they had not heard of any ſuch Guard and Sealing. And it is highly probable they had not heard of either of them, ſince it was [a] *on the next Day that followed the Day of the Preparation,* that is, *on the Sabbath-Day,* and not before, that *Pilate* and the *Jewiſh* Rulers thought fit to ſet a Watch on the Sepulchre, and fix a Seal on the Stone at the Door of it.

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[q] P. 33.
[r] Grot. in Matth. xxviii.
[ſ] On Gen. xviii. 1, 3. xix. 1, 10.
[t] See Diſc. II. p. 67.
[u] Matth. xxvii. 61.
[w] Mark xv. 47.
[x] Luke xxxiii. 55.
[y] John xx. 1.
[z] Mark xvi. 1 Luke xxiv. 1.
[a] Matth. xxvii. 62. Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. John xix. 31.

And conſequently, the Women, who are ſaid to have [b] *kept the Sabbath*, and that too as *an high Day, according to the Commandment*, might neither at home, where their Spices were prepared, nor at the Temple, whither probably they went, have heard of ſuch Guard or Sealing, as being entirely taken up with the Devotions of ſo ſolemn a Day. Now the Inference we draw from theſe Paſſages thus compared together, is this; That if the Women, who attended more upon *Jeſus* and his Sepulchre than the Apoſtles did, knew nothing at all of the Sealing of the Sepulchre, as clearly appears from their fore-mentioned Conduct; the Apoſtles themſelves, who had abſconded, and were induſtriouſly concealed from the *Jews*, were wholly ignorant of any ſuch Sealing of the Sepulchre; and therefore they were abſolutely unconcerned in any ſort of Covenant whatſoever, either expreſſed or implied in the Sealing of it. And if ſo, the Objection on which our *Rabbi* ſo much depends, has met with a juſt Solution, not only from the preceding Anſwer, but from the recited Circumſtances of *Mary Magdalene* and the other Women.

But we go on to conſider the *Rabbi*'s Objection againſt another Appearance of *Jeſus*. Says he, [c] *At another Time he appeared to his old Acquaintance, who knew him not by the Features of his Face, but by an habitual Motion and Action of his Hand in breaking of Bread.* Here the *Jew* is pleaſed, with a ludicrous Air, to confine the Diſcovery of *Jeſus* to the mere Action of him in *breaking of Bread*; but without any good Reaſon for it. For the Expreſſion, [d] *how he was known of them in breaking of Bread*, does not only relate to the Action itſelf *of breaking Bread*, but to what is implied in a foregoing Paſſage of the ſame Evangeliſt: [e] *And it came to paſs as he ſat at Meat with them, he took Bread, and bleſſed it, and brake, and gave to them.* Where it is intimated, that he uſed the ſame Form of *bleſſing the Bread*, as well as of *breaking it*, as he formerly uſed before all his Diſciples, and before the Multitudes whom he miraculouſly fed with a few Loaves and Fiſhes. So that ſeveral diſtinguiſhing Things, beſides the particular Motion of his Hand, contributed to their Knowledge of him; among which ought certainly to be reckoned that Fervour, and Affection, and Efficacy, which uſed to accompany his Expoſition of the Scriptures to them, and which they now found revived in their Hearts. For after it is ſaid, that [f] *their Eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vaniſhed out of their Sight*; it is added, [g] *And they ſaid to one another, Did not our Heart burn within us while he talked to us by the Way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?*

The *Rabbi* proceeds thus in his Burleſque; [h] *At another Time he was corporally preſent, but they thought they ſaw a Spirit.* But this is entirely a Miſrepreſentation of the Caſe. For as this Account refers to *Jeſus*'s appearing to the eleven Diſciples at once, the *Rabbi* ought not to have ſuppreſſed thoſe Circumſtances of that Appearance which give another Turn to the whole in both the Evangeliſts that relate the Story, and evince, that tho' at firſt the Diſciples were affrighted, and thought they ſaw a Spirit, yet they were afterwards ſatisfied that *Jeſus* was corporally preſent at that Interview. For whoever compares without Prejudice what [i] St. *Luke* and St. *John* ſay on that Occaſion, cannot but be convinced, that after the firſt Fright was over, the Reaſon of which is there given, they had full Demonſtration of the Preſence of *Jeſus*'s real Body. And the ſame Thing is alſo evident from the unanimous Aſſurance they [k] gave *Thomas* after his Appearance, that *they had ſeen the Lord*. The Occaſion no doubt of the Surprize the Diſciples were under, was, that *Jeſus* appeared unexpectedly, and in a ſudden Manner, among them, and whilſt *the Doors were ſhut*; and not in the ſame gentle Way of diſcovering himſelf as he did to *Mary* at the Sepulchre, and to the two Diſciples at *Emmaus*: But after that Surprize had ceaſed, during which *they thought they ſaw a Spirit*, they were fully ſatisfied, as has been ſhewn, that *Jeſus* was corporally preſent.

Our *Jew* now goes on to another Appearance of *Jeſus*, and ſays, [l] *About eight Days after that he appeared among more of his old Friends, but for all their former Intimacy with him, ſome of them doubted whether it was he or not.* This too is a Miſrepreſentation of another Appearance of *Jeſus*. For by the Notation of Time, about eight Days after the Day of his Reſurrection, the *Rabbi* ſeems to refer to that Day ſen'night, when *Thomas* was preſent, who before doubted of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection. But he was ſo convinced of it by *Jeſus*'s Condeſcenſion, that he confeſſed his Faith by a rapturous [m] Acknowledgment of *Jeſus* to be *his Lord and his God*. And we don't find that any of the other Diſciples doubted at that Time. But if the *Rabbi* here refers, without any Regard to his Notation of Time, to the Appearance of *Jeſus* to the Apoſtles, and indeed to five hundred other Diſciples, in [n] an appointed Mountain in *Galilee*, no wonder if ſome, out of ſo great a Number, doubted, tho' they afterwards received Satiſfaction.

The *Rabbi* produces another Inſtance thus: [o] *At another Time he came to them in another Form and Shape, unlike to his priſtine one; but they were ſure it was He, by his Expoſition of the Scripture.* But this is either a Miſtake of the *Jew*, or a bare Repetition of what has been already mentioned, either about the Diſcourſe of *Jeſus* with the two Diſciples in their Journey to *Emmaus*, or of his Expoſition of the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament which related to himſelf before the eleven Apoſtles; both which Appearances have been now accounted for, and therefore ſhall not be ſuperfluouſly repeated.

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[b] Luke xxii. 56 John xix. 31.

[c] P. 34.

[d] Luke xxiv. 35.

[e] Ver. 30.

[f] Ver. 31.

[g] Ver. 32.

[h] P. 34.

[i] Luke xxiv. 36, &c. John xx. 19, &c.

[k] John xx. 25.

[l] P. 34.

[m] John xx. 25, 26, 27.

[n] Matth. xxviii. 16, 17.

[o] P. 34.

Another Appearance of *Jeſus*, that is ſelected by our *Jew* for his Ridicule, is expreſſed by him thus; [p] *At another Time, when they were aſſembled together, and the Doors were locked for fear of the* Jews, *he ſlipt unexpectedly into their Company, either from behind the Curtain, or miraculouſly entered at the Key-hole.* Now before this poor piece of Burleſque was uſed, the *Rabbi* ought to have recollected that very good and reaſonable Expoſitions of that Appearance are capable of being aſſigned, and ſuch as are very conſiſtent with the Reality of *Jeſus*'s Body after his Reſurrection: One of which is, that tho' the Doors, where the Diſciples were aſſembled, are ſaid by St. [q] *John* to have been ſhut when *Jeſus* exhibited himſelf to them, yet if we conſult the parallel Place in St. *Luke*, we find that the two Diſciples, who had ſeen *Jeſus* at *Emmaus*, were returned thence to the Eleven at *Jeruſalem*, whom *they found gathered together*; after which it immediately follows; *And as they thus ſpake,* Jeſus *himſelf ſtood in the midſt of them:* Now there is no Occaſion here for any ſuppoſed Penetration of the Dimenſions of Body; ſince as the Doors were undoubtedly open for the Admiſſion of the two Diſciples that came from *Emmaus*, *Jeſus* may fairly be ſuppoſed to have been inviſibly admitted with them, ſince we find he immediately after appeared among them.

But ſince *Jeſus* appeared to his Diſciples at *Jeruſalem* [s] a ſecond Time whilſt *the Doors were ſhut*, when incredulous *Thomas* was preſent, it will not be improper to aſſign another *Hypotheſis* of *Jeſus*'s Appearance in thoſe Circumſtances. It is this; That *Jeſus* by his divine Power opened ſilently the Doors that were before ſhut, and without any Penetration of Bodies entered the Room where his Diſciples were aſſembled; and accordingly in the ſame ſilent and imperceptible Manner he ſhut thoſe Doors again, and therefore appeared ſuddenly among them. The Poſſibility of his doing ſo cannot be doubted of by any Perſon that conſults, with due Attention, the Caſes recorded in the [t] *Acts*, in which an Angel is ſaid to have opened and ſhut again the Doors where the Apoſtles were confined.

The *Rabbi* proceeds in his ludicrous Manner on this ſolemn Subject, and ſpeaks thus: [u] *And the laſt Time he appeared, there was one of his intimate Friends had not known him but by a Sore in his Breaſt, which the Power of God in his Reſurrection did not heal.* This is a wretched Ridicule of the condeſcending Method taken by *Jeſus*, to convince his doubting Apoſtle, *Thomas*, of the Reality of his Body after his Reſurrection. For when *Thomas* was told by the other Apoſtles, [w] *that they had ſeen the Lord*, he declared, *he would not believe, without ſeeing the Print of the Nails, and putting his Finger into it, and thruſting his Hand into his Side.* Now how could this Prejudice be conquered, but by gratifying him not merely with a Sight of *Jeſus*, but with the Examination of the Remains of his Wounds by the Senſe of Feeling, as well as of Seeing, as he himſelf deſired? And what could be more ſatisfactory than an Act of ſo much Goodneſs in *Jeſus*, in order to remove all his Doubts and Scruples?

This Wound, or the Remians of it, in *Jeſus*'s Side, is ſtiled here, either by *Jewiſh* or Apoſtate Ignorance or Malice, *the Sore in his Breaſt.* And it is added with the ſame ill Spirit, that it was ſuch a Sore *as the Power of God did not heal in his Reſurrection.* Which is a bold, tho' vain, Imputation on the Power of God; ſince that divine Power which is ſuppoſed to have raiſed *Jeſus* to Life again, muſt be ſuppoſed likewiſe to be capable of healing the Wound in his Side. For tho' the Original Expreſſion is ſomewhat ambiguous, and may be underſtood of *Thomas*'s *putting his Hand upon the Mark*, or Scar of the Wound in the Side of *Jeſus*, as well as of his *thruſting his Hand into his Side*; yet no doubt the latter Signification was juſtly choſe by our Tranſlators as more emphatical than the former, ſince ſuch an Action could not but be more ſatisfactory to *Thomas*, and more fully cure him of his Infidelity. And therefore if the divine Wiſdom thought it proper to let the Wound in the Side of *Jeſus* continue unhealed, it was in order to give a miraculous Demonſtration, that it was the very ſame Body that died on the Croſs which was now raiſed to Life again, and critically examined by an incredulous Perſon. So that this Wound, if it continued ſuch unhealed, ſeems to have been one of thoſe [x] *many Signs* which in the very next Verſe are ſaid to have been done by *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection. For thus *the Word of Life* was not only [y] *heard*, and *ſeen*, but was permitted to be *handled*, even to Demonſtration.

We cannot diſmiſs Mr. *Woolſton* and his *Rabbi* on this Occaſion, without a farther Animadverſion on the wretched Ignorance of the one or the other of them, in aſſerting that this Appearance of *Jeſus* to *Thomas*, and the other Diſciples in his Company, was the very laſt Appearance of *Jeſus*. For St. *John*, in the Compaſs of a few Verſes after the Account of *Thomas*, adds, [z] *After theſe Things* Jeſus *ſhewed himſelf again to his Diſciples at the Sea of* Tiberias. Indeed our *Jew*'s Pretence of the laſt Appearance of *Jeſus* muſt unavoidably have been thought falſe, if it only had been obſerved that this Appearance happened but the [a] eighth Day after *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection; whereas we are aſſured that [b] *Jeſus ſhewed himſelf alive after his Paſſion by many infallible Proofs, being ſeen of them forty Days, and ſpeaking of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.* What therefore *Origen* complained often of in *Celſus*'s *Jew*, we may here apply, in the Way of Animadverſion, to the *Jew* introduced by Mr. *Woolſton*, namely, That he is ſo very little converſant in Holy Scripture, as to induce any impartial Reader to ſuſpect him to be a Deiſt in Maſquerade.

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[p] P. 34.
[q] John xx. 19.
[r] Luke xxiv. 33, 36.
[s] John xx. 26.
[t] Acts v. 19, 22, 23. xii. 6, 9. 10.
[u] P. 34.
[w] John xx. 25.
[x] John xx. 30.
[y] 1 John i. 1.
[z] John. xxi. 1.
[a] John xx. 19, 26.
[b] Acts i. 4.

The *Rabbi* thus concludes his Banter on *Jeſus*'s Appearances, under the Diſguiſe of Doctor *Emms:* [c] *After which they ſaid, he vaniſhed away, was taken up into Heaven, and they ſaw him no more.* But they that were appointed the proper Witneſſes of his Doctrine, and Miracles, and Reſurrection, were juſtly ſo too of his Aſcenſion. However, we are aſſured he did not ſuddenly vaniſh away, as is here inſinuated; but after a ſolemn Parting, and a [d] Communication of his Bleſſing, and his Promiſe of Power, with which they were to be *indued* in a ſhort Time, *from on High*, and the Meſſage ſent by them of *Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins in his Name* to all Mankind; after all this Preparation, [e] *whilſt they beheld, he was taken up, and a Cloud received him out of their Sight*; and *they looked ſtedfaſtly towards Heaven, as he went up:* And once more, *He was carried up into Heaven, and ſat on the Right Hand of God.* If therefore our *Jew* would diveſt himſelf of Prejudices, he could not but acknowledge that here is a much more credible Teſtimony, and that of a more gradual Aſcenſion into Heaven, than what is recorded of the [g] Aſcent of *Elijah* himſelf; of which there was no other Witneſs but *Eliſha*.

But ſince our *Jew* pretends to ridicule the Account of *Jeſus*'s having changed his Form, and varied his Appearances to his Diſciples after his Reſurrection; we think it very proper to aſſign ſome Reaſons for thoſe different Appearances; which are theſe: That being in the Diſguiſe of a Stranger, he might ſpeak the more freely, and with a peculiar Advantage, to thoſe he appeared to after his Reſurrection: That he might exhibit himſelf to his Diſciples in a gradual Manner, and thereby take off the Fright that might, and indeed did, otherwiſe ariſe from their imagining that they ſaw a Spirit, a Thing ſo terrible to human Nature: That by this gradual Diſcovery he made a clearer Revelation of himſelf to them, and a deeper Impreſſion on their Minds that it was he himſelf that really appeared: That theſe different Appearances ſeem to have been deſigned to ſhew us, that tho' the Qualities of his Reſurrection-Body were in ſome Reſpects altered from thoſe of his Body before his Death, yet that he had the ſame real Body after his Reſurrection as he had before his Death: That theſe different Appearances of his Body were deſigned to ſhew us what will be the Nature and Qualities of our own Reſurrection-Bodies; ſince the Bodies of good Chriſtians will be render'd conformable to the glorified Body of *Jeſus*, that is to the Qualities it was inveſted with after his Reſurrection: *Laſtly*, That ſuch an Obſtruction of the Knowledge of the Perſon of *Jeſus*, was only introductory to the perfect Knowledge of him to be really *Jeſus*. For in all thoſe Inſtances, when that Inſtruction or Impediment was removed, all the Perſons concerned immediately knew him, and acknowledged him to be *Jeſus*. For how ludicrouſly ſoever this Matter may be repreſented, he did not really change his Form, or the Figure of his Face, after his Reſurrection; but all the Alteration of his Face conſiſted in this, that the Eyes of the Diſciples were withheld from knowing him by the divine Power, and that for the ſeveral Reaſons that have been now aſſigned; to which poſſibly others might be added.

Upon the whole, with regard to the ſeveral Appearances of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection, the Hiſtory of that Tranſaction is not only miſrepreſented, but entirely miſapplied to the Caſe of Dr. *Emms:* And conſequently, whatever Cenſure ought to be paſſed on *Emms*'s Non-appearance, and the previous, as well as ſubſequent, Conduct of his Brethren, nothing of that Kind can with any Colour of Reaſon be faſtened on the Appearances of *Jeſus* after his Reſurrection; ſince the Diſparity of their Caſes is ſo very great, and indeed ſo very obvious, in all their Circumſtances.

VIII. But the entire Proof of the Truth of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection is not confined to the *Goſpels*, but is ſtrongly confirmed by another Argument recorded in the [h] *Acts*; namely, by the ſolemn Miſſion of the Holy Ghoſt to the Apoſtles, according to *Jeſus*'s Promiſe, in ſo ſhort a Period as that of ten Days after that Promiſe was made. For this Power derived from on high, which they were commanded by *Jeſus*, juſt before his Aſcenſion, to expect at *Jeruſalem*, corroborated in the moſt effectual Manner, the Teſtimony which the Apoſtles gave of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, both as it was a Completion of the Promiſe of a Perſon who was hereby evinced to be alive, and likewiſe as it eſtabliſhed the Authority of the Apoſtles, and ratified from Heaven their Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection. As they were Witneſſes of his Reſurrection, and ſelected out of many others on that Occaſion; ſo was alſo the Holy Ghoſt a Witneſs of it, whom [i] God then *gave to thoſe that obeyed him*. For that they ſpoke by the Holy Ghoſt, and not merely of themſelves, is demonſtrable from their ſpeaking with *new Tongues*, as [k] *Jeſus* had foretold, to qualify them for being Miſſionaries to all Nations. And as they were enabled, by the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon them, to work all Sorts of Miracles in the Name of *Jeſus*, ſo did thoſe Miracles moſt clearly evince that *Jeſus* was riſen from the Dead, and was inveſted with divine Authority, ſince he communicated that Power to them, which he himſelf before exerted. And therefore as certainly as they received that miraculous Power, ſo certainly was their Teſtimony of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, which they gave upon all Occaſions after the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, render'd an irreſiſtible Evidence by the concurring Teſtimony of God himſelf. For it was [l] *with great Power that the Apoſtles gave Witneſs of the Reſurrection of the Lord* Jeſus; [m] *the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word which they preached with Signs following.*

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[c] P. 34.
[d] Luke xxiv. 47, &c.
[e] Acts i. 9, 10.
[f] Mark xvi. 19.
[g] 2 Kings ii. 11, 12.
[h] Acts ii. 1, 2, &c.
[i] Acts v. 32.
[k] Mark xvi. 17.
[l] Acts iv. 33.
[m] Mark xvi. 20.

To theſe Proofs of the Truth of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection, and as a natural Conſequence of what has been now mentioned about the Power from on High derived upon the Apoſtles, may and ought to be added that amazing Succeſs which attended their Teſtimony, in the Converſion of the World to the Chriſtian Religion. A Succeſs ſo very miraculous, as it was wrought by ſuch weak Inſtruments, in direct Oppoſition to all the Power, Wit, and Learning, and even the Superſtitions and Irregularities of Mankind, without any viſible Cauſe but the Teſtimony of the Apoſtles as confirmed by Miracles. Such a Succeſs proves at once, in a compendious Manner, the Truth of all the Miracles of *Jeſus*, and more eſpecially of that deciſive one of his Reſurrection, which was the principal Thing that was atteſted by the Apoſtles. No Wonder then, that as our *Rabbi* was puzzled with the confeſſed Difficulty of determining [n] *upon what Principle the Story of* Jeſus's *Reſurrection could be deviſed at firſt*; ſo he here again acknowledges that it is [o] *aſtoniſhing in the Hiſtory of the Reſurrection of* Jeſus, *that it has been moſt ſucceſsful, as having paſſed through many Ages and Nations with Reputation and Renown.* Such a Succeſs very juſtly appeared aſtoniſhing to him; ſince, whatever Miracles he might otherwiſe doubt of, the Converſion of ſo great a Part of the World to Chriſtianity, in Contradiction to the received Notions and general Practice of Mankind, is an inflexible Fact, that remains on certain Record to this very Day; and can no more be doubted of, than accounted for, either in the allegorical or infidel Scheme.

However, the *Rabbi*, we find, is ſo ſhock'd at the Difficulty of ſolving the [p] Wiſdom and Providence of God, *in ſuffering ſo many Ages and Nations to labour under ſuch a Deluſion*, as he ſtiles it, that he found it neceſſary to offer a few Reaſons, however weak they may be, for ſo extraordinary a *Phænomenon*. And indeed it would have been an unanſwerable Imputation on the Wiſdom and Providence of God, if Men of honeſt Minds, who uſed all juſt and proper Means of right Information about the Fact of the Reſurrection of *Jeſus*, were or could be deceived by ocular Witneſſes, and the miraculous Teſtimony of Heaven in Concurrence with them, the Truth of both which they confirmed with their own Blood. But deſpicable as the *Rabbi*'s Reaſons are for ſuch a ſuppoſed general Deluſion, as permitted by God, they ſhall be examined, or rather expoſed, by repeating them.

Firſt, he pretends that ſuch a Deluſion was permitted to [q] *humble Mankind for their pretended Wiſdom and Learning.* But experimental Knowledge, or that which is acquired by the united Teſtimonies of the Senſes, is no falſe Knowledge; on the contrary, it is the higheſt Certainty. And conſequently, this Reaſon is exceedingly trifling. Indeed Humility is emphatically taught by the voluntary Incarnation, Sufferings, and Death of *Jeſus*; and is ſtrongly re-inforced by his ſubſequent Reſurrection, and that Glory which was conferred on him as a Reward of his Sufferings. But this is founded upon the very Reverſe of the pretended Deluſion.

Another Reaſon offered is, that ſuch a Deluſion was deſigned [r] *to ſhame Men out of their Perſecution of one another, to caution them againſt implicite Faith, and to admoniſh them of the Neceſſity of Free-Thinking, Speaking, and Writing.* But was there any Occaſion for ſuch a Deluſion in order to prevent Perſecution of one another, when *Jeſus* had made mutual Love the diſtinguiſhing Characteriſtic of his Diſciples? Had the Acknowledgment of the Truth of *Jeſus*'s Reſurrection any Connection with implicite Faith, when it was a Fact eſtabliſhed by the Reports of the Senſes of ſo many competent Witneſſes? Can ſuch a Deluſion be imagined to have been permitted in order to convince Men of the Liberty that ought to be allowed in their Enquiries about Religion, when *Jeſus* himſelf had indulged it as far as it was rational, when he aſked his Audience, Why even of themſelves they judged not what is Right, and reproached them for not diſcerning the Signs of the Times, as well as allowed them a thorough Examination of the Truth of his own Reſurrection? Indeed his Precepts muſt be confeſſed to lay ſuch powerful Reſtraints on the Thoughts, Words, and Actions of his Followers, as to be inconſiſtent with all that Licentiouſneſs which is pleaded for, and practiſed by the modern Free-Thinkers.

But the *laſt* Reaſon offered for the providential Permiſſion of ſuch a pretended Deluſion is very extraordinary; namely, that it was deſigned *to reduce the World when it ſhould be ripe for it, to the Golden Religion of Nature.* As if the ſtrongeſt Proof of a divine Revelation, which was made on Purpoſe to ſupply the Deficiencies of Natural Religion, and to reform Mankind effectually, was only deſigned to be introductory to a Reſtoration of a State of Nature. This is ſo contradictory to Reaſon as to confute itſelf, to betray the Deiſt in Diſguiſe, and at once to pull the Mask off the pretended *Jew* and the apoſtate Chriſtian.

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[n] P. 26.

[o] P. 27.

[p] P. 27.

[q] P. 27, 28.

[r] P. 28.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Types and Prophecies which foretold our Saviour's Reſurrection, and of the Saints who roſe with him.

I. *Proofs of the Chriſtian Religion. Which to be here inſiſted on. Types, and in particular the Paſchal Lamb.* II. *Prophecies univerſally applied to the Meſſiah, and alledged by St.* Paul, *St.* Peter, *and St.* Stephen, *and explained by* Chriſt *himſelf.* III. *The Propriety and Efficacy of the Arguments deduced from thoſe Prophecies. The Uſe made of their Obſcurity of no Service to Infidels.* IV. *Texts of the Law, the Prophets, and the Pſalms, wherein* Chriſt's *Death is foretold.* V. *Texts from the ſame Diviſions of Scripture predicting his Reſurrection.* VI. *Concerning the Saints who are ſaid to have riſen with* Chriſt. *Several Opinions.*

I. WE have already conſidered many of the moſt plain, ſtrong, and direct Proofs, by which the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion is ſupported; ſuch as, The general Expectation of the Meſſiah's Coming at the Time when *Jeſus* appeared; The Miracles which he wrought in Confirmation of his Miſſion; His Predictions of his own Death and Reſurrection, and of many Events which were punctually fulfilled. The principal Arguments on this Head which remain to be enlarged upon, are theſe two; The Types and Prophecies of the Old Teſtament relating to him, and the ſpeedy and wonderful Propagation of the Goſpel after his Death. The laſt of theſe we have already taken notice of occaſionally, and ſhall farther inſiſt on in a proper Place. The firſt has alſo been largely treated of, in relation to ſome particular Prophecies; but has never, in general, been the expreſs Subject of any Diſſertation in this Work: We ſhall therefore turn our Thoughts at preſent on this important Evidence of our Faith, and endeavour to ſhew that there were extant in our Saviour's Time many Types and Prophecies relating to the Meſſiah, which were fulfilled in our Saviour's Perſon, to which he appealed for the Support of his Pretenſions, and on which the Apoſtles afterwards inſiſted, thro' the whole Courſe of their Miniſtry, as undeniable Proofs that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*. After which we ſhall offer ſome Conjectures concerning the Prophecies in particular, what they were, and how far applicable to the Author of our Religion. This we are led to do by what is related in the preceding Chapter, where *Jeſus* is ſaid to have [a] *opened the Underſtanding of his Diſciples, that they might underſtand the Scriptures*; and to have taught them, that *thus it behoved* Chriſt *to ſuffer, and to riſe from the Dead on the third Day.*

[b] The *Types* which the Chriſtian Writers of all Ages have inſiſted on, as prefiguring a ſuffering Saviour, could not be applied to *Chriſt* by the *Jews* who lived before his Coming, becauſe they expected a temporal Prince and a triumphant Saviour; but they are expreſly applied to him, and repreſented as centuring in him, by the inſpired Writers of the New Teſtament, and particularly by St. *Paul*, who received his Inſtructions immediately from Heaven. We ſhall inſtance only in the Paſchal Lamb, which was ſlain every Year at the Feaſt of the Paſſover, and was by God's ſpecial Appointment to be [c] *without Blemiſh*, and to be ſlain [d] only at *Jeruſalem*, and the [e] *Bones of it not to be broken.* This was manifeſtly a Type of our Saviour's Death; which, beſides an Agreement in the Circumſtances already mention'd, was on the very ſame Day, and on the very ſame Part of the Day, that the Paſchal Lamb was appointed to be ſlain; and by a ſignal Providence, a Bone of him was not broken; tho' it was a known Cuſtom to break the Bones of thoſe who were crucified, and the Bones of the two who were crucified with him were actually broken. Well then might *John the Baptiſt* ſay to the People, [f] *Behold the* Lamb *of God*; and St. *Paul* ſtyle him, [g] *Chriſt our* Paſſover; and St. *Peter* ſpeak of him, [h] *as of a* Lamb *without Blemiſh and without Spot.*

II. In like Manner, the *Prophecies* of the Old Teſtament, as foretelling the Time, Place, and other Circumſtances of the Birth, Life, Death, and Reſurrection of the Meſſiah, with many Particulars concerning the Nature of his Kingdom, and the Times of it, are not only applied to him by *Jeſus*, (who took upon him to be that Meſſiah) by the inſpired Writers of the New Teſtament, and by the ſucceeding Chriſtians in all Ages, but were ſo applied by the antient *Jewiſh* Writers themſelves, long before the Coming of *Chriſt* into the World. From whence aroſe that general Expectation of his Coming at that Time, of which we have before ſpoken, and which we find atteſted by the concurring Evidence of *Jewiſh*, Chriſtian, and Heathen Writers.

That a Meſſiah was promiſed in the Law and the Prophets, and that this was univerſally believed and acknowledged by the *Jews*, appears by the whole Tenor of St. *Paul*'s and St. *Peter*'s Diſcourſes to them, as they are recorded in the Acts of the Apoſtles. Where we ſee plainly, that the only Point in diſpute between them and the *Jews*, was, Whether or no that Promiſe was fulfilled in our Saviour? For as the Apoſtles conſtantly reaſoned with them from the Prophecies and Predictions of the Old Teſtament, ſo all their Reaſonings were to prove, that they were fulfilled in him. We do not find, that any doubt was raiſed by the *Jews*, whether the Paſſages quoted from thoſe Books, had been rightly applied to a Meſſiah by their own Teachers, or whether the Expectation there was of a great Deliverer was well founded in the Scriptures: The only Thing, which, the *Jews* themſelves being Judges, wanted to be proved, was, that thoſe Scriptures were rightly applied by the Apoſtles to *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, whom their Rulers had put to Death, but who by the Power of God was raiſed again to Life; of which the Apoſtles were Eye-Witneſſes, and the Truth of their Teſtimony was confirmed by the Miraculous Gifts and Power of the Holy Ghoſt. This was the great Point in their Reaſonings with the *Jews*, To prove that *Jeſus* was the Perſon promiſed; for which they made their Appeal to the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, and did it with great Succeſs.

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[a] Luke xxii. 45, 46. See alſo ver. 25, 26, 27.
[b] See the Biſhop of London's firſt Paſtoral Letter.
[c] Exod. xii. 5.
[d] Deut. xvi. 5, 6.
[e] Exod. xii. Numb. ix. 12.
[f] John i. 29.
[g] 1 Cor. v. 7.
[h] 1 Pet. i. 19.

At *Theſſalonica*, where was a Synagogue of the *Jews*, [i] St. *Paul went in unto them*, as his Manner was, *and three Sabbath-Days reaſoned with them* out of the Scriptures, *openly alledging, that* Chriſt *muſt needs have ſuffered, and riſen again from the Dead, and that this* Jeſus *whom I preach unto you, is* Chriſt. At *Damaſcus*, [k] he confounded the *Jews* which dwelt there, proving that this is the very *Chriſt*. So in the Synagogue at *Berœa*, [l] he reaſoned with them out of the Scriptures; and it is ſaid in Commendation of the *Jews* there, that *they received the Word with all Readineſs of Mind, and ſearch'd the Scriptures daily, whether theſe Things were ſo.* Of the ſame Kind was his Diſcourſe with the *Jews* at *Antioch*; [m] *Of this Man's Seed*, that is *David*'s, *hath God, according to his Promiſe, raiſed unto* Iſrael *a Saviour*, Jeſus.—*Becauſe they knew him not*, that is *Chriſt*, *nor yet the Voices of the Prophets which are read every Sabbath Day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.*—— *The* Promiſe *which was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfill'd the ſame to us their Children, in that he hath raiſed up* Jeſus *again*; according to what was propheſied by *David* and *Iſaiah*, which is there ſet forth at large. Thus alſo he defends himſelf before *Felix*, [n] *This I confeſs unto thee, that after the Way which they call Hereſy, ſo worſhip I the God of my Fathers, believing all Things which are written in the Law and the Prophets:* And before *Feſtus* and *Agrippa*, [o] *I am judged*, ſays he, *for the Hope of the Promiſe made of God unto our Fathers.*——*Having obtained Help of God, I continue unto this Day; witneſſing both to Small and Great, ſaying none other Things, than thoſe which the Prophets and* Moſes *did ſay ſhould come.*—*King* Agrippa, *believeſt thou the Prophets? I know that thou believeſt:* To which *Agrippa* replied, *Almoſt thou perſwadeſt me to be a Chriſtian.* And when he was at *Rome*, he explained and teſtified to the *Jews* who came to him, the Kingdom of God; [p] *perſwading them concerning* Jeſus, *both out of the Law of* Moſes, *and out of the Prophets, from Morning till Evening.*

The *Acts of the Apoſtles* give the like Account of St *Peter*, [q] who, on the Day of *Pentecoſt*, preached to the *Jews* upon the Evidence of the Scriptures, with ſuch Succeſs, that *great Numbers gladly received his Word, and the ſame Day there were added to them about three thouſand Souls.* And a little after, upon his healing an impotent Man in *Solomon*'s Porch, and the People's running together to him, we have another Declaration of his to the ſame Purpoſe: [r] *Thoſe Things which God beforehand had ſhewed by the Mouth of all his Prophets, that* Chriſt *ſhould ſuffer, he hath ſo fulfilled.*—*Whom the Heaven muſt receive, until the Time of Reſtitution of all Things, which God hath ſpoken by the Mouth of all his holy Prophets, ſince the World began. For* Moſes *truly ſaid unto the Fathers, A Prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe up unto you: Yea, and all the Prophets from* Samuel, *and thoſe that follow after, as many as have ſpoken, have likewiſe foretold of theſe Days.*——[ſ] *And many which heard the Word, believed, and the Number of the Men was about ſix thouſand.* Again, in his Speech to *Cornelius*, and his Company, [t] *Him*, ſays the ſame Apoſtle, *hath God raiſed up;—and commanded us to preach to the People, and to teſtify, that it is he which was ordained of God, to be the Judge of the Quick and the Dead: To him give all the Prophets witneſs.*

The ſame Appeal to the Scriptures is made by St. *Stephen*: [u] *This is that* Moſes, *which ſaid unto the Children of* Iſrael, *A Prophet ſhall the Lord your God raiſe up unto you.*——*Which of the Prophets have not your Fathers perſecuted? And they have ſlain them which ſhewed before of the Coming of the juſt One, of whom you have been now the Betrayers and Murderers.* And *Philip* [w] converts the Treaſurer of Queen *Candace*, whom he found reading the fifty third Chapter of *Iſaiah*, by beginning at that Scripture, and preaching to him *Jeſus*; upon which he believed, and was baptized. And of *Apollos* it is ſaid, that [x] *he was an eloquent Man, and mighty in the Scriptures; and that he mightily convinced the* Jews, *and that publickly; ſhewing by the Scriptures, that* Jeſus *was the* Chriſt.

This then was the Reaſoning of the Apoſtles, and other holy Men, in order to the Converſion of the *Jews*: And is no other, than what St. *Paul* learnt by immediate Revelation; for he tells the *Corinthians*, [y] *that he delivered to them that which he received, how that* Chriſt *died for our Sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third Day, according to the Scriptures.* And the other Apoſtles were inſtructed in the ſame Way of Reaſoning by our Saviour himſelf, who a little before his Paſſion, took to him the Twelve, and ſaid unto them, [z] *Behold, we go up to* Jeruſalem, *and all Things that are written in the Prophets concerning the Son of Man, ſhall be accompliſhed.*

But the Apoſtles *then underſtood none of theſe Things*; and therefore, after his Reſurrection, *he opened their Underſtandings.* First, of two of them, whom he met going to *Emmaus*: [a] *O Fools, and ſlow of Heart to believe all that the*

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[i] Acts xvii. 1, 2, 3.
[k] Acts ix. 22.
[l] Acts xvii. 10, 11, 12.
[m] Acts xiii. 16, 17, 23, 27, 32, 33.
[n] Acts xxiv. 14.
[o] Acts xxvi. 6, 22, 27, 28.
[p] Acts xxviii. 23.
[q] Acts ii. 1. 25.
[r] Acts iii. 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26.
[ſ] Acts iv. 4.
[t] Acts x. 42, 43.
[u] Acts vii. 37, 52.
[w] Acts viii. 30.
[x] Acts xviii. 24, 45.
[y] 1 Cor. xv. 3.
[z] Luke xviii. 31, 34.
[a] Luke xxiv. 25, 26, 27.

Prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures, the Things concerning himſelf: And then of the Eleven; [b] *Theſe are the Words which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things muſt be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of* Moſes, *and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms, concerning me. Then opened he their Underſtandings, that they might underſtand the Scriptures, and ſaid unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved* Chriſt *to ſuffer, and to riſe from the Dead the third Day; and that Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins ſhould be preached in his Name among all Nations.*

III. Such frequent Appeals to the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, to prove that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah, plainly ſuppoſe the Promiſe of a Meſſiah; and the Succeſs they had, notwithſtanding the Prejudices the *Jews* were under againſt a Suffering Meſſiah, ſhews the Propriety and Efficacy of this Argument in order to the Conviction of that People, to whom the Promiſe was made, and whoſe earneſt Deſire and Expectation of a Deliverer had led them of Courſe to be familiarly acquainted with the Prophecies concerning him.

But becauſe the Evidence ariſing from particular Types and Prophecies, is now by Length of Time, and Diſtance of Place, and Change of Cuſtoms, become obſcure and difficult to the Generality of People, and cannot be thoroughly diſcuſs'd without a great Variety of Knowledge concerning the antient *Jewiſh* Cuſtoms, and the Authority of their Writings, and the exact Calculations of Time: All which require much Study, and leave room to ill-minded Men to diſpute and cavil, and to perplex the Readers who are unacquainted with the Learning and Hiſtory of former Ages: For theſe Reaſons, the Promoters of Infidelity might well hope to find their Account in reſting the whole Evidence of Chriſtianity upon the Types and Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, as ſome of them have done; partly to furniſh wicked Minds with Objections, and fill weak Minds with Doubts; and partly to draw and divert Mankind from attending to the more plain, ſtrong, and direct Evidences of the Truth of Chriſtianity.

But notwithſtanding this was the moſt promiſing Method they could take, we ſhall now prove that it is not ſufficient for their Purpoſe. In order to which, let us only ſuppoſe, what is very manifeſt, that [c] our bleſſed Saviour, after he was riſen from the Dead, not only told his Diſciples, that his Suffering of Death, and Riſing again the third Day, were foretold in the Scriptures; but alſo pointed out thoſe Scriptures unto them, and [d] *opened their Underſtanding, that they might underſtand them*; that is, he expounded, or explained them unto them. This being ſo, it is conſequently certain that ſomewhere in the Old Teſtament theſe Things were foretold as what ſhould befal the Meſſiah. And St. *Paul* further aſſures us that they are ſo, when he ſays, in the before quoted Text, [e] *I delivered unto you firſt of all, that which I received, how that* Chriſt *died for our Sins, according to the Scriptures: And that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third Day, according to the Scriptures.* Both of theſe therefore, that is the Death and Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, are ſomewhere foretold in the Scriptures; and it becomes not us to be ſo ignorant, as commonly we are, which thoſe Scriptures are which foretel them. It is a main Point of our Faith, and that which the *Jews* moſt ſtumble at, becauſe their Doctors had not obſerved any ſuch Thing of the Meſſiah. And the more they were ignorant thereof, the more it concerns us to be confirmed therein. We ſhall enquire, therefore, where theſe Things are foretold, and endeavour to point out thoſe very Scriptures, which our Saviour here expounded to his Diſciples.

IV. That we may the better do this, let us take a review of what our Saviour ſays. *Theſe are the Things*, ſaith he, *which I ſpake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all Things muſt be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of* Moſes, *and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms concerning me. Then opened he their Underſtanding, that they might underſtand the Scripture.* Theſe two Events therefore, of Meſſiah's Death and Riſing again on the third Day, were foretold in theſe three Parts of Scripture, in the Law of *Moſes*, in the Prophets, and in the Pſalms; and in theſe three we muſt ſearch for them.

What we have in the Law, or Pentateuch, is chiefly typical: And firſt, in the [f] Story of *Abraham*, where he was commanded to offer his Son *Iſaac*, the Son wherein his Seed ſhould be called, and to whom the Promiſe was entailed, *That in him ſhould all the Nations of the World be bleſſed.* What was here acted elſe, but the Myſtery of *Chriſt*'s Paſſion; that the promiſed Seed ſhould make all the Nations of the World bleſſed, by becoming a Sacrifice for Sin? Which that it might be the more evident, the Place is alſo deſigned, the Region of Mount *Moriah*: There *Abraham* was bid to offer his Son *Iſaac*, even where Meſſiah, who was then in the Loins of *Iſaac*, was one Day to be offered on the Croſs.

The *ſecond* Prediction in the Law, of Meſſiah's ſuffering Death, was by the Slaying of Beaſts, for the Atonement of Sin in their Sacrifices; which were nothing at all but Shadows and Repreſentations of that Offering upon the Croſs, which Meſſiah was one Day to make himſelf for the Sins of the World. Which Myſtery of the End of thoſe legal Sacrifices, was ſhewed in the former Story of *Abraham*'s offering *Iſaac*: For when he had brought his Son to the Place appointed, and had built an Altar, and was now ready to ſlay him, as he was commanded, the Angel of the Lord ſtaid his Hand, and ſhewed him a Ram caught in a Thicket by the Horns; which Ram *Abraham* took, and offered for a

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[b] Luke xxiv. 42, 45, 46, 47.

[c] See Mr. Mede's Diſcourſe on Luke xxiv. 45.

[d] Luke xxiv. 45.

[e] 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.

[f] Gen. xxii.

Burnt-offering inſtead of his Son; To ſignify, that the Offering of the bleſſed Seed was yet to be ſuſpended, and that God in the mean while would accept the Offerings of Bulls and Rams, as a Pledge of that Expiation, which the bleſſed Seed of *Abraham*, in the Loins of *Iſaac*, ſhould one Day make.

2. Thus much for the Law; we now come to the *Prophets*, wherein we find three evident Prophecies that Meſſiah ſhould ſuffer Death. The firſt is that famous one in the Fifty-third of *Iſaiah*, the whole Chapter through. We will not repeat it all, it being ſo well known, but two or three Paſſages thereof muſt not be omitted: *He was wounded*, ſaith the Prophet, *for our Tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our Iniquities, the Chaſtiſement of our Peace was upon him, and with his Stripes we are healed. He was oppreſſed, he was afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth. He was brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and as a Sheep before his Shearers is dumb, ſo he opened not his Mouth. He was cut off out of the Land of the Living; for the Tranſgreſſions of my People was he ſmitten.* Now that this Prophecy was one of thoſe, by which the Apoſtles uſed to prove the Truth of *Chriſt*'s Death, appears from the [h] Hiſtory of the Converſion of the Eunuch, unto whom *Philip* coming whilſt he was in his Chariot, reading this Place of Scripture, and he thereupon asking *Philip*, of whom the Prophet ſpake theſe Words, the Text tells us, that *Philip began at the ſame Scripture, and preached unto him* Jeſus.

The *ſecond* Place, which foretels that *Chriſt* ſhould ſuffer, is that in the [i] Ninth of *Daniel*, who pointing out the Time of Meſſiah's Coming by ſeventy Weeks, limits his Account, not at his Birth, but at his Suffering; as the moſt principal Period of the Story. [i] *From the Going out of the Commandment*, ſaith he, *to reſtore, and build* Jeruſalem, *unto Meſſiah the Prince, ſhall be ſeven Weeks, and ſixty and two Weeks;——and after ſixty and two Weeks, ſhall Meſſiah be cut off:* What can be more plain than this?

A *third* Place is to be found in the [k] Prophecy of *Zachariah*, where, at the Time when the *Jews* ſhall be converted, *Chriſt* is brought in ſpeaking in this Manner; [k] *I will pour out*, ſaith he, *upon the Houſe of* David, *and upon the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem, *the Spirit of Grace and Supplication, and they ſhall look upon me, whom they have pierced.* Hence it follows, that the *Jews* ſhould have pierced Meſſiah before they received him to be their Redeemer. And that this Place alſo was one of thoſe applied by the Apoſtles to this Purpoſe, appears by St. *John*'s twice alledging it. Once in his Goſpel, when a Soldier with a Spear pierced our Saviour's Side: [l] *Then*, ſaith he, *was fulfilled that Scripture, which ſaith, They ſhall look upon him whom they they have pierced.* And again, in the Beginning of the Revelations; [m] *Behold he cometh in the Clouds, and every Eye ſhall ſee him, and they alſo which pierced him.*

3. Now for the *third* Diviſion of Scripture, the *Pſalms*. The principal Place there which we dare warrant, is that of the ſixteenth *Pſalm*, quoted both by [n] St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* in the Acts of the Apoſtles; *My Fleſh ſhall reſt in Hope, for thou wilt not leave my Soul in the Grave, neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption.* For *David*, as St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* ſay, was buried, and his Body ſaw Corruption; therefore it cannot be ſpoken of him, but of Meſſiah in the Perſon of *David*, as a Type in whoſe Loins Meſſiah was. Now then, if Meſſiah's Body were to be laid in the Grave, it follows he was to die, and to be in the State of the Dead.

V. And thus we have done with the *firſt* Part of our Task, and proved that the Meſſiah was to *ſuffer Death*, according to the Scriptures, in that threefold Diviſion mentioned here by our Saviour; *The Law, the Prophets, and the Pſalms.* Now we come to prove the *other* Part, that it behoved him alſo *to riſe again the third Day*, according to the Scriptures.

And this was firſt foreſhewn in the ſame Story of *Iſaac*, wherein his Sacrifice or Suffering was acted. For, from the Time that God commanded *Iſaac* to be offered for a Burnt-Offering, *Iſaac* was a dead Man; but the third Day he was releaſed from Death. This the Text tells us expreſly, that it was the third Day when *Abraham* came to Mount *Moriah*, and had his Son, as it were, reſtored to him again; which Circumſtance there was no need at all to have noted, had it not been for ſome Myſtery: For had there been nothing intended, but the naked Story, what did it concern us to know, whether it were the third or the fifth Day, when *Abraham* came to *Moriah*, where he received his Son from Death? And that we have not miſapplied this Figure, St. *Paul* is our Witneſs, who expreſly makes this Releaſe of *Iſaac* from Slaughter, a Figure of the Reſurrection: For thus he ſpeaks of this whole Story; [o] *By Faith*, Abraham, *when he was tried, offered up* Iſaac; *and he that received the Promiſes, offered up his only-begotten Son; of whom it was ſaid, that in* Iſaac *ſhall thy Seed be called. Accounting that God was able to raiſe him up even from the Dead: From whence alſo he received him in a Figure.*

The ſame was foreſhewn by the Law of Sacrifices, which were to be eaten before the third Day. Some Sacrifices were to be eaten the ſame Day they were offered; but thoſe which were deferred longeſt, as the Peace-Offerings, were to be eaten before the third Day. The third Day no Sacrifice might be eaten, but was to be burnt: If it were eaten, it was not accepted for an Atonement, but counted an Abomination: To ſhew, that the Sacrifice of Meſſiah, which theſe Sacrifices repreſented, was to be finiſhed the third Day by his Riſing from the Dead; and therefore the Type thereof determined within that Time, beyond which Time it was not accepted for Atonement of Sin, becauſe then it was no longer a Type of him.

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[h] Acts viii.

[i] See this Prophecy conſidered at large, p. 167, &c. of this Work.

[k] Zach. xii. 10.

[l] John xix. 37.

[m] Apoc. i. 7.

[n] Acts ii. 26, 27. xiii. 35.

[o] Heb xi. 17, 18, 19.

Thus far the Law: As for the *Prophets*, we find no expreſs Prediction in them, for the Time of *Chriſt*'s Riſing; (for that of the Prophet *Jonah*, we take to be rather an Alluſion, than a Prophecy:) Only in general it is implied, that *Chriſt* ſhould riſe again, both in that famous Propecy of [p] *Iſaiah* before quoted, and in that of [q] *Zachariah*. In the former it is ſaid, that after he had made his Soul a Sacrifice for Sin, *He ſhould ſee his Seed, and prolong his Days, and the Pleaſure of the Lord ſhould proſper in his Hand.* And again, that the Lord ſhould *divide the Spoil with the Strong, becauſe he had poured out his Soul unto Death:* Which argues that he ſhould not only live again, but be victorious after he had died. In that of *Zachary* it is ſaid, that the *Jews* ſhould *look upon*, or ſee, *him whom they had* formerly *pierced*,; and, that *in that Day he would pour upon them the Spirit of Grace and Supplication:* Therefore he was to live again after they had pierced him.

We come now to the *Pſalms*, where not only his Riſing again is propheſied of, but the Time thereof determined, (tho' at firſt Sight it appears not to be ſo,) in that fore-alledged Paſſage of the ſixteenth *Pſalm, Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption.* All Men ſhall riſe again, but their Bodies muſt firſt return to Duſt, and ſee Corruption: But Meſſiah was to riſe again before he ſaw Corruption: If before, then the third Day at fartheſt; for then the Body naturally [r] begins to ſee Corruption. This may be gathered by the [s] Story of *Lazarus* in the Goſpel, where *Jeſus* commanding the Stone to be rolled from his Grave, *Martha* his Siſter anſwered, *Lord by this Time he ſtinketh; for he hath been dead four Days.* Alſo by that Rule, given by the Maſters of Phyſic, that thoſe who die of the Apoplexy, Suffocation of the Mother, or like ſudden Deaths, ſhould not be buried till ſeventy two Hours were paſt; becauſe within that Time they might revive: And Examples are given of thoſe who have done ſo. They give alſo a Reaſon of it in Nature: Becauſe, ſay they, in that Time the Humours of the Body make their Revolution; the Phlegm in one Day, or twenty four Hours; the Choler in two Days, or eight and forty Hours; the Melancholy in three Days, which is ſeventy two Hours: And this they affirm to be the Reaſon why an Ague, founded on an Inflammation of Phlegm, returns every Day; an Ague which comes from Choler, every other Day; from Melancholy, every third Day. Now, if a Body may be kept ſo long unburied, it is ſuppoſed it may be kept ſo long uncorrupted, where a Corruption is not begun before Death, as in ſome Diſeaſes; but longer it will not continue. When therefore it is ſo often inculcated in the New Teſtament, that our Saviour ſhould *riſe again the third Day*; the Holy Ghoſt, in ſo ſpeaking, reſpects not ſo much the Number of Days, as the Fulfilling of Scripture, that Meſſiah's Body ſhould not ſee Corruption, but riſe before the Time, wherein dead Bodies begin to corrupt: And indeed our Saviour roſe again within forty Hours after he gave up the Ghoſt, and was not two full Days in the Grave. Therefore, if there be any other Scripture, which implies that Meſſiah ſhould riſe before his Body ſhould ſee Corruption, that Scripture, whatſoever it be, ſhews he ſhould riſe again within three Days.

VI. The Reſurrection of the Saints, who [t] aroſe out of their Sepulchres at the Time of our Saviour's Death, and who after his Reſurrection came into the holy City, and appeared to many, is a Subject that deſerves to be conſidered in a few Words, before we entirely diſmiſs the Reſurrection of our Saviour. The Names of thoſe that aroſe on this Occaſion are unknown. Some will have them to have been all the moſt antient Fathers and Patriarchs: Others, that they were the moſt modern ones, and ſuch as were beſt known to the *Jews* then living. Others again, that this Favour was granted only to thoſe that were buried at *Jeruſalem*, or thereabouts. They diſpute alſo about the Hour of their Reſurrection; ſome [u] maintaining that they did not riſe till after our Saviour, who is called in Scripture [w] the *Firſt-Fruits of thoſe that ſlept*; others, [x] that they aroſe at the Moment of our Saviour's Death, and that *Jeſus Chriſt* raiſed them before he raiſed himſelf, to diſplay his Triumph over Death in a more remarkable Manner. It muſt be allowed, that the Text of the Evangeliſt *Matthew* is not deciſive for either of thoſe Opinions, tho' we muſt confeſs ourſelves chiefly inclined to the former.

But theſe Saints being thus raiſed, did they die again, or re-enter into their Graves, after the Aſcenſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*? or did they aſcend with him into Heaven? There is a Variety of Sentiments upon this Matter. Thoſe who think that *Chriſt* led them along with him into Heaven, as it were in Triumph, quote for their Opinion thoſe Words of *Hoſea*; [y] *I will ranſom them from the Power of the Grave, I will redeem them from Death; O Death, I will be thy Plague; O Grave, I will be thy Deſtruction:* And thoſe of the *Pſalmiſt*, [z] *Thou haſt aſcended on high, thou haſt led Captivity captive:* And thoſe of the Apoſtle *Paul*; [a] *When he aſcended upon high, he led Captivity captive, and gave Gifts unto Men.* Is it probable, ſay they, that after having reſtored Life to thoſe Saints and illuſtrious Dead, God ſhould think fit to make them ſubmit once more to Death and the Grave? Would not this be to plunge them again into Pain and Bitterneſs, after giving them a Taſte of eternal Happineſs? In a Word, would it not be more agreeable to the Juſtice, the Goodneſs, and the Majeſty of that divine Deliverer, to complete his Work, and to lead them along with him into Heaven, after he had reſtored them to Life upon Earth? We might produce a great Number of [b] Fathers, who have been of this Opinion; and a great Multitude of modern Interpreters, who maintain in a poſitive Manner, that the holy Patriarchs raiſed with *Jeſus Chriſt*, enjoy with him the Happineſs of Heaven, and were the Partners of his triumphant Aſcenſion.

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[p] Iſai. liii. [q] Zach. xii. [r] Meurſii Gloſar. Græco-barbarum.

[s] This and the following Inſtances have been produced before, but it was neceſſary to repeat them here.

[t] Matth. xxvii. 51, 52, 53. See Calmet in the Article *Reſurrection*, and in his Diſſertation on this Subject.

[u] Origen, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Raban. Maur. Paſchaſius, Radbert, Bede, Drutmar, Liranus, and ſeveral others.

[w] 1 Cor. xv. 20. [x] Chryſoſtom, Hilary, the Greek Authors who follow Chryſoſtom, and many others. [y] Hoſ. xiii. 14.

[z] Pſal. lviii. 18. [a] Eph. iv. 8. [b] Ignatius, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Euſebius of Ceſaræa, Bede, and many others.

But the contrary Opinion is maintained, not with leſs Authority, nor with fewer Proofs. St. *Paul* ſays expreſly, [c] that the holy Patriarchs, *having obtained a good Report thro' Faith, received not the Promiſe; God having provided ſome better Things for us, that they without us ſhould not be made perfect.* Therefore he did not think them yet raiſed, nor in Poſſeſſion of the Glory of Heaven. He ſays elſewhere, [d] That *Jeſus Chriſt* is the Firſt-Fruits of thoſe that ſlept the Sleep of Death, and were to ariſe one Day, not to ſleep any more. Beſides, if any one had been to riſe with our Saviour, doubtleſs it would have been the holy King *David*, that eminent Type of the Meſſiah, *John the Baptiſt*, his Forerunner, and the Patriarchs and Prophets, who were buried at *Jeruſalem* and in *Paleſtine*. But St. *Peter*, ſpeaking to the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem*, ſays expreſly, [e] that *David*'s Tomb was ſtill to be ſeen among them; and that *David* had foretold the Reſurrection of our Saviour, but ſays nothing at all of his own. What Strength muſt his Reaſoning have had, if *David* had been raiſed, and had aſcended into Heaven with *Jeſus Chriſt*? And as for *John the Baptiſt*, it was never believed that his Body was aſcended into Heaven, and admitted into Glory; which is manifeſt from the Superſtition which has always been paid to his Tomb, and his pretended Relics, which are ſhewn to this Day. For whether his Tomb and Relics be real, or only imaginary, is the ſame Thing in the preſent Caſe; ſince it is impoſſible they ſhould believe his Body, or any Part of it, to be here on Earth, after the whole was aſcended into Heaven.

The Fathers who have treated upon this Subject with the greateſt Care, have declared for the Opinion laſt propoſed. *Tertullian* [f] purpoſely confutes thoſe who thought, that the Patriarchs and Prophets aſcended into Heaven after the Reſurrection of our Saviour. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, [g] that they who aroſe whilſt *Jeſus Chriſt* was upon the Croſs, died again: And writing upon the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, he owns with the Apoſtle, [h] that the juſt Men of the Old Teſtament have not yet received their Reward. *Theodoret* alſo expreſſes himſelf after the ſame Manner. *Theophylact* and *Euthymius*, explaining the twenty ſeventh Chapter of *Matthew*, acknowledge, that the holy Fathers aroſe to be as Proofs of the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*; but that they afterwards died again, to riſe a ſecond Time at the End of the World. St. *Auſtin*, in his Epiſtle to *Evodius*, expreſly treats of this Queſtion, and explains himſelf clearly enough by talking of the *temporary Reſurrection* of the Saints. *Thomas Aquinas*, having produced the Reaſons upon which both Opinions are founded, [i] declares in Favour of thoſe who hold that they died again: And *Calmet*, after having given all the Authorities here recited, informs us, that this Opinion ſeems to him the beſt ſupported, both by the Scripture and the Fathers. We ſhall not give our own Opinion in a Matter of ſo doubtful a Nature, and concerning which there ſeems not enough revealed to determine our Aſſent.

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[c] Heb. xi. 39, 40. [d] 1 Cor. xv. 20, &c. [e] Acts ii. 29, 30, &c. [f] Tertull. de Anima.
[g] Chryſoſt. Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. xv. [h] Idem Hom. 28. in Heb. xi. [i] Thom. 3. part. art. 53, art. 3.

CHAP. V.

I. *Jeſus* appears to his Diſciples at the Lake of *Tiberias*. A miraculous Draught of Fiſhes. *Peter* ſwims to Shore. II. The Net drawn up. *Jeſus* invites the Apoſtles to eat. III. He queſtions *Peter* three Times concerning his Love, exhorts him to feed his Sheep, and foretels his Death. IV. A Saying of *Jeſus* concerning *John*. The Veracity of that Apoſtle. V. *Jeſus* appears to his Diſciples in *Galilee*, and gives them farther Inſtructions concerning their Miniſtry. VI. He appears to five hundred at once, to *James* alone, and frequently to all the Apoſtles, whom he orders to ſtay at *Jeruſalem*. VII. The Apoſtles enquire concerning the Kingdom of *Jeſus*, and receive freſh Aſſurances of the Holy Ghoſt. VIII. *Jeſus* aſcends into Heaven. IX. Two Angels appear to the Apoſtles, who return to *Jeruſalem*. X. They chuſe *Matthias* in the room of *Judas*. XI. The Holy Ghoſt deſcends on the Day of *Pentecoſt*. XII. Concluſion of the Whole.

I.[a] AFTERWARDS Jeſus *met his Diſciples at the Lake of* Tiberias. *The Occaſion was this.* Peter, Thomas, Nathanael *of* Cana *in* Galilee, *the two Sons of* Zebedee, *and two other Diſciples being together, and* Peter *telling them, that he deſigned towards the Evening to go a fiſhing, the reſt promiſed to bear him Company. Whereupon they all went on board a ſmall Veſſel, and lanch'd out upon the Lake, but that Night caught nothing. Very early in the Morning they ſaw a Man ſtanding on the Shore, (who indeed was* Jeſus, *tho' they did not*

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[a] John xxi. 1—8.

know him at firſt View;) *who aſked them, as if he wanted ſomething to eat, whether they had caught any Fiſh: To which they anſwered,* No. Jeſus *then bid them throw their Nets on the right Side of the Ship, where he ſaid they would find ſome Fiſh. They immediately followed his Directions, tho' they knew not yet that it was* Jeſus; *and on a ſudden they incloſed* [b] *a vaſt Number of Fiſhes, ſo that they were not able to pull their Nets out of the Water.* John, *at the Sight of this wonderful Succeſs, told* Peter, *that undoubtedly the Stranger, to whom they were ſo much beholden for it, was* Jeſus *their Maſter.* Peter *then throwing on his Upper-Garment, leap'd into the Sea, haſtening with a pious Zeal to be with him before the Ship could poſſibly come to Land, which was about two hundred Cubits off; the reſt making to the Shore in the Veſſel, and dragging their Nets after them.*

II. [c] *When they were landed, they ſaw upon the Shore ſome live Coals, and a little Fiſh broiling upon them, with a Piece of Bread by, as if* Jeſus *had prepared it only for himſelf, who then bid them reach out ſome of the Fiſh they had caught.* Peter *then returned to the Veſſel to help them draw up their Net, which was filled with an hundred and fifty three large Fiſhes, and yet was not in the leaſt broke. The Diſciples having told out their Fiſhes,* Jeſus *invited them to partake of the Fiſh he had already broil'd; nor durſt any of them aſk him who he was, being well aſſured he muſt be* Jeſus, *though his Countenance was a little altered. But he taking up the Bread, brake it, and* [d] *divided it among them, as he alſo did the Fiſh. In this Manner* Jeſus *appeared a third Time to ſeveral of his Diſciples, after his Reſurrection.*

III. [e] *After their Repaſt,* Jeſus *aſked* Peter, *whether he loved him more than the* [f] *reſt of his Diſciples.* Peter *told him, he had a ſincere Love for him, and that he muſt needs know it. Then ſaid* Jeſus, Feed my Lambs, whom I will commit to thy Care. Jeſus *aſked him a ſecond Time the ſame Queſtion; and having received the ſame Anſwer from* Peter, *he repeated the ſame Words,* Feed my Sheep. *Having aſked again a third Time the ſame Queſtion,* Peter *grieving to to be ſo often interrogated concerning the ſame Thing, of which he thought* Jeſus *could not be ignorant, replied, That ſince nothing was hid from him, it was impoſſible but he muſt know how much he loved him.* Jeſus *ſaid a third Time unto him,* Feed my Sheep; *that by thrice repeating the ſame Queſtion, and thrice receiving this public Teſtimony from him of his Love for his Maſter,* Peter *might at one for his former Denial of him thrice ſucceſſively; and by having ſo great Authority openly conferr'd upon him, he might have a ſolemn Aſſurance that* Jeſus *had forgiven him. He then told him, that whilſt he continued in his Youth and Vigour he ſhould gird himſelf, and go whither he pleaſed; but in his declining Age he ſhould ſtretch out his Hands, be bound, and led whither he would by no Means deſire to go. In which Words* Jeſus *ſignified, by what ſort of Death* Peter *ſhould confirm the Truth of the Goſpel. Then ſtepping forward, he bid* Peter *follow him; by which Sign alſo he intimated to him, that his Death ſhould be like that of his Maſter.*

IV. [g] Peter *immediately followed, as he was bid: But looking behind him, he ſaw* John *coming alſo; whereupon he aſked* Jeſus, *whether that Diſciple alſo was to go along with them.* Jeſus *anſwered,* If I will have *John* tarry till [h] I come, what is that to thee? At preſent, do thou follow me. *Now this Saying of* Jeſus *being but in Part underſtood by his Diſciples, there was a Rumour ſpread abroad that* John *ſhould never die. However,* Jeſus *did not ſay, he ſhould be exempted from the general Neceſſity of Dying, but only thoſe Words which we juſt now mentioned. This* John *is the ſame Apoſtle who recorded this Saying, as alſo many other Diſcourſes of* Jeſus, *together with ſome of the moſt remarkable Paſſages of his Life; nor is there any Doubt of the Truth of his Hiſtory, as having been all along a Man of unſpotted Integrity.*

V. [i] *Afterwards, the eleven Apoſtles went to a certain Mountain in* Galilee, *where* Jeſus *had appointed* [k] *to meet them. At his Approach they all bowed down and worſhipped him, not excepting him who before doubted the Reſurrection.* Jeſus *then coming near to them, thus beſpake them:* I have now received Power from my Father to do whatever I pleaſe both in Heaven and on Earth; and you I ſend as my Meſſengers throughout the World, to gain Diſciples over to my Doctrine, whom you are to admit into my Church by the Rite of Baptiſm; ſo that hereafter they may be eſteem'd the Diſciples, not only of my Father, who under the old Covenant reveal'd his Will to the *Jews*, but of the Son alſo, whoſe Doctrine you are to ſpread among all Nations; and likewiſe of the Holy Ghoſt, whom I will ſend to you, and by whoſe Aſſiſtance you ſhall teach others what you have learned from me, without any Danger of falling into Error. For you will make a Tender of the ſame Goſpel-Terms to all Men, which you have received from me; and I, for my Part, will be preſent with you, and all that ſhall receive my Goſpel, until the Conſummation of all Things.

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[b] Chriſt being abſent, they caught no Fiſh; but when he was preſent, the Net was full at his Command; To ſhew them, that though in preaching the Goſpel they were inſufficient of themſelves, they ſhould be wonderfully ſucceſsful through his Aſſiſtance.

[c] John xxi. 9——14.

[d] That Chriſt eat himſelf, is not ſaid: But as Peter informs us Acts x. 21. and Luke chap. xxiv. 42, 43, that he did eat and drink with his Diſciples after his Reſurrection, we may well ſuppoſe he did ſo now.

[e] John xx. 15——19.

[f] Some think, that as Peter returned to his Fiſhing after the Death of his Maſter, our Lord here meant to aſk him whether he loved him more than his Nets and Fiſhing-Boats, and not whether he loved him more than the other Diſciples.

[g] John xxi. 20——24.

[h] Chriſt by his Coming here ſeems to mean the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, beyond which St. John lived, and he was the only Apoſtle that did ſo.

[i] Matth. xxviii. 16—20. [k] Matth. xxvi. 32. xxviii.

VI. [l] *After this* Jeſus *appeared again to five hundred Diſciples at once, who all reported what they had ſeen during the Time he ſurvived his Reſurrection. He was ſeen particularly by* James *alſo, who was called the Brother of our Lord, and was the firſt Biſhop of the Church at* Jeruſalem. *In a Word, he frequently appeared to the Apoſtles, during the forty Days he continued on Earth after his Reſurrection, and inculcated the Commands he had given them concerning their Preaching of the Goſpel. The laſt was a few Days before* Pentecoſt, *when the Apoſtles, as* Jeſus *had commanded them, were returned to* Jeruſalem. *There he appeared to them on the fortieth Day after his Reſurrection, and reiterated his Command to them not to depart from* Jeruſalem *before they had received the Holy Ghoſt, whom he had promiſed to ſend them from the Father. For whereas* John *only baptized the Penitent with Water, they themſelves ſhould after a few Days be, as it were, baptized with the Holy Ghoſt from Heaven.*

VII. [m] *The Apoſtles being all together, and perceiving now that* Jeſus *had received Authority from his Father of doing whatſoever he pleaſed both in Heaven and on Earth, they enquired of him whether* [n] *the Time was not now come in which he had reſolved to free the* Jews *from the foreign Tyranny they were under. Which Enquiry, tho' it plainly ſhewed they did not as yet underſtand the Nature of the* Meſſiah's *Kingdom, yet was not reproved by* Jeſus, *who deemed it ſufficient to let them know, it did not belong to them to be acquainted with the Times when ſuch Things ſhould be accompliſhed, the Knowledge of which God would not reveal to Men; but that they might reſt aſſured that they ſhould receive from the Holy Ghoſt all Qualifications neceſſary to diſcharge rightly the Truſt repoſed in them, which was that of being Witneſſes of what they had ſeen and heard during his Converſation with them, and Preachers of his Goſpel, not only in* Judea *and* Samaria, *but all the World over.*

VIII. [o] *After he had thus ſaid, he commanded them to follow him towards* Bethany, *unto Mount* Olivet; *where when they were come, he lifted up his Hands, and bleſſed them; and immediately after he was carried up in a Cloud before them all, to the Place where God in a more ſpecial Manner manifeſts himſelf, and where he now ſits at the Right Hand of that inacceſſible Light, which is the evident Token of the Almighty's Preſence.*

IX. [p] *While the Apoſtles, with Eyes fixed towards Heaven, gazed on the flying Cloud till it diſappeared, two Angels clad in white Raiment appeared to them, and thus accoſted them:* Ye Men of *Galilee!* why tarry you here? That ſame *Jeſus* whom you have now beheld aſcending to the Seats of eternal Bliſs, you ſhall hereafter ſee deſcending in like Manner upon Earth. *Which when the Apoſtles heard, having adored* Jeſus, *they returned to* Jeruſalem *with exceeding Joy, for having been Spectators of his Aſcenſion to the Father, as he had before promiſed them they ſhould. And being come to* Jeruſalem, *which is at about a Mile's Diſtance from Mount* Olivet, *they there ſpent the greateſt Part of the Day in giving Thanks and Praiſe to God, for the wonderful Benefits he had conferred upon them by the Means of* Jeſus. *And having a few Days after received the Holy Ghoſt, they departed from* Jeruſalem, *and preached the Goſpel in* Judea *firſt, and afterwards in other Parts of the World, not a few being converted by them; God in a ſpecial Manner accompanying them in the faithful Diſcharge of their moſt Holy Office, by many remarkable Miracles which he wrought in their Behalf.*

X. [q] *But while they waited at* Jeruſalem *for the Accompliſhment of their Maſter's Promiſe,* Peter *took Occaſion, in an Aſſembly of an hundred and twenty Diſciples, to propoſe the Election of a new Apoſtle in the Room of* Judas Iſcariot, *whoſe Treachery and miſerable End have been before related. On this Occaſion* Peter *alledged, that it was written in the* [r] *Book of* Pſalms, *by way of Prediction concerning* Judas, *that his Habitation ſhould be deſolate, and no Man ſhould dwell therein; and his Biſhopric, or Office, another ſhould take.* Wherefore, *ſays he,* let us chuſe one in the Room of this *Judas*, from among thoſe Men who have accompanied us all the Time the Lord *Jeſus* has been with us, from the Beginning of his Miniſtry at the Baptiſm of *John* till he was taken from us into Heaven, and who by theſe Means are qualified for that important Office, that he may be a Witneſs with us of the Words, Actions, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion of our now glorified Maſter. *This Advice was approved of by all the Brethren preſent, who accordingly ſelected two out of their Number; one of them* Joſeph, *who was alſo called* Barſabas *and* Juſtus, *and the other* Matthias; *whom they preſented before the Lord with Prayers to this Effect:* [s] Thou, O Lord, who knoweſt the Secrets of the Hearts of all Men, and therefore can'ſt tell who is the proper Inſtrument for thy own Work, ſhew, we beſeech thee, by directing the Lot to come out with his Name, which of theſe two thou haſt choſen; that he may take Part of this Miniſtry and Apoſtleſhip, from which *Judas* by Tranſgreſſion fell, and is gone to the Place which he deſerved by his Iniquity. *Having thus prayed, they took two Urns, and put two Lots into each; thoſe in the one containing the Names of* Joſeph *and* Matthias; *thoſe in the other being one of them Blank, and the other having the Word* Apoſtle *written on it; and then drawing forth one at a Time out of each Urn, they found that the Blank came out with the Name of* Joſeph, *and the Word Apoſtle with the Name of* Matthias: *Whereupon* Matthias *was counted with the other Apoſtles, and made their Number up Twelve, as it was before the Defection of* Judas.

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[l] 1 Cor. xv. 6, 7. Acts i 3, 4, 5. [m] Acts. i. 6, 7, 8.

[n] We ſee that the Diſciples had not yet got rid of their darling Thought of temporal Dominion in the Kingdom of their Maſter. This Thought ſeems to ariſe here from their Reflection on the Indignities he had ſuffered from the Jews, which they thought ought to be puniſhed by an Exertion of Authority over them.

[o] Luke xxiv. 50, 51. Acts i. 9. Mark xvi. 19.

[p] Acts i. 10, 11, 12. Luke xxiv. 52, 53. Mark xvi. 20.

[q] Acts i. 15. 20——26.

[r] See Pſal lxix. 25. and cix. 8. The firſt of theſe Pſalms is thought to refer to Meſſiah, of whom David was a Type, and the ſecond to Doeg or Achitophel: But that they received their full Completion in this Tranſaction, and that thus much was ſuggeſted to Peter by the ſame Spirit who inſpired the Pſalm, is what we have no room to queſtion.

[s] Doubtleſs the Diſciples here prayed to *Jeſus Chriſt*, by whom the twelve Apoſtles were firſt choſen.

XI. [t] *Now the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the Apoſtles, of which we have before ſpoken, was in this Manner: On the Day of the Feaſt of* Pentecoſt, *which was the Tenth Day after the Reſurrection of* Jeſus, *and the Firſt of the Week, the Apoſtles were all unanimouſly aſſembled together in one Place. And ſuddenly there came a Sound from Heaven, like that of a violent boiſterous Wind, to denote the Efficacy of the Spirit of God that was now deſcending; and it came into the Upper-Room where they were aſſembled, and filled all the Room. And there was an Appearance of ſomewhat, like flaming Fire, which came and lighted on every one of them, and ſo dividing aſunder, became the Reſemblance of Tongues, with that Part of them divided or cloven which was next their Heads. And they were endued every one with Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; That in particular of ſpeaking in Tongues which they had never learned, and other miraculous Powers, which the Coming of the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed upon them. Now there were at this Time abiding at* Jeruſalem *many* Jews *who came up to the Feaſt of* Pentecoſt, *and likewiſe many devout Proſelytes, who had come from ſeveral Nations of the World to worſhip the true God at* Jeruſalem. *When this Affair therefore of the Apoſtles was noiſed abroad, a great promiſcuous Multitude came together, and were all filled with Aſtoniſhment, becauſe being of ſo many ſeveral Nations, every one heard the Apoſtles ſpeak in his own Language. And they ſaid to one another,* Are not all theſe who ſpeak Men born in *Galilee*, and who have lived there all their Days? How is it then that we, who are of ſo many Countries, do every one of us hear them ſpeak in that Language which is native to us? *Parthians*, *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Meſopotamians*; Inhabitants of *Judea*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Aſia Minor*, *Phrygia*, and *Pamphylia*; thoſe who dwell in *Egypt*, and in the Parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*; Strangers of *Rome*, *Cretans*, and *Arabians*; in a Word, Proſelytes of every Nation, as well as *Jews*; do we not all hear them, each in his own Tongue, preaching the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and the great Things which God hath wrought by him, and on him, for the Sake of Mankind? This certainly bodes ſome great Matter, but what we cannot as yet tell. *Thus were they all filled with Admiration and Doubt: And in the mean Time* Peter, *inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt to take this Advantage of their Attention, gave them ſuch an effectual Diſcourſe as converted about three thouſand Souls to Chriſtianity. The Succeſs of the Goſpel after this, in the Hands of the Apoſtles, ſo far as is related in their Acts, and in other authentic Records of Antiquity, will be the Subject of the remaining Part of this Work.*

XII. [u] *To conclude at preſent in a few Words; Such was the Life of* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *ſuch his Doctrine, and the Miracles he wrought before his Diſciples and others, and ſuch the fulfilling of his Promiſe, that he would ſend them his Spirit. And theſe Things, by his Apoſtles and others of his Diſciples, have been tranſmitted in Writing to Poſterity, beſides many other Paſſages which are not recorded: But theſe have been written, that the ſincere Lovers of Truth may be convinced that* Jeſus *is the* Meſſiah, *or the Son of God; and that by firmly believing his Goſpel, and conſtantly conforming their Lives to the Precepts of it, they may attain everlaſting Happineſs. And ſhould any undertake to give a full and exact Account of every Particular of his Life, he would find very many and large Volumes inſufficient for his Purpoſe.*

DISSERTATION I.

Of Chriſtian Baptiſm.

I. *The Parts of a Sacrament. Of the outward Sign in Baptiſm. Meaning of the Words uſed in this Sacrament.* II. *Of the internal Part, or Thing ſignified in Baptiſm. Of Death to Sin, and a new Birth to Righteouſneſs; how Water is a Sign of them, and Baptiſm the Means of working them in us.* III. *Of the Qualifications of Perſons who are baptized.* IV. *Of Qualifications by Proxies, or Sureties.* V. *Of the Baptiſmal Vow. The Devil and all his Works, what we are to underſtand thereby.* VI. *Difference between the Qualifications for Baptiſm, and the Vow of it.* VII. *The Pomps and Vanities of this wicked World, in what they conſiſt.* VIII. *The ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh, what they are.* IX. *Of the Neceſſity and Advantage of Infant-Baptiſm.*

I. OUR bleſſed Saviour, juſt before his Aſcenſion, commanded his Diſciples to [a] *go and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, of the Holy Ghoſt*; and thereby inſtituted one of the great Sacraments of the Chriſtian Church, which, though the laſt in Order of Inſtitution, is the firſt in Order of Practice. Of this Sacrament we ſhall now treat, in the ſame Manner as we before treated of [b] the Lord's Supper; that is, with a particular Regard to that ſummary Account of it which is contained in the Catechiſm of our Church, and which is plainly deduced from the holy Scriptures.

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[t] Acts ii. 1—12. 41.

[a] Matth. xxviii. 19.

[u] John xx. 30, 31. xxi. 25.

[b] See p. 626, &c.

And here it is neceſſary juſt to remind the Reader of what we before obſerved, at the Beginning of the ſaid Diſcourſe on the other Sacrament, [c] "That as in the Notion of a Picture, as it is merely a relative Thing, there are two Parts; The *Reſemblance*, and, The *Thing reſembled*; the ſecond being as it were the Soul of the firſt, without which it is only a Fancy, not a Picture; ſo in the two ſignificative Rites of the Chriſtian Church, there is, *1ſt*, The *Sign*, or outward viſible Part; and *2dly*, That which is *ſignified* by it, which this Image is to repreſent, and which is conveyed to the Underſtanding by this Similitude."

Now in Baptiſm, *Water* is affirmed to be the outward viſible Sign; That as [d] among the *Jews*, when any Proſelyte was received into their Church, they made Uſe of Waſhings, to denote the forſaking of all their former profane Practices; ſo by *Chriſt*'s Appointment, whoſoever ſhould be thus received into his Family, ſhould be received with the Ceremony of Water, therein to be dipt, according to the primitive Cuſtom, three Times; or, inſtead of that, to be ſprinkled with it; with this Form of Words joined to that Action by the Miniſter; *I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Which Words being by *Chriſt* preſcribed to his Diſciples, muſt indiſpenſibly be uſed by all in the Adminiſtration of that Sacrament.

The Meaning of theſe Words is double. *Firſt*, on the Miniſter's Part, that what he doth he doth not of himſelf, but in the Name or Power of, or by Commiſſion from, the bleſſed Trinity. *Secondly*, and more eſpecially, in reſpect of the Perſon baptiſed; *1ſt*, That he acknowledges theſe three, and, by deſiring Baptiſm, makes Profeſſion of that Acknowledgment. This is in effect the Sum of the whole Creed, which our Catechiſm excellently abbreviates, by ſaying, that the chief Things learnt in thoſe Articles, are, To *believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the World: In God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all Mankind: In God the Holy Ghoſt, who ſanctifieth me, and all the elect People of God.* *2dly*, That as he acknowledges theſe three, ſo he delivers himſelf up to them as the three Principals or Authors of Faith, and acknowledges no other as ſuch. *3dly*, That he delivers himſelf up to be ruled, as an obedient Servant, and a willing Diſciple of this bleſſed Trinity, by the Directions of this great Maſter. And theſe three Acts of the Perſon baptized being put together, make up his Part, that by way of Condition is required of him, to make him capable of that Grace, which the Miniſter from God thus conveys upon, and enſures unto him.

II. The *inward* Part of *Baptiſm*, ſignified by, and conferred with that outward Ceremony, is ſaid to be a *Death unto Sin, and a new Birth unto Righteouſneſs*: For the full Underſtanding of which we muſt conſider, what is meant by that Death, and new Birth: How theſe are ſignified by Water in Baptiſm; and how Baptiſm is a Means of working them in us, and a Pledge that aſſures us of them.

For the firſt, *Death unto Sin* ſignifies a getting out of the Power, and from under the Guilt and Puniſhment of Sin. *The living unto Sin* is being a Slave of Sin, ſubject to it as the *Iſraelites* were to the *Egyptian* Task-maſters. He that liveth unto Sin, or in whom Sin reigns, is a direct Slave or Drudge under it, and to be tormented by it alſo: And he that is in that Caſe, as long as he continues ſo, cannot by any Strength of his own get out of that Dominion of Sin, either as it ſignifies a Working the Works of Sin, or as it ſignifies the Puniſhment due for thoſe Works. The natural Man, conſidered without the Grace of *Chriſt*, hath neither Strength to avoid Sin, nor Means to eſcape Puniſhment. Proportionably therefore to this, a Death unto Sin, is the being reſcued by *Chriſt* from this Neceſſity of continuing and going on in Sin; and conſequently, a being delivered from thoſe Puniſhments which are the Reward of an unreformed Courſe of Sin. Both theſe together are frequently called Mortification; and as they belong only to the Sins of Commiſſion, they are a previous Diſpoſition to the new Birth unto Righteouſneſs; but as they belong to the Sins of Omiſſion alſo, they are all one with that new Birth.

The new Birth unto Righteouſneſs then is contrary to the living unto Sin; that is, it is *Chriſt*'s giving us Strength to walk righteouſly, and Means to obtain God's Favour; his begetting us to that double Righteouſneſs, which the young tender Chriſtian hungers and thirſts after; the Righteouſneſs of Sanctification, to ſatisfy our Hunger after Holineſs; and the Righteouſneſs of Juſtification, to ſet us right in the Favour of God. To prevent any Difficulty, or Poſſibility of Miſtake, in that which we have now delivered, we would here obſerve, that this Death and new Birth are neither the reſolving to forſake Sin and live godly; (for this is ſuppoſed before Baptiſm, to make the Perſon capable of it;) nor, on the other Side, the actual forſaking of Sin, and living a new Life; (for that is the conſequent Task of him who makes a right Uſe of the Grace of Baptiſm, thro' his whole Life after;) but this Grace of Baptiſm is that Strength of *Chriſt*, that ſupernatural Ability to forſake Sin, and live godly, which afterwards enables to perform the baptiſmal Vow; and it is proportionably a Tender of God's Pardon of our forſaken Sins, and his Acceptance of our imperfect Godlineſs. And that this is the very Intention of the Catechiſm, and not any invented Gloſs, may appear by what here follows as the Reaſon of it; *For being by Nature born in Sin, and the Children of Wrath, we are thereby made Children of Grace*; that is, have in Baptiſm that Strength given us by *Chriſt*, which will enable us to get out of that ſervile and dangerous State.

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[c] P. 627.

[d] See p. 128, 139, 130.

As to the *ſecond* thing here promiſed, To ſhew how this Death and Birth are ſignified by the outward Part in Baptiſm, the Dipping or Sprinkling in Water, we have this to offer; That the Water here ſignifies, the purifying Spirit of Chriſt, which hath that double Power in it, of cleanſing from Sin and from Guilt: And the ancient Manner of putting the Perſon baptized under Water, and then taking him out again, denotes the two ſeveral Acts of this Grace, firſt by way of dying, then of riſing again: And the antient Cuſtom of doing this thrice, ſignified not only the Faith in the Trinity into which they were baptized, but particularly the Death of *Chriſt*, and his Riſing the third Day, which Death and Reſurrection together are that Fountain [e] *that is opened for Sin and for Uncleanneſs*, the Original of Strength to die unto Sin, that is, of new Birth, and of the Pardon and Acceptation proportioned thereto.

The *third* Queſtion, How Baptiſm is a Means of working this in us, and a Pledge of aſſuring us of it? is not very difficult: For if *Chriſt* have inſtituted that Sacrament, as a Means of conveying thoſe double Graces on us, as we have already ſhewn, then is the firſt Part of this Queſtion anſwered: And if ſo, then certainly it will be a Pledge to enſure us of it, and to give us Confidence, that if we be not wanting to ourſelves in our Part of the Covenant, either by way of Preparation before, or of making uſe of it afterwards, it ſhall on *Chriſt's* Part be infallibly beſtowed on us. Having therefore prevented ourſelves on this Head, we ſhall haſten to the next Queſtion of the Catechiſm, which comes in here very ſeaſonably.

III. The Queſtion is, *What is required of Perſons to be baptized, to fit them for that Sacrament, and make them capable of the Benefits of it?* And the Anſwer refers all to two Heads, Repentance and Faith; and defines them excellently; *1ſt, Repentance, whereby they forſake Sin:* To ſhew that it is not ſufficient to denominate a Penitent, that he grieves, or confeſſes, or ſlightly reſolves againſt Sin; much leſs that he only grieves with the Apprehenſion of Puniſhment, or wiſhes that he were Penitent; unleſs he do really, and ſincerely, and actually forſake Sin. And here, if it be demanded, How ſuch Forſaking can be required before Baptiſm, when the Strength of Forſaking is before affirmed to be given in Baptiſm? This Difficulty will be ſalved, if we obſerve that there is a double Forſaking of Sin; one of the Heart, in a general cordial Renouncing of it; the other of the Actions in a particular Holding out againſt it in the Time of Temptation: The one is called God's Giving us To will; the other To do: The firſt is an Act of God's preventing and exciting Grace, the ſecond of his ſanctifying Grace: And both theſe, when they are wrought in us by the Grace of *Chriſt*, are an actual Forſaking of Sin, tho' one of them is much leſs ſo than the other, and may be look'd on, and required, as preparatory to it. The Forſaking of the Heart is here meant in this Queſtion by Repentance; and the Forſaking in the Actions, is that to which the Strength is made over in Baptiſm.

Concerning the *ſecond* requiſite, *Faith*, which is deſcribed to be that, *whereby they ſtedfaſtly believe the Promiſes of God made to them in that Sacrament*; we have only this to add, that when Promiſes are the Object of Faith, thoſe Promiſes are conſtantly general, but conditional Promiſes: General, wherein all are concerned without Exception; but withal conditional, as requiring or preſuming ſome Performances on our Parts, without the due Obſervance of which, we have no Title to the Promiſes. As for Example, in this of Baptiſm, the Promiſes that are made to us in this Sacrament, Promiſes of Strength and of Pardon, require both a Diſpoſition in the Subject, a Reſolution of Amendment, before God thus obliges himſelf to give the Grace of Sanctification or Juſtification; and alſo the due and diligent Uſe of this Grace when it is given. Without the firſt of theſe this Grace of Baptiſm is not given; without the ſecond, it is forfeited again. As for the Act of Faith, here called Believing, it is that which is moſt proper when the Object is the Promiſes, as it is here: And by Believing, we mean the Relying and Depending confidently on *Chriſt* for the Performance of his Part of the Promiſe, in Caſe and on Condition of our not failing in ours. And the Word Stedfaſt, which is added to it, argues the Fixedneſs of this Act of Faith, in an habitual Acknowledgment, that *Chriſt* will never falſify his Word, or fail in giving what he promiſeth. In the miraculous Cures, to make the Patient capable of the Benefit of *Chriſt's* Power, it was required, to believe that he was thus able: And here the ſame Strength of Faith is required, to make us capable of thoſe more ſovereign Benefits, the Spirit and Grace of *Chriſt*. This is indeed a neceſſary Qualification of our Prayers; to which the Spirit, and the Pardon, which are promiſed in this Sacrament, ſhall be aſſuredly granted.

IV. From all that hath been ſaid, concerning the Qualifications required in the Perſon to be baptized; (thoſe Graces being ſuch as cannot be expected of Children, who have no Underſtanding) that Scruple naturally ariſes, which in the next Queſtion is clearly propoſed; "Why then are Infants baptiſed, when by Reaſon of their tender Age, they cannot perform them?" To which the Anſwer is not, that the Habits of theſe Graces may be in Infants, or that the Faith of their Parents is accounted to them, as ſome would have it; but, that tho' they do not at that Time perſonally perform them, yet they do perform them by their Sureties.

For the better underſtanding of this, we are to remember, that Repentance here is an Act of the Heart, a firm Reſolution of Amendment. And what is that, but a kind of Vow that they will do and believe, when being fitted by Age and Underſtanding they ſhall be thus enabled? Now this Vow, or Oath, the Child is ſuppoſed to make at the Font, though not with its own Mouth, yet by Proxies, or Sureties; who do not ſo much promiſe that he ſhall do ſo, as anſwer and ſpeak in his Stead, by way of Subſtitution; repreſenting the Infant's Voice, and taking upon them an Obligation for the Infant, which conſequently the Infant is engaged in, and by which, when he comes to underſtand it, he muſt reſolve himſelf to be bound, or elſe ſolemnly muſt diſclaim all Parts in the Benefits of it.

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[e] Zach. xiii. 1.

In plain Terms, every Child that was ever baptized, hath the Option given them, whether they will acknowledge that to be their Senſe, which their Sureties undertook for them at the Font. If they do acknowledge it, then do they take that Obligation in their own Name, and are perjured for ever after, whenſoever they fail in performing any Part of it. If they diſclaim it, (as they that have been married when Children, have a Choice afterwards, whether it ſhall ſtand a ratified Marriage or no) and will not be bound to the Duty, they renounce thereby all Right or Claim in the Promiſes of *Chriſt*, and diſclaim that Strength which *Chriſt* was ready to have given them, and ſo continue in an impotent State, not able to reſiſt the weakeſt Temptation.

If the Conjunction of theſe two be allowed to make up a formidable State, if we value either Virtue and Strength, or Pardon and Acceptance from Heaven, we ſhall certainly acknowledge thoſe Sureties our Friends, who engaged us in ſuch a gainful Covenant; and being now come to a Senſe of it, count ourſelves under a Vow, and labour not to be ſacrilegious as ſoon as we are come into the Church; not to perjure our ſelves, nor rob God of any Veſſel bought by his Blood for his Temple.

V. It may be imagined, that, according to what we have laſt ſaid, the Qualifications required of the Perſon to be baptized, are all one with the Vow in Baptiſm: And therefore, that there is this Objection againſt it, *That the Matter of the Vow ſeems to be ſomewhat which muſt be afterwards performed, whereas the Things required in the Perſon to be baptized, ſeem to be ſuch Things as muſt be firſt in him, before he is fit to be baptized.*

Now to this we anſwer, that Baptiſm, as was before obſerved, may be adminiſtred either to one of full Age, or to an Infant. When the Perſon is of full Age, then are theſe Qualifications required in him, before he may be properly admitted to Baptiſm; and yet when they are ſo, their being in him is fitly expreſſed by him in the Words of the Vow: Repentance itſelf, which is one Part of the Qualification, being nothing elſe but a Change of Mind, a Reſolution or Vow of forſaking all the Sins of the former Life, and keeping God's holy Will for the Future. And ſo Faith is not only a Believing or Acknowledging for the preſent, but alſo a Vow of Believing for the Future, and Confeſſing conſtantly all the Articles of the Creed for ever after, eſpecially when Storms or Tempeſts ſhall come to ſhake that Faith, or tempt us to renounce that Profeſſion, or any Part of it. But when an Infant is baptized, who can neither believe nor repent himſelf, but, all that he doth, he doth it by Proxy, then 'tis moſt clear, that that which is pre-required in one of Age, and muſt be actually in him before he be admitted to Baptiſm, is not thus pre-required in the Infant, but only required in the Future: For the Surety doth not undertake that the Child is thus qualified already, but he being the Subſtitute of the Child, the Child by him promiſes that he will thus perform hereafter. And this Promiſe that he will, is diſtinctly the Vow of Baptiſm.

VI. This Vow of Baptiſm is a Thing of ſo great Importance, and ſo immediately referring to Practice, that we cannot do better than dwell a little upon it, in order to let every Chriſtian ſee what he undertook, or what was undertook for him by his Sureties, in that ſolemn Promiſe to *renounce the Devil and all his Works, the Pomps and Vanities of this wicked World, and all the ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh.* And here we are led, in the firſt Place, to enquire what is meant by *the Devil and all his Works.*

Now certainly the principal Things here renounced are the falſe Gods, or Devils, which the Heathen World did ſo univerſally worſhip before *Chriſt*'s Time, and againſt which the Catechiſts, who prepared all for Baptiſm, did firſt labour to fortify their Diſciples, and were for that Cauſe called in the antient Church Exorciſts, as thoſe that caſt out theſe Devils. So of the ſeven Precepts of *Noah*, all which every Proſelyte who was received among the *Jews* was bound to embrace, that is known to be the firſt which is entitled *Concerning ſtrange Worſhip*, that is, concerning their falſe Idol-worſhips, their ſerving thoſe which were Devils and not Gods, and which endeavoured nothing more than the taking them off from the true God.

And anſwerably to this Notion of forſaking the Devil, the *Works of the Devil* will primarily ſignify thoſe abominable Sins of Idol-Worſhip, and of filthy Luſts, which were commonly uſed in the Heathen Worſhips, and became Rites and Ceremonies of them; their Revelling and abominable Uncleanneſs, required, as their Prieſts pretended, by the falſe Gods, as Prayer, and Faſting, and Alms, and the Uſe of the Sacraments, are by the true God among us Chriſtians. Theſe are truly the Works of the Devil, the Secrecies and Myſteries of the Heathen Religion: And the renouncing of them at the Time of receiving the true God, was that, which was eſpecially ſignified by the circumciſing of *Abraham*, and all the *Jews* after him; and is moſt ſtrictly required of us in our Baptiſm; and accordingly [f] is recommended to all younger Chriſtians, by the Apoſtle *Paul*, under the Character of Sobriety and Chaſtity, and by the primitive Biſhop *Polycarp* to the *Philippians*, in theſe

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[f] Tit. ii 5, 6.

Words, *That they may be unblameable in all Things*, but before all, that *they take care of Chaſtity and Purity*.

Under this Head muſt be underſtood all ſorts of thoſe foul Sins, which are not to be named; whoſe Contrariety to the Chriſtian Profeſſion and Doctrine, that *Truth in Jeſus* which ſo ſtrictly requires the contrary Purity, and the great Danger thereof to our Souls, may be judged of by this, that moſt of the heavy Judgments in Scripture, that have fallen upon Nations, particularly the utter Exciſion of the ſeven Nations, and the Fire and Brimſtone upon *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, are expreſſed to fall upon them for that one high Abomination. And the greateſt Reproach that ever was to Chriſtianity, was that of the filthy *Gnoſticks*, thoſe Hereticks in the Primitive Church, who retained and improved this Piece of Heatheniſm, and continued thoſe Works of the Devil among them. And moſt of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia* mentioned in the Revelation, were deſtroyed for entertaining, or not vomiting out of theſe. And though ſuch ſolemn Ways of committing theſe Sins, as the making them Rites of Religion, be not now to be heard of among Chriſtians; yet, if the Sins themſelves, or any Degree of them, be ſtill, though never ſo ſecretly, retained among Men or Women, or if they be not utterly deteſted and abominated, this is a Contradiction to the firſt Branch of our Vow of Baptiſm, a Crime which, beſides the Hell-fire in another World, may be expected to bring down terrible Vengeance here, and may juſtly be feared to be the ſecret Provoker of God's heavy Wrath upon a City or Land, when it comes down without any diſcernible ſpecial Provocation.

And beſides theſe, in a ſecondary Senſe, all the Sins that have a ſpecial Character or Stamp of *Satan* on them, may be called the *Works of the Devil*: Such as *Luciferian* Pride and Ambition; a prying into God's ſecret Will, and deſiring to be equal to him in Omniſcience; a judging of Men's Hearts, and undertaking to be equal to him in that Title of his, the *Searcher of Hearts*; and many of the like Nature. And next to theſe, our diabolical accuſing, and lying, and ſlandering our Brethren; our corrupting and tempting them, and delighting to allure or fright them into any unlawful Act, and ſo uſurping the Title of Tempter that belongs to the Devil; our maligning or envying, much more our killing or deſtroying our Brethren. All which Sins, and others, which it were too long to name, carry much of *Satan*'s Image about them, and ſo deſerve to be called his Works.

Doubtleſs ſome may have thought, that thoſe Things which the Devil tempts any one to do, are the chief, if not the only Works of his. And indeed, whenſoever it is certain that the Devil tempts any Man to Sin, if he yield to do it, that is very properly a Work of the Devil. But it is ſo hard to diſcern that, or when the Devil doth thus immediately tempt any; and it is ſo common to accuſe the Devil of that which comes from our own evil Inclinations and Cuſtoms; and it is ſo certain, that our own Hearts muſt have the main of the Guilt, even when *Satan* doth tempt us, (becauſe if we reſiſt, he ſhall fly from us;) that for theſe, and other Conſiderations, we did not think proper to name his Temptations in the Front of the Works of the Devil, being not ſure that they at all belong to that Rank of Sins, as here they are ſet down by way of Difference from the *Pomps of the World*, and *the Deſires of the Fleſh*.

We ſhall not, however, on this Occaſion, neglect to take Notice, how nearly we are concerned to watch the Devil, that evil Spirit, that he do not ſecretly inſpire, or infuſe any evil Thoughts into us; and the rather, becauſe when we do ſo, he takes all Care that thoſe Suggeſtions may ſeem not to come from him, but he labours to appear an Angel of Light, a good Spirit, nay the very Spirit of God; and often brings it ſo about, that his inward Whiſperings, having ſome ſpecious Diſguiſe of Religion, or Zeal for God, put upon them, are taken for the Voice of God's Spirit within Men. And among thoſe that pretend to Inſpiration, and that they are taught by the Spirit thoſe Things which the Word of God doth not teach them, it will be no wonder if *Satan* do ſo prevail, as to obtrude his Temptations under the Diſguiſe of the Dictates of God's Spirit: Which may be the Reaſon why St. *Paul* conjures the [h] *Galatians*, that they anathematize even an Angel from Heaven, that teaches any other Doctrine for the Doctrine of God, ſave that which was then already received by them; intimating that ſeeming good Angel, to be indeed a diabolical accurſed Spirit, that ſo teacheth. And St. *John* adviſes us very friendly, to [i] *try the Spirits, whether they be of God or no*; ſignifying, that as many falſe Teachers acted by evil Spirits, ſo many evil Spirits alſo put on the outward Appearance of God-like Spirits, and might, if the Chriſtians were not aware, be by them miſtaken for the Spirit of God. And there is no Way to ſecure us from ſuch Deluſions, but to ſet up the Word of God, as the only plain Director of all Chriſtian Actions; to account nothing Chriſtian, or a Dictate of the Spirit, but what is taught us immediately from thence; judging our own Spirit, and every Suggeſtion within us, by that; and not forcing that to comply with, or bringing it in Teſtimony to, our own Imaginations. This we mention, becauſe of the Danger thoſe Men are in, who are full of any Prepoſſeſſion, to believe that the Scripture favours or gives teſtimony to it: As he whoſe Fancy hath been playing with any Sound, thinks that every Thing which he hears, is in ſome ſort tuneable to that he fancies.

VII. The next Thing renounced in our Vow, after the Devil and all his Works, is expreſſed in theſe Words, *The Pomps and Vanities of this wicked World*; let us now enquire what is the Meaning of that Expreſſion.

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[h] Gal. i. 8.

[i] 1 John iv. 1.

The *World* ſignifies either the Company, the Cuſtoms, the Wealth, the Power, or the Glory which is in the World; and the *wicked World* is as much of theſe, as hath any Sinfulneſs in them. This reſtrains the Word *World* chiefly to the two former Diviſions, the Company and Cuſtoms of the World; the three latter being in themſelves lawful Bleſſings of God, which though they may be either ſought or uſed unlawfully, yet are not here to be ſtiled wicked, or ſuch as a Chriſtian in his Baptiſm is to renounce; but if he be lawfully poſſeſſed of them, he may very chriſtianly continue the Uſe and Enjoyment of them. As for the two former, they are ſuch as may be called wicked.

For the *Company*, or popular Examples and Suggeſtions of the Many; they are generally ſo contrary to the Precepts which Chriſt preſcribes to all his Diſciples, that they are very fit to be diſclaimed and renounced at a Venture. We ſhould chuſe rather to go alone in the Paths of Piety and Virtue to Heaven, then to have the Company of the World in the Road to Hell. Mean while this is not abſolutely renouncing the Company of worldly Men, but reſolving not to accompany them in their Sins; and to that End fortifying ourſelves by Vow againſt yielding to their Temptations, and particularly againſt that very powerful Allurement to Evil, the Multitude, and perhaps the Greatneſs and flouriſhing Condition of thoſe who practiſe Sins before us, and who add their Perſuaſions to their Examples, and perhaps proceed to reproach thoſe that will not do as they do. And the foreſeeing and arming ourſelves againſt the Force of theſe Examples, the Rhetorick of theſe Perſuaſions, the Sharpneſs of theſe Reproaches, and venturing chearfully to forfeit our Reputation and Fame with evil Men, by whom to be well ſpoken of is a great Curſe, rather than to loſe the Praiſe of God, is the firſt Branch of this ſecond Part of our Vow, the Forſaking of this wicked World.

The *ſecond* Thing in this Vow to be forſaken, is the wicked *Cuſtoms* of the World, and eſpecially thoſe Heathen Cuſtoms, to which the Form of this Vow might more particularly relate: It being common among them for the Laws of Nature to be by vile Cuſtoms ſo razed out of their Souls, that many Practices which right Reaſon, and human Nature, among Heathens themſelves, would teach them to abandon, as Sins and Wounds of Conſcience, have been by whole Nations at once embraced, and continued in without any Check, as innocent ſinleſs Qualities. Nature and Reaſon itſelf being ſo early ſilenced by popular Cuſtom and vicious Education, that many have not known it to be a Sin to ſteal or rob, if they were ſo dextrous as not to be taken. Others have proceeded to kill and eat their aged Parents; conceiving that by this Means they gave them the moſt honourable Burial. Others, to throw themſelves murtherouſly into the Flames, to accompany their dead Princes out of the World. Many the like irrational Sins, through ſome local Cuſtom, have gotten the Reputation not only of ſinleſs and lawful, but of laudable Actions. And theſe, and all that can ever to obtrude themſelves upon us by the like Means, we here renounce under this ſecond Notion of the wicked World.

Of this ſort of Sins it will not be hard to find ſome in every Nation ſtill, even among us, notwithſtanding our pretended Refinements. We will mention, with regard to ourſelves, the Cuſtom which this Nation ſeems to have admitted in favour to Sins of Uncleanneſs, whereby it is become a more creditable Thing among us to have been guilty of defiling and invading another Man's Bed, than to be the innocent Perſon who hath thus been robbed by the Adulterer; the Sin itſelf being not thought worthy of near ſo much Shame, as the having been thus wronged. Which again is an Evidence, how eaſy it would be for the moſt provoking Sin to be naturalized and embraced by a Nation; if it can by the Boldneſs and Impudence of wicked Men, and by the Encouragement or Neglect of thoſe who are in Authority, ſteal into a good Reputation, and ſo, by being cuſtomary firſt, attain to be creditable alſo. The Reſiſting ſuch Cuſtoms, be they never ſo epidemical, the beating them down by the Authority of *Chriſt*'s Precepts, and bringing Obedience to theſe into a Reputation among Men, at leaſt contending and endeavouring our utmoſt to take away all Reproach from conſcientious Walking, is the Duty of every Chriſtian. And if ſo much as this, by our utmoſt Endeavours, cannot be compaſſed, yet to take care never to be carried away with the Stream of ſinful Cuſtom, but to approve ourſelves and our Families, and to bring in and engage our Acquaintance and Neighbours, like *Joſhua* and his Houſe, to be the firm conſtant Servants of God, in Deſpight of, and Defiance to, theſe popular Temptations, are the leaſt that can be deemed our Obligation from this Part of our baptiſmal Vow.

We proceed now to the Words, *Pomps and Vanities*; To find the true Import of which, we remember it has been already ſaid, that the firſt Deſign of the ſeveral Parts of the Vow in Baptiſm is in Reference to the Practices of the Heathen, which were antiently therein renounced, as they were by Circumciſion among the *Jews*. And in this Reſpect, the Words *Pomps and Vanities*, being not much different the one from the other, and ſignifying the vain Pomps, or pompous Vanities of the Heathen or wicked World, ſeems moſt particularly to point at thoſe Things which were uſed among them in their Triumphs and Games, and their Times of Gallantry and Jollitry; for thoſe are peculiarly called [k] Pomps, and being very vain and unprofitable, were moreover very bloody and wicked. Such were thoſe of the Gladiators, who openly, upon the Stage, combated, and wounded, and butchered one another; which was ſo prophane and irreligious a Thing, that in the firſt Ages no Chriſtian was permitted to be a Spectator of them. So again, their Boxings, and Wreſtlings in the *Olympick* Games, in which they uſed Inſtruments of Lead in their Hands, to wound, and perhaps ſlaughter one another. And theſe were moreover accounted [l] ſacred among them, as conſecrated to their Gods, ordered and managed by their Chief Prieſts, to the appeaſing of their [m] good Deities, as Sacrifices and Victims to their Bad. This we may perceive in the Book of *Maccabees*, where [n] *Jaſon* buying the Pontificate, hath with it the Power of inſtituting and moderating their Games. And ſo the [o] *Aſian* Prefects mentioned in the *Acts*, were the Prieſts that had the managing of their Games in that Province. By all which we perceive the Reaſonableneſs of the Chriſtian's being bound to renounce theſe bloody, vain, and idolatrous Pomps at his Baptiſm; they being a ſolemn Part of their Heathen Worſhip, and therefore to be renounced as properly as their Idol-Feaſts, for the falſe Deities Sakes to whoſe Service they were ordained: And not only for their Sakes, but as having a great deal of Bloodineſs in them, and a Mixture of many other Sins, which made them moſt improper for a Chriſtian to continue in, or not to profeſs his Deteſtation of them.

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[k] πομπαί.

But beſide theſe, which are the original Intent of the Phraſe, many other Things there are, which muſt be thought to be renounced in theſe Words. For Inſtance, all the ſinful Courſes which are uſed by Men in their Times of Feſtivity; their Luxury and Riot, and unlawful Gaming, and all kind of Exceſſes; which are but the Copying out of the Heathen *Bacchanals* and *Saturnals*, which are turned out of the World by *Chriſt*, and by him transformed into ſpiritual Celebrations, and Feaſts of Charity. It is a Chriſtian's Duty, renouncing theſe, to [p] *eat his Meat with Gladneſs, and in Singleneſs of Heart*; that is, with Bounty and Liberality to the Poor, inſtead of thoſe outward coſtly Pomps, which the Eye of the World is moſt pleaſed with. Here are alſo renounced all the vain Oſtentations of Dreſs and Behaviour, which idle Perſons of this World are ſo apt to admire and dote on. We mean not the external Splendor and Solemnities of State, which are by God and Nature thought fit to be annexed to the Sceptre, or Supreme Power; for thoſe are not cenſured, [q] but allowed by *Chriſt*; and being very uſeful to maintain the Dignity of Princes, cannot but be thought lawful and commendable to be practiſed by them. But the Vanities which are here abjured, are all thoſe Attires, and Airs, and Deckings, that proceed from Pride in the Heart, or tend to the inflaming of Luſt in Beholders, or to make ourſelves admired in the Eyes of Men. And of this ſort, it is much to be ſuſpected, are all thoſe Trappings that are uſed by any, above what the ſoberer and graver Perſons of the ſame Quality and Condition do uſe. And ſuch again are the frequent Changing and Inventing of Faſhions; the being earlieſt in every new Dreſs; the Singularity of Apparel, uſed on Purpoſe, becauſe it is ſingular; all which ſeem ſo far to betray the ſinful Principle, that, though it is neither reaſonable for one Man to judge another for every Thing of this Nature, yet it will be fit for all that do thus, to charge it upon themſelves, and if they cannot perfectly clear themſelves from that evil Principle, then to remember, that this is what they renounced in their Baptiſm. And becauſe every Man's Heart is apt to deceive him, and judge too favourably in his own Cauſe; the Way will be, in Matters of this kind, rather to deny ourſelves of what may ſeem lawful Liberty, than to offend in any Exceſs.

But all this while we are to obſerve, that the Sin here ſpoken againſt, is not always to be fetched from the Particularity of the Attire or Faſhion, whatever it be, but from the Principle from which it ſprings in the Heart, and the End to which it is deſigned. This Principle often betrays itſelf, in the uſing of thoſe Attires unfitly, and affectedly, and when they are not uſed by grave Perſons; which after, when they come to be the general Mode, are therefore wont to be laid aſide, as now no longer agreeable to the Deſigns or Inclinations of the Wearers. The ſhort of it is, the Rule of Decency, and not the Law of Nature only, is what muſt direct us in the Choice of Attires. This Decency is to be taken from that which is cuſtomary among thoſe with whom we live, and is varied oft by Change of Times, and by the Condition, Age, and Dignity, of each Perſon; that being comely for one Age, and Sex, and Quality of Perſons, which is not for another. And they that reſt contented with thoſe Ways of adorning themſelves, which are moſt uſual among the ſober and grave of their Age and Quality, are not to be judged guilty of the Breach of this Vow, though perhaps there are thoſe Things in their Attire, which might be thought to deſerve the Title of Pomps and Vanities, as thoſe Words ſignify Superfluity. The Truth is, it were to be wiſhed, that Men and Women of the higheſt Quality would chuſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves from others, rather by that *Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit*, commended by St. *Peter*, than by that of Gold and Jewels. And no doubt this would more contribute to their own Ends, as it would raiſe them more in the Opinion of all wiſe and good Perſons. But nothing that has been here ſaid will conclude the Uſe of any of thoſe Ornaments, which are agreeable to Time, and Place, and Callings, to be ſinful, or of the Number of thoſe Pomps that are here renounced in our Baptiſm.

VIII. There remains now, but the third and laſt Branch of the Matter of this Vow, *The ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh*; which are here diſclaimed; and concerning which we ſhall ſay a few Words.

The *Fleſh* ſignifies that Maſs of Body which we carry about with us, and which, with all the Senſes, and animal Faculties, is common to Men and other living Creatures. *The Luſts of the*

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[l] τέσσαρες ἱροί. Anthol. lib. 1.

[m] Ad pacanda bona numina, ſaith Labeo.

[n] 2 Mac. iv. 7.

[o] Ἀσιαρχαί.

[p] Acts ii. 46.

[q] Matth. xi. 8.

Fleſh, are the Deſires, Affections, or Appetites of that Fleſh, which generally deſires and craves thoſe Things which are pleaſing to it, that is, to any Senſe, or Part, or Faculty of the Body. And thoſe, till they are ſpiritualized, regulated, and brought to the Government of Reaſon, and of the Spirit of God, are generally pleaſed with thoſe Things which God forbids; or elſe are more extravagant in their Appetites than *Chriſt* permits. And whenſoever the Fleſh thus faſtens on any Thing forbidden by God, or deſires immoderately that which to the moderate Uſe is not forbidden; this is then a ſinful *Luſt of the Fleſh*, and is here renounced by the Chriſtian in his Baptiſm; who promiſes ſo to moderate his Deſires, and ſubordinate them to the Will of God, that whenſoever they importune, or call for any Thing which is not thus regular, he will not follow or be led by them.

We ſhall not need to deſcend to Particulars of this Kind, and to branch out the *Luſts of the Fleſh* into thoſe which are commonly ſo called by Way of Appropriation, and which tend to Sins of Incontinence and Intemperance, and into the *Luſts of the Eye*, which tend to Covetouſneſs, and inſatiate Deſire of Riches. Having named the Fleſh, and the ſeveral Senſes, and Faculties, and Appetites of that, every one will be able to apply thoſe Words to all Particulars of this Nature, and reſolve, when they are tempted and ſollicited by any Thing in themſelves, to any Act forbidden by *Chriſt*, that this is then one of theſe ſinful Deſires, or Luſts of the Fleſh, which was in the Words of their baptiſmal Vow abjured by them.

IX. One Queſtion more remains to be examined, concerning Infant Baptiſm; and that is, Not whether it be lawful to baptize Infants, as being unable to underſtand the baptiſmal Vow, (for that Difficulty we have already clear'd;) *but, Whether it be neceſſary, or any way uſeful, ſo to do, or what Authority we have from the Scripture for ſo doing.*

The anſwering the laſt Part of this *Quære*, will, we conceive, take away all Scruple in the former; there being no Reaſon to doubt of either the Uſefulneſs, or Neceſſity, of that which we ſee received into the Practice of the Apoſtolical Church in Scripture.

Indeed the Analogy betwixt Baptiſm and Circumciſion, were ſufficient to ſatisfy the Importunity of thoſe, who think baptizing of Infants unlawful, upon this Ground of their not underſtanding their Vow: For by that Reaſon, it being as ſure that the *Jewiſh* Child of eight Days old could not underſtand his Vow, or what that Wickedneſs was, which he then renounced; it muſt follow, that he could as little be capable of Circumciſion. But we ſhall not fetch our Proofs from this, nor from the Footſteps of the Apoſtles' Practice taken Notice of in ſome hiſtorical Paſſages of the New Teſtament, ſuch as their baptizing whole Houſholds at once, and the like; but we ſhall only take a ſhort View of one Place of Scripture, which ſeems to refer to that Matter. It is that of the Apoſtle *Paul*: [1] *For the unbelieving Husband hath been ſanctified by the* believing *Wife, and the unbelieving Wife hath been ſanctified by the* believing *Husband; elſe were your Children unclean, but now they are holy.*

The Thing there inſiſted on by the Apoſtle, is his Judgment, that the Chriſtian Husband or Wife ſhould not ſeparate from the Heathen Wife or Husband, as long as the Heathen was content to live with the Chriſtian. And this Verſe is an Argument to enforce that Advice of his; "Becauſe, ſaith he, by this Means it ordinarily comes to paſs, that the Chriſtian Party converts the other; and this Hope, or Intuition of the Poſſibility of that, is the Ground, ſaith the Apoſtle, of a known Practice in the Church, by which, your Children are now holy." That is, The infant Children of Chriſtian Parents, (which, were it not for that Ground of Hope, that living with theſe Parents, they would be taught to know their Vow of Baptiſm, could not in any Reaſon be differenced from the Children of Heathens, or allowed any Privileges above them) are now upon this Ground thought fit to be baptized without any Scruple; whereas the Heathen Children, being to live with thoſe Heathen Parents, are not thus admitted to Baptiſm.

If this do not ſufficiently appear, by this ſhort Paraphraſe, to be the Meaning of the Phraſe, *But now are your Children holy*; we may then farther obſerve the Uſe of the Word here rendered *Unclean*, in other Places: As in that famous Place of the *Acts*, where *Peter* refuſeth to preach to *Cornelius*, or baptize him, becauſe he is *unclean*. From whence it ſeems, that thoſe were taken for unclean Men, who are not viſible Members, and ſo muſt not be allowed the Privileges, of the Church. But God reforming his Error, bids him call nothing, that is, no Man, common or unclean, whom God hath cleanſed or ſanctified; that is, whom he hath reputed fit to partake of the Privilege of Preaching, or of Baptiſm. By Analogy with which Place, and the common Uſe of the Word, it is moſt reaſonable that, *Now are they holy*, ſhould ſignify, *Now are your Children thought fit to be Partakers of the Privileges of the Church*; that is,(they being capable of no other Privilege,) they are capable of being admitted to Baptiſm, which the Children of Heathens are not.

And indeed this is the only Difference between them that have a Chriſtian Parent, and the Children of Heathens: For the Children of Heathens, if they convert when they come to Age, ſhall then be baptized, and ſo have that remote Capacity now; and there is no imaginable preſent Privilege for the Chriſtians Children above others, upon which one ſhould be ſaid to be holy, and the other unclean, but only this, that theſe, while they remain Children, are admitted to Baptiſm, the others not. Theſe Words, therefore, ſeem moſt naturally to infer, that it was in our

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[1] 1 Cor. vii. 14.

Apoſtle's Time, the general Practice of the Church to baptize the Children of Chriſtians, as counting it reaſonable to preſume that the Chriſtian's Child ſhould be educated in Chriſtian Knowledge. And to confirm this Aſſurance it ſeems likely to have been, that the Church required, beſides the Parents, the Engagements of ſome other Sureties and Undertakers; who, as we before ſaid, are only the Childrens Proxies for the making the Vow; not undertaking for them, that they ſhall perform it, but only taking it in their Name. And yet in the other Buſineſs, of making them know what Promiſe they have made, they are abſolutely Sureties and Undertakers. And by this Means, the Thing which the Church in baptizing of Infants preſumes, is ſecured, as well as any future Uncertainty of the greateſt Value or Weight among Men is thought fit to be ſecured; and juſt in the ſame Manner, by Sureties, as thoſe Things are which are legally ſecured among us. By this, we conceive, it may be farther concluded, by the Parity of Reaſon, that whenever the Child of any Heathen is by any Chriſtian thus undertaken for, he may alſo very fitly be admitted to Baptiſm.

What we have thus ſaid in this Matter, may yet receive ſome farther Weight, by comparing with it the Cuſtom of the *Jews* before *Chriſt*, in their receiving and baptizing of Proſelytes; from which, without Queſtion, *John* and *Chriſt* took this Rite of Baptiſm. For, ſay they, this Baptiſm belonged not only to thoſe Heathens, who, being of Years and Knowledge, came over to the *Jewiſh* Religion, but alſo to their Infant Children, if their Parents, and the Congregation under which they were, (in whoſe Name it is, that the Godfathers or Sureties do the ſame now among us) did deſire it in Behalf of their Children; promiſing to let them know and underſtand, when they came of Age, what was required of them by their Proſelytiſm; and, as much as in them lay, undertaking that they ſhould not then renounce the *Jewiſh* Religion. And this is the very Thing that is now practiſed in all Parts of Chriſtendom, and which, by the Text now mentioned, appears, as we conceive, to have been the Practice in the Apoſtles Times, that is, in the very Age of the firſt inſtituting of Baptiſm, which therefore may be deemed herein to have complied diſtinctly with the Practice of the *Jews*, as it did in the Ceremony of Water alſo. For it is obſervable that the *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies to *ſanctify*, and ſo is directly anſwerable to the Phraſe, *Now are they holy*, is uſed among the *Jews* [b] for *Waſhing*. To this Interpretation of the Place we ſhall only add, that the Notion of Holy and Unclean there, referring alſo to the legal Uncleanneſs or Pollutions, which made the Unclean to be ſeparated from the Congregation; this is exactly proportionable to the Notion which we have now given of the Words; and accordingly, thoſe that are by Baptiſm admitted into the Church, and made Partakers of the Privileges thereof, may properly be ſaid to be holy, as holy is oppoſite to unclean.

Having thus far enlarged on this one Place, which might be yet farther cleared by ſhewing the Inconvenience of all other Interpretations, we do not think it neceſſary to add any more Grounds of Satisfaction in this Caſe; laying the whole Practice and Cuſtom of the preſent Church, for Baptizing of Infants, on the Practice of the Chriſtian Church in the Apoſtles Time, and the continued Canons and Practice of the ſucceeding Church in all Ages, which required Conformity to the apoſtolical Practice, and cenſured all for Heretics who would not yield Conformity therein. And ſurely this is a competent Teſtimony to aſſure us, that this Practice, or Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, was not by them meant, as ſome other Things, to be but temporary; the only Colour which ſome Men have made uſe of, to aboliſh other eminent apoſtolic Practices, or Inſtitutions.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the effectual Publication of the Goſpel by the Apoſtles.

I. *The Induſtry of the Apoſtles. Proofs of their Succeſs: The vaſt Spreading of the Goſpel.* II. *The Efficacy of the Goſpel upon the Lives and Manners of Men.* III. *The Weakneſs and Meanneſs of the Inſtruments who were employed to publiſh it.* IV. *The great Oppoſition that was raiſed againſt the Goſpel, both from the Luſts and Prejudices of Men, and from the Powers of the World.* V. *The Diſcouragement that was given to the Entrance of the Chriſtian Religion. The Religion of* Mahomet *propagated by Force; the Idolatries of the Heathens by the Vices of Mankind.* VI. *The Cauſes of the Succeſs of the Goſpel, particularly the Power and Preſence of the Divine Spirit.* VII. *The Nature of the Gifts of the Spirit, and their Uſe and End.* VIII. *How the Goſpel was confirmed by them.* IX. *Truth of the Chriſtian Religion inferred.* X. *Why the miraculous Power, which firſt accompanied the Goſpel, is now ceaſed.* XI. *A Reflection on the ſmall Influence of the Goſpel at preſent.*

I. HAVING given an Account in the preceding Chapter of the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the Apoſtles, conſequent of our Saviour's Promiſe to them before his Aſcenſion; we ſhall extract from the Works of a great Prelate [a] of our Church, (to which we have been ſeveral Times before much beholden,) A Diſcourſe on the effectual Publication of the Goſpel by the Apoſtles, in Conſequence of that Deſcent. This will be both a proper Concluſion to the Hiſtory of our bleſſed Saviour, as containing the Accompliſhment of that Promiſe of his, that he would be *with his Diſciples always*; and alſo a proper Introduction to the Lives of the Apoſtles, on which we are next to enter, as it exhibits in one general View the Subſtance of what we are therein to relate and prove.

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[b] Ioma. cap. 3. ſect. 3. where the High Prieſts waſhing his Hands and Feet ten Times on the Day of Expiation, is called the ten Sanctifications.

[a] Archbiſhop Tillotſon.

The Induſtry of the Apoſtles, and the other Diſciples, in publiſhing the Goſpel, was almoſt incredible. What Pains did they take? What Hazards did they run? What Difficulties and Diſcouragements did they contend withal in this Work? And yet their Succeſs was greater than their Induſtry, and beyond all human Expectation: As will appear, if we conſider the following Things.

Firſt, The *vaſt Spreading* of the Goſpel in ſo ſhort a Space. This is repreſented by [b] *an Angel flying through the midſt of Heaven, and preaching the everlaſting Goſpel to every Nation, and Kindred, and Tongue, and People.* No ſooner was the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion publiſhed, and made known to the World, but it was readily embraced by great Numbers, almoſt in all Places where it came. And, indeed, ſo it was foretold in the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, [c] *That when* Shiloh, that is the Meſſias, *ſhould come, to him ſhould the gathering of the People be:* And [d] *That in the laſt Days the Mountain of the Houſe of the Lord ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the Top of the Mountain, and be exalted above the Hills, and that all Nations ſhould flow unto it.* And in [e] another Place, the Prophet ſpeaking of Men's ready Submiſſion to the Goſpel, and the great Number of thoſe that ſhould come in upon the Preaching of it, they are ſaid *to fly as a Cloud, and as the Doves to the Windows.*

So quick and ſtrange a Progreſs did this new Doctrine and Religion make in the World, that in the Space of about thirty Years after our Saviour's Death, it was not only diffuſed through the greateſt Part of the *Roman* Empire, but had reached as far as *Parthia* and *India*. In which we ſee our Saviour's Prediction fully verified, that before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, the Goſpel ſhould be preached in all the World. [f] *This Goſpel of the Kingdom ſhall be preached in all the World, for a Witneſs unto all Nations, and then ſhall the End come.*

II. But this is not all: Men were not only brought into the Profeſſion of the Goſpel; but, *ſecondly*, This Doctrine had likewiſe a wonderful *Power* and *Efficacy* upon the Lives and Manners of Men. The Generality of thoſe that entertained the Goſpel, *were obedient* to it *in Word and Deed*, as the Apoſtle [g] tells us, concerning the *Gentiles* that were converted to Chriſtianity. Upon the Change of their Religion, followed alſo the Change of their Manners, and of their former Courſe of Life. They that took upon them the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, *did thenceforth not walk as other* Gentiles *did, in the Luſts of the Fleſh, and according to the vicious Courſe of the World; but did put off, concerning their former Converſation, the old Man, which was corrupt, according to deceitful Luſts; and were renewed in the Spirit of their Mind, and did put on the new Man, which, after God, was created in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs.* So ſtrange an Effect had the Goſpel upon the Lives of the Generality of the Profeſſors of it, that *Tertullian*, in his Apology to the *Roman* Emperor and Senate, challengeth them to inſtance in any one that bore the Title of Chriſtian, that was condemned as a Thief, or a Murderer, or a ſacrilegious Perſon, or that was guilty of any of thoſe groſs Enormities, for which ſo many Pagans were every Day made Examples of public Juſtice, and puniſhed and executed among them.

And this certainly was a very admirable and happy Effect, which the Goſpel had upon Men, To work ſo great and ſudden a Change in the Lives of thoſe who entertained this Doctrine; To take them quite off from thoſe vicious Practices, which they had been brought up in, and accuſtomed to; To change their Spirits, and the Temper of their Minds; and, Of lewd and diſhoneſt, to make them ſober and juſt, and *holy in all Manner of Converſation*; Of proud and fierce, contentious and paſſionate, malicious and revengeful, to make them humble and meek, kind and tender-hearted, peaceable and charitable.

And that the primitive Chriſtians were generally good Men, and of virtuous Lives, is credible, becauſe their Religion taught and obliged them to be ſuch; which, though it be not effectual now, to make all the Profeſſors of it ſuch, as it requires they ſhould be; yet it was a very forcible Argument then, in the Circumſtances in which the primitive Chriſtians were: For Chriſtianity was a hated and perſecuted Profeſſion: No Man could then have any Inducement to embrace it, unleſs he were reſolved to practiſe it, and live according to the Rules of it; for it offered Men no Rewards and Advantages in this World; but, on the contrary, threaten'd Men with the greateſt temporal Inconveniencies and Sufferings; and it promiſed no Happineſs to Men in the other World upon any other Terms, than of [h] *denying Ungodlineſs and worldly Luſts*, and of *living ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly in this preſent World.*

And beſides this Conſideration, we have the beſt Teſtimony in the World of their unblameable Lives, the Teſtimony of their profeſſed Enemies, who did not perſecute them for any perſonal Crimes, which they charged particular Perſons withal, but only for their Religion, acknowledging them otherwiſe to be very innocent and good People. Particularly *Pliny*, in his Letter to *Trajan* the Emperor, (who had given him in Charge, to make particular Enquiry concerning the Chriſtians) gives this honourable Report of them; [i] *That there was no Fault to be found in them, beſides their obſtinate Refuſal to ſacrifice to the Gods; that at their religious Meetings it was an eſſential Part of their Worſhip to oblige themſelves, by a ſolemn Sacrament, againſt Murder, and Theft, and Adultery, and all*

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[b] Rev. xiv. 6.
[c] Gen. xlix. 10.
[d] Iſai. ii. 2.
[e] Iſai. lx. 8.
[f] Matth. xxiv. 14.
[g] Rom. xv. 18.
[h] Tit. ii. 12.
[i] Plin. lib. x. ep. 97.

Manner of Wickedneſs and Vice. No Chriſtian Hiſtorian could have given a better Character of them than this Heathen Writer does.

III. The Succeſs of the Goſpel will appear yet more ſtrange, if we conſider, in the *third* Place, the *Weakneſs* and *Meanneſs* of the Inſtruments that were employed in this great Work. A Company of plain and illiterate Men, moſt of them deſtitute of the Advantages of Education, went forth upon this great Deſign, weak and unarmed, unaſſiſted by any worldly Intereſt, having no ſecular Force and Power on their Side, to give Countenance and Authority to them; and this not only at their firſt ſetting out, but they remained under theſe Diſadvantages for three Ages together.

The firſt Publiſhers of the Chriſtian Religion offered Violence to no Man; they did not go about to compel any by Force to entertain the Doctrine which they preached, and to liſt themſelves of their Number: They were not attended with Legions of armed Men, to diſpoſe Men for the Reception of their Doctrine, by Plunder and free Quarter, by Violence and Tortures: This modern Method of Converſion was not then thought of; nor did they go about to tempt and allure Men to their Way, by the Promiſes of temporal Rewards, and by the Hopes of Riches and Honours; nor did they uſe any artificial Inſinuations of Wit and Eloquence, to gain upon the Minds of Men, and ſteal their Doctrines into them; but delivered themſelves with the greateſt Plainneſs and Simplicity; and without any ſtudied Ornaments of Speech, or fine Arts of Perſwaſion, declared plainly to them the Doctrine and Miracles, the Life, and Death, and Reſurrection of *Jeſus Chriſt*, promiſing Life and Immortality to them that believed and obeyed his Doctrine, and threatening eternal Woe and Miſery in another World, to the Deſpiſers of it.

And yet theſe contemptible Inſtruments, notwithſtanding all theſe Diſadvantages, did their Work effectually; and, by the Power of God going along with them, gained Numbers every Day to their Religion, and in a ſhort Space *drew the World after them.*

Nor did they only win over the common People, but alſo ſeveral Perſons conſiderable for their Dignity, and eminent for their Learning, who afterwards became zealous Aſſertors of Chriſtianity, and were not aſhamed to be inſtructed in the ſaving Knowledge of the Goſpel, by ſuch mean and unlearned Perſons as the Apoſtles were; for they ſaw ſomething in them more Divine, and which carried with it a greater Power and Perſwaſion, than human Learning and Eloquence.

IV. A *fourth* Argument of the divine Power that attended the Preaching of the Goſpel, is the *mighty Oppoſition* that was raiſed againſt it. At its firſt Appearance it could not be otherwiſe, but that it muſt meet with a great deal of Difficulty and Oppoſition, from the Luſts and Vices of Men, which it ſo plainly and ſo ſeverely declared againſt, and likewiſe from the Prejudices of Men that had been brought up in a contrary Religion; no Prejudice being ſo ſtrong as that which is founded in Education; and of all the Prejudices of Education, none ſo obſtinate and hard to be removed, as thoſe about Religion, though they be never ſo abſurd and unreaſonable. [k] *Hath a Nation changed her Gods, which yet are no Gods?* Men are very hardly brought off from the Religion which they have been brought up in, how little Ground and Reaſon ſoever there be for it: The being trained up in it, and having a Reverence for it implanted in them in their tender Years, ſupplies all other Defects.

Had Men been free and indifferent in Religion, when Chriſtianity firſt appeared in the World, and had they not had their Minds prepoſſeſs'd with other Apprehenſions of God and Religion, and been enured to Rites and Superſtitions of a quite different Nature from the Chriſtian Religion; or had they at that Time been weary of the Superſtitions and their idolatrous Worſhip, and been enquiring after a better Religion; then, indeed, the Chriſtian Religion had appeared with great Advantage, and would, in all Probability, have been entertained with a Readineſs of Mind proportionable to the Reaſonableneſs of it. But this was not the Caſe: When the Doctrine of the Goſpel was firſt publiſhed in the World, the whole World, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, were violently prejudiced againſt it; and the *Jews*, tho' till that Time the choſen People of God, were more obſtinate in their Prejudices than any of the other ſeveral Religions.

The *Jews* indeed, in former Times, had been very prone to relinquiſh the Worſhip of the true God, and to fall into the Heathen Idolatry. But after God had puniſhed them ſeverely for that Sin, by a long Captivity, they continued, ever after, very ſtrict and firm to the Worſhip of the true God; and never were they more tenacious of their Religion and Law, than at that very Time when our Saviour appeared in the World: But notwithſtanding this, and that *Jeſus Chriſt* was foretold in their Law, and moſt particularly deſcribed in the authentic Books of their Religion, the Prophets of the Old Teſtament; yet by Reaſon of certain groundleſs Traditions, which they had received from the Interpreters of their Law, "That their Meſſiah was to be a great temporal Prince", they conceived an invincible Prejudice againſt our Saviour, upon Account of the mean Circumſtances in which he appeared; and upon this Prejudice they rejected him, and put him to Death, and perſecuted his Followers: And though their Religion was much nearer to the Chriſtian, than any of the Heathen Idolatries; yet upon this Account of our Saviour's mean Appearance, they were much more averſe to the Entertainment of it, than the groſſeſt Idolaters among the Nations.

Not but that the Prejudice of the Heathens was alſo very great; the common People being ſtrongly addicted to the Idolatry and Superſtitions of their ſeveral Countries: And the wiſer, and more learned, whom they call'd the Philoſophers, were ſo puft up with a Conceit of their own Knowledge and Eloquence, that they deſpiſed the Rudeneſs and Simplicity of the Apoſtles, and look'd upon their Doctrine of a crucified Saviour as ridiculous, and the Story of his Reſurrection from the Dead as abſurd and impoſſible. So St. *Paul* tells us, [1] *That the Croſs of* Chriſt *was to the* Jews *a Stumbling-block, and to the* Greeks *Fooliſhneſs.*

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[k] Jer. ii. 11.

But beſides the Oppoſition which the Goſpel met withal from the Luſts and Prejudices of Men, the Powers of the World did likewiſe ſtrongly combine againſt it. Among the *Jews*, the Chief Prieſts and Rulers, with all their Force and Malice, endeavoured to ſtifle it in its Birth, and to ſuppreſs it in its firſt Riſe; and ſeveral of the *Roman* Emperors, who were then the great Governors of the World, engaged all their Authority, and their whole Strength, for the Extirpation of it, and raiſed ſuch a Storm of Perſecution againſt it, as ſwept away greater Numbers of Mankind than any Famine or Plague, or War, that ever was in the *Roman* Empire. And yet this Religion bore up againſt all this Oppoſition, and made its way through all the Reſiſtance that the Luſts and Prejudices of Men, armed with the Power and Authority of the whole World, could make againſt it.

V. The *laſt* Conſideration we ſhall offer, to prove the Succeſs of the Goſpel, is the great Diſcouragement that was given to the Entrance of this Religion. There was nothing left to invite and engage Men to it, but the Conſideration of another World: For all the Evils of this World threatned every one that took the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity upon him. Whoever was known to be a Chriſtian, was liable to Reproach and Ruin, to cruel Mockings and Scourgings, to Baniſhment, or Impriſonment and Confiſcation of Eſtate. But theſe were ſlight and tolerable Evils, in Compariſon of others that were commonly inflicted upon them: They were condemned to the Mines, and to the Lions, and all imaginable Cruelties were exerciſed upon them: The moſt exquiſite Torments that could be deviſed, and Death in all its fearful Shapes was preſented to them, to deter Men from embracing this Religion, and to tempt them to quit it. And yet they perſiſted in the Profeſſion of their Religion, and, for the ſake of it, did not only *take joyfully the ſpoiling of their Goods,* but the moſt barbarous Uſage of their Perſons, and demeaned themſelves not only with Patience and Courage, but with Exultation and Triumph, under thoſe Tortures which no Man can hear, or read of, without Horror. And they did not only bear up thus manfully, for one Brunt; but when theſe violent Perſecutions were renewed and repeated upon them, Chriſtianity ſupported itſelf under all theſe daunting Diſcouragements for almoſt three hundred Years, and held out, till the very Malice of their Perſecutors was out of Breath, and their Cruelty had tired itſelf.

Nay, it did not only ſupport itſelf under all theſe Oppoſitions, but grew and proſpered, and the Blood of the Martyrs became the Seed of the Church, and Chriſtians ſprang up faſter than any Perſecution could mow them down: For Men by Degrees became curious to enquire into the Cauſe of ſuch Sufferings, and the Reaſon of ſo much Conſtancy and Patience under them; and upon Enquiry were ſatisfied, and became Chriſtians themſelves; and many Times their very Perſecutors were ready to ſacrifice their Lives the next Day, for that Cauſe for which, but the Day before, they had put others to Death.

And it cannot here be reaſonably objected, that Chriſtians yielded up themſelves to all theſe Sufferings, upon the ſame Account that ſome brave Spirits among the Heathens laid down their Lives for their Country; namely, out of a Deſire of Fame, and to perpetuate their Names in After-Ages: This, we ſay, cannot reaſonably be ſaid in this Caſe; becauſe theſe Sufferers were not the great and ambitious Spirits, the Flower and ſelect Part of Mankind, but the common People, and many of them of the tenderer Sex and Age, who have uſually a greater Senſe of Pain than of Glory. And yet ſo were they animated by their Religion, and tranſported beyond themſelves, as not only to ſubmit, but many Times to offer themſelves to thoſe Sufferings, by declaring themſelves to be Chriſtians, when no Man accuſed them, and when they knew they ſhould die for making that Profeſſion. So that it is harder to juſtify their Forwardneſs to ſuffer, than the Sincerity of their Sufferings. Beſides that, nothing could be more fooliſh and unreaſonable, than for Men to hope to get a Name by Suffering in a Crowd, and to be particularly remembered to Poſterity, when they died in ſuch Multitudes, that no Man knew the Names of the greateſt Part of the Sufferers.

We ſee then how ſtrongly the Goſpel prevailed; how ſoon this new Religion over-ran the World, how ſuddenly it ſubdued the Spirits, and changed the Manners of Men; and by what mean and deſpicable Inſtruments, to all human Appearance, this great Work was done; and how, in deſpite of all Oppoſition and Diſcouragements, it was carried on. Can any one of the falſe Religions of the World pretend to have been propagated and eſtabliſh'd in ſuch a Manner, merely by their own Force, and the Evidence and Power of Truth upon the Minds of Men; and to have borne up and ſuſtained themſelves ſo long, under ſuch fierce Aſſaults as Chriſtianity hath done?

As for the Religion of *Mahomet*, it is famouſly known to have been planted by Force at firſt, and to have been maintained in the World by the ſame violent Means. Indeed that great Impoſtor openly declares, *that he came not to plant his Religion by Miracles, but by the Sword.*

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[1] 1 Cor. i. 23.

And as for the Idolatries of the Heathen, they came in upon the World by inſenſible Degrees, and did not oppoſe the Corruptions of Men, but grew out of them; and being ſuited to the vicious Temper and Diſpoſition of Mankind, they eaſily gained upon their Ignorance and Superſtition, by Cuſtom and Example. They were juſt ſuch a Corruption of natural Religion, in ſuch Times of Darkneſs and Ignorance, and by ſuch inſenſible Steps, as there hath been ſince of the Chriſtian Religion, in ſome Parts of the World, which we all know. But no ſooner did the Light of the Goſpel ſhine out upon the World, but the Idolatry and Superſtition of the Heathen fell before it, like *Dagon* before the Ark of God; and tho' it had the Power of the World, and the Countenance of Authority on its Side, yet it was not able to maintain its Ground. And no ſooner was this Prop taken away, which was the only Support of it, but it preſently ſunk and vaniſh'd. It was not driven out of the World, but upon the breaking in of ſo great a Light, it ſuddenly withdrew, as being aſhamed of itſelf. And when afterwards the Emperor *Julian* endeavoured to retrieve it by his Wit and Authority, and uſed all imaginable Arts and Stratagems to ſuppreſs and extinguiſh Chriſtianity, he was able to effect neither; for the Chriſtian Religion kept its Ground, and Paganiſm, after it had made a little Blaze, died with him.

VI. Now to what Cauſes ſhall we aſcribe this wonderful Succeſs, and Prevalency of the Goſpel in the World? There can but theſe two be imagined; The Excellancy of the Chriſtian Religion; and, The Power and Preſence of the Divine Spirit accompanying it.

The *Excellency* of the Chriſtian Religion is ſo great, that both in reſpect of the Goodneſs of its Precepts, and the Aſſurance of its Rewards, it hath plainly the Advantage of any Religion, that ever yet appeared in the World. And this is a great Advantage indeed: But by this alone it could never have been able to have broken thro' all that mighty Oppoſition and Reſiſtance, which was made againſt it; and therefore that it might be able to encounter this with Succeſs, God was pleaſed to accompany the firſt Preaching of it, with a mighty and ſeaſonable *Preſence and Power of his Spirit.*

This Reaſon of the wonderful Efficacy and Succeſs, which the Apoſtles had in Preaching of the Goſpel, is given by St. *Mark*; [m] *The Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the Word with Signs following.* Which Words expreſs to us that miraculous Power of the Holy Ghoſt, which accompanied the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel. We do not intend here to exclude the inward Operation of God's Holy Spirit upon the Minds of Men, ſecretly moving and inclining thoſe to whom the Goſpel was preached, to embrace and entertain it: Of this the Scripture elſewhere ſpeaks frequently, and it may poſſibly be intended in the firſt of theſe Expreſſions, *The Lord working with them*; and the latter only may be meant of the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, with regard to which, God is ſaid to *confirm the Word with Signs following*, or accompanying it. But we rather think they are *both* intended to expreſs the ſame Thing, and that the latter is only added by Way of Explication of the former, to ſhew more particularly, how the Lord wrought with them; namely, by giving Confirmation to their Doctrine, by thoſe miraculous Gifts and Powers of the Spirit, which they were endowed withal; *the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following*; that is, with thoſe Miracles, which accompanied the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel. For theſe Words do plainly refer to the foregoing Promiſe of the Spirit; [n] *And theſe Signs ſhall follow them that believe*; which is the Reaſon why they are here called *Signs following*; that is, Miracles which accompanied the Word that was preached.

And that this is the full Meaning of this *Text*, will appear by comparing it with one or two more. St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of [o] *the Things which* Chriſt *had wrought by him, to make the Gentiles obedient to the Goſpel,* ſays, *they were done thro' many Signs and Wonders, by the Power of the Spirit of God*; which is the ſame with that which is ſaid in St. *Mark*, of *the Lord's working with the Apoſtles, and confirming the Word with Signs following.* So likewiſe the Apoſtle tells us, that [p] *the Goſpel which was firſt ſpoken by the Lord, was confirmed by them that heard him*; *God alſo bearing them Witneſs, both with Sings and Wonders, and with divers Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.* So that the great Confirmation, which is ſaid here to be given to the Goſpel, was by the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, which were poured forth upon the Apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians. In ſpeaking of which, we ſhall briefly give an Account of the Nature of theſe Gifts, and the Uſe and End to which they ſerved: And then ſhew how the Goſpel was confirmed by them.

VII. For the *Nature* of theſe Gifts, and the *Uſe* and *End* to which they were deſigned; they are thoſe miraculous Powers, which, by the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, upon the Day of *Pentecoſt*, the Apoſtles were endowed withal, to qualify them to publiſh the Goſpel with more Speed and Succeſs. Such was the Gift of ſpeaking divers Languages, and the Gift of interpreting Things ſpoken in divers Languages; (which two Gifts were not neceſſarily united in the ſame Perſon, for the Apoſtle tells us, that ſome had the one, and ſome the other;) the Gift of Prophecy, and foretelling Things to come, which was always a Sign of a Perſon divinely inſpired; the miraculous Powers of healing Diſeaſes, and raiſing the Dead, and of caſting out Devils; a Power of inflicting corporal Diſeaſes and Puniſhments, upon ſcandalous and obſtinate Chriſtians, who would not ſubmit to the Apoſtles' Authority and Government; which is in Scripture called, [q] *A delivering up to* Satan, *for the Deſtruction,* or tormenting *of the Body, that the Soul may be ſaved:* Nay, in ſome Caſes, this Power extended to the inflicting of Death itſelf, as in the Caſe of *Ananias* and *Saphira*.

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[m] Mark xvi. 20.

[n] ver. 17.

[o] Rom. xv. 18, 19.

[p] Heb. ii. 3, 4.

Not that all theſe miraculous Powers were given to every one of the Apoſtles, or that they could exerciſe them at all Times: Some were beſtowed upon one, and ſome upon another, according to God's good Pleaſure, and as was moſt expedient for the Uſe and Benefit of the Church, and ſubſervient to thoſe Ends for which God gave them: Only we find that all the Apoſtles had the Gift of Tongues; and that the Power of caſting out Devils, in the Name of *Chriſt*, was common to every Chriſtian, and [r] continued in the Church for a long Time after the other Gifts were ceaſed.

VIII. But *ſecondly*, we ſhall briefly ſhew how the Goſpel was confirm'd by theſe miraculous Gifts. Theſe Gifts had, indeed, their particular Uſes and Ends, according to what we have juſt ſaid: As the Gift of Tongues evidently ſerved for the more ſpeedy planting and propagating of the Chriſtian Religion in the World; and the Power of inflicting corporal Puniſhments, in a miraculous Manner, upon ſcandalous and diſobedient Chriſtians, maintained the Power and Authority of the Apoſtles, and was inſtead of an ordinary magiſtratical Power, which Chriſtians were deſtitute of, whilſt the *Roman* Empire continued Heathen. But beſides theſe particular Ends and Uſes of all theſe miraculous Gifs, they did all in general, as they were Miracles, ſerve for the Confirmation of the Goſpel.

The Apoſtles delivered the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and were Witneſſes of his Reſurrection from the Dead, as the great Miracle, wherein his Doctrine was confirmed. Now there was all the Reaſon in the World to believe them, to whom God was pleaſed to give ſuch a Teſtimony from Heaven: For who could make any Doubt of the Truth of their Teſtimony, concerning the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, who were enabled to raiſe others from the Dead, and who by many other wonderful Things which they did, gave ſuch clear Teſtimony, that God was with them?

Never had any Religion fewer worldly Advantages to recommend it, and ſo little temporal Countenance and Aſſiſtance to carry it on: But what it wanted from *Men*, it had from *God*; for *he gave Witneſs to it with Signs and Wonders, and divers Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.* God ſeems on Purpoſe to have ſtript it of all ſecular Advantages, that the Chriſtian Religion might be perfectly free from all Suſpicion of worldly Intereſt and Deſign, and that it might not owe its Eſtabliſhment in the World, to the Wiſdom and Contrivance of Men, but to the Arm and Power of God.

IX. Theſe few Reflections may ſerve to give us Satiſfaction of the Truth and Divinity of the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion, which hath had ſo eminent a Confirmation given to it from Heaven, and did at its firſt ſetting out ſo ſtrangely prevail in the World, againſt all human Probability; [s] *not by Might, nor by Power; but by the Spirit of the Lord.*

No Man can well ſuppoſe a Religion in Circumſtances of greater Diſadvantage, and, upon all human Accounts, more unlikely to ſuſtain and bear up itſelf, than the Chriſtian Religion was. The firſt Appearance of it was ſo mean, and its Beginning ſo ſmall, that no Man but would have thought it would preſently have come to nothing; and no other Account can be given of the ſtrange Succeſs and Prevalency of it, but that *it was of God*, and therefore *it could not be overthrown.*

X. This Diſcourſe may likewiſe ſatisfy us of the Reaſon why this miraculous Power, which accompanied the Goſpel at firſt, is now ceaſed; namely, Becauſe there is not the like Reaſon and Neceſſity for it, which there was at firſt.

It was highly neceſſary then, to introduce the Chriſtian Religion into the World, and to be a ſenſible Evidence to Men of the Divinity of that new Doctrine which was preached to them: But now that the Goſpel is generally entertained, there is not the ſame Reaſon why this miraculous Power ſhould be ſtill continued. [t] When the End is once obtained, the Means ceaſe; and the wiſe God, who is never wanting in what is neceſſary, does not uſe to be laviſh in that which is ſuperfluous. Now that the Chriſtian Religion hath got a firm footing in the World, God leaves it to be propagated and advanced by its own rational Force, upon the Minds of Men. Now that the Prejudices of Education in a contrary Religion are removed, and the Powers of the World are reconciled to Chriſtianity, there is no need of ſuch violent and extraordinary Means for the Continuance of it, ſince it ſtands upon equal Advantages with other Religions. God hath left it to be carried on, in more human and ordinary Ways, and ſuch as are more level and accommodate to the Nature of Man.

That Miracles are long ſince ceaſed, is acknowledged by the Fathers, who lived an Age or two after the ceaſing of them; particularly by St. *Chryſoſtome*, who gives the ſame Reaſon for it, which we have juſt now aſſigned. But the Church of *Rome* would ſtill bear us in Hand, that this miraculous Power does ſtill continue in their Church, and, according to *Bellarmine*, muſt always continue; becauſe he makes it an inſeparable Property and Mark of the true Church.

But we pretend to no ſuch Power, nor have we any Reaſon ſo to do; becauſe all the Doctrines of our Religion, are the antient Doctrines of Chriſtianity, delivered by our Saviour, and by his Apoſtles publiſhed to the World: And theſe are ſufficiently confirmed already, by the Miracles which our Saviour and his Apoſtles wrought in the primitive Times of Chriſtianity. But the Church of *Rome* hath great Occaſion and Need of new Miracles, to confirm their new Doctrines; and therefore, as they have Reaſon, they uſually apply them to the Confirmation of their new Doctrines; ſome to confirm Purgatory, and to give Countenance to Indulgencies; others to encourage the Worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin, and the Saints; others to confirm that which all the Miracles in the World are not ſufficient to confirm, we mean the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; which, becauſe it overthrows the Certainty of Senſe, is in the Nature of it peculiarly incapable of being confirmed by a Miracle, as we obſerved in our Diſſertation upon that Subject.

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[q] 1 Cor. v 5.

[s] Zech. iv. 9.

[r] So Tertullian, Arnobius, and Minutius Fœlix, do teſtify, even of their own Times.

[t] Acquiſito fine, ceſſant media ad finem.

XI. We will add in the *laſt* Place, as a proper Reflection to conclude the Life of *Chriſt*, That the Conſideration of what has been ſaid, may juſtly upbraid us, that this Religion, which was ſo powerful at firſt, and hath ſuch a Character of Divinity upon it, coming down to us confirmed by ſo many Miracle, ſhould yet have ſo little Effect upon moſt of us who call ourſelves Chriſtians.

We have all the Advantages of the Chriſtian Religion, having been educated and brought up in it; and yet it hath leſs Effect upon us, than it had upon thoſe whoſe Minds were prejudiced, and whoſe Manners were depraved, by the Principles of a falſe Religion: For thoſe who were reduced from Paganiſm to Chriſtianity, did on a ſudden become better Men, and were more holy and virtuous in their Lives, than the greateſt Part of us, who have been inſtructed and trained up all our Lives in the Doctrine,of Chriſtianity.

The true Reaſon of this is, that many of us are Chriſtians upon the ſame Account that they were at firſt *Heathens*; Becauſe it was the Religion of their Country, and they were born and bred up in it. But Chriſtianity was the Religion of their Choice, and there were no Motives to perſuade them to the Profeſſion of that Religion, but what were as powerful to oblige them to the Practice of it. Let us alſo be Chriſtians, not only by Cuſtom, but by Choice; and then we ſhall live according to our Religion.

He that takes up a Religion for any other Reaſon than to obey and practiſe it, does not chuſe a Religion, but only counterfeits the Choice of it. We have, beyond Compariſon, the beſt and moſt reaſonable Religion in the World, a Religion that hath the greateſt Evidence of its Truth, that contains the beſt Precepts, and gives Men the greateſt Aſſurance of a future Happineſs, and directs them to the ſureſt Way of attaining it. Now the better our Religion is, the worſe are we, if we be not made good by it. The Philoſophy of the Heathens, made ſome virtuous: And there were many eminent Saints under the Imperfection of the *Jewiſh* Inſtitution. What Degrees then of Holineſs and Virtue may be expected from us, upon whom the glorious Light of the Goſpel ſhineth ſo brightly?

We will conclude all, with the Words of the Apoſtle, [u] *Therefore we ought to give the more earneſt Heed to the Things which we have heard, leſt at any Time we ſhould let them ſlip. For if the Word ſpoken by Angels was ſtedfaſt, and every Tranſgreſſion and Diſobedience received a juſt Recompence of Reward; How ſhall we eſcape, if we neglect ſo great Salvation, which at the firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God alſo bearing them Witneſs, both with Signs and Wonders, and with divers Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, according to his Will?*

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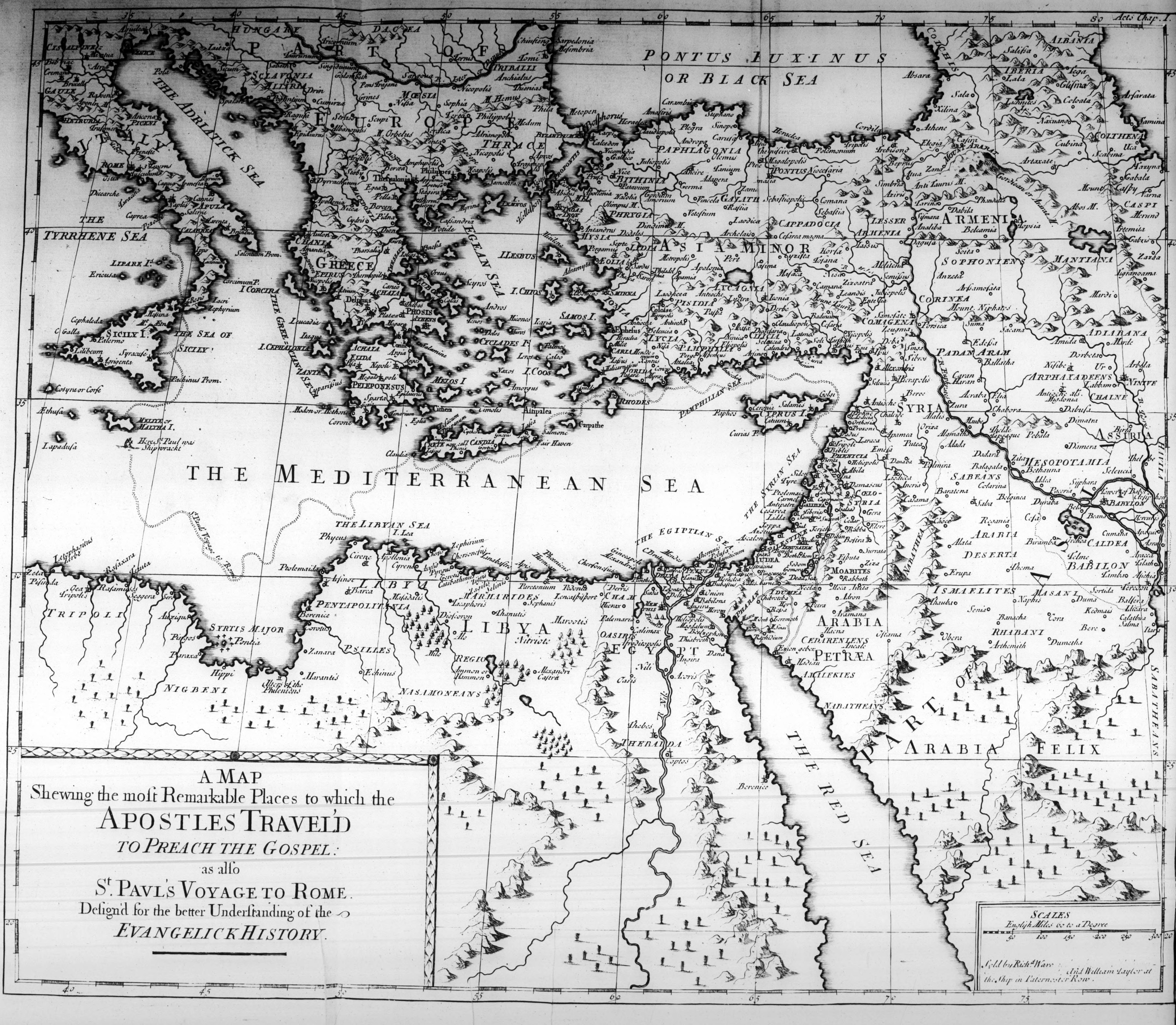
[u] Heb. ii. 1—4.

The End of the Life of CHRIST.


Acts Chap. I.
PONTUS EUXINUS OR BLACK SEA
THE ADRIATICK SEA
ITALY
EUROPE
PART OF
HUNGARY
DACIA
THRACE
MŒSIA
MACEDONIA
GREECE
THE TYRRHENE SEA
SICILY I.
THE SEA OF SICILY
MELITE or MALTHA I.
Here St. Paul was Shipwrackt
ÆGEAN SEA
ASIA MINOR
PAPHLAGONIA
BITHINIA
PHRYGIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
LESSER ARMENIA
ARMENIA
CYPRUS I.
RHODES
CRETE or CANDIA
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THE LIBYAN SEA
THE EGIPTIAN SEA
THE SYRIAN SEA
SYRIA
PHŒNICIA
JUDEA
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
BABYLON
CALDEA
ARABIA DESERTA
ARABIA PETRÆA
PART OF ARABIA FELIX
EGYPT
THEBAIDA
LIBYA
MARMARIDES
PENTAPOLITANIA
SYRTIS MAJOR
TRIPOLI
THE RED SEA
St. Pauls Voyage to Rome
SCALES
English Miles 60 to a Degree
50
100
150
200
250
300

A MAP
Shewing the most Remarkable Places to which the
APOSTLES TRAVEL'D
TO PREACH THE GOSPEL:
as also
St. PAUL'S VOYAGE TO ROME.
Design'd for the better Understanding of the
EVANGELICK HISTORY.

Sold by Richd. Ware and William Tayler at the Ship in Paternoster Row.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

LIVES, ACTIONS,

AND

SUFFERINGS

OF THE

TWELVE APOSTLES.

ALSO OF

St. Paul, St. Luke, and
St. Mark, St. Barnabas.

Collected from their Own Writings in the New Testament, and the Works of the Primitive Fathers, and the beſt Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.

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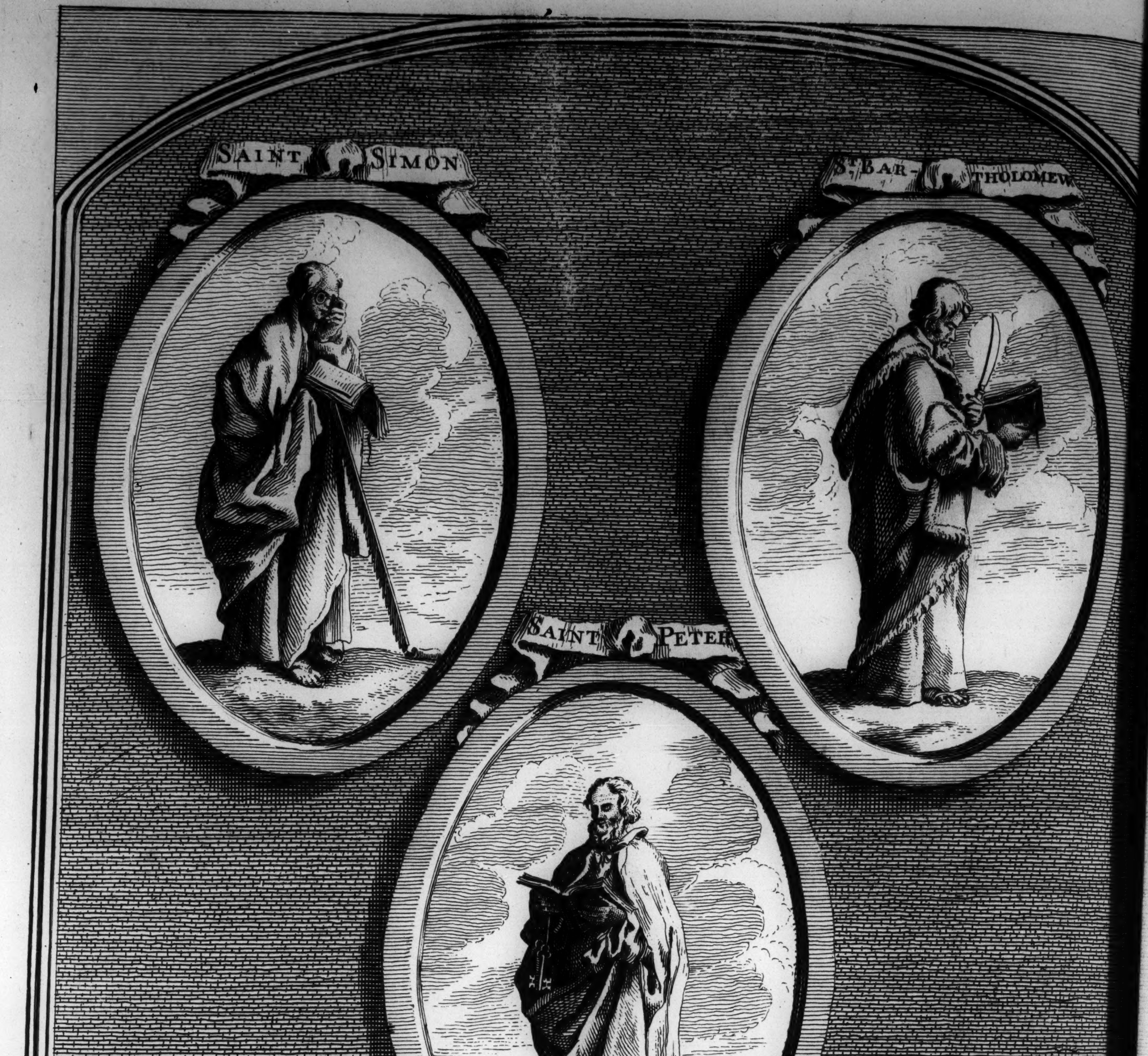
SAINT SIMON
ST. BAR-THOLOMEW
SAINT PETER
SAINT PHILIP
ST. JAMES Ye GREAT

THE HISTORY OF THE LIVES, ACTIONS, AND SUFFERINGS OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

ALSO OF

St. Paul, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Barnabas.

The LIFE *of* St. PETER.

SECT. I.

Peter'*s Habitation, Parentage, Trade, Name. Names of the Popes.* Peter *removes to* Bethſaida. *Occaſion of his going to* Chriſt. *Becomes a Hearer of* Jeſus. *Entertains* Jeſus *in his Fiſhing Veſſel, and is rewarded with a miraculous Draught of Fiſhes.* Jeſus *calls him and his Companions to be his Followers. They follow him in his Retreat. He elects twelve Apoſtles.*

ST. *Peter*, who is generally numbered the firſt of the Apoſtles, was born at *Bethſaida*, a Town of the *Upper Galilee*, or *Galilee of the Gentiles*, antiently belonging to the Tribe of *Nephthali*. This Town was ſeated on the Lake of *Genneſareth*, or Sea of *Galilee*, in the Old Teſtament called the Sea of *Cinnereth*. It was but an obſcure, inconſiderable Village, till [a] *Philip* the Tetrarch, Son of *Herod the Great*, enlarged it with ſtately Buildings, and Multitudes of Inhabitants, and named it *Julias*, in Honour of *Julia* the Daughter of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. But tho' it was thus dignified by the Tetrarch, it was ſo much more by the Preſence of our Lord, who in the Courſe of his Miniſtry often preached and wrought Miracles in this Place. The Inhabitants however, were, for the moſt Part, a very ſtupid, unworthy kind of Men; who by their Unprofitableneſs under the beſt of Means, cauſed our Lord to pronounce a Woe upon them, [b] which Travellers, who have viewed it of late Years, aſſure us hath been fulfilled upon them; there remaining no more of them at this Day, than a very few, or, according to a [c] certain Author, than one poor Cottage, out of all their ſtately Buildings.

Notwithſtanding this, it was the Birth-Place of ſeveral of the Apoſtles, and of St. *Peter* among the reſt; who was brought up here in the Trade of a Fiſherman, this being probably his Father's Calling, of whom we know no more, than that his Name was *Jonah*, and that he had another Son, *Andrew*, who was likewiſe an Apoſtle of *Jeſus Chriſt*. Which of theſe two was the elder Brother, is a Queſtion as old as *Epiphanius* and *Chryſoſtom*, who are divided upon it; and ſucceeding Ages have not yet decided it; nor is it indeed a Matter of much Conſequence. However it was, it redounds not a little to the Honour of their Father, as well as of *Zebedee* in the like Caſe, that of but twelve Apoſtles, two of his Sons were taken into the Number.

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[a] Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. 8. c. 3.

[b] Matth. xi. 21.

[c] J. Corovic. Itin. Hieroſol. l. 3. c. 8.

The Name that was given to our Apoſtle by his Parents, at his Circumciſion, was *Simon*, or *Simeon*, a Name common amongſt the *Jews*, eſpecially in their later Times: To which our Lord afterwards added the Title of *Cephas*; which in *Syriac*, the common Speech of the *Jews* at that Time, ſignifies a *Stone* or *Rock*. Of the ſame Importance is *Petros* in *Greek*, the Language wherein the New Teſtament was writ; from whence is derived *Peter* in our *Engliſh* Tongue. This additional Name was given him by our Saviour, with a ſpecial Reſpect to the Firmneſs and Conſtancy of his Faith, and his zealous Activity in building up the Church, as a *ſpiritual Houſe* upon the *true Rock*, *the Living and Corner Stone*, *choſen of God and precious*, as [d] St. *Peter* himſelf expreſſes it.

In Imitation of this new Name given to St. *Peter*, the Biſhops of *Rome*, who claim the Honour of being his Succeſſors, uſually lay by their own, and aſſume a new Name upon their Advancement to what they call the Apoſtolic Chair; it being one of the firſt Queſtions which the Cardinals put to the new elected Pope, *By what Name he will pleaſe to be called?* This [e] Cuſtom firſt began about the Year eight hundred forty four, when *Peter de Bocca-Porco*, or *Swine's-Mouth*, being choſen Pope, changed his Name into *Sergius* the Second; probably not ſo much to avoid the Uncomelineſs of his Surname, which would have been no Part of his Pontifical Style and Title, as out of a Reverence to St. *Peter*, accounting himſelf not worthy to bear his great Founder's Name, though it had been given him at the Font in Baptiſm. Certain it is, that none of the Biſhops of that See ever aſſumed St. *Peter*'s Name; and ſome, as we juſt now mentioned, who have had it for their *Chriſtian* Name before, have laid it aſide upon their Election to the Papacy.

From *Bethſaida Peter* removed to *Capernaum*, probably upon the Account of his Marriage, and dwelt with his Wife's Mother. There we read of his [f] Houſe, and of his [g] paying the Tax or Tribute. Over which Houſe, [h] *Nicephorus* tells us, *Helen* the Mother of *Conſtantine* erected a beautiful Church to the Honour of St. *Peter*. *Andrew* his Brother accompanied him thither, and here they followed their Trade of Fiſhing; for which this Town was as commodious as *Bethſaida*, being ſeated on the Bank of the ſame Lake, near the Mouth of the River *Jordan*. But with this Employment, toilſome and laborious as it was, we may ſuppoſe they retained a due Senſe of Religion, and Care of their Souls: For they were certainly none of thoſe worldly-minded Men, who would ſuffer the Thoughts of their preſent Gains to devour their more neceſſary Care of eternal Happineſs.

The Occaſion and Manner of St. *Peter*'s firſt Approaches to *Chriſt*, are thus related in the Goſpel. His Brother *Andrew* was a Diſciple of *John the Baptiſt*; (and moſt are of Opinion that *Peter*, himſelf, was ſo too.) He being in his Maſter's Company at the Time when our Lord was returned from his Temptation in the Wilderneſs, and hearing him call him *the Lamb of God* as he paſſed by, [i] followed him, and continued with him that Night. Upon our Lord's Communication with him, *Andrew* was ſo abundantly convinced that he was the Meſſiah, as his Maſter *John* had taught him, that he went and ſought out his Brother *Simon*, and told him the glad Tidings of the Diſcovery he had made. *Simon*, who was one of thoſe who waited for *the Kingdom of God, and the Redemption of Iſrael*, received the News with a joyful Heart, and went along with his Brother, to be an Eye-witneſs of what he had told him. No ſooner was he come into our Lord's Preſence, but the Saviour of Mankind, willing to confirm him in what he had heard reported of him, ſalutes him by the Name of *Simon*, tells him his Parentage, that he was the Son of *Jonas*, and gives him the additional Name of *Cephas*, or *Peter*; ſignifying thereby, not only that he foreſaw he would prove a zealous Propagator of the Chriſtian Faith, but that he ſhould likewiſe ſuffer for his Name, Trials too ſevere for mere human Strength to undergo, without ſpecial Aſſiſtance from the God of all Patience and Conſolation. By all which *Peter* could not but conclude that *Jeſus* was Omniſcient, and conſequently the Son of God, and the Meſſiah that was to come into the World.

The Day following this, it pleaſed our Saviour to leave *Judea*, where *John* was then baptizing, and to go into *Galilee*. Whether theſe two Brothers accompanied him at this Time for their fuller Inſtruction, is not certain from the Goſpels. We find, however, after this, that they [k] went with him to *Capernaum*, and ſo to the Feaſt of the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem*; where they heard his Diſcourſes, and ſaw his mighty Works, whereby their Faith was confirmed. After the Feaſt was ended, it is probable that *Peter* and *Andrew* left their Attendance upon *Jeſus*, and went to their Employment of Fiſhing: Yet reſorted to his Sermons, as his Diſciples, when the Nearneſs of his Reſidence gave them convenient Opportunity, which often happened by his frequent Viſitation of thoſe Parts.

This was what paſſed till after the Decollation of *John the Baptiſt*. It was upon the Death of *John* that [l] our Lord, to avoid the Cruelty of *Herod*, left *Judea*, and went down into *Galilee*, as a more ſafe and ſecure Habitation, fixing his uſual Reſidence at *Capernaum*. Here he caſt out Devils, and healed many that were ſick of divers Diſeaſes, particularly *Peter*'s Wife's Mother, who kept her Bed of a Fever. While he was here, great Crowds of People reſorted to him, and particularly one Day, when he was near the Banks of the Lake *Genneſareth*: When taking the Opportunity, as his Cuſtom was, to impart Healing to their Souls as well as to their Bodies, he went off from the Shore, where the Multitude preſſed him too cloſe, into *Simon Peter*'s Fiſhing-Veſſel, where he ſat down and preached to the People as they ſtood upon the Shore. After he had ended his Sermon, being pleaſed to reward the Civility of his Entertainer in the way of his own Buſineſs, and ſo as to give him an evident Token of his Divine Power by Sea as well as by Land, he commanded him to launch out into the deep Water, and let down his Net for a Draught of Fiſhes. Peter told him, that he and his Partners, who were his Brother *Andrew*, with *James* and *John* the Sons of *Zebedee*, had toil'd all laſt Night to no Purpoſe, and therefore had waſhed their Nets, and were going off, as deſpairing of any Succeſs at preſent. Nevertheleſs, out of a dutiful Reſpect to his Maſter, he immediately did as he was ordered. He had ſcarce done this, when ſuch a Shoal of Fiſhes ran in upon the Net, that it was in danger of breaking, and was too much for him and his Brother to draw up; ſo that they were obliged to make Signs to their Partners, *James* and *John*, who were in another Boat hard by, to come to their Aſſiſtance; which they did, and got ſuch a Load into both Boats, that they were in danger of ſinking; and yet the Net which drew them up, was not broken.

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[d] 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5, 6.
[e] Petrarch. in vit. Pontific.
[f] Matth. viii. 14.
[g] Matth. xvii. 24.
[h] Hiſt. l. viii. c. 30.
[i] See Life of Chriſt, p. 184. John i. 35—41.

[k] We are alſo told that his Diſciples were preſent with him at the Marriage in Cana, which cannot well be underſtood of any other than Peter and Andrew, Philip and Nathanael, who ſo few Days before had profeſſed their Belief of him.

[l] Matth iv. 12. 12.

This complicated Miracle ſtruck them all with Amazement, and forced *Peter* to fall upon his Knees, and in a Senſe of his own Vileneſs, and our Saviour's heavenly Preſence, to cry out, *Depart from me, for I am a ſinful Man, O Lord!* But as the profoundeſt Humility is the beſt Qualifications to the divine Favour, our Bleſſed Saviour ſoon delivered him from his Fears, by letting him underſtand, that this Miracle was wrought to complete his Faith, and to typify to him the Succeſs of a better Employment, and the great Number of Converts which his efficacious Preaching ſhould bring into the Chriſtian Church. There needed no more than this Intimation of *Chriſt*'s Pleaſure, to Minds ſo diſpoſed to love, and fear, and obey him. *Peter*, tho' he thought himſelf unworthy, yet was never unwilling to ſerve the Lord; and therefore he and his Companions joyfully embraced the Offer; and when they were come to Land, they forſook all their worldly Engagements, to become conſtant Attendants upon their Maſter, living under the Rules of his Inſtitution and Diſcipline.

St. *Peter*, being from this Time forward a Diſciple and Follower of *Jeſus*, attended him in all his Travels. The Miracle, done unto *Peter*'s Wife's Mother, being wrought about the Noon of the Sabbath, *Jeſus* ſpent the remaining Part of the Day in his uſual Manner; and when the Night diſperſed the People, he took up his Lodgings at *Peter*'s Houſe. Early in the Morning, a good while before Day, *Jeſus* being deſirous to enjoy a convenient Privacy for his Devotion, withdrew [m] himſelf into the Wilderneſs, to ſpend ſome Time there alone in Prayer; neither *Peter* nor his Family perceiving his Departure. In the Morning the Multitude gathered together again, and came to *Simon*'s Houſe to hear him: Which *Peter* conceiving to be a good Opportunity of advancing his Kingdom, and not finding him in his Houſe, he grew impatient of any Delays, and went immediately with *Andrew*, *James*, and *John*, to ſeek him; and when they found him, they told him, That all Men ſought him. His Doctrine and Miracles had captivated the Minds of all Men ſo much, that they offered themſelves to become his Diſciples: And ſurely, ſaid they among themſelves, it is pity to neglect ſuch an Opportunity of fully inſtructing them, and confirming them in his Doctrine, and a Belief in him. So cordially zealous was *Peter* for the Honour of his Maſter, and for promoting his Kingdom, that he was not afraid to quicken and ſtir up even *Jeſus* himſelf to greater Diligence in it.

From *Peter*'s Houſe, *Jeſus*, after a ſecond Peregrination through [n] *Galilee*, went up to *Jeruſalem*, to the ſecond Paſſover, which he celebrated after he entered upon his Prophetic Office. This being ended, he returned again with his Diſciples into *Galilee*, [o] and taught by the Sea-Side the Multitudes that reſorted to him. When he had continued there ſome Time, and ſaw now his Diſciples from a few become a Multitude, he reſolved to make an Election of ſome particular Perſons above all the reſt, for more ſpecial Ends and Employments; and that he might have a more immediate Direction of his Father, in chuſing fit Perſons for ſo great an Office, he went up the Night before into a Mountain apart to pray, and continued all Night in the [p] *Proſeucha*, or Oratory, that was on the Mount, at his Devotion; and coming down the next Day, he proceeded to [q] an Election of twelve Perſons, whom he nam'd *Apoſtles*; becauſe as he ſhew'd them many particular Favours while he was upon Earth, making them Eye-Witneſſes of all that he did and taught; ſo alſo at his Departure out of this World he intended to make them his Vicegerents upon Earth, and ſend them with the ſame Power and Authority which the Father had entruſted him withal, to preach the Goſpel to all the World, and to confirm it with Miracles, as he had done, by curing Diſeaſes and caſting out Devils. Of theſe, *Simon*, who was called, or ſurnam'd, *Pe-*

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[m] Mark i. 35——38.

[n] John v. 1. Mark iii. 7.

[o] Luke vi. 1.

[p] Luke vi. 12.

[q] John xvii. 18. Mark iii. 14. This Election is computed by ſome to be ſomething more than a Year and a Quarter after our Lord's Baptiſm, and above four Months after his moſt ſolemn Entrance upon his Miniſtry, and the Impriſonment of John the Baptiſt.

ter, is by our Lord placed in the [r] Fore-front, and by that juſtly entitled to a Primacy of Order in the College of the Apoſtles: For which Reaſon he hath always been acknowledged by the Church, as the firſt of the Apoſtles: But a Supremacy in Fee, to him and his Succeſſors in the *Roman* See, muſt have a better Grant than *Conſtantine*'s to ſettle it, before the Church will univerſally ſubmit itſelf to ſo hard a Yoke.

SECT. II.

Peter *attends* Jeſus *at the raiſing of* Jairus's *Daughter. He and the other Apoſtles, are ſent to preach the Goſpel. He walks on the Sea to meet* Jeſus. *He anſwers for the Conſtancy of himſelf, and the reſt. He enquires concerning ſuch Things as defile a Man. He declares* Chriſt *to be the Son of God.* Chriſt *promiſes to make him the Foundation Stone of the Church.* Peter *adviſes* Jeſus *about his Sufferings, and is reproved. He is preſent at our Lord's Transfiguration. His Requeſt on that Occaſion.*

AFTER this Election of the Apoſtles, St. *Peter*, who always thought that the greater Favours he received from his Maſter, the greater Obligations he had to be more zealous in his Miniſtry and Obedience to him, behaved himſelf with ſo much Reſpect and Diligence, that his Maſter admitted him, with the two Sons of *Zebedee*, to a more intimate Familiarity with him, and communicated to them the moſt ſecret Paſſages and Tranſactions of his Life. [s] For not long after this Election, *Jairus*, a Ruler of the Synagogue, who had but one only Daughter, about twelve Years old, who lay at the Point of Death, came to him in a great Agony of Fear and Grief, and beſought him earneſtly to come down and heal her, telling him, That he had ſo great Faith in his Divinity, that he believed if he would but lay his Hands upon her, ſhe would live. *Jeſus* aſſented to his Deſire, and aroſe to go along with him. In the way, being thronged and preſſed by the Multitude, a Woman, who had an Iſſue of Blood many Years, and was paſt the Power of Art to help, came behind him, and touched the Border of his Garment with ſuch a lively Faith, that ſhe obtained an immediate Cure. *Jeſus*, to whom Secrecy itſelf was open and known, perceiving that Virtue was gone out of him, preſently called for the Perſon, who had ſtolen a Cure, and ſo effectually touched him. *Peter* hearing him wondered at the Queſtion, as very impertinent to be asked in the midſt of Crowd, and ſaid, *The Multitude throng thee and preſs thee, and askeſt thou, who touched thee?* *Jeſus* knowing that this Reply proceeded from *Peter*'s Ignorance, ſtill perſiſted in the Enquiry, till the Woman, who was cured, diſcovered the Matter, trembling, as though her Faith had been her Crime, and her Modeſty her Shame. But *Jeſus* having thus clear'd up his own Omniſciency, and manifeſted publicly the Strength of a ſound Faith, diſmiſſed the Woman with high Commendations of her Belief, as if her Faith had cured her, and not he; confirming her Cure, and ſhewing *Peter* his Error. While theſe Things were acting, the Delay proved fatal to *Jairus*, for Meſſengers brought News to him, That the Damſel was dead, and it would be needleſs for him to bring *Jeſus* down to his Houſe; for tho' he could cure Diſeaſes, none, they preſum'd, could redeem from Death. *Jarius* hereupon deſiſted from his Petition; but *Jeſus* ſtill comforted him with Hopes of reſtoring his Daughter, if he would believe; and going to his Houſe, took with him *Peter*, *James*, and *John*; and the Father and Mother of the Child, as choſen Witneſſes of his Omnipotency, and rais'd her to Life again, as Men aſleep can be awakened, tho' they that knew not his Perſon or Power derided his Words.

Some Time after this, *Jeſus* having taken another Perambulation about *Galilee*, which he choſe as the chief Province of his Miniſtry, obſerved that his Flock began much to encreaſe; and therefore that they might not want any Inſtructions neceſſary for their Salvation, he [b] called his twelve Diſciples, of whom *Peter* was the firſt in the Commiſſion, and ſent them two by two into all the Cities and Villages round about *Galilee*, to preach the Goſpel, heal Diſeaſes, and caſt out Devils; giving them a double Caution, that they ſhould confine their Miniſtry to the *Jews* only, and avoid the *Gentiles* on the one Hand, and the *Samaritans* on the other; and that they ſhould prevent the Malice of Men with a Serpentine Subtilty, and Dove-like Innocency; for ſince their Commiſſion tended to the Deſtruction of Satan's Kingdom, they muſt ſuſpect he would raiſe them up Enemies, who, by Perſecution, might hinder the Progreſs of their victorious Preaching.

The Apoſtles, having at length finiſhed their Courſe of Preaching appointed by their Maſter, [c] returned to him, and gave him an Account of what they had done, and what they had taught. In the Abſence of the Apoſtles, *Jeſus* withdrew himſelf to a Place of Solitude and Privacy. But here alſo the Multitude found him out, and came to him, partly to hear him and be healed of him, and partly to make him a King: Whereupon, after he had diſmiſſed them, he ſent his Diſciples away by Ship toward *Capernaum*, and went up into a Mountain, to pray, and meditate a while by himſelf. The Diſciples met with a very troubleſome Voyage; for when [d] they were gotten almoſt into the midſt of the Lake, there fell a great Storm upon the Lake, with a very high Wind, and they were in no ſmall Danger of their Lives. *Jeſus*, tho' abſent from them, was very ſenſible of the Trouble and Fears they were in; and though for the Trial of their Faith he ſuffered them to remain in them till near Morning, yet at length he came to them, walking upon the Sea, to deliver them. His firſt Approach to the Ship added but a new Fright to the former; for his Diſciples ſeeing him, thought it had been a Spirit, which, of all Beings, is only light enough to tread upon ſo thin a Body as Water, and therefore cry'd out for Fear. But he ſoon allayed their Terror, by aſſuring them that it was he, their good Maſter, who was come to them, not to harm, but ſave them. *Peter*, aſſuming Confidence, and being affected both with the Novelty and Wonder of it, deſired him, if it were he, that he would give him leave to come to him upon the Water. *Jeſus* permitted him immediately; but *Peter*'s Faith was not ſtrong enough to encounter rolling Waves and bluſtering Winds: He was afraid to truſt himſelf to ſuch Dangers, though at *Chriſt*'s Word; and therefore beginning to ſink, cry'd out to *Jeſus* to ſave him. *Jeſus*, tho' he might juſtly have left him to the Puniſhment of his own Infidelity, yet mercifully ſtretched out his Hand to him, and immediately ſet him above the Waters; contenting himſelf to give him a gentle Reproof for his Weakneſs of Faith, in theſe Words, *O thou of little Faith, wherefore didſt thou doubt?* As if he had ſaid, "Didſt thou not ſee me upon the Waters? And why didſt thou doubt that my Power could ſupport thee upon them, as it doth myſelf?" *Jeſus* then entered into the Ship to his Diſciples; and tho' he ſtill'd the Winds, yet he himſelf was more than Wind to the Ship; for the Ship was immediately at Land, whither they were going. The Spectators of this Miracle were ſtrangely amazed at it, and being fully ſatisfy'd that he was the Son of that Supreme God, who ruleth the Raging of the Sea, and ſtilleth the Waves thereof, when they ariſe, [e] *whoſe Way is in the Sea, and Paths are in the great Waters*; they went to him, and paid him the Homage due to God only, worſhipping him.

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[r] Matth. x. 2. Mark iii. 16.

[s] Luke vi. 14. Peter is generally acknowledged to be the eldeſt of all the Apoſtles, and at leaſt ten Years older than our Lord himſelf; and his Age and Gravity may have cauſed both the Evangelical and Eccleſiaſtical Writers to give him the Precedency, though not a Supremacy, in the College of Apoſtles. In the Enumeration of the Twelve, all the Evangeliſts conſtantly place Peter in the Front; and St. Matthew expreſly tells us, that he was the firſt that was called to be an Apoſtle. In moſt Places Peter is preferred before the reſt; our Lord uſually directs his Diſcourſe to him, and he replies as the Mouth of his Fellows. Chriſt appeared to him after his Reſurrection, before the reſt of the Apoſtles: he gave him a ſpecial Command to feed his Sheep. He was the firſt whom God choſe to preach the Goſpel to the Gentiles. From theſe and other Paſſages of the holy Scripture, it is evident, that St. Peter acted as Chief of the College of Apoſtles; and ſo he is conſtantly deſcribed by the primitive Writers of the Church, who call him the Head, the Preſident, the Prolocutor, the Chief, the Foreman of the Apoſtles; with ſeveral other Titles of Diſtinction.

Whatever was the true Reaſon of this Precedency, which is not agreed on among the Learned, this is certain, that no Superiority was founded on it, ſo as to give Peter Authority and Juriſdiction over the reſt. Chriſt's Commiſſion is the ſame to all his Apoſtles; he did not inveſt St. Peter with any Perſonal Prerogative above his Fellows; none of them ever intimated any ſuch Thing, and St. Paul ſays expreſly, *That he himſelf was not inferior to the very chiefeſt Apoſtle.*

[a] Matth. ix. 18. Mar. v. 22. Luke vii. 41. [b] Luke ix. 1—5. Mark vi. 7—11. Matth. xiii. 1—42. [c] Mark vi. 30. Luke ix. 10.

Being [f] landed in the Country of *Genneſareth*, near *Capernaum*, our Saviour was again ſurrounded with the Multitude, partly out of the adjoining Villages, and partly from *Bethſaida*: The People who had been miraculouſly fed, followed him by Ship to *Capernaum*; which when he obſerved, he entered into a Synagogue at *Capernaum*, and, in a [g] Sermon which he made on purpoſe upon that Occaſion, he firſt reproves them for their Care for their Bellies, that they followed him, not becauſe they ſaw his Miracles, but becauſe they eat of the Loaves and were filled; and then exhorted them to lay aſide their anxious Deſires and Labours for theſe periſhing and worldly Enjoyments, and to ſeek to get a lively Faith in him, which would ſave them eternally. This he expreſſed to them under ſuch unuſual and harſh Similitudes, as the true Manna, which *Moſes* gave the Children of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs, the Living Bread, and eating his Fleſh, and drinking his Blood; ſo that not only the *Jews* that heard him, but many of his own Diſciples, took great Offence at his Doctrine, and quite forſook him. When *Jeſus* ſaw, that though he had plainly told them, that the Meaning of thoſe Expreſſions was merely ſpiritual, yet they were obſtinate in their Departure, he asked the Twelve, Whether they would go away alſo? *Peter*, whoſe Faith was ſound, though ſmall, as Spokeſman for all the reſt, anſwered him with a ſeeming Abhorrence of the other Diſciples Apoſtacy, *Lord to whom ſhall we go?* Where can we hope to find ſo good a Maſter as thou art? *Thou haſt the Words of eternal Life*; thou diſcovereſt to us the Way to eternal Happineſs, which neither *Moſes* himſelf, nor the *Scribes*, were ever able to do. To forſake thee, is to forſake our own Life: We will ever adhere to thee and thy Truth; for *we believe and are ſure that thou art the* Chriſt, *the* eternal *Son of the Living* and true *God*, and ſhalt bring down from Heaven to us all thoſe Bleſſings which God hath promiſed us by thee.

Theſe Things were ſpoken a [h] little before the Third Paſſover, which happened in the Time of *Jeſus*'s Miniſtry; to which Paſſover he dared not go, though he was punctually careful to fulfil all Righteouſneſs; but abode in *Galilee* at the Time of the Feaſt, becauſe the *Jewiſh* Rulers of the Great *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem* ſought to put him to Death. When therefore the *Jews* ſaw that *Chriſt* came not to the Feaſt, they [i] ſent down ſome *Scribes* and *Phariſees* from *Jeruſalem* to him, to ſearch into his Doctrine, and be Spies upon his Actions, whether he obſerved *Moſes*'s Laws and their Religious Rites. Theſe Men happening to be preſent where *Jeſus* and his Diſciples were to eat, took notice that they ſat down without waſhing after the common Cuſtom of the *Jews*. For the *Jews*, as we have elſewhere obſerved, except they waſh their Hands often, eat not; looking upon it as an indiſpenſable Duty, to which they were tied, not by *Moſes*'s Law, but by [k] the Tradition of the *Elders*, which they look'd upon as more obligatory. They accuſed the Diſciples therefore to *Jeſus* of tranſgreſſing the Traditions of the Elders. *Jeſus* anſwers them, that by obſerving thoſe very Traditions which they were ſo jealous of, they had incurred an Accuſation of tranſgreſſing the Law of God through their Tradition, and inſtead of worſhipping God, placing their Religion in the Obſervation of the Commandments of Men; which was a much greater Crime than his Diſciples had been guilty of, if there were any Worth in theſe Traditions; which that there was not really, he ſhewed the Multitude, turning his Diſcourſe to them, and ſaying, *That 'tis not that which goes into the Mouth that defiles the Man; but that which comes out of the Mouth, this defiles the Man.* *Peter*, who had always been accuſtomed to theſe traditional Obſervations, and thought that Meats did in ſome Caſes pollute and defile a Man, kept his Maſter's Words in his Mind as a ſtrange Paradox, and as ſoon as he had a convenient Opportunity, [i] deſired him to explain that parabolical Expreſſion. *Jeſus* wondering at the Weakneſs of his Apprehenſion, tells him, That whatever a Man eats doth not at all affect the Mind, which is the only Seat of Defilements, but paſſeth into the Stomach, and after ſeveral Digeſtions is evacuated; but what comes out of the Mouth is premeditated and voluntary, ſuch as evil Thoughts, Murthers, Adulteries, Fornications, Falſe Witneſs, and Blaſphemies. *Theſe Things indeed*, ſaid he, *defile a Man; but to eat with unwaſhen Hands, defiles not a Man.* By which he ſhewed his Diſciples, that the legal Ceremonies, which conſiſted moſt of them in ſuch outward Pollutions, were not real; and prepared them for the diſannulling of them, which was ſhortly to be.

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[d] Matth. xiv. 22—23. Mark vi. 45—51. John vi. 1—21.

[e] Pſal. lxxxix 9——lxxvii. 19.

[f] Matth. xiv. 15——21. Mark vi. 37—44. John vi. 1——21.

[g] John vi. 26——69.

[h] John vi. 4.

[i] Matth. vv. 1——20. Mark vii. 1——23.

[k] This Doctrine is ſtill continued to us in the Jewiſh Talmud, where we often meet with ſuch Expreſſions as theſe, *Plus eſt in verbis Scribarum, quam verbis Legis:* And, *Graviora ſunt verba Seniorum, quam Prophetarum, &c.* There is more in the Words of the Scribes than in the Words of the Law: And, the Words of the Elders are more weighty than thoſe of the Prophets.

Not many Days after this Diſputation with the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, *Jeſus* took his Journey into the Northern Parts of *Galilee*, towards *Cæſarea-Philippi*, named alſo *Dan* and *Paneas*; and in the Way, as they paſſed along, he asked his Diſciples, *Whom do Men ſay, that I, the Son of Man, am? What Opinion have they of me, who, though I appear in a mean Condition, and the State of a Servant, yet do ſo many Miracles?* They anſwered him, *Some ſay that thou art* John the Baptiſt, *riſen from the Dead; ſome* Elias, *ſent down from Heaven; and others* Jeremias, *or ſome other of the antient Prophets, reſtored again to Life.* He then asked them, what their Opinion and Belief was concerning him? *Simon Peter*, who was always forward to ſpeak for himſelf and his Brethren, anſwered, *Thou art* Chriſt, *the Son of the Living God*; that is, "Thou art the Meſſias, ſo long ago promiſed to, and expected by the *Jews*: And though indeed thou appeareſt as the Son of Man, yet art thou much greater than any of the Prophets, or the Sons of Men, for thou art *The Son of God, the Only-begotten of the Father*, co-equal and co-eternal with him." *Jeſus* hearing this noble and ſound Confeſſion of his Office and Perſon, reply'd, *Bleſſed art thou,* Simon *the Son of* Jonas, *to whom God my Father hath by his Spirit revealed the myſterious but true Notion of my Nature and Function; for no mere Human Underſtanding can diſcover or comprehend it. And ſince God hath made thee ſo fit an Inſtrument, both for thy Zeal and Knowledge, to promote my Kingdom, I ſay unto thee, That as thy Name importeth a Rock, ſo I will make thee a Foundation-Stone, and a Chief Miniſter, in the building of my Church; which by thy Doctrine and Miracles I will ſo firmly eſtabliſh in the Faith that thou haſt confeſſed, that the Gates of Hell, and all the Powers and Policies of the Devil, ſhall not prevail againſt it, or overthrow it. And that my Church, the Houſe of God, may be an orderly Frame and Building, I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,* (that is, Power and Authority to keep Men in Obedience to my Laws;) *and whomſoever thou ſhalt bind over to Puniſhment, and excommunicate for their Sins, and Impenitence, ſhall be bound,* (that is, dealt with, and puniſhed as ſuch by God, who is) *in Heaven; and whomſoever you ſhall looſe and abſolve from Puniſhment, upon their Repentance and Converſion, ſhall be looſed, forgiven, and pardoned by God.*

By the former Diſcourſe with *Peter*, *Jeſus* perceiving that his Diſciples had gotten a true Notion of his Divinity and Office, believing him to be the Son of God and the Meſſiah, notwithſtanding the different Opinions that were in their Nation about him, began to prepare their Minds for his Sufferings, which he was ſhortly to accompliſh at *Jeruſalem*, and by which he was to work out Man's Redemption; and therefore he [k] told them plainly, that "he muſt go up to *Jeruſalem*, and there endure many Affronts and Indignities from the *Jewiſh* Rulers of the great Sanhedrim, and at laſt by their Malice and Arts be put to a cruel and diſgraceful Death; which yet he would ſoon retrieve himſelf from, by a Reſurrection from it on the Third Day." *Peter*, whoſe Zeal for, and Love to his Maſter, could not endure to hear of parting with him, eſpecially by ſuch an unhappy Fate, took him, and rebuked him for his Unkindneſs to himſelf and them, ſaying, *God forbid that this ſhould come to paſs; be more careful to ſecure thy ſelf, who canſt eaſily do it; for we can never conſent that thou, who haſt been ſo loving a Maſter to us, ſhould be ſo ſoon taken from us.* *Jeſus* knowing that this Advice croſſed the Decrees of Heaven, and defeated the gracious Purpoſes of Man's Redemption, which he came down from Heaven to complete, turned to him, and with Anger ſaid, *Get thee behind me Satan*; that is, "Away from me thou wicked Man, who, out of miſtaken Love, giveſt me ſuch Advice as Satan himſelf could wiſh that I would follow; and with worſe than which Satan himſelf, when he tempted me in the Wilderneſs, could not aſſault me: Let me not hear a Word more of it; for thou art an

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[i] Matth. xvi. 13——20. Mark viii. 37——30. Luke ix. 18——21.
[k] Matth. xvi. 21——28. Mark viii. 31——38. Luke ix. 22——27.

Offence to me, and ſeekeſt to enſnare me in the greateſt of Sins, in drawing me to make uſe of human Policy to ſave my Life, tho' thereby the whole Scene of God's merciful Deſigns for the Salvation of the World be utterly broken."

Here we ſee, that the Goodneſs of the Intention will not always juſtify the Action. *Peter*, no doubt, thought he ſhew'd himſelf dutiful and affectionate to his Lord; little ſuſpecting that *Satan* ſet him on work, to fruſtrate the Salvation of Mankind, by diſſuading *Chriſt* from dying. But *Jeſus* repels him with the ſame vehement Reproof which he once gave the Devil himſelf, when he made that inſolent Propoſal to him, *to fall down and worſhip him*; though in *Satan* it was the Reſult of pure Malice; in *Peter*, only a Sin of Ignorance. Our Lord's ſharp Reſentment of his erroneous Advice, excellently declares how infinitely he preferred the Redemption of the World, before any Conſiderations of Eaſe or Safety to his own Body. He ſhews that *Peter* conſulted what was agreeable to Fleſh and Blood, more than for the Glory of God, and the Welfare of our Souls. And the Paſſage diſcovers, that the Minds of the Apoſtles were not yet thoroughly purged from the Expectation of a glorious Reign of the Meſſiah in ſecular Pomp and Splendor: So that *Peter* could not but look upon theſe Sufferings as inconſiſtent with the State and Dignity of the Son of God.

About a Week after this, *Jeſus*, (who had given his Diſciples a ſad Deſcription of the loweſt Step of his Humiliation, and no doubt filled their Minds with Grief, eſpecially St. *Peter*'s,) thought it a ſeaſonable Time to give them a Specimen of that Glory which ſhould be the Reward and Conſequent of his Sufferings: And therefore [l] taking with him *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, he carried them unto a high Mountain apart, (commonly thought by the Antients to be Mount [m] *Tabor*,) and was transfigured in their Preſence, as he was making his Prayers to God: For his Countenance had a radiant Luſtre upon it, far excelling the Splendor of the Sun; and his Garments, which covered the reſt of his Body, had not only a Whiteneſs beyond the Power of Art to make, but they glittered and ſhone as the Light. While *Jeſus* was in this heavenly Dreſs, as if Heaven itſelf were deſcended upon the Mount, *Moſes* the Giver of the Law, and *Elias* the Chief of the Prophets, clothed with the ſame Glory, appeared to him, and diſcourſed with him about his Death, by which himſelf would be eternally exalted above every Name both in Heaven and Earth, and God's Truth magnified in fulfilling all the Prophecies and Types of the Old Teſtament, by which Man's Redemption was either promiſed or ſhadowed to us. And while this Intercourſe was between *Jeſus* and his heavenly Gueſts, *Peter* and his fellow Apoſtles, either were aſleep, (it being in the Night, as is probable;) or elſe in a Trance, through the Exceſs of Glory which mortal Nature could not bear. But waking juſt before their Departure, and ſeeing their Glory, they were in an Ecſtaſy of Amazement. *Peter*, though hardly awake, yet being ſenſible how much better Company they were in, than they uſually converſed with, and how much it would be for their Maſter's and their own Safety to continue there, ſaid unto *Jeſus*, *Lord it will be more advantageous to us to continue here in this heavenly Society, than to go again into a wicked World: Permit us therefore* [n] *to erect three Tabernacles on the Mount, one for thee and us thy Diſciples, and one for* Moſes, *and one for* Elias, *that they may ſettle their Abode among us.* While *Peter* was talking thus wildly, not knowing what he ſaid in the Tranſport he was in, a bright and ſhining Cloud came over them, by which they were all very much terrified, and a Voice iſſued out of the Cloud, which ſaid unto them, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; hear, and obey his Words.* The Cloud remain'd but a ſhort Time, carrying thoſe two great Miniſters, *Moſes* and *Elias*, up again to Heaven. But the Diſciples, aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, fell with their Faces to the Ground, and lay there till *Chriſt* gently touched them, and bid them ariſe and not fear. When they lifted up their Eyes, they ſaw none but *Jeſus* alone; whereupon they recovered their Spirits, and immediately deſcended from the Mountain with him. But *Jeſus* charged them to keep this Viſion ſecret, till after his Reſurrection.

SECT. III.

Peter, *at the Command of* Jeſus, *pays the Tribute-Money by a Miracle. Queſtions his Maſter about Forgiveneſs of Wrongs. About the Parable of the Servants. What Reward they ſhould have for leaving All to follow him. He ſhews* Jeſus *the withered Fig-Tree. Enquires who ſhall betray him, and promiſes to die for him. Hath his Feet waſhed by* Jeſus. *Prepares the Paſſover for* Jeſus. *Preſent at* Jeſus's *Agony in the Garden, and reproved by him. Smites off the Ear of* Malchus. *Denies* Jeſus *and repents.*

A LITTLE after the Transfiguration, *Jeſus* took another [a] Perambulation about *Galilee*, and returned to *Capernaum*. Where being arrived, the Collectors of a certain yearly Tribute, paid by all the Males above twenty Years old among the *Jews*, for the Uſe of the Temple, according to the [b] Law of *Moſes*, were then going about to gather it; and coming to *Peter*'s Houſe, who was an Inhabitant of that City, they [c] aſked him, *If his Maſter did not pay that Tribue? Peter*, knowing his Maſter always willing to pay any juſt Dues to Church or [d] State, tho' many refuſed it in thoſe Times of Liberty, anſwered them, *Yes*: And probably went in to acquaint his Maſter, and bring the Money, which was [e] half a Shekel a Head. *Jeſus* knowing what had paſſed, though not preſent, prevented *Peter* with this Queſtion, before he could deliver the Matter to him: *What is thy Opinion* Simon, *of whom do the Kings of the Earth take Cuſtom or Tribute? of their own Children, or of Strangers? Peter* reply'd, *Of Strangers only. Jeſus* ſaid, *Then are the Children free.* His Meaning was, that ſince he himſelf was the Son of God, and the Apoſtles his Domeſtics and menial Servants, they were according to Reaſon and the Cuſtom of the World, to be exempted from paying this Tax to the Temple, his Father's Houſe. Yet rather than give Offence, or ſhew Diſreſpect to the Authority which had appointed this Tribute, he directs him to go to the Sea, and take the firſt Fiſh which came to his Hook, in whoſe Mouth he ſhould find a [f] Piece of Money, to ſatisfy the Collectors for himſelf and his Maſter.

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[l] Matt. xvii. 1—9. Mark ix. 1—7. Luke ix. 28—37.

[m] Tabor is a round Mountain exceeding high, ſituate in a Plain in Galilee.

[n] Bede tells us, that in Purſuance of Peter's Propoſal about the three Tabernacles, there were afterwards three Churches built on the Top of this Mountain, which After-ages held in great Veneration.

[a] Matt. xvii. 22. Mar. ix. 30.

[b] Exod. xxx. 13.

[c] Matth. xvii. 24—27.

While *Jeſus* remain'd in *Peter*'s Houſe at *Capernaum*, he made [g] ſeveral Diſcourſes upon various Queſtions. As *firſt*, upon that propounded by his Diſciples, *Who is the greateſt in the Kingdom of God?* Which he reſolved by propounding to them a little Child as a Patern of Humility and Innocency, telling them, *That the moſt humble is the greateſt in his Kingdom, and they that are loweſt in their own Thoughts are higheſt in God's. Secondly*, about Offences and Scandals to weak Chriſtians, teaching his Diſciples how tenderly they ſhould deal with ſuch, leſt they either diſcourage them in, or deter them from *Chriſt*; and how cautious all ſhould be of giving them Offence, becauſe God threatens a Woe to ſuch as are the Occaſion of Scandal to them, and becauſe it is not the Will of our heavenly Father that any one of thoſe little ones ſhould periſh. *Thirdly*, about the propereſt Methods of dealing with ſuch of our Brethren as have done us any Injury; which he preſcribes under three Heads. *1ſt*, Private Admonition between the injured Perſon and the Doer of the Wrong. *2dly*, In caſe that prevail not, Admonition before two or three Witneſſes. *3dly*, And if this prove ineffectual, Admonition by the Church in their public Aſſemblies. After which, if the Offender prove incorrigible, he muſt be excommunicated, and accounted no better than an Heathen and a Publican. *Peter* having obſerv'd this Diſcourſe, and learned by his Maſter's Words, that if private Admonition prevail, and the Offender ſeem to repent, he muſt forgive; makes an Objection, and asks him, How often we muſt forgive an offending Brother upon his Repentance? Whether a Relapſe doth not excuſe from forgiving? Or whether we muſt forgive him till ſeven Times? Which, he thought, certainly ſufficient. *Jeſus* anſwers him, *I make no Limits in ſuch Caſes, but as often as thy Brother offends, if he repent, I oblige you to forgive him, tho' it be till ſeventy Times ſeven*; that is, by putting a definite for an indefinite Number, till the greateſt Number imaginable, provided there be a hearty Submiſſion, and craving of Pardon. Which he illuſtrated farther by a Similitude of a Creditor and his Debtor; raiſing this excellent Concluſion from it, that God will deal with us either mercifully or cruelly, as we deal with our Brethren in the Injuries we receive from them.

[h] *Jeſus* having been at *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of the Tabernacles, in his return accepted of the kind Entertainment of *Martha*, who dwelt at *Bethany*; and, upon her Invitation of him, ſtaid a few Days at her Houſe. Here he ſpent his Time; partly in inſtructing his Diſciples in ſeveral Duties, chiefly how they ſhould pray; and partly in preaching to the Multitude, to whom he made ſeveral Sermons, giving them a ſhort [i] Abridgment of moſt of the neceſſary Laws of a religious Life: And at laſt concluding with a pathetic Exhortation to a continual Vigilancy, for the coming of the Son of Man to judge the World; like as Servants, who expect their Maſter's Return from a Wedding, always are watching, that at his firſt knocking they may be ready to open to him; *becauſe*, ſaid he, *the Son of Man comes at an Hour when Men think not. Peter*, hearing this general Application, asks his Maſter whether he ſpake this Parable to his Apoſtles in particular, or to all his Hearers in general? *Jeſus* ſaid, *Ye are all concerned equally in this great Affair: You muſt all give an Account of your Actions to God, as Stewards do of their Diſburſements to their Maſters; and it is your Wiſdom to be prepared for it, that your Lord, by his ſudden and unexpected coming, may not ſurprize you: For as the Lord of a Family, if he finds Men in a ſuitable Poſture for his Reception, will reward them with the moſt ſignal Marks of his Love and Favour; ſo if he come upon you in your Lewdneſs and Debaucheries, he will allot you a miſerable Portion with Unbelievers; and that more or leſs tormenting, as the Greatneſs or Smallneſs of your Sins have deſerved: For to whom he hath committed much, of them he will require much, and proportionably puniſh or reward the good or ill Management of it.*

The Feaſt of the Dedication was kept at *Jeruſalem* in Memory of the Dedication of the Temple, by *Judas Maccabeus*, who cleared it from the Prophanations of *Antiochus*; and was celebrated annually in the Month *Caſleu*, or *December*, eight Days. This [k] being paſſed, *Jeſus* came from *Jeruſalem* to *Jordan*, and there taught.

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[d] St. *Jerom* is of Opinion, that this Tribute of two Drachms was paid to the Emperor; but the Judgment of all the reſt almoſt of the Fathers, and Joſephus, and our Modern Commentators is againſt him.

[e] About fifteen Pence of our Money.

[f] A Stater, Value a Shekel, or Half a Crown.

[g] Matt. xviii. 1——6. Mark ix. 33—37. Matth. xviii. 7—4. Luke ix. 46——41. Mark ix. 42——49. Matt. xviii. 15—35. See alſo in ſeveral Places of the Life of Chriſt.

[h] John vii. 10. Lnke x. 38. Luke xi. 1——13.

[i] Luke xii. 35——48.

[k] John x. 22. Matt. xix. 1.

While he was here, a certain Governor of a Town, [l] a young Man, came to *Jeſus*, and as if he had more Religion than Men uſually of his Age and Quality have, put this ſober Queſtion to him: *Good Maſter, what ſhall I do to be ſaved?* *Jeſus* gave him a plain but certain Anſwer: *Goodneſs and Happineſs cannot be ſeparated: Keep the Commandments, and thou ſhalt live.* The Young Man hearing this, conceived good Hopes of his Salvation, becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf, that he had continually kept them; and therefore told *Jeſus*, he had always obſerved them, and unleſs there were any Thing elſe required, he might modeſtly aſſure himſelf of it. *Jeſus* ſeeing ſo much Innocency in the midſt of Greatneſs and Wealth, was much in love with him, and, to try the Sincerity of his Obedience, added, *If thou wilt be perfect, and give ſuch a Proof of thy ſincere Obedience, as to make thy Salvation unqueſtionable, ſell all thou haſt, and diſpoſe of it to the Poor, and thou ſhalt have Treaſure in Heaven; and come, take up thy Croſs, and follow me.* The young Man was unwilling to purchaſe Heaven at ſo dear a Rate, as parting with a vaſt Eſtate, and therefore he went away very ſorrowful. Whereupon our Lord obſerves, how difficult it is for the Poſſeſſor of a plentiful Fortune, who ſets his Heart upon it, to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. But *Peter* hearing this, that *Jeſus* promiſed the Ruler ſo great a Reward in Exchange for his earthly Riches, aſked *Jeſus*, What he and his Fellow Diſciples ſhould have, for forſaking all they had to attend his Service? *Jeſus* preſently ſays, That as for them, who were his immediate Attendants, he would in Recompence of the Loſs of their temporal Things, make them not only the Heads of his Church after his Aſcenſion, but at the Day of Judgment, when the Son of Man ſhould appear in his Glory, they ſhould be Co-aſſeſſors with him on his Throne, to judge the World: And though he would not make others equal with them in their Reward; yet if any Man ſhall forſake his Houſe and Relations for his Name's Sake, he would give him ſuch Contentment in his Choice, that he ſhould have no Reaſon to repine at the Loſs of all in this World; and, as an Addition to it, make him eternally happy, but with Proportion to Men's Labours and Deſerts.

That [m] great and memorable Paſſover of the *Jews*, wherein *Jeſus*, the Lamb of God, was by Divine Ordination to take away the Sins of the World by the Sacrifice of himſelf, now drawing nigh, ſix Days before the Feaſt he came to *Bethany*, a ſmall Village of *Judea*, about two Miles from *Jeruſalem*, and lodged at *Martha*'s Houſe, whom he had not only converted, with her Brother and Siſter *Lazarus* and *Mary* ſome Time before, but had lately endeared to him by the raiſing of *Lazarus* from the Dead. Here he ſtay'd one Day; and becauſe, according to the Law, the Paſchal Lamb was to be taken upon the tenth Day of the Month, in order to the Sacrifice of the fourteenth, that he might fulfil all things according to the Law and the Prophets, *Jeſus* on that Day went up to *Jeruſalem*, riding on an Aſs, and returned again that Evening to *Bethany*; amid the Acclamations of the Multitude, who attended him with Palm-Branches in their Hands, crying out, *Hoſannah to the Son of* David. The next Morning *Jeſus* went again to *Jeruſalem*, and in the Way, being an hungry, went up to a Fig-tree, hoping to find ſome Fruit thereon to relieve his Hunger; but being diſappointed, he curſed the Fig-tree; and, as ſoon as they were gone, it withered away. *Peter* next Morning paſſing by it, [n] took notice of it, and ſaid to *Jeſus*, *Maſter, behold the Fig-tree which thou curſed'ſt, is withered away.* Jeſus reply'd, That he had in this Miracle ſhewed them what is the Strength of a ſound and ſaving Faith, which if they laboured to get, they ſhould be able to do greater Miracles than this; not to blaſt Fig-trees, but to remove Mountains, and maſter all Difficulties in the Work of their Miniſtry: For God, he aſſured them, would always aſſiſt them with his Power, if they made their Prayers in Faith to him.

Two Days before the Paſſover, *Jeſus*, [o] after his Return from *Jeruſalem*, ſupp'd with *Simon* the Leper at *Bethany*; where, while he ſat at Meat, the Woman anointed his Head with Spikenard, and he entertained his Diſciples with a Diſcourſe concerning the Perſon that ſhould betray him into the Hands of thoſe who ſought his Life; telling them, That tho' he had been ſo kind and good a Maſter to them all, yet one of them was of that treacherous and diabolical Temper as to betray him, which he was ſo ſenſible of from that Scripture, which ſays, *He that eateth Bread with me, hath lift up his Heel againſt me*, that he willingly ſubmitted to it as the Decree and Order of Heaven. *Peter* hearing ſo plain an Intimation that one of them, the Twelve Apoſtles, ſhould be ſo great a Traitor, was very deſirous to know who it was, poſſibly that he might, by Arguments or Menaces, deter him from ſo horrid an Attempt; and ſeeing *John* the beloved Diſciple leaning upon *Jeſus*'s Boſom, beckoned to him, that he ſhould aſk *Jeſus* who it was. *John* accordingly put the Queſtion, and receiv'd this Anſwer, That he would give a Sop to the Perſon that ſhould do it; and having dipp'd a Sop in the Diſh, he gave it to *Judas*; withal telling him, how horrid an Impiety it was to betray his Lord and Maſter, and how great a Puniſhment he ſhould ſuffer if he did it: *It had been much better for him that he had never been born*, than that he ſhould be made ſo miſerable for that Fact. But this kind Admonition not prevailing over his Covetouſneſs, *Jeſus* left him in the Power of the Temptation, and *Satan* immediately enter'd into him, filling his Heart with a full Reſolution to complete his bloody Deſign; ſo that he immediately

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[l] Matth. xix. 16——30. Mark x. 17—31. Luke xviii. 18—30.

[m] John xi. 55. Joh. i. 29. Joh. xii. 1. Joh. xi. 18, 43, 44. Matth. xxi. 17, 18.

[n] Mark xi. 20—23. 12, 13, 14.

[o] Mark xxvi. 6——13. Mark xiv. 3——9. John xiii. 18——38.

ately went out, and made an Agreement with the *Jews* to deliver *Jeſus* to them.

When *Judas* was gone, *Jeſus* entertain'd his Diſciples with a Diſcourſe relating to his Treaſon, ſaying, *Now ſhall I, who have hitherto appear'd like a mortal Man in a State of Humiliation, paſs into the Glory of my Divine Eſſence, and by my Actions gain Honour to God my Father; who, in Conſideration of the Glory I ſhall acquire to him, will immediately tranſlate me to the full Fruition of himſelf, and crown me with all the Beams of Divine Majeſty. I muſt ſhortly leave you, my Diſciples, whom I love, and am as tender of as Parents of their own Babes. You may, and doubtleſs will, deſire my Preſence; but as I cannot ſtay with you, ſo neither can you go along with me. And in the Words of a Parting Friend, let me engage you ſo to live in mutual Love one with another, that ye may be known to be my Diſciples from Men of all other Religions and Profeſſions, by this Badge, that ye are the greateſt Lovers one of another.* *Peter*, whoſe Zeal to his Maſter often outſtriped his Conſideration, hearing *Jeſus* ſpeak of his going from them, aſks him, *Whither he would go?* Jeſus reply'd, *It is in vain to tell thee now; for you are not able to follow me at preſent, though perhaps you may be hereafter.* *Peter* ſaid unto him, *Why haſt thou ſuch a mean Opinion of me, that I cannot follow thee? Is there any Paths more affrighting than the Valley of the Shadow of Death? And through thoſe black Shades I am willing to follow thee.* Jeſus anſwered, *Thou ſpeakeſt valiantly and cordially; but alas! thou knoweſt not thy own Strength, nor the Deceitfulneſs of thy own Heart; for I foreſee, that when I am brought into the Hands of my Enemies, the Cock ſhall not crow twice, till thou haſt deny'd me thrice.*

After [p] Supper was ended, *Jeſus*, having in Mind his Departure, that he was now going to God, where he ſhould take Poſſeſſion of all Power in Heaven and Earth, and ſhould never have an Opportunity of giving his Diſciples an Example of this Nature, reſolved to give them a Patern of that Humility, which would exalt them to that Place, whither he was going before them; and therefore, being riſen from Table, he putteth off his Garment, girded himſelf with a Towel, and having put Water into a Baſon, went to waſh his Diſciples Feet, beginning with *Peter*. *Peter*, amaz'd at ſuch Condeſcenſion, refuſed reſolutely at firſt: But when *Jeſus* told him, that he had a more Spiritual and Holy Intention in it, and that unleſs he were waſhed, he could have no Part or Portion in him; *Peter* ſubmitted, and deſired he would waſh him in all Parts, if that might ſecure his Intereſt in him. But *Jeſus* told him, 'Twas ſufficient that his Feet be waſhed. Then *Jeſus* waſhed the Feet of *Peter*, and alſo of the reſt of the Diſciples; which when he had done, and put on his Garments again, he ſat down and gave them the Reaſon of this Action; telling them, that he intended it for nothing but to be an Example of the moſt condeſcending Humility to them; that ſince he, who was juſtly acknowledged to be their Lord and Maſter, had ſtooped ſo low as to waſh their Feet, they ſhould think it no Diſparagement to them to ſtoop to the meaneſt Offices of Charity and Love one to another: For though they were exalted to the Dignity of his Apoſtles, yet they were but his Servants; and it would be audacious Pride for them to take more State and Grandeur upon them, than they ſaw their Lord had.

The Morning of the Day of unleavened Bread, when the Paſſover was to be killed, the Diſciples, knowing their Maſter was careful in obſerving this Solemnity, deſired him to tell them in what Houſe he would keep it. Whereupon *Jeſus* [q] ſent two of their Body, *Peter* and *John*, to prepare it for him at *Jeruſalem*, in a fair convenient Room: To which they were directed by a Man carrying a Pitcher of Water to the Houſe. Here they having made all Things ready for that ſolemn Service, *Jeſus* came in the Evening with his twelve Diſciples, and eat the Paſſover; which, becauſe it was his laſt, he was very deſirous to celebrate with them before he ſuffered. As they were eating of it, he diſcourſed to them of ſeveral important Matters about his own Sufferings, and the Glories of his Father's Kingdom: And becauſe he ſaw that *Satan* had deſigned to aſſault *Peter* with a violent Temptation, and try whether his over-confident Boaſting of his Adherence to *Chriſt* in his Sufferings would prove ſincere, [r] *Jeſus* gave *Peter* a Caution of it, that he might fore-arm himſelf againſt it; ſaying to this Effect, Simon, Simon, Satan *hath deſired to have you in his Power, that he may ſift you like Wheat:* And though it could not ſtand with my Honour to exempt you from a Trial, leſt *Satan* ſhould brand you for an Hypocrite, or think my Kingdom not able to withſtand his Invaſions; yet, *I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not:* And I doubt not but tho' thou may'ſt be foil'd, thou ſhalt not be overcome; and when thou haſt recover'd thy Strength, confirm and encourage thy Brethren, who ſhall fall under the like Aſſaults." *Peter* again aſſured his Maſter of his firm Adherence to him, and told him, That *Satan* ſhould in vain uſe all his Arts againſt him, for he was *ready to go with him both into Priſon and to Death.* But *Jeſus* knowing his Weakneſs, repeated again to him that prophetic Speech; That that Night, before the Cock crew twice, he would thrice deny that he knew him. [s] After the Paſchal Supper was over, *Jeſus* appointed that excellent Sacrament of the Euchariſt, to be continued in his Church for an everlaſting Memorial of his Goodneſs and Love, in dying for Mankind, to redeem them from the Power of Sin and Hell.

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[p] John. xiii. 36, 37, 38.

[q] Luke xxii. 7——13. Matth. xxvi. 17, 18, 19. Mark xiv. 12——16.

[r] Luke xxii. 31——34.

[s] Matth. xxvi. 26——29. Mark xxii. 25. Luke xix. 19, 20.

After *Jeſus* had thus celebrated the religious Rites of the Paſſover, and inſtituted the ſacred Memorials of his Death, he [t] went from the Houſe where he was, over the Brook *Cedron*, into a Garden at *Gethſemane*, which lay at the Foot of the *Mount of Olives*, where he us'd always to retreat himſelf for his private Devotion, when he was at *Jeruſalem* or thereabouts. His Diſciples attended him thither: And becauſe he was, as it were, to begin here the horrid Tragedy of his Sufferings for Man's Sins, he ordered eight of the Diſciples to ſtay at the Entrance into the Garden, commanding them to join their Prayers with his; and that while he withdrew a little way for his private Devotion to God, they ſhould pray to God, that thoſe Sufferings which for his Sake they ſhould be ſhortly involved in, might not overpower or overcome them. Having given the eight Diſciples this Charge, he took *Peter*, *James*, and *John* along with him, to be Witneſſes of, and Comforters to him in, that great Agony that he knew was coming upon him: And retreating ſome Diſtance from the reſt, he told them as he went, That *his Soul was exceeding ſorrowful, even unto Death*; that he might awaken their Care and Vigilancy for him in ſo deplorable a Condition. Being compos'd to the ſerious Thoughts of an humble Supplicant to his Father, he felt in himſelf an extreme Conflict between the Fleſh and the Spirit; the human Nature in him, as well as other Men, unwillingly yielding to the Thoughts of Death. For this reaſon he pray'd earneſtly to his Father, to whom all things were poſſible, That he would remove, if it might conſiſt with his Heavenly Wiſdom, the bitter Cup of his Death from him. And when he had thus pray'd, he came to his Diſciples, doubtleſs expecting ſome Comfort from them in his Sorrow; but they, overwhelmed alſo with Grief, were fallen aſleep. *Jeſus* awakened them, and, with a mild Reproof, ſaid unto *Peter*; *What, could you not watch with me one Hour?* You who but juſt now were ſo full of Profeſſions of what you would do and ſuffer for me, even to the Loſs of Life itſelf, cannot you forego a little Sleep for me who am inſtantly to be taken from you? Surely, if you had no Concern for me, yet the Dangers you are like to fall into within a few Hours, call for your Vigilancy and earneſt Prayer, that God would ſupport you under ſo many Temptations as you will meet with: For *tho' your Spirits be willing*, your Minds well affected to me, and you think you can ſuffer with me and for me; *yet the Fleſh is weak*, and will be apt to ſeduce you to an Apoſtacy, rather than yield itſelf to Tortures and Afflictions." *Jeſus* then withdrew, and pray'd again to the ſame Effect, falling into ſo great an Agony, at the repeated Thoughts of his Sufferings, that his Sweat which fell from his Body was like Drops of Blood: And his Soul was ſo intolerably loaden with Grief, that ſince his Diſciples neglected that Office, an Angel was ſent from Heaven, to comfort him; and, by repreſenting to him the great Benefits that would accrue to all Mankind, take off that Averſeneſs to Death which his Humanity rais'd up in him. He then chearfully ſubmitted to the Divine Will; ſaying, *O my Father, if this Cup may not paſs away from me, except I drink it, thy Will be done:* I am very well contented that my Will ſhould give place to thine, tho' I ſuffer never ſo much."

Scarce had the Godhead in *Jeſus* diſpelled the Cloud of Fear and Terror, which the Humanity had rais'd in the Soul, but the Diſciples were effectually rouſed from their Sleep by *Judas*, their treacherous Aſſociate, who came to [u] apprehend *Jeſus* with a Band of Soldiers from the Chief Prieſt, and by a Kiſs diſcover'd him to them. His Diſciples, unwilling to leave him in their Hands, asked him, Whether they ſhould reſcue him from his Enemies by dint of Arms? And *Peter*, not waiting for an Anſwer, began to attempt it, ſmiting one of the buſieſt of the Company, *Malchus*, a Servant of the High Prieſt, and cutting off his Ear. But *Jeſus*, who could have ſav'd himſelf from all the Strength and Policy of Men and Devils, either by his own Power, or by his Heavenly Hoſt of Angels, who at his Word would have attended his Command in whole Legions; ſoon diſcovered to *Peter* his Error, and forbad them all to attempt any Thing that way; telling them, That they could not ſtand up lawfully in his Defence, unleſs they would incur the Penalty of fighting againſt God, by whoſe Will alone it was that he ſuffered; and to make good whoſe Veracity, diſcovered in ſo many Prophecies in Holy Scripture, it was that he was left in the Power of thoſe malicious Inſtruments of *Satan*. Then he craved the Patience of the Officers a little while, and miraculouſly healed the wounded Perſon before them all. *Jeſus* having thus deprived his Diſciples of all preſent Means of their Security by Oppoſition, they made uſe of the only Means that remained, which was Flight; and ſo leaving him, fled for their own Safety.

Jeſus being now in the Power of the Soldiers, was led by them to the High Prieſt's Palace, where the great Sanhedrim of *Jeruſalem* was aſſembled: Not to condemn him to Death, for the *Jews* [w] had no Power in Capital Matters at that Time; but that by examining of him, and producing their Witneſſes, they might form ſuch an Accuſation againſt him, as ſhould be ſure to prove fatal when he came to be tried before *Pilate*, the *Roman* Governor of *Judea* at that Time. *Peter*, whoſe Fears had driven him to fly from his Maſter in the Garden, having a little recovered his Spirits, and hoping to paſs undiſcovered among the Throng which was gathered on this Occaſion, [x] ventured into the Crowd to ſee how they would deal with his Maſter, and by the Intereſt of a Fellow-Diſciple was admitted into the High Prieſt's Palace.

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[t] Matth. xxvi. 36—46. Mark xiv. 32—42. Luke xxii. 40—46. John xviii. 1, 2.

[u] Matth. xxvi. 47—56. Mark xiv. 43—52. Luke xxii. 47—53. John 18. 3—11.

[w] John xviii. 31.

[x] Matth. xxvi. 55—75. Mark xiv. 55—72. Luke xxii. 58—62. John xviii. 19—27.

Here *Peter* heard the Examination, ſaw the Indignities, and to his great Grief beheld the Condemnation of his Maſter. It being cold Weather, he placed himſelf near the Fire, among the Servants and Officers: Where he had not been long, but the Maid who let him in, looking earneſtly upon him, charged him with being one of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples. This *Peter* roundly denied before all the Company, poſitively affirming, that *he knew him not.* Hence he withdrew into the Porch, where he heard the *Cock crow:* Enough one would think, to have awakened his Conſcience to a Senſe of his Duty, and reminded him of the Proteſtations he had made of unalterable Fidelity to his Maſter. In the Porch, another of the Maids attacked him with the ſame Challenge, that *he was one of them that had been with* Jeſus *of* Nazareth: But he replied again with an Oath, that he had no Acquaintance with him. About an Hour after, a third Perſon, a Kinſman of *Malchus*, whoſe Ear *Peter* had cut off, peremptorily affirmed, that he had ſeen him in the Garden where *Jeſus* was apprehended; and obſerved, that *his very Speech betrayed him to be a* Galilean. *Peter* now grew more outrageous in his Denial, and ratified his Aſſeveration with a vehement Curſe, that he never had any Communication with the Man they ſpoke of. One of the Antients, St. *Ambroſe*, alleviates the Sin of St. *Peter*'s Denial thus: *He did well to deny him to be a Man, whom he knew to be God.* But St. *Jerom* ſhews, that this Excuſe, however well meant, is a lame and trifling one. Certainly the beſt Apology that can be made for *Peter*, is, that he quickly repented of this great Sin: For no ſooner had he done, but the *Cock crew again*; at which Intimation our Saviour turn'd about, and earneſtly looked upon him: A Look which pierced him to the very Heart, and awaken'd him as out of a deep Sleep, with the Remembrance of what he had once and again forewarn'd him of, that he would abjure him in ſuch a foul and ſhameful manner as he had now done. This [y] filled his Heart with the Paſſions of Shame, and Grief, and Indignation, too impetuous for him to contain; he runs out of the Door to give them vent, and *weeps bitterly*; endeavouring in ſome meaſure to waſh out the Stain of his otherwiſe indelible Sin by a Flood of Tears; and to prevent the Wrath of God, by taking a ſpeedy Revenge upon himſelf: As, indeed, the only way to avert God's Judgments, is to erect a Tribunal in our own Breaſts. *For,* as St. *Paul* obſerves, *if we would judge ourſelves, we ſhould not be judged.*

SECT. IV.

Peter *is informed of our Saviour's Reſurrection, of which he gives Notice to the other Apoſtles.* Chriſt *appears to* Peter. Peter, *fiſhing with his fellow Apoſtles, ſwims to* Jeſus *on the Shore. Declares his Love to* Jeſus *thrice. Enquires concerning* John's *Death. Propoſes the electing of an Apoſtle in the room of* Judas. *Preaches at the Feaſt of* Pentecoſt, *after the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, and converts three thouſand Souls.*

THE Shame and Grief of *Peter*'s foul Crime, quenched his fiery Zeal ſo much, that tho' no Man reſented more deeply the Sufferings of *Chriſt*, yet he never durſt venture himſelf among his Lord's Perſecutors, nor ſhew himſelf in his Maſter's Sight, but confined himſelf to a long and penſive Grief for his own Sin and his Lord's Sufferings. We therefore hear no more of him from this Time, till after our Lord was riſen from the Dead. On the [a] Morning of the Reſurrection, *Mary Magdalene*, and other devout Women, who had been early at the Sepulchre, came and told *Peter* where they had been, and that they had not found their Maſter's Body; but that two Angels had appeared to them, and told them that he was riſen, ſhewing them the Place where his Body lay, and chiding them as it were for their Ignorance, in ſeeking the Living among the Dead; and that they had withal charged them, that they ſhould tell *Peter* and the other Apoſtles, that *Jeſus* was riſen, and was gone before them into *Galilee*, where they ſhould ſee him. *Peter*, at this Meſſage, began to receive ſome Hopes of Pardon, and to think that he was not wholly diſcarded the divine Favour; becauſe he was particularly named by the Angels, and commanded to attend upon his Maſter. Wherefore going to the Sepulchre in all haſte, that he might confirm his Faith in the Truth of what was but probably related to him by the Women, and finding it to be indeed as they had related it to him, he believed the Truth of their Relation, but yet was in ſome doubt how he could appear to them in *Galilee*, becauſe he did not as yet underſtand the Scriptures, that *Jeſus* muſt riſe again from the Dead. Then *Peter*, and the beloved Diſciple *John*, who accompanied him, returned to their own Homes. [b] But *Mary Magdalen*, one of thoſe Women who brought the News to *Peter*, and went along with him again to the Sepulchre, ſtaid there after he was gone, weeping and lamenting for the Loſs of her Lord's Body, and looking into the Sepulchre where it was laid.

While *Mary* remained in this great Anguiſh of Mind, *Jeſus*, who loves to comfort Mourners, appeared to her, and commanded her to go and tell his Diſciples, whom he called by the endearing Term of *Brethren*, that he was alive, and ſhould ſhortly aſcend to his and their Father, and God. *Mary* went immediately and told the Diſciples that ſhe had ſeen the Lord, and what he ſaid unto her: But they did not believe it, till on the [c] ſame Day he appeared to *Peter* alone, to comfort him under his Grief, and to aſſure him of his Favour and Acceptance upon his Repentance. This Appearance began to engage the Faith of the Diſciples to the Belief of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, becauſe of the Piety and Courage of that Diſciple; who, as he would not deceive them, ſo he was not ſubject to thoſe womaniſh Fears, which are apt to create Spectres in their Minds: And therefore they [d] then held it for a firm Truth, that the Lord was riſen indeed, and had appeared unto *Simon*; but yet their Faith ſtill was very wavering about ſo ſtrange an Article, till *Jeſus*, by ſeveral Appearances to them, and ſatisfying *Thomas*'s Incredulity, made it as evident and certain, as the cleareſt and moſt certain Demonſtration.

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[y] ——————æſtuat ingens
Uno in corde dolor, mixtoque inſania luctu.

[a] Matth. xxviii. 1——8. Mark xvi. 1——11. Luke xxiv. 1—12. John xx. 1—9.

[b] Mark xvi. 9——11. John xx. 12——18.

After *Jeſus* had given ſufficient Proofs of his Reſurrection, and convinced his Diſciples of the Truth of it; he appeared not ſo commonly to them as at firſt, but now and then, as he ſaw juſt Cauſe, for forty Days together. One of the moſt famous of his Appearances was that at the Sea of *Tiberias*, of which St. *John* gives us a large and particular Account. [e] After the Apoſtles, by *Jeſus*'s Command, were gone into *Galilee*, *Peter*, not ſeeing any good Grounds why he might not ſtill follow his Trade of Fiſhing for a neceſſary Support of Life, invited ſome of his Fellow-Diſciples to go a fiſhing with him, namely, *Thomas*, *Nathaniel*, *James*, *John*, and two other Diſciples. Accordingly they went out immediately; but ſpent that Night in a fruitleſs Labour, catching nothing. Early in the Morning, a grave Perſon, unknown to them, appeared upon the Shore; and, as if he were ſome hungry Traveller, aſked them, *Whether they had any Meat?* But when they denied, he bad them caſt their Net on the Right Side of the Ship, and they ſhould find: Which having done, they incloſed ſuch a Multitude of Fiſh, that they were not able to draw it up, nor did they but with difficulty drag it to Shore. *John*, the beloved Diſciple, who ſaw the ſame miraculous Power in this Draught, which they ſo much wondered at when *Jeſus* called them to be conſtant Attendants and Diſciples, ſaid preſently to *Peter*, *It is the Lord*. *Peter* hearing that, and impatient of any Delay that kept him from being preſent with his Lord, would not ſtay to be rowed, but caſt himſelf into the Sea, and ſwam to the Shore. The other Diſciples remained in the Ship, which was not far from the Land; and, with much Toil, drew the Ship aſhore full of great Fiſhes. When they were all landed, they found a ſufficient Repaſt of Fiſh ready broiled upon the Coals; and *Jeſus* invited them to Dinner, giving them Bread and Fiſh to eat; which they accepted from his Hands, but durſt not aſk who he was, knowing that it was *Jeſus*.

After they had all din'd, *Jeſus* himſelf eating with them, he propounded this Queſtion to St. *Peter*, as the Repreſentative of all his Diſciples, whom now he was to ſend into all Parts of the World to preach his Goſpel, and build up his Church; *Simon, Son of* Jonas, *loveſt thou me* [f] *more than theſe thy Fellow-Diſciples?* He made this Anſwer, *Lord, thou knoweſt, that, notwithſtanding my former Denial of thee, which proceeded not from my Judgment, but my Fears, I do ſincerely love thee: Men may ſuſpect the Sincerity of my Faith, but thou knoweſt my Heart.* Jeſus then ſaid unto him, *Feed my Lambs, and ſhew thy Love to me, in not only diligently and carefully inſtructing and governing the Converts of my Church, but in dealing tenderly with ſuch as are Babes, and of weaker Capacities, condeſcending to their Infirmities and Weakneſs.* *Jeſus* then put the ſame Queſtion again to him twice; not that he doubted of the Sincerity of his firſt Anſwer, but that he might give his fellow Diſciples as much Reaſon to believe his Faith and Love towards *Chriſt* to be ſincere, from a triple Aſſertion of it with Zeal and Sorrow, as they had to ſuſpect him of any Unſoundneſs in the Faith, from his threefold Denial of him, tho' with Oaths and Imprecations: And that he might give them a ſatisfactory Aſſurance of *Peter*'s Faith and Love to him, he foretels, That he ſhould glorify God by his Sufferings for the Goſpel, being led by Force and Violence to Priſons and Death, according to the Example of Patience and Tolerance, which he had given; for though he had indeed once groſly lapſed, now he would hold out to the End, and by his Perſeverance and Sufferings bring Honour to God. *Peter* was well pleaſed to drink the bitter Cup, and make his Confeſſion of Faith as public as his Denial was, if by that Means he might attone for his former Sin. And [g] ſeeing *John* following, he then aſked, what would be his Fate, and whether he, who had been the Object of his Maſter's Love in his Life-Time, ſhould not have as honourable a Death as he that had ſhamefully denied him? *Jeſus* replied, *It doth not concern thee to know how I will diſpoſe Events to him: He ſhall ſee the Deſtruction of the* Jewiſh *Nation, and then ſhall die in Peace.*

Within a few Days after this Appearance, *Jeſus* [h] ſummoned his Diſciples to Mount *Olivet*, which is about a Mile from *Jeruſalem*; and there having enjoined them to remain at *Jeruſalem*, till he ſhould ſend down the Holy Ghoſt upon them, according to his Promiſe, to qualify them for the Execution of the Miniſterial Function, which he before inaugurated them to, he bid them finally adieu, and in their Sight *aſcended up to Heaven, where he ſitteth at the Right Hand of God. Peter* and the reſt of the Apoſtles ſtood looking up to Heaven till he was out of their Sight, probably not without Hopes of his Return again: But while they were thus intent upon the Proſpect, two Angels in white Clothing told them, That their Expectations of their Maſter's Return to them again were vain: He was gone, and would never return again till the Day of Judgment. The Apoſtles hearing this, went immediately to *Jeruſalem*, [i] and, that they might prepare themſelves for the Reception of that Holy Spirit which they were ſhortly to receive, they ſpent their time in continual Devotion, in ſome upper Room, which was dedicated by them to the Service of God: [k] Not in the Temple certainly, but in the Houſe of ſome Chriſtian, according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*, who often had Oratories on the Tops of their Houſes for Prayer. In a full Congregation of Chriſtians, no leſs than an hundred and twenty, who were met here on a certain Day, *Peter*, as Prolocutor to the reſt, conſidering that *Jeſus* had appointed twelve whom he had deſigned to be Witneſſes of his Reſurrection, and to preach his Goſpel, told the Company he thought it neceſſary for them to proceed to an Election of a fit Perſon into the Place of *Judas*, who had deſervedly ſuffered the Puniſhment of his Treachery by his own Hands. One of thoſe, he ſaid, that had been conſtant Auditors, and Attendants upon *Chriſt*, while he lived upon Earth, ſhould be ſolemnly ordained into their Number, to be together with them a Witneſs of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection. The whole Aſſembly aſſented to the Propoſition, and they immediately pitched upon two of the fitteſt Perſons, [l] *Barnabas* and *Matthias*, praying to God that he would direct the Lots, which they were about to caſt for the Deciſion of this Matter, to him, that was really the fitteſt: For he knew the Hearts of Men, and could only determine which of them was worthieſt of his Choice, and fitteſt for that Miniſtry. So then they caſt the Lots, and it fell upon *Matthias*, and he was numbered among the eleven Apoſtles.

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[c] St. Paul, mentioning his ſeveral Appearances after his Reſurrection, ſeems to make this the firſt of them, *That he was ſeen of* Cephas, 1 *Cor.* xv. Not that this was ſimply the firſt, ſays St. Chryſoſtom upon the Place, for the Women had ſeen him before, but Peter was the firſt of the Men. So the Apoſtles told the Diſciples that came from Emmaus, *The Lord is riſen, and hath appeared unto* Simon; which probably intimates, that it was before his appearing to thoſe two Diſciples. This was agreeable to the merciful Nature of our Lord, thus early to ſhew himſelf to this poor diſconſolate Penitent, to comfort him under his bitter Sorrow for his late Fall, and to give him Aſſurances of a gracious Pardon.

[d] Mark xvi. 14. Luke xxiv. 34. John xx. 19——29. Matth. xxviii. 16——18.

[e] John xxi. 1——23.

[f] This Queſtion is capable of a twofold Interpretation; *more than theſe, i. e.* thy Nets and Fiſhing-Boats. If ſo, leave them, and apply thy ſelf wholly to feed my Flock: Or *more than theſe* may be underſtood of the reſt of the Diſciples. *Doſt thou love me better than they do?* We prefer the latter Interpretation.

[g] John xxi. 21.

[h] Luke 24 49. Acts i. 4——18.

[m] Ten Days after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, and on the Feaſt of the *Jews* called *Pentecoſt*, the Apoſtles, and the other Chriſtians, who had continued ever ſince the Aſcenſion in the moſt ſolemn Devotion, but without any extraordinary Revelation, were aſſembled together in their uſual Place of Meeting. As they were employ'd in their holy Duties, there came a ſudden Wind from Heaven, both loud and boiſterous, and filled the Place where they were ſitting and hearing the Word of God. With the Wind came alſo [n] *cloven Tongues, as it were of Fire, and ſat upon each of them.* That is, perhaps, a fiery Vapor, or Exhalation, which being formed by the Divine Power into the Figure of a Man's Tongue, *divided* at the Tip, and ſat upon the Head of each of them; To repreſent the Gifts which God at that Time beſtowed upon them by the Effuſion of his Spirit: For they immediately began to ſpeak with ſuch Tongues as they never had learned, and were able to preach the wonderful Words of God in redeeming Mankind, in all thoſe Languages which their Auditors in all Parts of the World might beſt underſtand. And of this they gave immediate Demonſtration: For the Rumour of this Miracle being diſperſed through *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt, where Proſelytes and *Jews* of [o] all Nations were met at the Solemnity; they went all promiſcuouſly to ſee and hear them, and were filled with wonder to behold that Men illiterate and ignorant, who had had their Education and Abode in *Galilee* all their Lives, could ſpeak the Languages of their ſeveral Countries, as intelligibly and fluently as themſelves, to whom they were natural; and could not but reflect upon the Intent and Deſign of it, as portending ſomething extraordinary.

But the Phariſees and Scribes, deſirous to elude this Miracle, or at leaſt not willing to believe it, tho' atteſted by ſo many Witneſſes, gave it out, that it was the Effect of Drink, and that having drank too freely of new Wine, they talked wildly and confuſedly. When *Peter* heard this, he was moved at ſo ſlanderous a Charge, and ſtanding up, made their Defence in Words to this Effect; *That the Suppoſition was very groundleſs and unreaſonable, ſince it was ſo early in the Morning, not above Nine o'Clock, and ſince, according to the Cuſtom of that Feſtival Solemnity, they did not eat nor drink ſo ſoon: But this miraculous Thing* he told them, *was produced by the Effuſion of the Holy Spirit, long ago foretold by the* [p] *Prophet* Joel, *who had propheſied that* in the laſt Days, that is, *under the Kingdom of the Meſſiah,* God would pour out of his Spirit upon all Fleſh, and that their Sons and Daughters ſhould propheſy, their young Men ſee Viſions, and their old Men dream Dreams. *This undeniable Miracle*, continued he, *was an invincible Demonſtration that* Jeſus *was the true*

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[i] Acts i. 12——26.

[k] Dr. Hammond, and ſome other Learned Writers, from the Tranſlation of Eν τῶ ἱερῶ, Luke xxiv. 53. *in the Temple*, have thought that the Ὑπερωον in which the Apoſtles and Diſciples met in the Interval between the Aſcenſion and Pentecoſt, was ſome Chamber of the Temple; but ſince 'tis very improbable, that the Prieſts and Maſters of the Temple, who had thoſe Chambers for their Uſe, ſhould permit thoſe whom they hated ſo mortally to meet there, thoſe Words are better underſtood of the Action than of the Place.

[l] The Fathers do generally aſſert them to have been two of the moſt eminent of the ſeventy Diſciples.

[m] Acts ii. 1.

[n] *Cloven*, to denote the Variety of Languages which the Apoſtles ſhould ſpeak; and *fiery*, to repreſent their Zeal in preaching; as alſo that divine Light which they ſhould impart to others, and that Purity and Holineſs wherewith they ſhould be adorned.

[o] St. Luke names fifteen ſorts of Strangers, who upon the Report of this miraculous Power, came to the Aſſembly of the Chriſtians, and were aſtoniſhed to hear, every one, his Country Language wherein he was educated, and that from Men of no Literature or acquired Skill in theſe Matters.

[p] Joel ii. 28.

Meſſiah: For though they had by their bloody and malicious Contrivances put him to an ignominious Death, having crucified and ſlain him; yet as it was done by the ſpecial Permiſſion of Heaven, ſo had God raiſed him from the Dead; as he had promiſed by David, *that* he would not leave his Soul in Hell, nor ſuffer his Holy One to ſee Corruption: *That he was not only riſen from the Dead, but aſcended in Heaven, according to the ſame Royal Prophet's Prediction: That he was* to ſit at God's Right Hand, until his Enemies were made his Foot-ſtool: *That therefore the whole Houſe of* Iſrael *ought to be aſſured, that this very* Jeſus *whom they had crucified, was the Meſſiah, or* Chriſt *of God, and Saviour of his People.*

Theſe Words of *Peter* cauſed many of the *Jews* to reflect upon their Cruelty uſed againſt *Jeſus*, and to look upon themſelves as obnoxious to Divine Vengeance for that bloody Fact. Whereupon they asked *Peter*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, *What they might do to eſcape ſo deſerved a Wrath? Whether there were any Hopes of Pardon?* Hereupon *Peter* replied, That though their Sin was great, and deſerved the Wrath of God; yet if they would repent of their Impiety, and be baptized in the Name of *Jeſus*, they ſhould not only have this Sin, and their other leſſer Offences, forgiven them, but ſhould be equal Sharers in the Graces of God's Holy Spirit with themſelves; becauſe the Promiſe belonged to them and their Children, and to all that ſhould hereafter believe on *Chriſt*. And this he the more earneſtly exhorted them to do, becauſe a bitter Fate would ſhortly fall upon that wicked and impenitent Generation, from which nothing could ſecure them, but their hearty Repentance. Theſe Words many of them received with Joy, and gladly embracing that Opportunity of ſaving themſelves from the Wrath to come, were baptized; and ſo the Church was increaſed by this Diſcourſe to the Number of three thouſand Souls; whoſe Converſion, that is was not hypocritical, but ſincere and ſound, their Perſeverance evidenced; for they continued both in the Doctrine and Fellowſhip of the Apoſtles, and with Devotion celebrated the Evangelical Duties of Prayers, Alms-giving, and Receiving the Sacrament, daily praiſing God. And now that which had been teſtified to *Peter* in the miraculous Draught of Fiſhes, and *Chriſt*'s Promiſe thereupon that he ſhould catch Men, began to be fulfilled.

The Fathers do [q] ſome of them aſſert, That St. *Stephen*, the Proto-Martyr, was one of thoſe who was converted at this firſt Sermon made by St. *Peter*. But though this may poſſibly be true, yet there is no Certainty of it.

SECT. V.

Peter *and* John, *going to the Temple, cure a Cripple. They are impriſoned. Their Anſwer to the* Jewiſh *Rulers.* Peter *diſcovers the Hypocriſy of* Ananias *and* Sapphira, *and inflicts Death on them. His Shadow cures Diſeaſes as he paſſes along. Defends himſelf and the other Apoſtles before the High Prieſt and Sanhedrim.* Stephen *ſtoned, and a Perſecution ſtirred up againſt the Church.* Peter *and* John *ſent to* Samaria, *to confirm the People converted by* Philip, *where they meet with* Simon Magus. *They preach in* Samaria.

WHILE the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* continued, the Apoſtles, who celebrated it with the ſame Devotion as the other *Jews*, frequented the Temple at the uſual Time of Divine Service. [a] And on a [b] certain Day, when *Peter* and *John* went to the Temple to pray, about three o'Clock in the Afternoon, (which was one of the *Jewiſh* Hours of Prayer, and the Time of their Evening-Service;) as they were about to enter into the Temple, a Man above forty years of age, who was lame from his Birth, and was laid [c] at the *Beautiful Gate* of the Temple to beg, hoping to find the moſt Charity where there appeared the moſt Devotion and Piety, asked an Alms of them as they paſſed by him. *Peter* and *John*, who had willing Minds and bountiful Hearts, though but weak Purſes, pitied not ſo much his Poverty as the miſerable Condition that made him ſubject to it; and therefore having raiſed his Expectation of an Alms, by bidding him look on them, *Peter* ſaid unto him, "That though he had no Money to relieve his bodily Wants, yet he had a Power in his Hand to do an higher Act of Charity to him, in curing him of his Lameneſs:" And immediately commanded him, in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt* of *Nazareth*, to ariſe and walk. The Words were no ſooner ſpoken, but he was cured of his Lameneſs: His diſtorted Bones became ſtraight, and his looſen'd Nerves and Sinews were made ſtrong. And being lifted up by *Peter*, he entered into the Temple with them, walking, leaping, and praiſing God. This great Miracle could not but be much taken notice of by thoſe holy Souls, who, by daily frequenting the Temple, were well acquainted with his Perſon and Condition. Theſe Men ſeeing the lame Man perfectly whole, were filled with Wonder and Amazement at ſo ſtrange a Cure; and being no leſs deſirous to ſee the Perſons who had wrought it, ran to them into [d] *Solomon's Porch*, where they were detained by the lame Man for that End, that all the People might know and admire ſuch extraordinary Perſons. *Peter* knowing that tho' he was the Inſtrument, yet he was not the Cauſe of this Cure, and being no ways willing to take the Honour of that to himſelf, which was due to *Jeſus*, took this Opportunity to magnify the Divine Nature of *Chriſt*, and in a pious Diſcourſe to prove that he was the Meſſiah: Telling them, "That this Cure was not wrought by their own Power and Holineſs. It was the glorious Work of that ſame *Jeſus*, whom they had deſtroyed and killed: By Faith in whoſe Name they were enabled to do ſuch wonderful Things as theſe were. For tho' indeed they had proſecuted him to Death, yet God had raiſed him again from the Dead, as they now atteſt, and made him ſo great in his Glory, that his very Name being pronounced by thoſe that believed in him, had thus given Soundneſs and Health to an impotent Man." He added, that "indeed they had committed a very great Sin in denying the Holy One and the Juſt, and ſhewed more Cruelty to him than the Heathens themſelves, who knew not God: For when *Pilate* would have let him go, becauſe he found no Crime in him; they, the *Jews*, out of Malice to him, obtained by their Importunity that he ſhould be put to Death, and a Murtherer ſaved. However, ſince they did it out of Ignorance of his Perſon, he doubted not but by their Repentance they might find Mercy. Wherefore he earneſtly exhorted them to repent of that wicked Fact eſpecially, and of all their other Sins, that they might have them expiated and forgiven, by the Merits and Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*; foraſmuch as they had a Title to the Promiſes made unto *Abraham*. And if they obeyed that Prophet, whom *Moſes* long ſince foretold ſhould be raiſed of their Brethren, and was in Truth the *Jeſus* of whom he now ſpoke, they might expect to ſhare in the Divine Favour by him: But if they diſobeyed him, they muſt periſh in that certain Overthrow which would come upon all their incredulous Brethren. They had the firſt Tenders of thoſe incomparable Bleſſings, which were derived to Mankind by him; and if they refuſed and rejected them, they ſhould ſuffer the deſerved Puniſhment of their Unbelief." This Diſcourſe had the deſired Effect upon his Auditors; and there was ſo great an Addition made to the Church, that the Number of Believers was [e] increaſed to five thouſand more than before.

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[q] Hil. in Mat. c. 17. p. 16. Ambr. hex. l. 5 c. p. 64.

[a] Acts iii. 6.

[b] Some think it was the ſame Day in which they received the Holy Ghoſt.

[c] Which probably led into the Court of the Gentiles.

[d] A ſtately Cloyſter about the Court of the Gentiles.

But while *Peter* was thus ſpeaking to the Multitude, the [f] Prieſts and *Sadducees*, whoſe Malice and Envy againſt the Growth of the Chriſtian Doctrine was greater than their Power, had inſinuated unto the *Roman* Captain, who commanded the [g] Garriſon about the Temple, that the Apoſtles Preaching tended to Sedition: Upon which Information the Centurion came againſt them with a military Force, and ſeizing them, put them into Priſon till the next Day, becauſe it was late, and they could not be examined that Night. [h] In the Morning following the great *Sanhedrim* met and ſummoned the Apoſtles before them. The Scripture names *Annas*, *Caiaphas*, *John*, and *Alexander*, as ſome of the buſieſt in the Action. The Pretence of Sedition was waved, becauſe groundleſs, and the whole Examination was reſolved into one ſingle Queſtion, "By what Power, or by what Name, they had made the Lame Man whole?" Not that they were ignorant of it, but that by making them diſown it through Fear, they might ſtumble the Belief of thoſe who were converted by the Miracle. But the Apoſtles, being filled with the Holy Ghoſt, according to [i] *Chriſt*'s Promiſe to them in ſuch Caſes, made this bold and reſolute Anſwer, yet paying due Reſpect to them as Governors; "That tho' they were ſet upon the Judgment Seat, and thought to terrify them as if they had been guilty of ſome great Crime; yet they could not be aſhamed of ſo good a Deed, as they had done to the impotent Man, nor of the Author and Cauſe of it. They did not take the Honour to themſelves, but attributed it to the true Cauſe. *Be it known unto you,* (they continued) *and to all the People of* Iſrael, *that it is in the Name of* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *the Perſon whom ye lately crucified, whom God reſtored to Life again, that this Man is here preſented before you, no longer a Cripple, but ſound and ſtrong. This* Jeſus *is the Stone ſpoken of by the Prophet, which you like unſkilful Builders have rejected; but God hath made him the Head of the Corner; neither is there Salvation in any other; for there is no other Name under Heaven given to Men, whereby we muſt be ſaved.*

The whole *Sanhedrim*, hearing this bold and clear Account of the Matter, from Perſons whom they knew to be unlearned and ignorant Men, much admired at it; and could not contradict the Truth of their Aſſertion, becauſe they knew them to be *Jeſus*'s Diſciples; and becauſe the lame Man, who was cured, was with them, and ready to atteſt the Truth of the Miracle: Wherefore being in great Suſpence and Doubt what to do with them, to prevent the ſpreading of the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, they commanded them to retire; and after a ſhort Conſultation among themſelves, it was reſolved to awe them into Silence, by ſtrictly charging them not to preach nor teach for the future in the Name of *Jeſus*. But *Peter* and *John*, not at all daunted at their Threats, told them, "That they ſhould not be careful to obey them in this Matter; that they had receiv'd a Command from God, to preach to all Nations what they had heard and ſeen; and they would appeal to themſelves, whether they ought to obey them rather than God." The Magiſtrates not regarding this Anſwer, back'd their Decree with more ſevere Threatnings, and ſo diſmiſſed them without any Puniſhment; not that they would have dealt ſo mildly with them of their own accord, but becauſe the People's Admiration ſo far reſtrained their Malice, as to keep them from doing any Harm to Men, who rather deſerved a Reward for their doing Good. The Apoſtles being thus diſmiſſed, returned to their Chriſtian Brethren, and gave them an Account of all that had paſſed, and how they had been treated by the *Sanhe-*

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[e] So is the Paſſage commonly underſtood; tho' it leaves room for another Interpretation, namely, That the whole Body of Believers now made up about five thouſand.

[f] Acts iv. 1.

[g] In Fort Antonia, which was built to over-look the Temple on the North-ſide.

[h] Acts iv. 5.

[i] Matth. x. 20.

drim at *Jeruſalem*: Which when they heard, they all with unanimous Hearts adreſſed themſelves to God, and prayed, "That ſince he was the Creator of all Things, and according to his infinite Wiſdom was pleaſed, as he had foretold by the Prophet *David*, to exerciſe his Church with Sufferings and Perſecutions, after the Example of their Lord and Maſter; he would grant them ſuch undaunted Boldneſs, that they might not for fear of Men be deterr'd from the ſpeaking of the Truth; and to make their Preaching ſtill more convincing, that he would continue to them the Power to work Miracles and Wonders in the Name of that Holy *Jeſus*, whoſe Faith they preached and ſuffered for." Theſe Petitions were no ſooner uttered, but God gave them a Sign, that their Prayer was heard: For the Houſe wherein they met was ſhaken, and they found themſelves repleniſhed with a new Spirit of Courage; inſtigating them, not only to encourage ſuch as believed already to continue in the Unity of the Faith, but to inſtruct others in the Doctrine of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, notwithſtanding the Menaces of the *Jewiſh* Rulers.

Among the ſeveral good Effects, which the Evangelical Preaching worked upon the Hearts of all that were converted, this was none of the leaſt, that they were filled with fervent Love and exuberant Charity one towards another. [k] Many of thoſe that believed were Poor; but ſuch was the Liberality of the Rich, that they freely communicated their Eſtates to them, ſelling them, and laying down the Price of them at the Apoſtles Feet, that they might equally diſtribute them to ſuch as had need, according to their Neceſſities. *Barnabas* particularly recommended his Charity, by the Sale of a large Eſtate he had in *Cyprus*.

[l] But *Ananias*, and *Sapphira* his Wife, hypocritically pretending to vie with the moſt charitable of their Brethren, while they cloſely gratified their own Avarice, became a fearful Example of diſſembling with God. For they having an Eſtate, and ſeeing the other Chriſtians freely giving all they had in common, thought it a ſhame for them to retain their Property, tho' it was lawful. Their Converſion would ſeem unſincere, and their Covetouſneſs, they imagined, be too evident. Wherefore they reſolved to ſell their Eſtate, and reſign it to the public Uſe; retaining only ſome Part of it, without the Knowledge of the Apoſtles, to themſelves; ſo making a ſhew of the ſame Charity with their Brethren, but ſecuring themſelves againſt all Fears of Want at the ſame Time. This cloſe Contrivance ſeemed well laid by *Ananias* and his Wife; but they ſoon found it but weak, when they came to bring their Offertory to the Apoſtles: For *Ananius* had no ſooner depoſited it, but *Peter*, by the Holy Ghoſt, ſeeing his Hypocriſy, immediately reproved him, ſaying, Ananias, *why hath* Satan *filled thy Heart to lye to the Holy Ghoſt, and to keep back part of the Price of the Land? Before it was ſold, was it not wholly at thine own Diſpoſal? And after it was dedicated to God, was it not in thy Power to have completely performed thy Vow? Why haſt thou ſuffered the Devil to inſtil ſo great Wickedneſs into thy Heart, as to endeavour to put ſuch a groſs Cheat upon the Church, which you ſaw to be actuated immediately by the Inſpiration and Power of the Holy Ghoſt? The Deception is not put upon Men, but upon God. Ananias* hearing theſe Words, was ſeized with ſuch dreadful Apprehenſions of the Divine Anger, that he inſtantly fell down dead on the Spot.

Sapphira was not preſent at the ſaid Accident, nor had ſhe heard any Thing of it; but coming in about three Hours after, and being guilty of the ſame Prevarication, was entertained by St. *Peter* with the ſame ſevere Reprimand, for conſpiring with her Huſband in ſo foul a Fact. She could not but confeſs the Matter, which ſhe ſaw was ſo diſtinctly known by St. *Peter*. Whereupon the Apoſtle having told her the Greatneſs of her Crime, in that ſhe had agreed with her Huſband to tempt the Holy Ghoſt; and that being in the ſame Guilt for which he had ſuffered Death, 'twas juſt ſhe ſhould fall under the ſame Puniſhment; he inflicted Death upon her, and ſhe was carried out by the ſame Bearers who had carried out her Huſband, and they were buried together. [m] Doubtleſs, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, the Fault of theſe Perſons was very great: But yet the Puniſhment inflicted on them was not ſo much for the Sin's ſake, as that it might be an Example of Terror to others, how they dare to falſify their religious Reſolutions and Purpoſes, play the Diſſemblers and Hypocrites with God, and make Religion a Cloke of Covetouſneſs and Avarice; nothing being more oppoſite to the Conſtitution of the Church, which is the Pillar and Ground of Truth, than Diſſimulation and Lying.

This [n] ſevere Infliction, which was certainly very ſeaſonable to maintain the Apoſtles Authority, had the intended Effect upon the Hearts of all the Believers; who upon this Account much feared the Apoſtles Power, and reverenc'd their Perſons, not daring to converſe familiarly with them. But the Apoſtles fearing leſt this Example ſhould hinder the Converſion of others, and knowing that the Power of *Chriſt* was thereby ſufficiently vindicated againſt falſe Brethren, turned their Thoughts again from Judgment to Mercy, and employed their Gifts more powerfully to do good, working many Signs and Wonders amongſt the People. And God gave them ſuch a ſanative Virtue, that the very Shadow of *Peter* cured the Sick that were laid in the Streets upon Beds and Couches, to be overſhadowed by him as he paſſed along. Theſe Miracles begat in the People a great Veneration for the Apoſtles and their Doctrine, and Believers were more and more added to the Lord, both Men and Women.

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[k] Acts iv. 34——37.

[l] Acts v. 1——10.

[m] Chryſ. ho. 12.

[n] Acts v. 11——16.

Theſe Things, being tranſacted moſtly in *Solomon*'s Porch, could not but alarm the [o] High-Prieſt and Heads of the *Sanhedrim*. They ſaw, to their great Grief, not only that their Prohibition was diſregarded by the Apoſtles, but that Chriſtianity got ground every Day by the Miracles and Preaching of theſe Men. Upon this they were highly incenſed with them; and having apprehended them, put them into the common Priſon; which was more than they had ever done before. But God, whoſe Work they were about, giving a Demonſtration that no human Power or Policy can put a Stop to his Divine Purpoſes and Decrees, ſent his Angel the Night following, who opening the Priſon-Doors, ſet them at Liberty, and ordered them to go on in their Miniſtry, and the next Day to preach in the Temple the Words of eternal Life. This Command the Apoſtles zealouſly performed; and entering into the Temple early in the Morning, taught the People.

The High-Prieſt and the Heads of the *Sanhedrim* were ignorant of their Deliverance, and therefore calling the Council together in the Morning, ſent their Officers to the Priſon, with a Command, that they ſhould bring the Apoſtles before them. But when they came to the Priſon, tho' there appeared no Signs of their Eſcape, (the Doors being ſhut faſt, and the Keepers ſtanding on their Guard,) yet they found not the Priſoners they ſought for. This Wonder not only aſtoniſhed the Officers, but the Council itſelf, when they heard it; inſomuch that they doubted what would be the Conſequence and Tendency of this Matter. They began to think 'twould be in vain to oppoſe the Progreſs of this Doctrine, in the Defence of which God appeared ſo eminently: Yet hearing that they were preaching the Goſpel in the Temple, they ſent the Captain of the Guard, and their own Officers, to bring them before them; but without Force or Compulſion, leſt they ſhould incenſe the People, and bring a Shower of Stones upon their Heads. When the Apoſtles were come before the Council, *Caiaphas* aſked them, How they ſtill dared to preach their Doctrine ſo boldly, when they had been ſo ſtrictly forbidden to do it? *Your Duty to us*, he told them, *as your Governors, obliges you to obey our Commands; but inſtead of that you have, by your Doctrine, taught the People that we have been Murtherers of the Meſſiah, and by ſo doing ſeem as if you deſign to make them revenge his Bood upon us.* Then *Peter*, in the Name of all the reſt, anſwered, “That tho' they confeſſed Obedience was due to God's Vicegerents, yet God is to be obeyed in the firſt Place, who had made them Witneſſes of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, whereby he declared him their Lord and Saviour, that was to give Repentance unto *Iſrael* and Remiſſion of Sins. And that tho' they endeavoured to ſilence them, yet they could not hold their Peace, nor ceaſe to publiſh theſe Truths which the Holy Ghoſt confirmed by ſo many Miracles.” Theſe Words, tho' pious and prudent, yet put *Caiaphas* and the reſt of the Rulers into ſuch a Paſſion, that they took up a Reſolution to put them to Death. Which Deſign they had executed, had not *Gamaliel*, a grave *Phariſee*, and a Doctor of the Law, a Man of great Reputation amongſt the People, after he had commanded the Apoſtles to withdraw, brought them to a better Temper by a prudent Speech made in their Behalf, wherein he adviſed the Council to be cautious in their Dealings with theſe Men, and not to uſe them as Criminals before they had well examined their Cauſe.— He told them, “That tho' the Apoſtles ſeemed to gather a Faction under the ſpecious Pretence of Religion, and erecting the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, (as *Judas* of *Galilee* and *Theudas* had lately done, whoſe Followers proved no better than ſeditious Routs;) yet there was no Way ſo ſafe to determine of the Truth of their Pretenſions, as to wait and expect the Event. *For if this Doctrine and Preaching*, ſays he, *be only an human Invention, it will fall of itſelf in Time; God will blaſt ſuch falſe Attempts: But if it be really what they boldly aſſert and juſtify by Miracles, 'twill be not only impertinent but impious to oppoſe it; for ye cannot overthrow it, and ye will be found even to fight againſt God himſelf.* The Force of theſe Reaſons, and the Mildneſs of the Speech, ſo far prevailed with the Judges of the Apoſtles, that they changed their raſh Sentence into a bodily Puniſhment; and having ſcourged them, diſmiſſed them with a Repetition of the former Injunction, that they ſhould not teach any more in the Name of *Jeſus*. The Apoſtles departed from them rejoicing; not that they had eſcaped Death, but that they were counted worthy to ſuffer Shame for the Name of *Jeſus*: Which holy Confidence, according to [p] St. *Chryſoſtom*, was a greater Miracle than any they had wrought. Nor did this hard Uſage diſcourage them from doing their Maſter's Work; *but daily in the Temple, and in every Houſe, they ceaſed not to teach and preach* Jeſus Chriſt.

But tho' *Gamaliel*'s Speech abated the Fury of the *Jews* againſt the Apoſtles for a while, yet their Hatred and Oppoſition to the Doctrine of *Chriſt* continued: They would by no means allow that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* was the *Chriſt*; and ſtrongly maintained it againſt the Chriſtians. [q] *Stephen*, a Perſon eminent for Piety and Wiſdom, engaged ſome of them about this Point, and managed the Diſpute ſo well againſt them, that they could not anſwer, tho' they would not be convinced by his Arguments. The Shame of being worſted ſtirred them up againſt his Perſon, and catching ſome Words from him in the Diſpute, which ſeemed to infer the Abrogation of *Moſes*'s Law and a Diſſolution of their Worſhip, they improved it to an heavy Accuſation of Blaſphemy, and brought him to his [r] Trial before the *Sanhedrin*, where they had it atteſted againſt him by two Falſe-witneſſes. [r] *Stephen* in an eloquent and pious Diſcourſe, made his Defence againſt the Charge; but vindicating his Doctrine, and blaming their Infidelity, in a more free manner than they were able to bear, he was without any formal Sentence ſtoned to Death. Nor did their Malice ſtop here, but they [s] ſtirred up a great Perſecution againſt the whole Church at *Jeruſalem*; to avoid the Severity of which, the Chriſtians were forced to fly into the adjoining Countries of *Judea* and *Samaria*, and few were left in that City, except the Apoſtles. In this Diſperſion, the Diſciples, who were zealous to propagate the Goſpel in all Places to which they came, preached to the People in all the Towns and Villages of thoſe Countries. [t] *Philip* the Deacon was driven to the City of *Samaria*, called at that time *Sebaſte*; and tho' the Apoſtles' Example ſeemed to confine the Preaching of the Goſpel to the *Jews* only, yet ſince our Saviour himſelf had imparted the Knowledge of his Coming to the *Samaritans*, and they were in ſome Senſe *Jews*, becauſe they obſerved the Law, and expected the Meſſiah, he thought it lawful for him to preach *Chriſt* unto them. The Divine Wiſdom gave Approbation to his Undertaking, and ſeconded his Preaching with many miraculous Works which he did, in caſting out unclean Spirits, and healing ſuch as were lame and ſick of the Palſy; by which he gained great Attention to his Doctrine, and won many over to the Faith, cauſing great Joy in the City. Among theſe Converts was one *Simon*, a famous Sorcerer, born at *Giton*, a Village not far from thence; who had by his Magical Illuſions ſo raiſed the Admiration of the common People, that they believed him *the great Power of God*, (for ſo he ſtiled himſelf, as [u] *Irenæus* tells us,) *the Father and Sovereign Deity, who is above all Things*. But this Man ſeeing his Admirers carried away by the Preaching and Miracles of St. *Philip*, which by his own Acknowledgment much excelled all his Magical Arts, pretended himſelf to be converted, and to believe in the Name of *Chriſt*, being baptized, and ſubmitting to all the Converſation of Chriſtians; [w] tho' his Heart was not ſound, nor his Faith ſincere; but his whole Deſign to find out the Art, by which St. *Philip* wrought thoſe Miracles.

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[o] Acts v. 17—42.

[p] Chryſ. n. p. 132.

[q] Acts vi. 9—14.

[r] Acts vii. 1—58.

The News of ſo great a City's Converſion was no ſooner come to the Knowledge of the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, but they, not willing to neglect any thing neceſſary to their Salvation, though themſelves were under great Perſecution, ſent St. *Peter* and St. *John*, two of the chief among them, to confer upon them the Spirit; which it was not in *Philip*'s Power to do, becauſe he was but a Deacon, and this Office was reſerved to the Apoſtles only. St. *Peter* and St. *John*, being arrived there, prayed for them, that God would pour his Spirit upon them; and having laid their Hands upon them, actually confer'd the divine Gift. *Simon*, who loved the Power more than the Holineſs and Virtue of the Apoſtles, ſeeing ſo wonderful an Effect wrought by the Impoſition of the Apoſtles Hands only, and ſuppoſing them to have a Magical Skill greater than his own, offered them Money to impart that Power and Skill to him, of giving the Holy Ghoſt to whom he pleaſed, merely by the laying on of his Hands, hoping thereby, both to raiſe himſelf to an equal Honour with the Apoſtles, and greatly to advance the Gains of his Profeſſion. *Peter* abominating theſe Propoſals, which aroſe from his unſound and ambitious Deſigns, gave him a ſevere Reprimand, ſaying, *Curſed be thou with thy Money, which thou thinkeſt ſo powerful as to purchaſe theſe Gifts of Heaven. Thou art ſo far from obtaining any Portion of that Grace, that this very impious Imagination makes thee uncapable of the leaſt Part or Portion of it. Repent therefore of this thy Wickedneſs; which unleſs thou timely doſt, and by humble Prayer ſeek Remiſſion of it, thou wilt be delivered over to Horror of Conſcience, and to the Torments of Hell.* *Simon*, being terrified at theſe Words, and fearing to be made an Example of Diſſimulation, as *Ananias* was, pretended Repentance, and begged the Apoſtles Prayers for the more effectual averting the Judgments impending for his Sins. But how ſlight his Repentance was, and with what Sincerity he became a Convert, we ſhall ſee hereafter.

St. *Peter* and St. *John* after this continued ſome Time at *Samaria*, preaching the Goſpel; and then returned again to *Jeruſalem*, all along in their Way publiſhing the Truths of the Chriſtian Doctrine in all the Villages of *Samaria*.

SECT. VI.

Peter *viſits the Churches of* Judea, Samaria, *and* Galilee; *and cures* Æneas *at* Lydda. *Sent to* Joppa, *where he raiſes* Tabitha *from the Dead. Sent for to* Cornelius, *ſees a Viſion, which informed him that the* Gentiles *are included in the Goſpel Covenant. Refuſes Worſhip from* Cornelius, *and makes a Diſcourſe, by which he converts* Cornelius *and his Friends, whom he afterwards baptizes. Defends his preaching to a* Gentile *before the* Jewiſh *Converts. Said to have founded a Church at* Antioch. *Viſited by* St. Paul. *Impriſoned by* Herod, *and delivered by an Angel.*

ST. *Peter* being arrived at *Jeruſalem*, continued there, as in a Place of greateſt Security, till the Perſecution was blown over; which in all probability concluded with the Converſion of St. *Paul*, who being Leader of the Perſecutors, and chief Actor in the Tragedies which they committed, left them at ſo great a Loſs how to proceed, that they thought it not worth the while to renew their Commiſſion, but let the Perſecution fall of itſelf: [a] And ſo the Churches of *Judea*, and *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, enjoyed Peace and Quiet; and by their holy and religious Walking in the Fear of God, and conſtant Admonition of each other to ſpiritual Duties, gained every Day many by their Example to the Faith in *Chriſt*.

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[s] Acts viii. 1.

[t] Acts viii. 5—25.

[u] Iren. Lib. i. cap. 20. Juſtin Martyr and Tertullian ſay the ſame.

[w] Chryſ. n. 7. 171.

[a] Acts ix. 31.

St. *Peter* [b] no ſooner perceived that he might ſafely appear in public, but, out of his Zeal for his Maſter's Service, he undertook a general Viſitation of all the adjoining Churches, to ſee if all Things were in Order, and in ſuch a State as they ought to be. In his Progreſs he came down to *Lydda*, a Village in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, about four and twenty Miles North-Weſt of *Jeruſalem*, afterward more famous under the Name of *Dioſpolis*, to ſee the Saints there, and *found a certain Man named* Æneas, who had *kept his Bed eight Years, being ſick of a Palſy*. *Peter* being ſenſible how much ſo great a Miracle, in the Name of *Chriſt*, might promote the Chriſtian Faith; as ſoon as he ſaw him, ſtaid not to enquire whether he had Faith to be healed, but, as if he had brought the Meſſage from Heaven to him, ſaid immediately, Æneas, Jeſus Chriſt *maketh thee whole: Ariſe, and make thy Bed, as a Teſtimony of thy perfect Recovery*. And he accordingly did ſo. The Knowledge of this Miracle, which ſoon ſpread itſelf abroad into the neighbouring Village by the unuſual Appearance and Converſe of *Æneas* in public, gained all the Inhabitants of that Town, and *Saron*, a neighbouring Village, to the Faith in *Chriſt*.

While *Peter* remained at *Lydda*, it happened [c] that a Woman of [d] *Joppa*, named *Tabitha*, in *Greek Dorcas*, (who, being a Chriſtian, was very eminent for her charitable and pious Actions, full of good Works, and Alms-Deeds, which ſhe daily did) fell ſick and died. Her Death was a Loſs to all the Chriſtians of that Place, but particularly to the Poor, who much lamented her. This common Grief excited in all of them an earneſt Deſire of having her longer with them; and therefore hearing that *Peter* was at *Lydda*, the next Town, they ſent two Meſſengers to him, to deſire him that he would immediately come down to *Joppa*. *Peter*, ready to gratify their Deſires, made no Delays, but preſently went along with them; where, as ſoon as he was arrived, they carried him into an upper Chamber, where the Body of *Tabitha*, waſhed, and dreſſed up in a Funeral Attire, according to the Cuſtom of the *Jews*, was laid. They dared not preſent an open Petition to him to raiſe her from the Dead; but by their great Lamentation for her, and Commendation of her Charity while ſhe lived, ſhewing the Coats and Garments which ſhe made and beſtowed among them, their Deſires were apparent to that Apoſtle. Whereupon *Peter*, knowing how uſeful ſo good a Woman was to the Church, put all the Company out: Then praying with his Face towards the Body, he commanded her to riſe; and immediately ſhe opened her Eyes, and ſeeing *Peter*, ſat up. Then *Peter* taking her by the Hand, and lifting her up, preſented her alive to the holy Brethren and Widows, to their great Joy and Comfort. This Miracle being done in the Preſence of many, was quickly known abroad in the Town; and many being convinced by it, believed in *Chriſt* as the Meſſiah. After this, St. *Peter* continued a conſiderable Time in *Joppa*, with one *Simon* a Tanner.

In the Time that *Peter* abode with *Simon*, *Chriſt* was pleaſed to make good his [e] Promiſe to him, of giving him the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, by making him the Inſtrument of letting the *Gentiles* into his Church, after this manner. [f] There was at *Cæſarea* a Roman Captain, named *Cornelius*, a Centurion of the *Italian* Band; who tho' he was no circumcis'd *Jew*, but only a Proſelyte of the *Gate*, yet had he arriv'd at the Knowledge of the true God, by the Law and the Prophets, and frequent Converſe with the *Jews*, and ſerv'd God with ſingular Devotion and Reverence, giving much Alms to the People, praying conſtantly, and obſerving Faſting Days with great Strictneſs. Nor was he contented to ſerve God alone, but, by his Example and Inſtructions, he influenced both his Family, and many of his Soldiers, to join with him in Acts of Piety and Religion. Theſe good Improvements of that ſmall Portion of Grace which God had given him, mov'd the beneficent Father of all Mankind to communicate the higheſt Acts of his Favour to him, and to make him the Firſt-fruits of the *Gentile's* Converſion to the Faith in Chriſt. Accordingly, upon a certain Day, when he was wholly employ'd in the Religious Duties of Faſting and Prayer, God diſpatched an Angel to him, who, in the Likeneſs of a Man, clothed with bright ſhining Garments, delivered this pleaſing Meſſage to him, "That his Prayers and Alms were highly acceptable in the Sight of God." And, as a Token of God's Reſpect to them, he was ordered to ſend to *Joppa* for *Peter*, who ſhould diſcover to him the Will of God more fully, and put him into the Way, in which both he and all his Houſe ſhould be ſav'd. *Cornelius*, much better pleas'd with this Advice than if God had loaded him with Temporal Bleſſings, immediately diſpatch'd away two of his Houſhold-Servants, and a devout Soldier, one of them that continually waited on him, to *Peter*, to tell him how he had receiv'd Orders from God to ſend for him, that he might hear the Divine Will from him, and to pray him, that he would come down to his Houſe. But tho' theſe Meſſengers were ſent by Divine Command to *Peter*, yet ſuch was the natural Averſion that he had to the *Gentiles* by his Education, (being taught that it is unlawful to eat, converſe with, or be in the Houſe of an Heathen, who were unclean, as thoſe that have a continual Flux of Blood;) that they had met with a reſolute Denial, had not God prepared him for their Reception, by a ſpecial Viſion, which thus happened to him.

On the Day that the Meſſengers arriv'd at *Joppa*, *Peter*, according to the [g] Uſage of the diſperſed *Jews*, went up to the Top of *Simon*'s Houſe to pray, about Noon; and being hungry, he call'd for Meat: But while they were getting it ready, he fell into a Trance, and in a Viſion ſaw

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[b] Acts ix. 32, 35.

[c] Acts ix. 30——43.

[d] A noted Sea-port, about ſix Miles from Lydda.

[e] Mat. xvi. 19.

[f] Acts x. 1——23.

[g] That they might have the freer Proſpect towards Jeruſalem.

Heaven open'd: And a great Sheet, containing all Sorts of Beaſts, Birds, and creeping Things, both clean and unclean, was let down and ſet before him; a Voice at the ſame time giving him Liberty to ariſe, and kill any of them to ſatisfy his Hunger. *Peter*, as yet fond and ſtrict in the Obſervation of legal Rites and Ceremonies, refus'd, ſaying, *Not ſo Lord, for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean.* But the Voice reproving him for his Refuſal, replied, *What God hath cleanſed, that call thou not common.* This was done thrice, and the Veſſel was again taken up into Heaven. *Peter*, tho' again come to himſelf, was in a great deal of Perplexity what the Viſion ſhould mean; and ſo continued, till the three Men ſent by *Cornelius* were come to the Gate and knocked, enquiring, whether *Simon*, who was ſurnamed *Peter*, was lodged there. Before they had received their Anſwer, the Spirit inwardly ſuggeſted to *Peter*, that there were three Men at the Door inquiring for him, and ordered him to go along with them without any Doubting or Fear. *Peter* then having received their Meſſage, invited them in, and lodged them all Night; and the next Day went along with them, being accompanied with ſix *Jewiſh* Converts from *Joppa*, who might be Witneſſes of what paſſed in this memorable Action.

Cornelius, full of Expectations of what *Peter* ſhould reveal to him from God, [h] with great Impatience waited for his Coming; and becauſe he would have his Kindred and Friends Partakers of ſuch happy News, he invited them to meet him at his Houſe. On the third Day *Peter* arriv'd at *Cæſarea*, and juſt as he was entering the Houſe, *Cornelius*, in Reſpect to him as the Meſſenger of God, fell down at his Feet and worſhipped him. *Peter*, tho' ſuch Proſtration was an uſual Form of Reſpect in thoſe Eaſtern Countries, yet knowing that the *Romans* paid ſuch Veneration to their Gods only, and ſo that the Honour given to him was more than human, refuſed to accept it, and bid him *ſtand up on his Feet, and pay him no other Reſpect than as a Man*, more than which he did not pretend to be. While he thus talked with *Cornelius*, he entered into the Houſe, where he found many met together to hear him. *Peter* being again a little touched with his natural Averſion to Heathen Company, and ſuppoſing that even they would wonder at his Freedom to converſe with them, told them, "That tho' they muſt needs know it was always accounted unlawful for a *Jew* to keep Company with the Men of another Nation, yet he would not have them wonder at his doing ſo now, becauſe he had received a particular Command from God not to count them common or unclean, and ſo to be avoided, whom he had cleanſed by his Spirit, and qualified to hear his Word; therefore he very readily came to them, as he had been requeſted, without Delay or Difficulty." Having made this Excuſe, he aſked them, Why they had ſent for him? *Cornelius* undertook the Anſwer, and ſaid, "That he did it by an expreſs Command of God; who, as he was faſting and praying, ſent an Angel to him, and ordered him to ſend to *Joppa* for *Simon* ſurnamed *Peter*, of whom he ſhould hear ſome ſpecial Meſſage from God; and that for this Reaſon it was that they were all met to attend his Words." *Peter*, comparing theſe Things with the Viſion mentioned above, and perceiving that the Partition-Wall between *Jew* and *Gentile* was broken down, and that God had call'd him in a ſpecial Manner to preach the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, began, and thus deliver'd himſelf to them. *That now he perceived plainly, that the* Jews *were no longer God's peculiar Favourites and People, but that the* Gentiles *might be as acceptable to God as they, upon their Obedience; for God is no Reſpecter of Perſons, but in every Nation, he that fears God, and worketh Righteouſneſs, is accepted of him: That the Inſtruction which he had to deliver to them from God was this, even the ſame that had been for ſome time preach'd to the Children of* Iſrael, *That* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *was anointed with the Holy Ghoſt above Meaſure, and endued with a Power of doing Miracles, which he exerciſed in the Performance of good Works, and healing ſuch as were poſſeſſed with the Devil; an Argument that God was with him in a more ſpecial Manner, ſince he was able to conquer the Power of our Spiritual Enemy: That he was put to a ſhameful Death at* Jeruſalem, *being crucified and ſlain; but that God rais'd him from the Dead on the third Day after, and by ſeveral manifeſt Appearances to his Diſciples, who eat and drank with him after he was riſen, gave Proof that it was really he, and that he was riſen from the Grave: That he was Lord of all, and ſhould be Judge of all the World, as well the Quick as the Dead: That God tendered Peace and Reconciliation to all Mankind by him, and whoſoever believed in him ſhould have Remiſſion of Sins: And that tho' indeed the* Jews *generally oppoſed this Doctrine, that* Jeſus *is the Meſſiah, yet all the Prophets unanimouſly agree in this Truth, and bear Witneſs of him.* While *Peter* was thus ſpeaking, the Holy Ghoſt, who had already [i] purified their Hearts by Faith, fell upon all that heard him, to the great Aſtoniſhment of thoſe *Jewiſh* Converts who accompany'd St. *Peter*, and who were ſo prepoſſeſſed with an Opinion that God would never beſtow the Graces of his Spirit upon the *Gentiles*, that they would never have believ'd it, had not they heard them *ſpeak with Tongues*, and magnify God in ſeveral Languages. When *Peter* ſaw the *Gentiles* thus baptiz'd with the Holy Ghoſt, of which the Baptiſm of Water is but a Type and Inſtrumental Conveyance, he thought it unreaſonable to deny them this latter; and therefore immediately ordered them to be baptized with Water in the Name of the Lord, and ſo united to the Church as true Members of it. *Cornelius* and his Friends being thus Partakers of the heavenly Gift, were not willing to part with *Peter*, who had been the Means of their Converſion; and therefore, for their better Inſtruction and Confirmation, they prayed him to tarry with them certain Days; which he accordingly did. Thus *Peter* enlarged the Foundation of the Chriſtian Church; and with his Divine Keys opened a Door to the *Gentiles*, which was never to be ſhut.

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[h] Acts x. 24—48.

[i] Acts xv. 9.

The [k] News of the Baptiſm of *Cornelius* and his Friends by *Peter*, ſoon came to the Ears of the Apoſtles and other Brethren in *Judea*, and they were much offended at him for preaching the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*. When he came to *Jeruſalem* therefore, the *Jewiſh* Converts, who ſtill retained their old Antipathy to the *Gentiles*, and judged them unworthy of all Spiritual Mercies, fell upon him, and blamed him extremely for converſing with the *Gentiles*, and eating with them. But *Peter* made his Defence of this Action to them, by relating how God had removed his Antipathy againſt the *Gentiles*, by a Viſion from Heaven; by which he was convinced, that all Creatures were lawful to be eaten by God's Permiſſion, and all Men to be aſſociated with, whom God hath thought fit to cleanſe by his Grace: How *Cornelius* ſent for him by God's Order, and the Spirit commanded him to go along with the Meſſengers, and preach the Goſpel of Salvation to him: How God by his Preaching poured out the Holy Ghoſt upon them, as the ſix Brethren who accompanied him to *Cæſarea*, were ready to witneſs. And ſince God was pleaſed to beſtow on them the ſame Marks of Converſion, as he did on the *Jewiſh* Converts, he thought it would be a withſtanding God's Will to deny them Admiſſion into his Church; and therefore he baptized them. This Apology gave them Satisfaction, and they magnified God's Mercy in admitting the *Gentiles* to be Sharers of the Goſpel Grace, and granting them alſo a Poſſibility of being ſaved by Repentance.

Peter continued at *Jeruſalem*, it is probable, ſome Time after this; though being a Man of an active Temper, and zealous Spirit, he confined not his Labour to that City, but for a ſhort Space went to other Places to preach the Goſpel. *Euſebius* [l] expreſly tells us, That he preached the Goſpel at *Antioch*, and founded a Church there, over which St. *Chryſoſtom* [m] ſays he preſided ſeven Years; for which Reaſon it is that he is often called by the Antients the firſt Biſhop of *Antioch*; and the ſucceeding Biſhops of that See are denominated St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors. But this Relation, with many more of the like Nature, having no ſure Grounds of Truth, it ſhall be ſufficient to mention it as a Thing reported, tho' ſcarcely credible. Nay, the ſacred Story attributes the Converſion of *Antioch* to others; and ſays, [n] That the Care of ordering and confirming that Church was committed to *Barnabas*, by the Apoſtles and Church of *Jeruſalem*.

In the Time of St. *Peter*'s Abode at *Jeruſalem*, it was that [o] St. *Paul*, who after his Converſion had paſſed three Years in preaching the Goſpel in *Arabia*, and chiefly in the Capital City of that Kingdom *Damaſcus*, being forced to flee from thence by the Perſecution of the *Arabian* Governor, went up to *Jeruſalem* to ſee *Peter*, and ſtayed with him fifteen Days.

After St. *Paul*'s Departure from *Jeruſalem*, the Church there, which had enjoy'd a Calm for ſome Time, underwent a ſecond Perſecution, on this Occaſion. [p] *Agrippa*, whom St. *Luke* calls *Herod*, the Grandſon of *Herod the Great* by his Son *Ariſtobulus*, [q] having obtained of *Claudius* the Government of *Judea*, and the adjoining Countries, in as ample a Manner almoſt as his Grandfather enjoyed them; came to *Jeruſalem* at the Paſſover, to be inaugurated into his Kingdom: And being deſirous to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*, he fell ſeverely upon the Chriſtians, who, being hated by the *Jews*, were a moſt acceptable Sacrifice to them. Among thoſe who ſuffered by his Cruelty, *James* the Brother of *John*, uſually called *James the Great*, was the Chief. His Death, who was a Leader and Governor of the Church, was more pleaſing to the *Jews* than a Multitude of private Chriſtians: Which when *Herod* perceived, he proceeded to apprehend *Peter* alſo, who being a Perſon of great Note among the Chriſtians, would gain him equal Reſpect from the *Jews*, if he could put him to Death. *Peter* therefore was ſeized, and put in Priſon, under the Guard of [r] four *Quarternions* of Soldiers, with an Intention to put him to Death, as he had done St. *James*, as ſoon as the Seaſon would give him leave to do it. For it being the Paſſover, which was a ſolemn Feaſt among the *Jews*, they thought it was not lawful to pollute it with the Effuſion of Blood. *Peter* was therefore kept in Priſon; and the Chriſtians, who wiſh'd for his Deliverance, but had no other way to effect it but by Prayer, were not wanting in their earneſt Addreſſes to Heaven for it, but continually ſupplicated God on that Account. Conſtant and importunate Devotion is very prevailing with God, and ſeldom goes away unanſwered. *Herod*'s Power and Policy was over-maſter'd by the Chriſtian Piety: For the very Night before his intended Execution, an Angel ſent from God came into the Priſon, while *Peter* was faſt aſleep between two Keepers, bound to them with two Chains. The Angel, ſufficiently lighted with his own Rays, ſtruck *Peter* ſo as to awake him, took off his Fetters, bid him gird his Garments about him, and follow him. All this *Peter* took to be but a Dream, 'till having paſt the firſt and ſecond Guards, gone through a great Iron Gate, which open'd to them of its own Accord, and walked a Street's Length in the City, he loſt his heavenly Guide. Then he perceiv'd that this was real Matter of Fact, and praiſed God, *who had ſent his Angel, and delivered him out of the Hand of* Herod, *and from all the Expectation of the People of the* Jews. While he thought on this, he came to the Houſe of *John*, whoſe Surname was *Mark*, where many were met together to pray for him; and knocked at the Door. The Maid, who came to let him in, perceiving that it was his Voice, was ſo overjoy'd, that ſhe could not ſtay to open it, but ran to tell thoſe within, that *Peter* was at the Door: Which they at firſt look'd upon as a mere Effect of Fancy; but ſhe perſiſting in it, they concluded it was his Angel, or ſome Meſſenger ſent from him. The Door being open'd, they were extremely ſurprized with Joy and Wonder. But he briefly related to them in what Manner God had deliver'd him, and charging them to acquaint the Brethren with it, preſently withdrew for greater Security to another and more ſecret Place. The next Morning there was a great Diſturbance amongſt the Soldiers about *Peter*. They wondered and trembled at his Eſcape, fearing *Herod*'s Diſpleaſure, which fell heavily upon them: For being diſappointed of his Prey, he put the Keepers to Death, as the Abettors of his Eſcape.

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[k] Acts xi. 1——18.
[l] Euſ. Chron. ad An. Chr. 43.
[m] Chryſ. Ho. 42.
[n] Acts xi. 19——23.
[o] Gal. i. 18.
[p] Acts xii. 1—12.
[q] In the fourth Year of Claudius, and Forty fourth of Chriſt.
[r] That is ſixteen Soldiers.

SECT. VII.

Peter *goes into* Aſia Minor, *and thence to* Rome, *where he converts many, and meets with* Philo *the* Jew. *Baffles* Simon Magus, *and undeceives his Admirers. Baniſhed from* Rome. *Preſent at the Council of* Jeruſalem. *Diſſembles at* Antioch, *and is rebuked by St.* Paul. *Preaches in* Africa, Sicily, Italy, *and* Britain. *Oppoſes* Simon Magus, *and writes his firſt Epiſtle. Reviſes St.* Mark's *Goſpel. Deſtroys* Simon Magus. *Flies from* Rome. *Impriſoned, and writes his ſecond Epiſtle. Crucified. Writings attributed to him.*

WHITHER *Peter* fled, St. *Luke* doth not relate, but leaves us wholly in the Dark: However, ſince *Herod*'s Rage could never be avoided within his own Dominions, it is therefore probable, that he went into *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and thoſe other Countries of the *Leſſer Aſia*, where [a] *Euſebius* expreſly tells us, he ſpent ſome Time in preaching the Goſpel. Indeed his [b] Epiſtles to them make it exceeding probable. In theſe Countries he confined his Labours to the *Jews* only; who had, either by former Captivities, or late Perſecutions, been driven to inhabit here; and by the Grace of God made large Converſions of them.

The exact Time of his Abode in theſe Regions is not known, but his Succeſs might invite him to tarry the longer. From hence, it is probable, he paſſed to [bb] *Rome*, where he [c] is ſaid to have firſt laid the Foundation of the Chriſtian Faith by his diligent Preaching, and extraordinary Miracles. His Labours here met with a Succeſs anſwerable to the Greatneſs and Civility of that City: For the *Romans*, convinced by the Miracles which he wrought in Confirmation of the Doctrine he preached, not only yielded a ready and chearful Faith and Obedience to it, but perſevered in it, with that Firmneſs and Conſtancy, that St. *Paul* [d] tells us, they became famous in all the World for their Faith and Obedience. *Oroſius* [e] aſſures us, that God was particularly favourable to this Converſion, which might be ſo influential to all the reſt of the World; *Rome* being then the Head of it: For that Chriſtianity might thrive and flouriſh the better, he inſpired the Emperor *Claudius* with an unuſual Kindneſs and Love to his People, and providentially ſuppreſſed ſome dangerous Rebellions, which, without ſuch extraordinary Providence, could hardly have been allayed, but with long War and Danger to the Empire. So that, according to this Author, we may imagine the whole Empire enjoyed a preſent Advantage by the Coming of the Goſpel among them. It is probable, that St. *Mark* accompanied *Peter* to *Rome*, and was helpful to him in preaching to, and converting the *Romans*. In this City *Peter* preach'd the Goſpel, not only to the *Jews* his Country-Men, but alſo to the *Gentiles*; of whom he converted [f] *Pudens*, a Senator, to the Faith of *Chriſt*; who was a great Encourager of his Miniſtry, and afforded him Entertainment in his Houſe ſo long as he remained in the City. Here, as *Euſebius* [g] relates, *Peter* met *Philo*, the learned *Jew*, who was then at *Rome*, upon an Embaſſy to *Claudius* from the *Jews* of *Alexandria*; and had ſeveral Conferences with him; from which *Philo* gathered ſo many Things, that his laſt Writings contain many Chriſtian Principles and Rules, though diſguiſed under a different Method, and ſavouring of the *Jewiſh* Philoſophy.

Several [h] of the Antients aſſert, that one Cauſe of St. *Peter*'s going to *Rome* was to oppoſe the Progreſs of *Simon Magus*'s Doctrine, who he heard was gotten thither, and much bewitched the People with his Magical Arts and Deluſions. This *Simon*, as we before took notice, was ſo great a Proficient in Sorcery, that by his ſtrange Deluſions he gain'd an Opinion in the Minds of the People, that he was the great Power of God. But when he ſaw himſelf out-done by *Philip*, he ſeemed to lay aſide his Art for a Time and become a Chriſtian, tho' with no other Deſign than to add *Philip*'s Power to his own, either by Cunning or Purchaſe. *Peter* having given him that ſharp Reprimand for his Attempt, which diſcouraged him for the preſent, and made him ſeem penitent, he left *Samaria*, poſſibly thro' Shame of being thus overcome. After he had paſſed through many other Countries where the Name of *Chriſt* was not preached, endeavouring to poſſeſs their Minds with an Opinion of himſelf, ſo as to make them averſe to the Goſpel, he came to *Rome* in the Reign of *Claudius*, where he performed ſo many ſtrange Things by his Magical Skill, that he was [i] honoured as a God by the Senate, and had an Altar erected to him in the *Inſula Tiburina*, with this Inſcription, *SIMONI DEO SANCTO*; *To Simon the Holy God*. It was not eaſy to root out ſuddenly the Prejudices, which the People had entertain'd of *Simon*; but *Peter*, by his Doctrine and Miracles, ſo cleared up the People's Minds concerning him, that he was looked upon generally as an Impoſtor, and his Miracles to be Magical Illuſions: Tho' he ſeems to have ſtill retained a good Opinion among the great Ones of *Rome*, till *Peter*, at the latter End of his Life, brought him to a ſhameful and ſtrange End; as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we ſhall relate that Rencounter.

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[a] Euſ. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. iii. cap. 1.

[b] 1 Pet i. 1.

[bb] That St. Peter was at Rome is proved by the learned Biſhop Pearſon (in his Succeſſion of the firſt Roman Biſhops) Chap. vii. out of Ignatius, Papias, and other moſt approved antient Writers. And he wonders how Salmaſius, and others in theſe latter Ages, could be ſo hardy as to deny a Matter ſo fully atteſted, and never queſtioned before. The Time of his coming thither is indeed controverted. Euſebius in his Chronicle, and Baronius after him, place it in the ſecond Year of the Emperor Claudius, A. D. 43. But, as Valeſius obſerves in his Notes on Euſebius Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib. ii. Cap. 16. this is diſproved by the Acts of the Apoſtles, where it appears, that Peter remained in Judea and Syria 'till the laſt Year of Herod-Agrippa, who impriſon'd him, and died preſently after. Now all agree, that Herod died in the fourth Year of Claudius. Peter therefore could not be at Rome before that Year. Lactantius, in his Book *of the Death of Perſecutors*, (a Work that hath been publiſhed but of late Years) hath theſe Words, Chap. ii. *Peter came to Rome in the Reign of Nero*. Which is the moſt probable Account, ſays that great Chronologer Antony Pagi, ad Ann. Chr. 43. n. 11. Lactantius adds, *That working certain Miracles by the Divine Power which was beſtowed on him, he turned many to Righteouſneſs, and founded a Church durable and faithful to God.*

[c] Bell. 26. p. 417.

[d] Eom. xviii. 16, 19.

[e] Oroſ. Lib. vii. cap. 6.

[f] Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 15.

[g] Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 16.

[h] Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. ii cap. 13. Cyr. Cat. 6. p. 54.

When *Peter* had been [ii] ſeveral Years at *Rome*, it happened that the [k] Emperor *Claudius*, who had been very kind to the *Jews* in the Beginning of his Reign, finding them to become [l] turbulent and ſeditious among themſelves, baniſhed them all by his Edict from *Rome*; among whom [m] *Peter* himſelf was included, who thereupon went to *Jeruſalem*.

Not long after *Peter*'s Arrival at *Jeruſalem* [n], there happened a Controverſy at *Antioch*, between the *Jewiſh* and *Gentile* Converts, about the Obſervation of the Rites and Ceremonies of *Moſes*'s Law, and particularly about Circumciſion; which they aſſerted muſt be obſerved, or they could not be ſaved. The firſt Movers of it were certain converted *Jews* of *Judea*; who being formerly *Phariſees*, were zealous for the Law of *Moſes*; and coming to that City, were for impoſing the ſame Yoke upon the *Gentiles*, which they had unneceſſarily ſubjected themſelves to. *Epiphanius* ſays, [o] That the Heretic *Cerinthus* was the Ring-Leader of them. *Paul* and *Barnabas* oppoſed their Tenet, and in a ſet Diſputation maintained the Chriſtian Liberty againſt them; but with no good Effect, for they could neither convince the Adverſaries, nor ſatisfy the Diſciples. Hereupon it was unanimouſly determined by the Church of *Antioch*, That *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and ſome others of the chief Members, ſhould go up to *Jeruſalem*, and have the Judgment of the Apoſtles and Elders of that Church upon this Queſtion. As ſoon as they were got thither, and were welcomed by the Church, they diſcovered the Occaſion of their coming; namely, to propound the Point which had been ſo much debated among them, *Whether it was neceſſary for the Chriſtians to be circumciſed, and to keep the Law of* Moſes, *in order to their being ſaved.* This Queſtion ſeemed to the Apoſtles and Elders of *Jeruſalem* ſo important at that Time, that they called a Council about it, that ſo, after a common Debate and Variety of Opinions, they might paſs a concurrent Definition upon it.

In the Council, after much diſputing, *Peter* delivered his Judgment, and ſaid, "That God having made Choice of him to be the firſt of the Apoſtles who ſhould preach the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*; the ſame God, who was beſt able to judge of the Hearts of Men, had borne Witneſs to them of his merciful Acceptance, by beſtowing his Holy Spirit on them as well as on the *Jews*; having made no Difference between the one and the other, but equally purifying their Hearts by Faith: That therefore it was a tempting and provoking of God, to put a Yoke upon the Necks of the Diſciples, which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear: There being ſufficient Ground to believe, that the *Jews* themſelves were no longer under the Ceremonial Law, but ſhould be ſaved thro' the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt*." This Opinion was ſeconded by *Paul* and *Barnabas*; and laſtly, *James the Leſs*, then Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, concluded the Council with a Speech to the ſame Purpoſe. In fine, a Decree was unanimouſly compoſed to this Effect, "That the *Gentile* Converts ſhould not be troubled with the Obſervation of the *Moſaical* Rites in general; but for the preſent they ſhould be obliged to abſtain from Meats offered to Idols, and from Fornication, and from Things ſtrangled, and from Blood; not as Things unlawful, except Fornication, but to avoid giving Offence to tender Conſciences." This Decree they included in a Synodical Epiſtle, and ſent it down by *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and other choſen Men, deputed on Purpoſe, to *Antioch*: Which when the Church received, they were much comforted at this Approbation of their preſent, and Direction for their future Practice. This Decree [p] St. *Paul* left in moſt of the Heathen Churches of his Plantation, to be a Warrant of their Practice, againſt the Judaizing Chriſtians of that Time.

A little Time after St. *Paul*'s Arrival at *Antioch*, *Peter*, who had been the chief Perſon in deciding the Controverſy at the Council of *Jeruſalem*, went alſo down to *Antioch*, and there, conſonant to the Goſpel-liberty confirmed by that Council, converſed with the *Gentile* Converts, eating with them, and living as they did, and not as the *Jews*, who obſerved the Diſtinction of Meats preſcribed by the Law. But [q] when certain *Jewiſh* Chriſtians of *Jeruſalem*, who were tenacious of their Ceremonial Law, came down to *Antioch*; *Peter*, for fear of offending them, began to withdraw and ſeparate himſelf from the *Gentiles*, refuſing to eat or to hold Communion with them. This, from ſo great an Apoſtle, confirmed the *Jews* in their ſuperſtitious Obſervation of the Law, and perplexed the *Gentiles* with new Doubts: So that what was ſo lately ſettled, was in Danger of being quite deſtroyed. For even *Barnabas* himſelf, as well as the other *Jews*, was carried away with his Diſſimulation, and followed his Example. St. *Paul* ſeeing this, and knowing that *Peter* did not walk uprightly according to the Truth of the Goſpel, but was much to be blamed, ſeverely expoſtulated with him to his Face, and reproved him before the whole Church; ſaying, "That he did a very great Injury to the *Gentiles* by his Hypocriſy, inducing them thus to live in *Jewiſh* Obſervations; when as he himſelf, tho' a *Jew*, thought himſelf at Liberty to live as the *Gentiles* did. He deſired to be juſtified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law, and yet impoſed the Yoke of Ceremonies upon others. This was no ſmall Sin againſt *Chriſt*, and a building again what they had once deſtroyed." This Reproof, tho' very ſmart and impartial, *Peter* heard with becoming Patience and Humility, and doubtleſs conform'd his future Carriage thereto. [r] *Porphyry*, one of the great Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, takes an Occaſion from the Management of this childiſh Controverſy, as he calls it, to accuſe St. *Paul* of Envy at St. *Peter*'s Greatneſs, as alſo of Pride and Inſolence: But St. *Auſtin* anſwers, [ſ] That St. *Paul*'s Liberty was worthy of equal Commendation with St. *Peter*'s Humility; and, as St. *Paul* teaches us, not to fear to reprove our Superiors, when they hinder the Progreſs of the Goſpel by their Actions; ſo St. *Peter* teaches our Superiors to accept ſuch Advice with Meekneſs. *Porphyry* alſo took Occaſion from this Circumſtance, to blaſpheme and expoſe the Chriſtian Religion, as ill-grounded and a Contrivance, ſince the chief Doctors of it could not agree among themſelves. And ſo ſenſible were ſome in the firſt Ages, of the Blemiſh which this left upon St. *Peter*'s Character, that they ſhift it from him by finding another *Cephas*, one of the Seventy Diſciples, with whom they ſay, and not with the Apoſtle, St. *Paul* had this Diſpute. But St. *Jerome*, in his Comment upon the Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, long ſince confuted this Evaſion. This is the laſt Account we have of St. *Peter* in the Holy Scriptures.

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[i] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. cap. 13, 14. Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 69. Iren. Lib. i. cap. 20. Tert. Apol. cap. 13.

[ii] How many Years Peter reſided at Rome is very uncertain. It ſeems probable, however, that he made two Journies thither; one in the Reign of Claudius, when he met and converſed with that eloquent Alexandrian Philo, as above related; the other in that of Nero, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

[k] Suet. Claud. Sect. 25. Acts xviii. 2. Oroſ. Lib. vii. cap. 6.

[l] Suetonius ſeems to intimate, that the Conteſts among the Jews were between the Jewiſh Converts and the Unconverted, about the Meſſiah.

[m] The Jews and Chriſtians in thoſe elder Times were reckoned as one People, differing only in ſome Points, as various Sects of the ſame Religion do.

[n] Acts xv. 1——35. [o] Epiphan. Hær. 21. [p] Acts xvi. 4. [q] Gal. ii. 11——18.

How long St. *Peter* continued at *Antioch* after this, and whither he went immediately when he departed from it, we are wholly at a Loſs to know, and therefore muſt follow the beſt Accounts we can obtain from Antiquity. It is beyond Controverſy, that he was diligent in enlarging *Chriſt*'s Kingdom by his Preaching; and, if we may believe the [t] Relations of various Authors, he propagated the Goſpel in many Parts of the World: For beſides the [tt] Eaſtern Parts, he is ſaid to have preached in *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Italy*, and even in our *Britain*, where he is ſaid to have continued a long Time, and to have brought over many to the Faith. Some few Years before his Death, it is probable he went again to *Rome*; and meeting there with St. *Paul*, they both ſet themſelves moſt vigorouſly to the preaching of the Goſpel; teaching the People the Commandments of God, and exhorting all to the Practice of Virtue, Juſtice, and Chaſtity; ſhewing [u] a public Abhorrence of the Vice and Corruptions of the City, their laſcivious Sports and Dances, their idolatrous Feaſts and Worſhip, their carnal Pleaſures and Delights, which debaſe the Vigour of the Soul, and corrupt the Purity of the Mind; and endeavouring, by moſt ſerious and prevailing Arguments, to draw them from the Practice and Love of every Thing of that Nature.

Nero was at that Time Emperor of *Rome*; and [w] *Simon Magus*, that great Enemy of the Chriſtian Truth, was in great Favour with him; he being a profeſſed Patron of Magicians, and all who maintained ſecret Ways of Commerce with Infernal Powers. This Man not only oppoſed the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, but by all Means poſſible rendered them odious to the Emperor. St. *Peter*, foreſeeing by the Spirit, that the Calumnies of *Simon* and his Adherents would haſten his Death, beſtirred him the more to confirm thoſe, whom he had been any ways inſtrumental in the Converſion of, in the Truth they had received, and with greater Courage ſet himſelf againſt the Seducements of this great Deceiver of Mankind, who had ſo greatly bewitched the People of *Rome* by his Magical Tricks and Cheats. For in this laſt Year of his Life he ſeems to have wrote his two Epiſtles to the diſperſed *Jews* in *Pontus*, *Aſia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bythinia*; and in a ſet Encounter with *Simon* diſcovered his Magical Impoſtures, and, through the Power and Judgment of God, brought him to an examplary and miſerable Death.

In the firſt Epiſtle, after a ſolemn Thankſgiving to God for their Calling to Chriſtianity, whereby they had a lively Hope of an eternal Inheritance in Heaven, he adviſes them to the Practice of ſeveral Virtues, as they were concerned to enſure themſelves of Salvation: That they ſhould live in a conſtant Worſhip and Fear of God, and imitate their Maſter *Chriſt* in Holineſs and Purity: That they ſhould love each other fervently and unfeignedly, as Brethren, not only by Nature, but by Grace: That they ſhould be diligent Hearers of the Goſpel, and grow up to Perfection by it: That they ſhould lead exemplary

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[r] Aug. Ep. 75. Chriſ. h. 6. 4. [ſ] Aug. Ep. 82. [t] Innoc. Ep. 1. ad. Dec. Eug. Conc. Tom. Metaphraſt.

[tt] The learned Dr. Cave, in the Life of St. Peter, Hiſt. Lit. is of Opinion, that after the Diſpute betwixt him and St. Paul at Antioch, Peter went into Egypt and other Eaſtern Provinces, preaching the Goſpel chiefly to the Jews: That his firſt Epiſtle was written at Babylon in Parthia; though Biſhop Pearſon contends 'twas Babylon in Egypt: And that after ſeveral Years ſpent in thoſe Parts, he came to Rome, where his ſecond Epiſtle ſeems to have been writ, but a little before his Death.

[u] Ambr. Ora. in Aux. [w] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. xxx. cap. 2.

Live

Lives among the *Gentiles*, abſtaining from carnal Luſts ſo commonly practiſed amongſt them, and carrying themſelves blameleſly and innocently, ſo as to convince their Enemies that the Calumnies ſpread of them were unjuſt: That they ſhould behave themſelves well under their reſpective Relations; ſubmit themſelves to their Governors, whether ſupreme or ſubordinate; obey their Maſters; live in Subjection to their Huſbands, and honour their Wives: That they ſhould live in Unity, ſympathize with each other in their Afflictions, be pitiful and courteous: That they ſhould endure Perſecution patiently, bleſſing God for making them like their Maſter in his Sufferings. Laſtly, He exhorts the Paſtors and Miniſters of thoſe Churches to take ſpecial Care of their Flocks; to teach them diligently, and govern them gently, not ſeeking theirs, but them; not raking for Gain, but to ſave their Souls. This Epiſtle is dated from *Babylon*, which the [x] Fathers interpret generally from *Rome*, and ſent to them by *Silvanus*.

[y] St. *Mark* is ſaid to be St. *Peter*'s Amanuenſis in writing this Epiſtle; who alſo, at the ſame Time, by the Intreaty of the Chriſtians at *Rome*, compoſed his Goſpel out of thoſe Relations of *Chriſt*'s Sufferings, Actions, and Sermons, which St. *Peter* had at ſeveral Times delivered to him. But before it was brought into public Uſe [z], it was ſubmitted to the Cenſure of that Apoſtle, who approved it, and commended it to the Reading of the Church: For which Reaſon it is, that ſome have attributed it to St. *Peter*; and St. *Athanaſius* ſays, [a] That he dictated it to St. *Mark*; and therefore it is that Goſpel is ſo ſhort, (for St. *Peter* affected a ſhort Way of Speaking;) and contains nothing ſpoken in Commendation of him by our Saviour, but a large Confeſſion of his Fault in denying him. St. *Mark*, after he had written it, carried it with him into *Egypt*; whither he was ſent by St. *Peter*, after his Death, which happened in a very ſhort Time.

For, upon a certain Occaſion, this Apoſtle meeting with *Simon Magus* at *Rome*, and finding him ſtill pretending to be ſome Great One, even the *Chriſt*, he could not but zealouſly oppoſe that his preſumptuous Arrogancy. Whether the Occaſion of their Meeting was the ſame that *Hegeſippus* Junior relates, and which is ſet down at large by [b] Dr. *Cave*, or whether the whole Story be not a Fiction, we ſhall not determine. But [c] *Simon*, it ſeems, more incenſed by the Oppoſition, offer'd to give the People ſuch an evident Demonſtration of his being what he pretended, as was beyond Contradiction; for he would immediately aſcend up into Heaven as the Son of God: Whereupon he raiſed himſelf up into the Air, by the Help of two inviſible Devils, as in a Chariot of Fire, like *Elijah*; and by his Magical Power ſeemed to be poſting to Heaven. St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* ſeeing the Deluſion, betook themſelves to their Prayers, and obtained of God that the Impoſture ſhould be diſcovered, for the Honour of his Son. Whereupon, at the Almighty's Order, the Devils forſook him; and he being deſerted of them, fell head-long to the Ground, and was ſo bruiſed and wounded by the Fall, that he died within a ſhort Time after.

The News of this Defeat of *Simon* ſoon came to the Emperor's Ears, who was highly offended with St. *Peter* for this Action, as well as for his Preaching, and laid out all ways to apprehend him. St. *Ambroſe* reports, [d] That the Chriſtians knowing that St. *Peter* was ſought for, prayed him to fly to ſome more ſecure Place for a while, for the Benefit of the Church. *Peter*, tho' unwillingly, yielded to their Importunity, and made his Eſcape by Night: But as he paſſed the Gate [e], he met with a Perſon in the Form of *Chriſt*, who being aſked, *Whither he was going?* told him, *To* Rome, *to be crucified again.* Which *Peter* taking for a Reproof of his Cowardiſe, in flying from his Perſecutor, returned again into the City, and was preſently put into the *Mamertine* Priſon with St. *Paul*. Here they were kept eight or nine Months, in ſtrict Impriſonment; but they ſpent their Time in all private Acts of Devotion; and, as Occaſion offered, preached the Goſpel to their Guards and Fellow-Priſoners; of whom, it is ſaid, they converted *Proceſſus* and *Martinian*, the Captains of their Guards, with forty ſeven others.

During the Time of *Peter*'s Confinement, he wrote his Second Epiſtle to the diſperſed *Jews* of the *Leſſer Aſia*; and 'tis probable, but little before his Death, as [f] he ſeems to intimate. In this Epiſtle he labours, by earneſt Exhortation, to encourage the Chriſtians to perſevere in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and to teſtify the Soundneſs and Sincerity of their Faith by their good Works. He forewarns them of the Seducers and falſe Prophets that were already riſen, (by which Expreſſions 'tis thought he meant the Scholars of *Simon Magus* and the *Nicolaitans*;) foretels their ſad and terrible Deſtruction; deſcribes them by their odious Marks, that they may avoid them; and, laſtly, vindicates the Doctrine of *Chriſt*'s Coming, which the Heretics of thoſe Times denied, that they might make Men the more ſecurely entertain their leud Courſes; aſſerting that tho' *Chriſt* delays his Coming, that he may not ſurprize Men in their Sins, [g] yet he will certainly come to execute Judgment upon thoſe Scoffers and Seducers. In this Epiſtle he commends St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles by the bye; but adds, That there are ſome Places in them hard to be underſtood, which the Unlearned and Unſtable wreſt to their own Damnation. This Epiſtle, tho' now geneally received for Canonical, was in the firſt Ages doubted of, and accounted Suppoſititious, becauſe it is not of the ſame Stile with the firſt; but this is no ſufficient Reaſon againſt ſo many Proofs as are produced for it. The Inſcription, which bears his Name, the Conſent of it with the former, [h] the

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[x] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 15.

[y] Hieron. de vir. ill. 8. Hier. Ep. 150. Euſ. Hiſt Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. 15.

[z] Tert. in Mar. Lib. iv. cap. 5.

[a] Atha. Syn. 1, 2.

[b] Dr. Cave's Life of St. Peter, p. 36.

[c] Arnob. Lib. ii p. 5. Cyr. Cat. 6.

[d] Ambr. Ep. 68.

[e] Mar. Rom. ad Mart. 14. Uſuard. Mar. 14.

[f] 2 Pet. i. 14.

[g] 2 Pet. iii. 15. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. Lib. iii. c. 3. & Lib. vi. c. 25. Hier. de Viril. c. 1.

[h] 2 Pet. i. 17, 18, &c.

Deſcription of the Tranſfiguration, do equally evince that *Simon* the Apoſtle was the Author of it.

Peter having glorified God by an holy Life, a zealous Preaching of the Goſpel, and a Conſtancy in Suffering, was at length called to his Martyrdom, to glorify God as much by his Death, as he had done by his Life, that the Words of his Maſter might receive a Completion; [i] *When thou ſhalt be old, thou ſhalt ſtretch forth thine Hands, and another ſhall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldeſt not. (For though the Spirit was willing, yet the Fleſh was weak.)* He deſired to be diſſolved, to be with *Chriſt*, and glorify *Chriſt* by his Death; but Nature ſhrunk from a Diſſolution, and feared the Pains of a violent Death; yet he ſubmitted to the Will of God, and drank the Cup, tho' bitter, which *Chriſt* gave him. *Nero*, partly to revenge the Death of *Simon Magus*, and partly to avoid the Odium which he had brought upon himſelf, for ſetting *Rome* on Fire, fell upon the Chriſtians, as the Perſons guilty of the Fact, and ſtirred up a bloody Perſecution againſt them at *Rome*, and in moſt other Places of the World. St. *Peter* and *Paul* are ſaid to have been executed among others; and both to have been firſt ſcourged. This we may be ſure of, becauſe our Lord foretold it, That *Peter* ſuffered Martyrdom by Crucifixion: And that he ſuffer'd at *Rome*, hath been conſtantly affirmed by all Antiquity. It is reported of him, that when he came to the Croſs, he requeſted of the Officers, that he might be crucified with his Head downwards; giving this Reaſon for it, That he was not worthy to ſuffer in the ſame Poſture as his Lord did before him. This Requeſt, which was an eminent Token of his Humility, was granted him by the [k] *Romans*.

St. *Peter* ſuffered Martydom on the ſame Day with St. *Paul*, in the Year of our Lord LXV, according to the Chronology of Monſieur *Pagi*. His Body is ſaid to have been embalmed by *Marcellinus* the Preſbyter, after the *Jewiſh* Manner, and buried in the *Vatican*, near the *Triumphal Way*. Over his Grave a ſmall Church was ſoon after erected; which being deſtroyed by *Heliogabalus*, his Body was removed to the Cemetery in the *Appian Way*; 'till the Time of Pope *Cornelius*, who re-conveyed it to the *Vatican*, where *Conſtantine* honoured his Memory with a ſtately Church. That which now bears his Name there, is one of the Wonders of the World, having all the Advantages which Riches and Art can beſtow upon it.

That St. *Peter* was a married Man, we cannot doubt, ſince the Scripture mentions his Wife's Mother. There is moreover a Tradition [l], that his Wife ſuffered Martyrdom long before him, and that as ſhe was going to it, he encouraged her, and called to her, to lift up her Heart to *Chriſt*. He is ſaid to have left one Daughter, named *Petronilla*; but we have no Certainty of it. Several Works, ſince his Death, have been attributed to him; as his Acts, Goſpel, Revelation, Preaching, and a Treatiſe of the Judgment. There is alſo a Book of the Doctrine of St. *Peter*, and a Liturgy which bears his Name. But all theſe Books are juſtly eſteemed to have been forg'd by Heretics, or Perſons not ſound in the Faith.

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[i] John xxi. 18.

[k] Prudentius, the Chriſtian Poet, hath theſe Words on Peter's Crucifixion. Peri Steph. Hymn. XI.

> *Primo Petrum rapuit Sententia legibus Neronis,*
> *Pendere juſſum præminente ligno*
> *Ille tamen veritus celſæ decus æmulando mortis*
> *Ambire tanti gloriam Magiſtri;*
> *Exigit ut pedibus merſum caput imprimant ſupinis,*
> *Quo ſpectat imum ſtipitem cerebro.*
> *Figitur ergo manus ſubter, ſola verſus in cacumen.*
> *Hoc mente major, quo minor figura.*
> *Noverat ex humili cœlum citius ſolere adiri;*
> *Dejecit ora, ſpiritum daturus.*

[l] Niceph. Caliſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. ii. cap. 44.

The LIFE *of* St. PAUL, *the Apoſtle of the* Gentiles.

SECT. I.

St. Paul's *Parentage and Education. His Names, Trade, Zeal for the Law, and Enmity to Chriſtianity. Goes to* Damaſcus *to perſecute the Chriſtians. Converſion, and the Manner of it. Viſited by* Ananias.

St.[a] *Paul* informs us[b], that he was a *Jew*, of the Seed of *Abraham*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, an *Hebrew* of the *Hebrews*: By which latter Expreſſion he means, that he was deſcended of Anceſtors who were all originally *Jews*, and had no Proſelytes among them. With reſpect to his Tribe, and his Fury in perſecuting the Chriſtians, *Jacob*'s Prophecy ſeems applicable to him; [c] Benjamin *ſhall raven as a Wolf; in the Morning he ſhall devour the Prey, and at Night he ſhall divide the Spoil. Tertullian*, *Auſtin*, and others after them, will have this to be accompliſhed in our Apoſtle; who in the Morning of his Life was a Perſecutor of the Church, and in the Evening a Doctor of the *Gentiles*, and a Paſtor of the Flock.

He was born two Years after our Saviour. His Father[d] was a *Phariſee*. He had one Siſter, and a Nephew. *Andronicus*, *Junia*, *Herodian*, *Jaſon*, *Lucius*, and *Soſipater*, whom[e] he ſalutes in the Cloſe of his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, were his Kindred. [f] He was circumciſed the eighth Day, according to the Law of *Moſes*. The Place of his Nativity[g] was *Tarſus*, the Metropolis of *Cilicia*, above three hundred Miles diſtant from *Jeruſalem*; an exceeding rich and populous City, and ſo well ſtored with Libraries and Schools of Learning, that, as [h] *Strabo* ſays, the Students excelled even the *Alexandrians* and *Athenians* in Philoſophy and liberal Accompliſhments. It was a *Roman Municipium*, or free Corporation, inveſted with the Privileges of *Rome* by the two firſt Emperors, as a Reward for the Citizens firm Adherence to the *Cæſars* in the Rebellion of *Caſſius*. So that St. *Paul* was[i] born a *Roman* Citizen, and often pleads this Privilege at his Trials. The Inhabitants of *Tarſus*, for their greater Proficiency in Learning, frequently travelled into other Countries, to improve themſelves in their Studies. *Jeruſalem* had ſo many *Jews* from thence, that they had a Synagogue of their own there, called the [k] Synagogue of the *Cilicians*. *Saul* was alſo by his Father and Mother[l] ſent thither in his Youth, to be brought up at the Feet of that eminent Doctor *Gamaliel*, in the moſt exact Knowledge of the Law of *Moſes*: [m] To whoſe excellent Inſtruction he ſo diligently conformed himſelf, that, without boaſting, he aſſerted of himſelf, That touching the Righteouſneſs of the Law he was blameleſs, and durſt appeal to his Enemies to alledge any Thing to the contrary even in his Youth. He joined himſelf to the Sect of the *Phariſees*, the moſt ſtrict Sect of the *Jewiſh* Religion; but, withal, the proudeſt and greateſt Enemies to *Chriſt* and his Goſpel.

With regard to his double Capacity, of *Jewiſh* Extraction and *Roman* Freedom, he had two Names, *Saul* and *Paul*; the firſt *Hebrew*, the other *Latin*. *Saul*, a Name famous in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, on Account of the firſt King of *Iſrael*; and *Paul*, no leſs celebrated among the *Romans*. Some think he aſſumed this latter Name at his Converſion; it being not unuſual for the *Jews* to change, or add to their Names upon ſome ſignal Occaſion; as in the Caſe of *Simon Peter*. Others will have it to be deriv'd from *Sergius Paulus*, the *Roman* Governor, whom he converted to the Faith of *Chriſt*. But the learned *Cave* prefers *Origen*'s Opinion, that it was given him in Conjunction with the former, at his Circumciſion, for the Reaſon aforeſaid. And it is obſervable that St. *Luke*, the Writer of his Acts, ſo long as he ſpeaks of him as converſant among the *Jews* in *Syria*, ſtiles him *Saul*: But afterwards, when he left thoſe Parts, and went among the *Gentiles*, he gives him the Name of *Paul*, as a Name more frequent, and familiarly known to them. And for the ſame Reaſon, no doubt, he conſtantly calls himſelf by that Name in all his Epiſtles written to the *Gentile* Churches.

In his Education we muſt include the Art of *Tent-making*, which mechanick Trade was no Reproach to his more ingenious Studies; the wiſeſt and moſt learned Rabbies being ſo educated; as Rabbi *Joſe* the *Tanner*, Rabbi *Jochanan* the *Shoe-maker*, Rabbi *Juda* the *Baker*. The Reaſon of this Cuſtom was, that, if need were, they might be able to maintain themſelves by ſuch Trades. This, with other Things, we may ſuppoſe he learn'd at *Tarſus*, 'till he was of a fit Age to be ſent to that great Univerſity of *Jewiſh* Learning, *Jeruſalem*. Nor did he follow only the Example of the Rabbies in this Particular, but their Doctrine alſo; for they taught, [n] That it was a Parent's Duty to circumciſe, redeem, and marry his Son; and to inſtruct him in the Law, and in ſome honeſt Trade. And they added, that he that did not teach his

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[a] We have obſerved in the foregoing Hiſtory, that St Peter and St. Paul were join'd in their Death: For this Reaſon we have thought fit not to ſeparate them in their Lives. And beſides, though St. Paul was not one of the twelve Apoſtles, yet he was call'd in ſo extraordinary a Manner, by the immediate Voice of Chriſt from Heaven, and did and ſuffer'd ſo many Things for his Name, that, as he ſays of himſelf, *he was not behind the very chiefeſt Apoſtle*, and therefore is juſtly entitled to hold this Rank in the Order of the Apoſtolick Lives.

[b] Rom. xi. 1. Phil. iii. 5. Acts xxii. 3. 2 Cor. xi. 22.

[c] Gen. xlix. 27.

[d] Acts xxiii. 6, 16.

[e] Rom. xvi. 7, 11, 21.

[f] Phil. iii. 5.

[g] D. Chryſ. Or. 34. Dio. Lib. lxvii. App. Lib. iv.

[h] Strab. Lib. xiv.

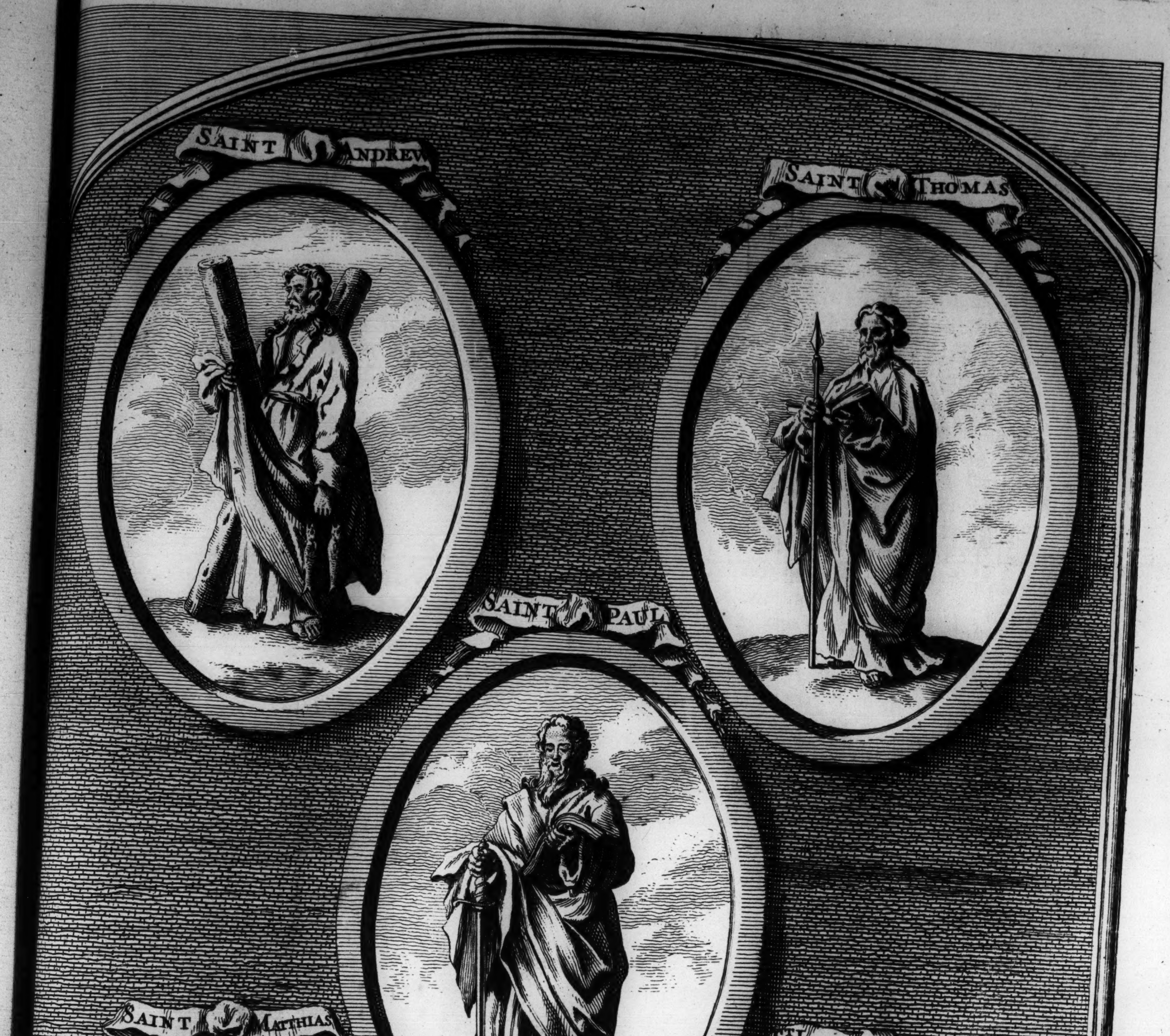
[i] Acts xxii. 27, 28.

[k] Acts vi. 9.

[l] Acts xxii. 3.

[m] Phil. iii. 6. Acts xxvi. 4, 5.

[u] Talmud. Tract. Kidcuſh. cap. 1.


SAINT ANDREW
SAINT THOMAS
SAINT PAUL
SAINT MATTHIAS
St. JAMES ye LESS

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Son a Trade, made him a Thief. The Tents which *Saul* made, were for the Uſe of Soldiers and Mariners, and conſiſted of Skins ſewed together.

Saul having had ſo good an Education in the *Jewiſh* Learning, and being naturally of a very hot Temper, became a [o] great Zealot for the Law of *Moſes*, and the Traditions of the Elders, which his Maſters had taught him was Zeal for God. This made him impatient of all Oppoſition to the Doctrines and Tenets he had imbibed, and a vehement Blaſphemer and Perſecutor of the Chriſtians, who were commonly reputed the Enemies and Deſtroyers of the *Moſaick* Oeconomy. We muſt not, however, lay all the Pride and Hypocriſy of the *Phariſees* to the Charge of St. *Paul*; ſince we find him declaring, that he had ever been careful to act according to the Perſuaſion of his Conſcience, by which he thought himſelf bound to do many Things contrary to the Name of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*. 'Twas only the Prejudices of his Education, and the natural Warmth of his Temper, that excited him to thoſe violent Perſecutions of the Chriſtians for which he was famous. The firſt Engagement he had with them, in the Defence of his preſent Sentiments, was among his Countrymen of the *Cilician* Synagogue, in the Diſputation they had with *Stephen* about the Meſſiah. That holy Deacon was too hard for them in the Diſpute; but they were too powerful for him in their civil Intereſts: For being enraged at him for his convincing Arguments, they convened him before the High-Prieſt, and by falſe Accuſations had him condemned to Death. How far *Saul* was concerned in this cruel Action, it doth not appear; only thus much is evident from his own [p] Confeſſion, That he was an Abettor in his Martyrdom; for he ſtood by, conſented to his Death, and kept the Raiment of them that ſlew him. St. *Auſtin* ſays[q], St *Stephen*'s Death was the Cauſe of *Paul*'s Converſion; for if *Stephen* had not prayed for his Perſecutors, *Paul* had not believed.

After the Death of *Stephen*, the Perſecution grew more violent againſt the Church at *Jeruſalem*, and the Chriſtians then began to find their Maſter's Words true, which he had ſpoken of, and to the *Jews*: [r] *Behold, I ſend you Prophets, and wiſe Men, and Scribes; and ſome of them ye ſhall kill and crucify, and ſome of them ye ſhall ſcourge in your Synagogues, and perſecute them from City to City.* In this Perſecution [s] *Paul* was one of the moſt active and zealous Inſtruments. His falſe Zeal, as himſelf owns, tranſported him even to Fury and Madneſs; making him join unſpeakable Cruelty to his Ignorance and Infidelity: For he made [t] Havock of the Church, entering in every Houſe where he had any Suſpicion that any, who profeſſed Chriſtianity, either dwelt or concealed themſelves, and dragging them out by Force, whether Men or Women, committed them to Priſon, and loaded them with Chains: And when they were put to Death, he joyfully gave his Suffrage againſt them. [u] Nor was his miſguided Mind ſatisfied with their bodily Sufferings; but, as if he had reſolved to deſtroy their Souls likewiſe, he forced them, by mercileſs Scourgings and other Torments, to blaſpheme the Name of their Lord and God. In a Word, he obtained a Commiſſion from the Chief Prieſts to be, as it were, their Inquiſitor-General, and by Virtue of that Commiſſion he hunted the Chriſtians from Place to Place, with the utmoſt Diligence. And in [w] all this he was perſuaded that he perform'd a very acceptable Service to God: He look'd upon himſelf as a notable Champion of Truth, a great Bulwark againſt Hereſy and Error. So that beſides the Prejudices of his Birth and Education, and a ſingular Activity of Spirit, he really had his Conſcience on his Side; and what he did, was well intended, and out of pure *Zeal for God, tho' not according to Knowledge.*

Theſe Things the Apoſtle lays together in the Accounts of himſelf, to ſhew how faſt he was ty'd to the *Jewiſh* Religion, and how impoſſible it was for any common Argument to incline him to Chriſtianity. He was not diſobliged by his Party; but much truſted and employ'd by them, and in a fair Way to attain the higheſt Honours and Preferments amongſt them. Who would imagine that ſuch a Man as this ſhould quit the Religion of his Forefathers, to whom he had ſo many Obligations, for a new and oppoſite one, every where exploded and perſecuted to Death, and of which he himſelf was the greateſt Perſecutor?

But God, who had deſtin'd him to be the greateſt Pillar of that Church which he made ſuch Havock of, was pleaſed to give a miraculous Turn to his Proceedings. His Violences againſt the Chriſtians of one City did not ſatisfy his falſe Zeal; but [x] breathing out Threatnings and Slaughter againſt the Diſciples of the Lord in all Places, where his Intereſt could gain him Admiſſion, he went to the High-Prieſt *Caiaphas*, and procured of him Letters to the *Jews* of *Damaſcus*; by which he was not only commiſſion'd to ſeize and apprehend the Chriſtians there, but the *Jews* were commanded to be aſſiſtant to him in diſcovering and taking them, whether Men or Women, that ſo they might be carried to *Jeruſalem* and puniſhed. Into ſuch Exceſſes and extravagant Acts was God pleas'd to ſuffer this [y] Veſſel of Election, whom he had choſen to eternal Life from his Mother's Womb, to run, and ſo long to continue in them, that he might in him teach us not to condemn as Reprobates, whom we ſee great Sinners; and to ſhew us [z] an Example of his Patience in waiting long for the Converſion of Sinners, that none may doubt of their Acceptance to Pardon after the Commiſſion of enormous Crimes, when ſo great a Perſecutor of the Church, and Murtherer of *Stephen*, found Mercy, and became ſo great an Apoſtle.

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[o] Gal. i. 14. 1 Tim. i.

[p] Acts xxii. 20.

[q] Aug. Serm. 382. cap. iv.

[r] Matth. xxiii. 34.

[s] Acts xxvi 11.

[t] Acts viii. 3.

[u] Acts xxvi. 11.

[w] Acts xxvi. 9. Acts ix. 13, 14.

[x] Acts. ix. 1, 2.

[y] 1 Tim. i. 16.

[z] Gr. in Job. Lib. xxix. cap. 11.

Paul[a] being thus armed with a Commiſſion, went full of Fury to *Damaſcus*, attended with ſome Companions in the ſame Deſign. *Jeſus*, who intended his Converſion always, (knowing that this was the moſt ſeaſonable Time for it, becauſe it would beget greater Veneration of his Power, to humble him in the midſt of his fiery Zeal, than to ſtay till his Paſſion cooled,) undertook this merciful Work. In the Way, as he journeyed from *Jeruſalem* to *Damaſcus*, in Execution of his Order from the *Sanhedrim*, a refulgent Light, far exceeding the Brightneſs of the Sun, darted upon him; by which being affrighted, both he and his Companions, with their Horſes, immediately fell flat on the Ground. *Jeſus*, who by this means ſought to humble his proud and furious Spirit, and make him willing to hear his Words, ſeeing him in a great Agony, ſpake thus to him in the *Hebrew* Tongue, *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* He ſaid not, *Why perſecuteſt thou my Servants, Diſciples or Friends?* but *Me*, my ſelf; becauſe when one Member ſuffers, all the Members ſuffer with it; and the Head uſually complains of the Hurt done to any of the Members. *Saul*, tho' in great Fear, yet conſidered that it was a Viſion, and replied, *Who art thou, Lord?* To which the Voice anſwered, *I am Jeſus of* Nazareth, *whom thou perſecuteſt: It is hard for thee to kick againſt the Pricks.* As if he had ſaid, "All thy Attempts to extirpate the Faith in me, will prove ſucceſsleſs, and, like kicking againſt Spikes, will prove thy own Wounding and Torment." *Saul*, convinced of his Folly in acting againſt *Jeſus*, ſubmitted to his Will, and asked him, *Lord what wilt thou have me do?* *Jeſus* then informed him of the Intent of this Appearance. [b]*But riſe*, ſaid he, *and ſtand upon thy Feet; for I have appeared unto thee for this Purpoſe, to make thee a Miniſter and a Witneſs both of theſe Things which thou haſt ſeen, and of thoſe Things in the which I will appear unto thee; delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentiles, unto whom now I ſend thee, to open their Eyes, and to turn them from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God; that they might receive Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Inheritance among them which are ſanctified by Faith that is in me.* And having ſo ſaid, referred him for further Inſtruction and Baptiſm to the Miniſtry of *Ananias*, and for that End commanded him to go into the City. Thus graciouſly did our Lord at firſt reveal himſelf to this ſanguinary Perſecutor, and in the midſt of this awful and majeſtic Appearance ſpoke Words of Peace and Comfort to him. The Company which attended him, [c] heard the Voice, without ſeeing the Speaker: Though [d] elſewhere 'tis affirm'd, that *they ſaw the Light, but heard not the Voice.* Which Places are eaſily reconciled thus: They heard a confuſed Sound, but not a diſtinct, articulate Voice: Or, more probably, being unſkill'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue, in which our Lord ſpoke to St. *Paul*, they heard the Words indeed, but underſtood not the Senſe and Meaning of them.

But as the plain Words pierced the Ears of our Apoſtle, ſo the heavenly Light ſhone full in his Eyes. After the Viſion was paſt, he roſe from the Earth; but opening his Eyes, he could not ſee, they being [e] dazzled with the Glory of the Light that appeared unto him. Wherefore they led him by the Hand into *Damaſcus*, to the [f] Houſe of *Judas*, where he remained three Days without his Sight, neither eating nor drinking, but ſpending the Time in Prayer to God for the Sins of his paſt Life. In the mean while God by his Holy Spirit appeared to [g] *Ananias*, in a Viſion, to give him Orders to inſtruct and baptize *Saul* of *Tarſus*.

Ananias, tho' a very pious and devout Chriſtian, and ready to obey the Divine Will in all Things, was at firſt afraid to attempt the Work, leſt he ſhould throw himſelf into the Hands of that bloody Perſecutor, of whoſe Cruelties he had heard from *Jeruſalem*, and for which he had a Commiſſion to do the like in that City. He thought his pretended Converſion was but an Art to enſnare the Chriſtians: But *Chriſt* gave him a Relation of his Appearance to him, and how he had humbled him in his Journey; and tho' he had been a Perſecutor, yet now, being converted, his forward Zeal would be very ſerviceable to him; for he had made Choice of him to preach his Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, and to Kings, and to the Children of *Iſrael*. *Ananias*, ſatisfied with this Account from the Mouth of Truth, went on the Errand; and coming to *Saul*, who, being by a Viſion informed both of his Perſon and Office, joyfully expected him, delivered his Meſſage to him, ſaying; "That *Jeſus* who appeared to him in the Way, had ſent him to reſtore his Sight, and by the Infuſion of his Spirit to give him the Knowledge of thoſe heavenly Truths, which he blindly and ignorantly perſecuted: That he would receive him by Baptiſm into the Church, and make him a Member of his Body." And his putting Hands upon him, there fell from his Eyes thick Films, as if it had been Scales. Immediately upon this, *Saul* received his Sight; and, being baptized, converſed with the Chriſtians at *Damaſcus*: Nor did he only converſe with them, but, to the great Wonder and Amazement of the whole Church, [h] preached the Goſpel which he once ſought to deſtroy; boldly aſſerting, *That* Jeſus *was the* Chriſt, *the Son of God*; and proving it to the *Jews* with ſuch demonſtrative Evidence, that they were confounded, and could not anſwer him.

St. *Paul* ſtay'd but few Days at *Damaſcus* after his Converſion, neither went he up to *Jeruſalem*, but being commanded to go to the *Gentiles*, he retreated into [i] *Arabia Petræa*, that is, into the Country round about *Damaſcus*, which then was in the Power of *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, and Father-in-Law to *Herod-Antipas*.

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[a] Acts ix. 3—24. [b] Acts xxvi. 16, 17, 18. [c] Acts ix. 7. [d] Acts xxi. 9.
[e] Acts xxii. 11. [f] Chryſ. p. 182. Aug. Ser. 169. [g] Suppoſed to be one of the ſeventy Diſciples.
[h] This Converſion is placed by Biſhop Pearſon in the twenty-ſecond Year of the Reign of Tiberius, A. D. 37.
[i] Acts xxvi. 20.

Here he received a full Revelation of all the Myſteries of Chriſtianity; for he himſelf teſtifies[k], that he converſed not with Fleſh and Blood. And having preached here a ſmall Time, he returned again to *Damaſcus*, ſetting himſelf earneſtly and ſtudiouſly to his Miniſterial Work, frequenting the Synagogues there, powerfully confuting the *Jewiſh* Objections againſt *Jeſus Chriſt*, and converting both *Jews* and *Gentiles.* He was indeed very zealous in his Preaching, and had an extraordinary convincing Force in his Arguings: Which becauſe the *Jews* could not withſtand, at length, after two or three Years Continuance in thoſe Parts, they [l] made Friends with the Governor of *Damaſcus*, under *Aretas* the King, to have him put to Death. And for that End, they not only themſelves kept a continual Watch to apprehend him, and ſearched all the Houſes where they ſuppoſed he might be, but obtained a Guard of the Governor to obſerve the Gates, that he might no ways eſcape. But his Chriſtian Brethren, having Notice of their Deſign, were as careful to preſerve him, as his Enemies were to deſtroy him. And, as an Inſtance of their Care, finding no other Means to ſend him ſafe away, they let him down from one of their Houſes, through a Window, in a Baſket, over the Wall, and ſo he eſcaped: Shewing us hereby, That 'tis not unlawful to make an Eſcape from Perſecutors, and ſave our Lives, where the Glory of God doth not call immediately for the contrary, and the Good of the Church may require our Preſervation.

SECT. II.

A Deſcription of Damaſcus, *and the adjacent Country, the River* Barrady, *&c.*

WE ſhall have the Opportunity in this Life of St. *Paul*, of introducing the greateſt Part of the Geography of the New-Teſtament, beſides what we have included in the Life of *Chriſt*; the Travels of our Apoſtle being more particularly related than thoſe of any other, as St. *Luke*, who writ the Acts of the Apoſtles, was very much his Companion and Aſſiſtant. The Section we are now entering on, ſhall contain the Deſcription of *Damaſcus* and the adjoining Country; the Places where St. *Paul* was firſt miraculouſly made acquainted with thoſe Myſteries of the Goſpel, which he afterwards publiſhed to ſo many Thouſands, and in ſo many diſtant Parts of the World.

Damaſcus, on Account of its Antiquity, is one of the moſt venerable Cities in the whole World; having been the Birth-Place [a] of *Eliezer*, the Servant of *Abraham*. Nor has it been leſs conſiderable on Account of its Strength and Greatneſs; for it was a long Time the Capital of *Syria*, and the Reſidence of thoſe *Syrian* Kings, who are [b] mentioned in the Old Teſtament. To paſs by the other Titles that have been beſtowed on it, we may learn in what Eſteem it was with the Emperor *Julian*, from his calling it [c] *the Eye of the whole Eaſt*.

Some of the [d] Antients inform us, that *Abraham* reigned in *Damaſcus*, immediately after *Damaſcus*, or *Demſchak*, its Founder, from whom it is thought to have taken its Name. That he inhabited near it is certain from this, that he [e] purſued *Chederlaomer*, and the five confederate Kings, as far as *Hobab*, which is to the Left, or Northward of *Damaſcus*.

Hadad King of *Damaſcus*, who was [f] ſubdued by *David*, for ſending Troops to the Aſſiſtance of *Hadadezer* King of *Zobah*, was, according to [g] *Nicholas Damaſcenus*, a Native of that City, the firſt there that ever took upon him the Name of King. It was wreſted again from the *Jewiſh* Yoke [h] by *Rezin* the Son of *Eliadah*. After this we read of ſeveral other Kings, whoſe Affairs were intermix'd with thoſe of the *Jews*, and who were generally named *Benhadad*. It was taken at diſtant Times, by *Sennacherib* King of *Aſſyria*, by the Generals of *Alexander the Great*, and by *Jonathan Maccabeus*, the Brother of *Judas*. In fine, it fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, at the Time when *Pompey* made War upon *Tigranes*: And here it was that *Pompey* heard the Diſpute between *Ariſtobulus* and *Hyrcanus*, concerning their Title to the Crown of *Judea*.

From the *Romans* it came to the Kings of *Arabia*; of whom *Obodas*, the Father of that *Aretas* who reigned when St. *Paul* was here, ſeems to have had the Poſſeſſion of it as far back as the Reign of *Auguſtus*. This is all we ſhall ſay of the antient State of *Damaſcus*, except what the Reader will find in the following curious Extract from Mr. *Maundrell*, who viſited this City in his Return from *Jeruſalem* to *Aleppo*, and thus deſcribes it:

"[i] *Damaſcus* lies near due Eaſt from *Sidon*; it is uſually eſteem'd three Days Journey diſtant, the Road lying over the Mountain *Libanus*, and *Anti-Libanus*. The River *Barrady*, that waters *Damaſcus*, and enriches it with all its Plenty and Pleaſure, ariſes from *Anti-libanus*. It is not ſo much as twenty Yards over, but comes pouring down from the Mountains, with great Rapidity, and with ſo vaſt a Body of Water, that it abundantly ſupplies all the thirſty Gardens, and the City of *Damaſcus*.

We croſſed *Barrady* at a new Bridge over it, call'd *Dummar*. On the other Side our Road aſcended, and in half an Hour brought us to the Brink of a high Precipice, at the Bottom of which the River runs; the Mountain being here cleft aſunder, to give it Admiſſion into the Plain below.

At the higheſt Part of the Precipice, is erected a ſmall Structure, like a *Sheck*'s Sepulchre, concerning which the *Turks* relate this Story: That their Prophet, coming near *Damaſcus*, took his Station at that Place, for ſome Time, in order to view the City; and conſidering the raviſhing Beauty, and Delightfulneſs of it, he would not tempt his Frailty by entering into it; but inſtantly departed, with this Reflection upon it, that there was but one Paradiſe deſign'd for Man, and for his Part he was reſolv'd not to take his in this World.

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[k] Gal. i. 17.
[l] Acts ix 23. 2 Cor. xi. 22.
[a] Gen. xv. 20.
[b] 1 Kings xi. 24.
[c] Julian. Epiſt xxiv.
[e] Juſtin. Lib. xxxvi.
[e] Gen. xiv. 15.
[f] 2 Sam. viii. v. 1 Chron. xviii. 4, 5, &c.
[g] Joſeph. Ant. Lib. vii. cap. 6.
[h] 1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 25.
[i] See Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 117—131.

You have indeed from the Precipice the moſt perfect Proſpect of *Damaſcus*. And certainly no Place in the World can promiſe the Beholder, at a Diſtance, greater Voluptuouſneſs. It is ſituate in an even Plain of ſo great Extent, that you can but juſt diſcern the Mountains that compaſs it, on the farther Side. It ſtands on the Weſt Side of the Plain, at not above two Miles Diſtance from the Place where the River *Barrady* breaks out from between the Mountains; its Gardens extending almoſt to the very Place.

The City itſelf is of a long ſtrait Figure; it's Ends pointing near North-Eaſt and South-Weſt. It is very ſlender in the Middle, but ſwells bigger at each End, eſpecially at that to the North-Eaſt. In it's Length, as far as I could gueſs by my Eye, it may extend near two Miles. It is thick ſet with Moſques, and Steeples, the uſual Ornaments of the *Turkiſh* Cities; and is encompaſs'd with Gardens, extending no leſs, according to common Eſtimation, than thirty Miles round; which makes it look like a noble City in a vaſt Wood. The Gardens are thick ſet with Fruit-Trees of all kinds, kept freſh and verdant by the Waters of *Barrady*. You diſcover in them many Turrets, and Steeples, and Summer-Houſes, frequently peeping out from amongſt the green Boughs, which may be conceiv'd to add no ſmall Advantage and Beauty to the Proſpect. On the North Side of this vaſt Wood, is a Place call'd *Solhees*, where are the moſt beautiful Summer-Houſes and Gardens.

The greateſt Part of this Pleaſantneſs and Fertility proceeds, as I ſaid, from the Waters of *Barrady*, which ſupply both the Gardens and City in great Abundance. This River, as ſoon as it iſſues out from between the Cleft of the Mountain before mention'd, into the Plain, is immediately divided into three Streams, of which, the middlemoſt, and biggeſt, runs directly to *Damaſcus*, thro' a large open Field, call'd the *Ager Damaſcenus*, and is diſtributed to all the Ciſterns and Fountains of the City. The other two, which I take to be the Work of Art, are drawn round, one to the Right Hand, the other to the Left, on the Borders of the Gardens; into which they are let, as they paſs, by little Currents, and ſo diſpers'd all over the vaſt Wood. Inſomuch that there is not a Garden, but has a fine quick Stream running thro' it; which ſerves not only for watering the Place, but is alſo improv'd into Fountains, and other Water-works, very delightful, tho' not contriv'd with that Variety of exquiſite Art which is us'd in *Chriſtendom*.

Barrady being thus deſcrib'd, is almoſt wholly drunk up by the City and Gardens. What ſmall Part of it eſcapes, is united, as I was inform'd, in one Channel again, on the South-Eaſt Side of the City; and after about three or four Hours Courſe, finally loſes itſelf in a Bog there, without ever arriving at the Sea.

The *Greeks*, and, from them, the *Romans*, call this River *Chryſorrhoas*. But as for *Abana*, and *Pharpar*, Rivers of *Damaſcus*, mention'd in the [k] Book of *Kings*, I could find no Memory, ſo much as of the Names, remaining. They muſt doubtleſs have been only two Branches of the River *Barrady*; and one of them was probably the ſame Stream that now runs through the *Ager Damaſcenus*, directly to the City; which ſeems by its ſerpentine Way to be a natural Channel. The other I know not well where to find; but it's no Wonder, ſeeing they may and do turn the Courſes of this River, according to their own Convenience and Pleaſure.

We continued a good while upon the Precipice, to take a View of the City; and indeed it is a hard Matter to leave a Station, which preſents you ſo charming a Landſkip. It exhibits the Paradiſe below, as a moſt fair and delectable Place, and yet will hardly ſuffer you to ſtir away, to go to it; thus at once inviting you to the City, by the Pleaſure which it ſeems to promiſe, and detaining you from it, by the Beauty of the Proſpect.

Coming down the Hill into the Plain, we were there met by a *Janizary* from the Convent; ſent to conduct us into the City. He did not think fit to carry us in at the Weſt Gate, which was neareſt at Hand, and ſo all acroſs the City to the *Latin* Convent, where we were to lodge; for fear the *Damaſcenes*, who are a very biggotted and inſolent Race, ſhould be offended at ſo great a Number of *Franks* as we were. To avoid which Danger, he led us round about the Gardens, before we arriv'd at the Gate. The Garden Walls are of a very ſingular Structure. They are built of great Pieces of Earth, made in the Faſhion of Brick, and harden'd in the Sun. In their Dimenſions they are two Yards long each, and ſomewhat more than one broad, and half a Yard thick. Two Rows of theſe, placed Edgeways, one upon another, make a cheap, expeditious, and, in this dry Country, a durable Wall.

In paſſing between the Gardens, we alſo obſerv'd their Method of ſcouring the Channels. They put a great Bough of a Tree in the Water, and faſten it to a Yoke of Oxen. Upon the Bough ſits a good weighty Fellow, to preſs it down to the Bottom, and to drive the Oxen. In this Equipage the Bough is dragg'd all along the Channel, and ſerves at once both to cleanſe the Bottom, and alſo to mud and fatten the Water, for the greater Benefit of the Gardens.

Entering at the Eaſt Gate, we went immediately to the Convent, and were very courteouſly receiv'd by the Guardian, Father *Raphael*, a

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[k] 2 Kings v. 12.

Majorkine by Birth, and a Perſon who, tho' he has dedicated himſelf to the contemplative Life, yet is not unfit for any Affairs of the Active.

The next Morning we walk'd out to take a View of the City. The firſt Place we went to viſit, was the Houſe of an eminent *Turk.* The Streets here are narrow, as is uſual in hot Countries, and the Houſes are all built, on the Outſide, of no better a Material than either Sun-burnt Brick, or *Flemiſh* Wall, daub'd over in as coarſe a Manner, as can be ſeen in the vileſt Cottages. From this dirty Way of Building, they have this amongſt other Inconveniencies, that upon any violent Rain, the whole City becomes, by the waſhing of the Houſes, as it were a Quagmire.

It may be wonder'd what ſhould induce the People to build in this baſe Manner, when they have in the adjacent Mountains ſuch Plenty of good Stone, for nobler Fabricks. I can give no Reaſon for it, unleſs this may paſs for ſuch, that thoſe who firſt planted here, finding ſo delicious a Situation, were in haſte to come at the Enjoyment of it, and therefore nimbly ſet up theſe extemporary Habitations; being unwilling to defer their Pleaſures ſo long, as whilſt they might erect more magnificent Structures: Which primitive Example their Succeſſors have follow'd ever ſince.

But however, in theſe Mud-Walls, you find the Gates and Doors adorn'd with Marble Portals, carv'd and inlaid with great Beauty and Variety. It is an Object not a little ſurprizing, to ſee Mud and Marble, State and Sordidneſs, ſo mingled together.

On the Inſide, the Houſes diſcover a very different Face, from what you ſee without. Here you find generally a large ſquare Court, beautified with variety of fragrant Trees, and Marble Fountains, and compaſs'd round with ſplendid Apartments and *Duans.* The *Duans* are floor'd and adorn'd on the Sides, with variety of Marble, mixt in Moſaic Knots, and Mazes. The Ceilings and Traves are, after the *Turkiſh* Manner, richly painted and guilded. They have generally artificial Fountains, ſpringing up before them in Marble Baſons, and as for Carpets and Cuſhions, are furniſh'd out to the Height of Luxury. Of theſe *Duans* they have generally ſeveral on all Sides of the Court, being placed at ſuch different Points, that at one or other of them, you may always have, either the Shade or Sun, which you pleaſe.

Such as I have deſcrib'd was the Houſe we went to ſee, and I was told the reſt reſemble the ſame Deſcription.

In the next Place we went to ſee the Church of St. *John the Baptiſt,* now converted into a Moſque, and held too ſacred for Chriſtians to enter, or almoſt to look into. However we had three ſhort Views of it, looking in at three ſeveral Gates. It's Gates are vaſtly large, and cover'd with Braſs, ſtamp'd all over with *Arab* Characters, and in ſeveral Places with the Figure of a Chalice, ſuppos'd to be the antient Enſign or Arms of the *Mamalukes.* On the North Side of the Church, is a ſpacious Court, which I could not conjecture to be leſs than one hundred and fifty Yards long, and eighty or one hundred broad. The Court is pav'd all over, and encloſed on the South Side by the Church; on the other three Sides by a double Cloiſter, ſupported with Granate Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order, exceeding lofty and beautiful.

On the South Side the Church joins to the *Bazars,* and there we had an Opportunity juſt to peep into it. It is within ſpacious, and lofty built, with three Iſles, between which are Rows of poliſh'd Pillars, of a ſurprizing Beauty.

In this Church are kept the Head of St. *John,* and ſome other Relicks, eſteem'd ſo holy, that it is Death even for a *Turk* to preſume to go into the Room, where they are kept. We were told here, by a *Turk* of good Faſhion, that *Chriſt* was to deſcend into this Moſque at the Day of Judgment, as *Mahomet* was to do into that of *Jeruſalem.* But the Ground and Reaſon of this Tradition I could not learn.

From the Church we went to the Caſtle, which ſtands two Furlongs diſtant, towards the Weſt. It is a good Building of the ruſtick Manner: In Length it is three hundred and forty Paces, and in Breadth ſomewhat leſs. We were admitted but juſt within the Gate, where we ſaw Store of antient Arms, and Armour, the Spoils of the Chriſtians in former Times. Amongſt the Artillery was an old *Roman Baliſta*; but this was a Place not long to be gaz'd upon by ſuch as we. At the Eaſt End of the Caſtle there hangs down in the middle of the Wall a ſhort Chain cut in Stone, of what Uſe I know not, unleſs to boaſt the Skill of the Artificer.

Leaving this Place, we went to view the *Bazars,* which we found crouded with People, but deſtitute of any Thing elſe worth obſerving.

Very early the following Morning we went to ſee the yearly great Pomp of the *Hadgees,* ſetting out on their Pilgrimage to *Mecca: Oſtan,* Baſſa of *Tripoli,* being appointed their *Emir,* or Conductor, for this Year. For our better Security from the Inſolencies of the over-zealous Votaries, we hir'd a Shop in one of the *Bazars,* thro' which they were to paſs.

In this famous Cavalcade there came firſt forty ſix *Dellees,* that is, Religious Madmen, carrying each a Silk Streamer, mix'd either of red and green, or of yellow and green. After theſe came three Troops of *Segmen,* an Order of Soldiers amongſt the *Turks*; and next to them ſome Troops of *Spahees,* another Order of Soldiery. Theſe were follow'd by eight Companies of *Mugrubines* (ſo the *Turks* call the *Barbaroſes*) on Foot: Theſe were Fellows of a very formidable Aſpect, and were deſign'd to be left in a Garriſon, maintain'd by the *Turks* ſomewhere in the Deſart of *Arabia,* and reliev'd every Year with freſh Men. In the midſt of the *Mugrubines* there paſs'd ſix ſmall Pieces of Ordnance. In the next Place came on Foot the Soldiers of the Caſtle of *Damaſcus,* fantaſtically arm'd with Coats of Mail, Gauntlets, and other Pieces of old Armour. Theſe were follow'd with two Troops of *Janizaries,* and their *Aga,* all mounted. Next were brought the Baſſa's two Horſe-Tails, uſher'd by his *Aga* of the Court; and next after the Tails follow'd ſix led Horſes, all of excellent Shape, and nobly furniſh'd. Over the Saddle there was a Girt upon each led Horſe, and a large Silver Target guilded with Gold.

After theſe Horſes came the *Mahmal.* This is a large Pavilion of black Silk, pitch'd upon the Back of a very great Camel, and ſpreading its Curtains all round about the Beaſt down to the Ground. The Pavilion is adorn'd at the Top with a Gold Ball, and with Gold Fringes round about. The Camel that carries it wants not alſo his Ornaments of large Ropes of Beads, Fiſh-ſhells, Fox-tails, and other ſuch fantaſtical Finery, hang'd upon his Head, Neck, and Legs. All this is deſign'd for the State of the *Alcoran*, which is placed with great Reverence under the Pavilion, where it rides in State to, and from *Mecca*. The *Alcoran* is accompanied with a rich new Carpet, which the Grand Signior ſends every Year for the Covering of *Mahomet*'s Tomb; having the old one brought back in return for it, which is eſteem'd of an ineſtimable Value, after having been ſo long next Neighbour to the Prophet's rotten Bones. The Beaſt which carries this ſacred Load, has the Privilege to be exempted from all other Burdens ever after.

After the *Mahmal*, came another Troop; and with them the Baſſa himſelf: And, laſt of all, twenty loaded Camels; with which the Train ended, having been three Quarters of an Hour in paſſing.

Having obſerv'd what we could of this Shew, which perhaps was never ſeen by *Franks* before, we went to view ſome other Curioſities. The firſt Place we came to was the *Ager Damaſcenus*, a long beautiful Meadow, juſt without the City, on the Weſt Side. It is divided in the Middle by that Branch of the River *Barrady*, which ſupplies the City, and is taken Notice of, becauſe of a Tradition current here, that *Adam* was made of the Earth of this Field.

Adjoining to the *Ager Damaſcenus*, is a large Hoſpital: It has within it a pleaſant ſquare Court, encloſ'd on the South Side by a ſtately Moſque; and on its other Sides with Cloyſters and Lodgings, of no contemptible Structure.

Returning from hence homeward, we were ſhewn by the Way a very beautiful *Bagnio*; and not far from it a Coffee-Houſe, capable of entertaining four or five hundred People. It had two Quarters for the Reception of Gueſts; one proper for the Summer, the other for the Winter. That deſign'd for the Summer was a ſmall Iſland, waſh'd all round with a large ſwift Stream, and ſhaded over-head with Matts and Trees. We found here a Multitude of *Turks* upon the *Duans*, regaling themſelves in this pleaſant Place; there being nothing which they behold with ſo much Delight as Greens and Water; to which if a beautiful Face be added, they have a Proverb, that all three together make a perfect Antidote againſt Melancholy.

In the Afternoon, we went to viſit the Houſe, which, they ſay, was ſome Time the Houſe of *Ananias*, the [m] Reſtorer of Sight to St. *Paul*. The Place ſhewn for it is, according to the old Rule, a ſmall Grotto or Cellar; affording nothing remarkable, but only that there are in it a Chriſtian Altar, and a *Turkiſh* Praying-Place, ſeated nearer to each other than well agrees with the Nature of ſuch Places.

Our next Walk was out of the Eaſt-Gate, in order to ſee the Place, they ſay, of St. *Paul*'s Viſion, and what elſe is obſervable on that Side. The Place of the Viſion is about half a Mile diſtant from the City Eaſtward. It is cloſe by the Way Side, and has no Building to diſtinguiſh it, nor do I believe it ever had. Only there is a ſmall Rock, or Heap of Gravel, which ſerves to point out the Place.

About two Furlongs nearer the City, is a ſmall Timber Structure, reſembling the Cage of a Country Burrough. Within it is an Altar erected, where, you are told, the holy Apoſtle reſted for ſome Time, in his Way to the City [n] after his Viſion.

Being return'd to the City, we were ſhewn the Gate at which St. *Paul* was [o] let down in a Baſket. This Gate is about two Furlongs diſtant from the Eaſt-Gate, and is at preſent wall'd up.

Entering again into the City, we went to ſee the great Patriarch reſiding in this City. He was a Perſon of about forty Years of Age. The Place of his Reſidence was mean; and his Perſon and Converſe promiſ'd not any Thing extraordinary. He told me there were more than one thouſand two hundred Souls of the *Greek* Communion in that City.

The next Day we went to viſit the Gardens, and to ſpend a Day there. The Place where we diſpos'd of ourſelves was about a Mile out of Town. It afforded us a very pleaſant Summer-Houſe, having a plentiful Stream of Water running thro' it. The Garden was thick ſet with Fruit-Trees, but without any Art or Order. Such as this are all the Gardens hereabouts: Only with this odds, that ſome of them have their Summer-Houſes more ſplendid than others, and their Waters improv'd into greater Variety of Fountains.

In viſiting the Gardens, *Franks* are obliged either to walk on Foot, or elſe to ride upon Aſſes; the Inſolence of the *Turks* not allowing them to ride on Horſe-back. To ſerve them upon theſe Occaſions here are Hackney-Aſſes, always ſtanding ready equipp'd for Hire. When you are mounted, the Maſter of the Aſs follows his Beaſt to the Place whither you are diſpos'd to go; goading him up with a ſharp pointed Stick; which makes him diſpatch his Stage with great Expedition. It is apt ſometimes to give a little Diſguſt to the generous Traveller, to be forc'd to ſubmit to ſuch Marks of Scorn; but there is no Remedy, and if the Traveller will take my Advice, his beſt Way will be to mount his Aſs contentedly, and to turn the Affront into a Motive of Recreation, as we did. Having ſpent the Day in the Garden, we return'd in the Evening to the Convent.

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[m] Acts ix. 17.

[n] Acts ix. 8.

[o] Acts ix. 25.

The next Day we ſpent at another Garden, not far diſtant from the former, but far exceeding it in the Beauty of its Summer-Houſe, and the Variety of its Fountains.

We went, as many of us as were diſpos'd, to *Sydonaiia*, a *Greek* Convent, about four Hours diſtant from *Damaſcus*, to the Northward, or North-by-Eaſt. The Road, excepting only two ſteep Aſcents, is very good. In this Stage we paſs'd by two Villages, the firſt call'd *Tall*, the ſecond *Meneen*. At a good Diſtance on the Right Hand is a very high Hill, reported to be the ſame on which *Cain* and *Abel* offer'd their Sacrifices, and where alſo the former ſlew his Brother, ſetting the firſt Example of Blood-ſhed to the World.

Sydonaiia is ſituated at the farther Side of a large Vale, on the Top of a Rock. The Rock is cut with Steps all up, without which it would be inacceſſible. It is fenced all round at the Top with a ſtrong Wall, which encloſes the Convent. It is a Place of very mean Structure, and contains nothing in it extraordinary, but only the Wine made here, which is indeed moſt excellent. This Place was at firſt founded and endow'd by the Emperor *Juſtinian*. It is at preſent poſſeſs'd by twenty *Greek* Monks, and forty Nuns, who ſeem to live promiſcuouſly together, without any Order or Separation.

Here are upon this Rock, and within a little Compaſs round about it, no leſs than ſixteen Churches or Oratories, dedicated to ſeveral Names. The firſt, to St. *John*; the ſecond, to St. *Paul*; the third, to St. *Thomas*; the fourth, to St. *Babylas*; the fifth, to St. *Barbara*; the ſixth, to St. *Chriſtopher*; the ſeventh, to St. *Joſeph*; the eighth, to St. *Lazarus*; the ninth, to the *Bleſſed Virgin*; the tenth, to St. *Demetrius*; the eleventh, to St. *Saba*; the twelfth, to St. *Peter*; the thirteenth, to St. *George*; the fourteenth, to *All-Saints*; the fifteenth, to the *Aſcenſion*; the ſixteenth, to the *Transfiguration of our Lord*: From all which we may conclude, this Place was held antiently in no ſmall Repute for Sanctity. Many of theſe Churches I actually viſited, but found them ſo ruin'd and deſolate, that I had not Courage to go to all.

In the Chapel, made uſe of by the Convent for their daily Services, they pretend to ſhew a great Miracle, done here ſome Years ſince, of which take this Account, as I receiv'd it from them.

They had once in the Church a little Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, very much reſorted to by Supplicants, and famous for the many Cures and Bleſſings granted in return to their Prayers. It happened that a certain ſacrilegious Rogue, took an Opportunity to ſteal away this miraculous Picture: But he had not kept it long in his Cuſtody, when he found it metamorphoſed into a real Body of Fleſh. Being ſtruck with Wonder and Remorſe at ſo prodigious an Event, he carried back the Prize to it's true Owners, confeſſing and imploring Forgiveneſs for his Crime. The Monks having recover'd ſo great a Jewel, and being willing to prevent ſuch another Diſaſter for the future, thought fit to depoſit it in a ſmall Cheſt of Stone; and placing it in a little Cavity, in the Wall behind the high Altar, fix'd an Iron Grate before it, in order to ſecure it from any fraudulent Attempts for the future. Upon the Grate there are hang'd abundance of little Toys and Trinkets, being the Offerings of many Votaries, in Return for the Succeſs given to their Prayers at this Shrine. Under the ſame Cheſt, in which the incarnate Picture was depoſited, they always place a ſmall Silver Baſon, in order to receive the Diſtillation of an holy Oil, which, they pretend, iſſues out from the encloſed Image, and does wonderful Cures in many Diſtempers, eſpecially thoſe affecting the Eyes.

On the Eaſt Side of the Rock is an antient Sepulchre, hallow'd in the firm Stone. The Room is about eight Yards ſquare, and contains in it's Sides, as I remember, twelve Cheſts for Corpſes. Over the Entrance there are carv'd ſix Statues as big as the Life, ſtanding in three Niches, two in each Niche. At the Pedeſtals of the Statues may be obſerv'd a few *Greek* Words.

A Gentleman in our Company, and myſelf, have Reaſon to remember this Place, for an Eſcape we had in it. A drunken *Janizary*, paſſing under the Window where we were, chanc'd to have a Drop of Wine thrown out upon his Veſt. Upon which innocent Provocation, he preſented his Piſtol at us in at the Window. Had it gone off, it muſt have been fatal to one or both of us, who ſate next the Place: But it pleas'd God to reſtrain his Fury. This Evening we return'd again to *Damaſcus*.

The next Morning we went to ſee the Street call'd [p] *Strait*. It is about half a Mile in Length, running from Eaſt to Weſt thro' the City. It being narrow, and the Houſes jutting out on both Sides in ſeveral Places, you cannot have a clear Proſpect of it's Length and Straitneſs. In this Street is ſhewn the Houſe of *Judas*, with whom St. *Paul* lodged; and in the ſame Houſe is an old Tomb, ſaid to be *Ananias*'s: But how he ſhould come to be buried here, they could not tell us, nor could we gueſs; his own Houſe being ſhewn us in another Place. However, the *Turks* have a Reverence for this Tomb, and maintain a Lamp always burning over it.

In the Afternoon, having preſented the Convent with Money, for our kind Reception, we took our Leaves of *Damaſcus*, and ſhap'd our Courſe for *Tripoli*, deſigning in the Way to ſee *Balbeck*, and the Cedars of *Libanus*." Thus far Mr. *Maundrell*.

It may not be improper to add to this Extract, that from [q] the Gardens of *Damaſcus* was originally tranſplanted the Fruit-Tree, which after the Name of the City we call the *Damaſcen*, and the Roſe which for the ſame Reaſon is call'd the *Damaſk*-Roſe: And that the making of Flower'd Silks and Linens being one of the Inventions of this City, at leaſt thoſe Sort of Stuffs being brought into our Parts of the World firſt from this City, we therefore continue the Name of Damaſks to them at this Day. But after all that can be ſaid to the Advantage of *Damaſcus*, with reſpect either to its Trade or fine Gardens, we who are Chriſtians are certain that it is not more happy in any Thing, than in having been the Place of St. *Paul*'s Converſion, and where he firſt acknowledged the Truth which he before perſecuted.

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[p] Acts ix. 11.

[q] Wells's Geography, Vol. IV. Pt. ii. p. 20, &c.

Arabia, to which St. *Paul* retired at his Departure from *Damaſcus*, is a large Country, extending from the River *Euphrates* to *Egypt*, and ſo lying to the Eaſt and South-Eaſt of the *Holy Land*. This Country took its Name from its Inhabitants being a [n] *mingled People*, compoſed of *Iſhmaelites*, *Madianites*, and *Amalekites*; the Word *Arab* denoting in the *Hebrew* Language to *mix* or *mingle*; and the Derivative *Ereb*, or *Arabim*, a *mixt Multitude*. The Country has been from early Times diſtinguiſh'd into three Parts: *Arabia Felix*, or *the Happy*, to the South; ſo ſtiled from its rich Products, and famous for the Queen of *Sheba*, who came to hear the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, and whoſe Kingdom was ſituated in this fertile Country: *Arabia Petræa*, or *the Stony*, to the North of *Arabia Felix*; ſo called either from its Capital *Petra*, which was built on a Rock, or from the Rockineſs of the whole Diviſion, being full of Mountains, among which is Mount *Sinai*, ſo famous in ſacred Scripture: *Arabia Deſerta*, or *the Deſart*, lying ſtill more North, or rather North-Eaſt; ſo named from the natural Barrenneſs of the Country. This Diviſion reaches up to the very Neighbourhood of *Damaſcus*, and therefore 'tis not to be queſtion'd, that this was the peculiar Part of *Arabia* to which St. *Paul* retreated after his Converſion. And as *Chriſt*, after his Baptiſm, withdrew into the Wilderneſs of *Judea*, before he actually began to preach; ſo St. *Paul*, after his Converſion and Baptiſm, withdrew into the Deſarts of *Arabia*, there to receive the Knowledge of the Goſpel by immediate Revelation from *Chriſt*; and this being done, he [o] returned to *Damaſcus*, and began ſtraightway to preach *Chriſt* in the Synagogues.

As to the Inhabitants of *Arabia* [p], they are generally reputed a cunning, witty, generous, ingenious People, exceſſive Lovers of Eloquence and Poetry; but then they are ſuperſtitious, vindictive, and ſanguinary, and make no Scruple of robbing, which they think allowable to them, becauſe *Abraham*, the Father of *Iſhmael* their Progenitor, gave this Son nothing. The Scripture frequently mentions them as a powerful People, who valued themſelves upon their Wiſdom and Wealth. Their Kings [q] furniſhed *Solomon* with a great Quantity of Gold and Silver; and they [r] paid *Jehoſhaphat* an annual Tribute of ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred Sheep, and as many Goats. According to Scripture alſo, the *Arabians* loved War; but made it rather like Plunderers, than like Soldiers under Diſcipline, and accuſtomed to military Exerciſes. Their Abode was generally under Tents: They lived at Liberty in the Field, concerned themſelves little about cultivating the Earth, and were not very obedient to their Kings.

SECT. III.

St. Paul *goes to* Jeruſalem *to ſee St.* Peter. *Preaches in* Syria *and* Cilicia. *Fetch'd by* Barnabas *to preach at* Antioch. *Carries the Alms of the* Antiochian *Chriſtians to the* Jews. *Commiſſioned with* Barnabas *to preach to the* Gentiles. *Taken up into the third Haven. Sent into* Cyprus. *Smites* Elymas *the Sorcerer with Blindneſs. Diſcourſe in the Synagogue of* Antioch *in* Piſidia. *Preaches at* Iconium *and* Lyſtra. *Cures an impotent Man, and rejects the Worſhip of the People. Stoned. Travels as far as* Illyricum. *Sent to* Jeruſalem *about Circumciſion, and returns to* Antioch *with the Synodical Decree.*

ST. *Paul*, having gotten off the Danger [a] he was in at *Damaſcus*, went up to [b] *Jeruſalem*, to ſee *Peter* and the Church there. *Peter* was then newly return'd from confirming the People of *Samaria*, who were converted by *Philip*. When *Paul* was arrived at *Jeruſalem*, he ſought the Company and Fellowſhip of the Chriſtians of that City: But they, knowing how furious an Enemy he had been to them, could not believe that he was converted, but being afraid of ſome cloſe Deſign againſt them, avoided his Company. *Barnabas*, either being more bold than others, or elſe having had ſome better Information than others, took him, and brought him to *Peter* and *James*, and told them both the Manner of his Converſion and the Effects of it; "That *Jeſus* had ſhewed himſelf to him in his Journey to *Damaſcus*, and miraculouſly brought him over to the Obedience of the Goſpel; and that he had at *Damaſcus* preached *Jeſus* to be the Meſſiah, with Confidence and Zeal." The Church being thus informed of the Sincerity of his Converſion, admitted him to an intimate Communion with them; and he remained in a familiar Converſe with the Apoſtles and Diſciples fifteen Days at *Jeruſalem*. In this City, during theſe fifteen Days, he was very active to preach the Goſpel, and endeavoured by his Diſputations to convert the *Helleniſt-Jews*; but they, after their uſual Manner, fell to Violence, and ſought to kill him; which when the Diſciples perceived, they conducted him down to *Cæſarea*, and ſo ſent him by Sea to *Tarſus*, which was his own native City.

Being arrived at [c] *Tarſus*, he kept on his Courſe of preaching to his own Countrymen; and going into the neighbouring Countries, inſtructed the Regions of *Syria* and *Cilicia* in the Knowledge of *Chriſt* and his Goſpel; where finding great Succeſs, he continued three Years.

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[n] Jerem. xxv. 2[illegible], 24.
[o] Gal. i. 17.
[p] Calmet's Dictonary.
[q] 2 Chron. xvii. 1.
[r] 2 Chron. ix. 14.
[a] Acts ix. 26——30. Gal. i. 18.

[b] St. Paul himſelf tells us, that this Journey to Jeruſalem was *after three Years*, by which he meant three Years from his Converſion, as ſeems manifeſt from the Scope of his Epiſtle to the Galatians.

[c] Gal. i. 21.

While *Paul* was thus buſied at a Diſtance,[d] the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem* heard that ſome Chriſtians, *Cyprians* and *Cyrenians*, who had been driven from *Jeruſalem* by the late Perſecution, which happened about *Stephen*, were come to *Antioch*, *Phenice*, and *Cyprus*, preaching the Goſpel as they travelled, tho' to none but the *Jews*. At *Antioch* they met with more than uſual Succeſs; God ſo bleſſing their Preaching, that a great Multitude believed, and turned unto the Lord. As ſoon as this News came to the Ears of the Apoſtles, they judged it convenient to ſend down *Barnabas* thither, to inſtruct them more fully, to confirm them in the Truth, and to ſettle a Church among them. When *Barnabas* was come, he much rejoiced to ſee the Progreſs which the Goſpel had already made among the *Antiochians*; and perceiving that, by the Help of ſome able Aſſiſtant, he might complete the Converſion of that City, he went to *Tarſus* to ſeek *Paul*, with whom he had contracted a moſt intimate Friendſhip, and whom he knew to be a moſt powerful Preacher: And having found him, he brought him down to *Antioch*, where they both unanimouſly and diligently ſpent their Time in teaching and inſtructing all that would come to hear them, for the Space of a whole Year; God ſo bleſſing their Labours, that Infidelity was almoſt perfectly baniſhed out of the City. And here it was that the [e] Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians; for before they were called *Nazarenes:* But this new Apellation ſoon prevailed all over the World, and put the other almoſt out of uſe.

While *Paul* and *Barnabas* remained at *Antioch*, there[f] came down ſeveral Prophets from *Jeruſalem* thither; of whom one, named *Agabus*, foretold by the Spirit, That there ſhould be a great Famine in all the World the next Year; which accordingly came to paſs, and particularly raged in *Judea*. *Claudius Cæſar* then reigned. When the Chriſtians of *Antioch* heard of the Miſeries of their Brethren in *Judea*, they reſolved to ſend them Relief, and make a charitable Collection, according to the utmoſt of their Abilities; and entruſted *Barnabas* and *Paul* with the Carriage of it; who having brought it to *Jeruſalem*, put it into the Hands of the Biſhops and Elders, to be diſpoſed of among the Brethren, as to them ſhould ſeem moſt agreeable to the Wants and Neceſſities of the Church.

Paul and *Barnabas*[g] having thus fulfilled their Miniſtry, returned again to *Antioch*, and brought along with them *John*, ſurnamed *Mark*, the Kinſman of *Barnabas*. Not[gg] long after their Arrival, while the Church was buſied in the Courſe of Divine Service; ſuch as Prayer, celebrating the Sacraments, Preaching, and Faſting; the Holy Ghoſt, by one of the [h] Prophets of that Church, commanded that *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſhould be ſet apart for a ſpecial Office, in preaching the Word. Whereupon *Simeon*, *Lucius*, and *Manahen*, having ſolemnly ſeparated them, by Prayer, Faſting, and Impoſition of Hands, to the Work for which God had nominated them, diſmiſſed them to that Work. But before they ſet forth, [i] *Paul* was taken up into the Third Heaven, or Paradiſe; and, that he might be every way fitted for his Apoſtolate, was admitted to the Knowledge and Sight of the ineffable Myſteries of Heaven, and the Glories of God, which Man can neither expreſs nor comprehend. This was done, doubtleſs, that he might be equal with the very chiefeſt Apoſtles in Knowledge and Revelation, and might be encouraged to preach the Goſpel boldly among thoſe barbarous Nations, whither he was to go, in hopes of the future Enjoyment of that Glory of which he had ſo clear a Proſppct. But leſt he ſhould be exalted by the Abundance of Revelations, and be unfit to compaſſionate the Weak and Tempted, God put into his Fleſh ſome ſinful and unruly Luſts, through the Miniſtry of *Satan*'s Agents, which he calls *a Thorn in the Fleſh*; by which he was ſo humbled and grieved, that he beſought God thrice to remove it from him. Nevertheleſs the Divine Wiſdom thought fit to continue it in ſuch Strength all his Life, that had not he given him a great Sufficiency of Grace, [k] and excited him to conſtant Mortification, he had certainly become a Caſt-away. Thus it pleaſed God to exerciſe the greateſt of his Saints with Temptations, that the Tempted may neither deſpair of his Favour, nor his choiceſt Servants harden themſelves againſt thoſe who are ſo tempted.

Paul, [l] being thus prepared for his Apoſtolate, took his Companion *Barnabas*, and departed to *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria* adjoining to the Sea, from whence they ſailed to *Cyprus*, an Iſle of the *Mediterranean Sea*. In one of the chief Cities of this Iſland, *Salamis*, they firſt began their Miniſterial Office, and preached the Goſpel in the Synagogues of the *Jews: John*, who accompanied them hither, attending their Motions, and doing any Offices in the Church, eſpecially about the Poor. Leaving *Salamis*, they went up and down the Iſland, preaching the Word of God; and at length came to *Paphos*, a large City, ſituate on the other Side of the Iſland, and the Seat of the *Roman* Proconſul. The Proconſul at this Time was *Sergius Paulus*, a very wiſe and prudent Man, yet very much ſeduced by the Magical Arts of a *Jewiſh* Impoſtor, one *Barjeſus*, otherwiſe called *Elymas the Sorcerer*. While they were in this City, the Governor himſelf, doubtleſs having heard of the Miracles and Doctrine of theſe Apoſtles, was very deſirous to hear them preach, and accordingly ſent for them to come before him. But *Elymas the Sorcerer*, unwilling to loſe ſo great an Admirer, oppoſed his Intent, and ſought to divert the Deputy from believing in *Chriſt*; caſting the worſt of Calumnies on the Apoſtles and their Doctrine. When *Paul* perceived this, he was filled with a pious Anger, and zealous Indignation at his Wickedneſs, and ſetting his Eyes upon him, ſaid unto him: *O thou ſubtil and miſchievous Wretch, who, like a true Child of the Devil, art buſy to promote his Kingdom, and to that End ſetteſt thyſelf againſt the Preaching of Truth and Righteouſneſs, how dareſt thou oppoſe the Diſpenſation of Heaven and the Ways of God? Thinkeſt thou that this impudent Fighting againſt God ſhall paſs without Puniſhment? No, it ſhall not; but ſince thou art ſuch an active Miniſter of the Prince of Darkneſs, and ſtandeſt out ſo perverſly againſt the Light, thou ſhalt find thy Fault in thy Puniſhment, for thou ſhalt be blind, not ſeeing the Sun for a Seaſon.* St. *Paul* had no ſooner pronounced theſe Words, but *Elymas* was ſmitten with Blindneſs, and could not go without leading. This Miracle ſo aſtoniſhed the Governor, that he could not but believe their Doctrine, which brought ſuch Teſtimonials along with it that it was from God. Nor had it a leſs Effect upon the Sorcerer himſelf, if we may believe [m] *Origen* and *Chryſoſtom*, who ſay, "That the Puniſhment inflicted upon him for his Infidelity wrought ſuch Remorſe in his Heart, that he repented and believed, and, together with recovering his Sight, came to the Knowledge of *Chriſt*, and the Viſion of the Sun of Righteouſneſs."

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[d] Acts xi. 19——26.

[e] Acts xi. 26.

[f] Acts xi. 27——30.

[g] Acts xii. 24, 25.

[gg] Acts xiii. 2, 3.

[h] There were, in the primitive Church, ſeveral endued with a Gift of Prophecy; as Barnabas, Simeon ſurnamed Niger, Lucius, Manahen, and Paul himſelf. Acts xiii. 1.

[i] 2 Cor. xii. 2——9.

[k] 1 Cor. ix. 27.

[l] Acts xiii. 4——13.

Paul, [n] after this ſucceſsful Victory over the Power of *Satan*, ſtaid a while in *Paphos*, and then left *Cyprus*, with the reſt of his Company, and ſailed to *Perga* in *Pamphylia*, a Country of the *Leſſer Aſia*. Here they were no ſooner arrived, but *John-Mark*, weary of this travelling unſettled Life, [o] bid them adieu, and returned to *Jeruſalem*; probably upon the News that *Herod* was dead, and that *Peter* appeared again in public. *Paul* ſtaid not at *Perga*, nor in the adjoining Towns, but haſtened to *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, the capital City of thoſe Countries, from whence he knew it would be moſt proper for him to diſperſe the Knowledge of the Goſpel into the neighbouring Regions. Here they began to preach, immediately upon their Arrival; for going into the Synagogue on the next Sabbath, among the other *Jews*, and there, being invited by the Rulers of the Synagogue to make a Deſcant upon the Leſſons out of the Law and Prophets juſt before read to the Aſſembly, according to the Cuſtom, *Paul* took that Opportunity to declare to the *Jews* of that Place; "That the Meſſiah was come, and that *Jeſus* was he."

In that moſt eloquent Diſcourſe, the Apoſtle, having firſt begged their Attention, [p] commemorates the many ſignal Mercies and Favours that God had, in former Ages, ſhewn to their Nation, by a miraculous Deliverance of them from the *Egyptian* Slavery; by patiently bearing with their ſinful Diſcontents and Murmurings in the Wilderneſs; by expelling ſeven Nations out of the Land of *Canaan*, that they might enjoy ſo rich and pleaſant a Country; by giving them a Succeſſion of Judges and Kings; but particularly by raiſing up *David* to them, a Perſon of ſuch admirable Goodneſs and Piety, to whom he gave the Promiſe that the Meſſiah ſhould be of his Poſterity, which Promiſe he had lately fulfilled in the Perſon of *Jeſus*. For though that great Perſon, who was indeed the Saviour of the World, had met with very cruel and barbarous Uſages from their Brethren, the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, being crucified and ſlain by them; yet all this was no more than what was foretold by the Prophets ſhould befal the Meſſiah. And beſides, there were ſo many convincing Evidences to prove this Truth, that it could not reaſonably be queſtioned. For not only *John the Baptiſt*, who was ſent before him to give notice of his Coming, and by the Baptiſm of Repentance to fit Men for the Reception of him, openly and plainly declared, that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah, and that he did not take up that Opinion by a ſlight Conjecture, but it was revealed to him by God himſelf, who ſent him on that Errand; but God himſelf alſo gave a Demonſtration of it, in raiſing him from the Dead, according to the Prophecies delivered concerning him, and ſhewing him to Multitudes of Witneſſes then alive, after his Reſurrection. Wherefore he concluded, *Since the Forgiveneſs of Sins, and Juſtification, which is not attainable by the Law of* Moſes, *is now tendered to you by believing in* Jeſus, *you ſhould take heed how you deſpiſe ſuch free Mercy and Grace, leſt you bring upon yourſelves ſuch horrible Judgments as even Hiſtory itſelf cannot make credible.*

This Diſcourſe produced a double Effect: The *Gentiles*, who were unacquainted with ſuch Sort of Doctrines, deſired better Information in the Truth of it the following Sabbath: And the *Jews*, who waited for the Redemption of *Iſrael*, as well Proſelytes as others, believ'd, and attended upon *Paul* and *Barnabas* for further Inſtruction: Who exhorted them to perſevere in the Faith, notwithſtanding the Diſcouragements they might meet with to deter them from it. On the next Sabbath-Day the *Gentiles*, who had deſired to hear *Paul*, met unanimouſly, ſcarce a Man in the City being abſent; ſo great a Deſire had they to hear the Word of God. But the unbelieving *Jews*, envying the Succeſs of the Goſpel, endeavoured to hinder it, by blaſting the Reputation both of the Doctrine and Preachers; contradicting it as falſe, and blaſpheming them as Preachers of Lyes. At this the Apoſtles were nothing daunted, but told them boldly, "That tho' they were commiſſioned to preach to the *Jews* in the firſt Place, yet ſince they proved ſuch obſtinate Infidels, and made themſelves unworthy of eternal Life, they were ordered to preach to the *Gentiles*; and ſo they would; that ſo *Chriſt*, as was foretold, might be *a Light to the* Gentiles, and *for Salvation to the Ends of the Earth*." This Speech did not more pleaſe the *Gentiles*, than incenſe the *Jews*: Who thereupon were ſo exaſperated, that they reſolv'd to be rid of ſuch Company; and having ſtirred up the chief Women to excite their Huſbands againſt the Apoſtles, and engage them to perſecute them, the Apoſtles were forced to fly for their Safety, and abandon the City and the neighbouring Parts. They left a great Number of *Gentile* Converts in the City, who bore the Departure of the Apoſtles with great Patience; knowing that 'twas no idle Ceremony which they uſed, in ſhaking off the Duſt of their Feet againſt them when they went away, but that it would prove fatal, and foreſhewed that God would ſhake off ſuch Infidels: Wherefore they were filled with all ſpiritual Joy in believing.

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[m] Chryſ. p. 255, 258. Orig. in Exod. xxii, xxiii.

[n] Acts xiii. 14—52.

[o] Acts xv. 38.

[p] Acts xiii. 16—41.

From thence they [s] went to *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycaonia*, another Province of the *Leſſer Aſia*, where they again entered into the Synagogues of the *Jews*, notwithſtanding the ill Treatment they had met with from the *Jews* in all other Places; for ſo great was their Zeal for the Goſpel, that no ill Uſage could deter them from preaching it. Wherefore they, according to their uſual Courſe, began their Preaching there; and God ſo bleſſed their Word, that many, both *Jews* and Proſelytes, believed. Their Succeſs encouraged them to continue a long Time in this City, to inſtruct the Converts, by teaching them more fully, and to confirm them by Miracles. But though they had gained a conſiderable Part of the City to the Faith, yet there remained many in Unbelief: The old Leaven of *Jewiſh* Malice began to ferment again, and the unbelieving *Jews*, having ſtirred up the *Gentiles* againſt the Apoſtles, and by Calumnies made them ill-affected to the Chriſtians, at laſt proceeded to take them and ſtone them, being armed with the Authority of the Magiſtrates of the City. The Apoſtles had Warning of their Deſign; wherefore they got away, and fled into the next Cities of the ſame Country, *Lyſtra* and *Derbe*; and there abiding, preached the Goſpel to the Inhabitants, and to the People of the adjoining Towns.

At [t] *Lyſtra*, among the Converts which St. *Paul's* Preaching brought over to the Faith, there was a certain Man who was lame from his Mother's Womb, and had never walked. *Paul* perceiving it, and that he had Faith to be ſaved, thought fit to add the Cure of his Body to that of his Soul, knowing that it would be not only beneficial to him, but to all the reſt, in confirming their Faith. Wherefore, that the Miracle might be more conſpicuous, he ſaid to him in a loud Voice, in the Midſt of them all, *Stand upright on thy Feet*: And immediately his Strength was reſtored, and he leaped and walked. This Miracle amazed all the *Lyſtrians*, who being ſenſible that ſuch Works could be done only by a Divine Power, cried out in the Speech of *Lycaonia*, *The Gods are come down to us in the Likeneſs of Men.* And preſently, after their ſuperſtitious Manner, they called *Barnabas*, *Jupiter*, on Account of his venerable Gravity, and *Paul*, *Mercurius*, becauſe he was the chief Speaker, as *Mercury* is fabled by the Poets to be the Interpreter of the Gods, and the uſual Attendant upon *Jupiter*. The Fame of this being ſpread over the City, almoſt all the Inhabitants came together, and proceeded to ſacrifice to the Apoſtles; and for this End the Prieſt of *Jupiter* brought Oxen dreſſed up with Garlands, after the *Gentile* Manner, to the Place where they were. But as ſoon as the Apoſtles, *Barnabas* and *Saul*, heard of it, they were much diſturbed at the ſuperſtitious Attempt; and rending their Clothes in Sign of their Grief for, and Abhorrence of, the Fact, ran to them, and told them, "That they were miſtaken in the Object of their Worſhip; for tho' they did many Miracles in the Name and by the Power of *Chriſt*, yet they were no more than Men, of like Paſſions with themſelves: That the End of their Preaching and working Miracles, was to wean them from the idolatrous Worſhip of Creatures, and fix their Faith and Service upon the true Object, the living God, who made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all Things that are therein; whom they had ſo long defrauded of his due Honour, tho' he gave them convincing Arguments of his Eſſence and Providence, doing them good, and giving them Rain, and fruitful Seaſons, filling their Hearts with Food and Gladneſs." By theſe Arguments did they at length keep them from their intended Idolatry, tho' with much Difficulty. Were it not to be wiſhed, that the ſame Arguments could be as prevalent with the Church of *Rome*, to prevent the idolatrous Worſhip of theſe and other Saints, as they were with the *Lyſtrians*, and ought to be with all truly rational and religious Men?

But notwithſtanding this Veneration of the Apoſtles, ſo changeable are Mens Minds, that the *Lyſtrians*, by the Perſwaſions of certain *Jews* who came down from *Jeruſalem*, turned their Enemies; and having ſtoned them, drew them out of the City, ſuppoſing they had been dead, as indeed St. *Paul* was in all Appearance. Thus did God bring that Shower of Stones, which *Paul* poured out upon *Stephen*, upon his own Head, tho' not with ſo fatal Conſequence: For as the Diſciples were attending upon his Corpſe, probably in Order to carry him to his Grave, he aroſe and returned into the City with them: But becauſe he would not provoke his Perſecutors, he departed the next Day, in Company with *Barnabas*, to *Derbe*; where they taught the People, and converted many, no Danger being able to fright them from their Work. After this, they returned again to *Lyſtra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, to confirm the Souls of the Diſciples, and encourage them to perſevere in the Faith, notwithſtanding the Diſcouragements they might meet with; for he aſſured them, that all Chriſtians muſt expect, thro' much Tribulation, to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. This being done, he ordained them Elders in every Church, to teach and inſtruct them; and then left them to the Protection of God, to whoſe Care they recommended him by Faſting and Prayer. And paſſing through *Piſidia*, they came to *Pamphylia*, where having preached a little while at *Perga*, a City of that Province, they went to *Attalia*, a Sea-Port Town, and the Metropolis of the Country. And thus having gone thro' a large Courſe of Miniſtry, they returned from thence to *Antioch* in *Syria* by Sea. Here they ſummoned the Church together, and gave them an Account of their Work, and the Succeſs of it among the *Gentiles*: And they continued here a long Time. This was about three Years after their firſt ſetting out, when they were, by the Divine Commiſſion, ſet apart to this Work of converting the *Gentiles*.

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[s] Acts xiv. 1—7.

[t] Acts xiv. 8—28.

While St. *Paul* made his chief Reſidence at *Antioch*, between the before-mention'd Return and his Going up to *Jeruſalem*, which ſome of our moſt learned Chronologers account five Years, it is very probable that he went over that large Extent of Land, which he ſpeaks of in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, *From*[f] Jeruſalem *round about as far as* Illyricum, *preaching the Goſpel*; [t] very often reſorting to *Antioch*, as the Place of his ſettled Abode. What Countries were included within this Compaſs, is not particularly mentioned in Scripture; but 'tis generally believed, that all *Judea*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Cappadocia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Macedonia*, are contained in it; ſo that a great Part of the World were then enlightned by St. *Paul*'s Preaching. In this Time, it is very probable, he underwent many of thoſe Afflictions, which he gives us a Catalogue of, in his [u] ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*; eſpecially his Sufferings by the *Jews*, his Shipwreck by Sea, his being beaten with Rods by the *Romans*, and being in Perils by the Heathen.

Towards the latter End of the Continuance of *Paul* and *Barnabas* at *Antioch*, [w] there happened a great Controverſy there about Circumciſion, and other Rites of the *Moſaic* Law, occaſioned by certain Believers of the *Phariſees* Perſuaſion, who came down from *Judea* to *Antioch*. Theſe taught the Brethren, "That Circumciſion was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for Salvation, that they could not be ſaved without it, by their Faith in *Jeſus*." The *Antiochians* were exceedingly troubled at it; and tho' *Paul* and *Barnabas* had ſeveral Diſputations with them, to prove the Emptineſs and Inſignificancy of thoſe legal Ceremonies, yet they received but little Satisfaction about it. It was thought neceſſary, therefore, to have the Judgment of the Apoſtles and Church of *Jeruſalem* about that Queſtion; and for this *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who beſt underſtood the Arguments of the contrary Party, were diſpatched to *Jeruſalem*. In their Journey they paſſed thro' *Phœnice* and *Samaria*, and related to the Chriſtians there, the Converſions they had made among the *Gentiles*, in the ſeveral Places they had preached in; who received the News with much Joy. Being come to *Jeruſalem*, they were entertained by the Apoſtles and Elders with great Kindneſs and Civility, and declared to them the Succeſs of their Miniſtry among the *Gentiles*, and how peaceably they had lived till this unhappy Difference aroſe among them. The Apoſtles and Elders of that Church, being no Strangers to thoſe Opinions and Doctrines, called a Council, and after ſeveral Debates about the Queſtion, it was reſolved; "That the Rites of the Law of *Moſes* ſhould not be impoſed upon the *Gentiles*; but they ſhould be reſtrained for a Time from eating Blood, from Things ſtrangled, and from Things offered to Idols; and be forbidden Fornication, a Thing thought equally indifferent by the Heathens as the former.

In this Aſſembly, *Peter* having firſt declared the Caſe of *Cornelius* and his Friends, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, to convince the *Jews* that the Calling of the *Gentiles* was equally approved and allowed by God as theirs was, related what great Things God had done amongſt the *Gentiles* by their Miniſtry: A plain Evidence that they, though uncircumciſed, and Aliens to the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, were accepted of God as well as the natural Seed of *Abraham*. The Iſſue of the Debate was, as above related, That the *Gentiles* were not under the Obligation of the Ritual Law of *Moſes*, and that at preſent they ſhould have only thoſe few neceſſary Obſervances injoin'd them, which we have already recited. The Decree of the Council was put into the Form of an Epiſtle, and ſent by *Judas* and *Silas* to *Antioch*, under the Conduct of *Paul* and *Barnabas*. This Council was held *Anno Domini* 49. in the ninth Year of *Claudius*, about five Years after the Death of *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, and [x] fourteen after the Converſion of St. *Paul*. Though ſome Chronologers, by Miſtake, add [y] three more Years, which would make the whole ſeventeen Years.

SECT. IV.

A Deſcription of the Places mentioned in St. Paul's *Travels, from his firſt Return to* Jeruſalem *after his Converſion, till his third Return thither to the Apoſtolical Synod; namely,* Cæſarea; Tarſus; Antioch *in* Syria; Seleucia; Cyprus, *and its Cities,* Salamis *and* Paphos; Pamphylia, *and its City* Perga; Antioch *in* Piſidia; Lycaonia, *and its Cities,* Iconium, Lyſtra, *and* Derbe; Attalia: *Alſo of* Joppa, Lydda, Gaza, *and* Azotus, *mentioned in the Travels of St.* Peter, *and St.* Philip *the Evangeliſt.*

ST. *Paul*, [a] being warned of God in a Viſion that his Preaching would not be acceptable at *Jeruſalem*, and that therefore he ſhould leave that City and betake himſelf to the *Gentiles*, was accordingly conducted by the Brethren to *Cæſarea*, of which Place take the following Account from *Joſephus*.

"[b] There was a certain Place by the Sea Side, formerly called *Straton*'s *Tower*, which *Herod* look'd upon as a very commodious Tract of Ground to raiſe a City upon. He drew his Model, ſet People to work upon it, and finiſh'd it. The Buildings were all of Marble, private Houſes as well as Palaces; but his Maſter-Piece was the Port, which he made as large as the [c] *Pyræneum*, and a ſafe Station againſt all Winds and Weathers, to ſay nothing of other Conveniencies. This Work was the more wonderful, becauſe all the Materials for it were brought thither at a prodigious Expence from afar off. This City ſtands in [d] *Phænicia*, upon the Road into *Egypt*, between *Dora* and *Joppa*, two wretched Sea-Towns, where there is no riding in the Harbours with a South-Weſt Wind; for it beats ſo furiouſly upon the Shore, that Merchant-Men are forced to keep off at Sea many Times, for fear of being driven a-ground. To encounter theſe Difficulties of the Place, *Herod* order'd a Mole to be made in the Form of an Half-Moon, and large enough for a Royal Navy to ride in. He directed alſo prodigious Stones to be let down there, in twenty Fathom Water; Stones of fifty Foot in Length, eighteen Foot over, and nine Foot deep; ſome greater, ſome leſs. This Mole was two hundred Foot in Extent: The one half of it ſerved to break the ſetting of the Sea; the other half ſerved for the Foundation of a Stone Wall, fortified with Turrets, the faireſt and largeſt of them being called by the Name of the *Tower of Druſus*, from *Druſus* the Son-in-Law of *Auguſtus*, who died young. There were ſeveral arched Vaults alſo, that ſerved for Seamen's Cabins. There was likewiſe a Key or Landing-Place, with a large Walk upon it around the Port, as a Place of Pleaſure to take the Air in. This Port opens to the Northward, which is the cleareſt Quarter of the Heavens. On the Left Hand of the Entrance into it, there was a Turret erected upon a large Platform, with a ſloping Bank to ſhoot off the Waſhing of the Sea: And on the Right Hand were two Stone Pillars over-againſt the Tower, and both of an Height. The Houſes about the Port were all uniformly built, of the moſt excellent Sort of Marble. Upon a Mount in the Middle ſtood a Temple, dedicated to *Cæſar*, which was of great Uſe to Mariners, for a famous Sea Mark. There was in this Temple two Statues or Images, the one of *Rome*, the other of *Cæſar*, and from hence the City took the Name of *Cæſarea*, celebrated no leſs for its Materials than for the Workmanſhip. The Contrivance of the Vaults and Common-Sewers was wonderful too, being laid at equal Diſtances one from another, and ſo diſcharging themſelves into the Sea. Only there was one Conveyance that went croſs all the reſt; and as it carried off all the Filth of the Town, ſo it made way for the Tides to ſwell and waſh the Paſſages, and to make all ſweet and clean. *Herod* built alſo a Stone Theatre; and upon the South Side of the Harbour, a ſpacious Amphitheatre, with a goodly Proſpect toward the Sea. He ſpared, in ſhort, neither for Money nor Pains; and in a matter of twelve Years this Work was brought to Perfection."

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[f] Rom. xv. 19.

[t] Hier. Ep. 148 Chryſ. in Rom. hom. 29.

[u] 2 Cor. xi. 23—26.

[w] Acts xv. 1———31.

[x] This appears from Gal. ii. 1.

[y] Mentioned Gal. i. 18.

[a] Wells's Geography, Vol. IV. Pt. ii. p. 26, &c.

[b] Joſeph. Ant. Book xv. Chap. 13.

Thus far *Joſephus* in the Place above referred to, who in another [e] Place tells us withal, that the greater Part of the Inhabitants of this City, which he calls the faireſt City of *Judea*, were *Greeks*.

To the foregoing Account of *Joſephus* it may be proper to add, that tho' this City is called only *Cæſarea* in the New-Teſtament, yet 'tis frequently ſtiled, by way of Diſtinction from others of the ſame Name, *Cæſarea Paleſtinæ*, as being the Metropolis of *Paleſtine*, and the Seat of the *Roman* Proconſul. Here it was that St. *Peter* [f] converted *Cornelius* and his Kinſmen, the Firſt-fruits of the *Gentiles*. Here lived [g] *Philip* the Evangeliſt. Here *Paul* [h] defended himſelf againſt the *Jews*, and their Orator *Tertullus*. Here, in the Amphitheatre, it was that *Herod-Antipas* [i] was ſmitten by an Angel of God. And as for the Times after the New-Teſtament, here was born *Euſebius*, the learned Hiſtorian and Chronologer, and who was Biſhop of this City at the Beginning of the Fourth Century, and of the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, to whom he made a celebrated Oration.

Having made mention of *Cæſarea* being the Place, where *Peter* converted *Cornelius*, and *Philip* the Evangeliſt lived; this ſeems to be the moſt proper Place for taking notice of thoſe Cities or Towns, which lie to the South of *Cæſarea*, and are mentioned only in the Hiſtory of St. *Peter* and *Philip*.

Now we read that St. *Peter*, [k] when he was ſent for by *Cornelius* to *Cæſarea*, was at *Joppa*; which is a Sea-Port Town, lying South of *Cæſarea*, and antiently the only Port to *Jeruſalem*; whence [l] all the Materials ſent from *Tyre* towards the Building of *Solomon*'s Temple were brought hither, and landed. It is ſaid to have been firſt built by *Japhet*, and from him to have taken its Name *Japho*, afterwards moulded into *Joppa*. And the very Heathen Geographers ſpeak of it as built before the Flood. It is now called *Jaffa*, ſomewhat nearer to its firſt Appellation, and is in but a poor and mean Condition.

As St. *Peter* was ſent for to *Cæſarea* from *Joppa*, ſo he was ſent [m] for to *Joppa* from *Lydda*; which lay not far off, but ſomewhat more Inland, and to the North. *Joſephus* tells us, 'twas a Village not yielding to a City for Greatneſs; and elſewhere he expreſly ſtiles it a City. By the *Gentiles* it was called *Dioſpolis*, or the *City of Jupiter*; but by the Chriſtians, in the Times of the Holy Wars, it had the Name of *St. George's*; partly from a magnificent Temple, which the Emperor *Juſtinian* there erected to the Honour of that Martyr; but principally from an Opinion which they had amongſt them, that he ſuffered Martyrdom in that Place. An Opinion founded on two Miſtakes; the firſt, of a *Cenotaphium*, or an empty Monument, erected in this City to preſerve his Memory, for the Grave in which he was interr'd; the other, in taking the Word *Paſſio*, uſed in the Martyrologies, for the Place of his Suffering, whereas it is meant only of the Story or Celebration. But howſoever, they entitled it by the Name of *St. George's*, and made it on that Account an Epiſcopal See. This ſame *Lydda* is remarkable in ſacred Writ for the Cure of *Æneas* [n] by St. *Peter*, as related in the Life of that Apoſtle.

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[c] The Port belonging to Athens.

[d] He elſewhere reckons in Judea.

[e] Wars of the Jews, Book iii. Chap 14

[f] Acts x.

[g] Acts xxi. 8.

[h] Acts xxiv.

[i] Acts xii. 19, 20.

[k] Acts x. 5 & 9, 39, 43. See Page 766 of this Work.

[l] 2 Chron. ii. 16.

[m] Acts ix. 32, 38, 39.

By the fore-mentioned miraculous Cure, as we before took notice, were converted to the Faith, not only all that dwelt at *Lydda*, but alſo all that dwelt at [o] *Saron*, an adjoining Town, which gave Name to that ſpacious and fruitful Valley, that reaches from *Cæſarea* to *Joppa*, and is famous among the Rabbies for its Wines.

Having thus deſcribed the Towns in theſe Parts, mentioned in the Hiſtory of St. *Peter*, we ſhall proceed next to two other Towns, lying likewiſe in this Tract of the *Holy Land*, and mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Philip* the Evangeliſt. The firſt of them is [p] *Gaza*, which lies at the South-Weſt Point of *Judea*. It is called in the Old-Teſtament *Azzah*, from whence perhaps the Name of *Gaza* was derived by the Heathens. But ſome will have it ſo called by the *Perſians*, in regard that *Cambyſes* here laid up the Treaſure, which he had provided for the Wars of *Egypt*; the Word *Gaza* in the *Perſian* Language ſignifying *Treaſures*. After this it is ſaid to be made the Receptacle, or Treaſury, in which the *Perſians* laid up the Tributes of the Weſtern Provinces; whence all Riches came in Time to have the Name of *Gazæ*. This is the City, whoſe Gates *Sampſon* [q] took away; and whither he was carried, when he was taken; and where he pulled down the Houſe of their God *Dagon* on the Lords of the *Philiſtines*. It was deſtroyed by *Alexander the Great*, and ſo *made deſolate*, as the Prophet had foretold; and is therefore called, and, ſaith *Strabo*, continued *Deſart*. For the City built by *Conſtantine*, and called by the Name of *Gaza*, is nearer to the Sea than the old one was, as St. *Jerome* informs us. Near the Place of *Old Gaza*, or *Gaza the Deſart*, it was that [r] *Philip* baptized the Eunuch.

This Eunuch was, we are inform'd, a Man of *Ethiopia*, of great Authority under *Candace* Queen of the *Ethiopians*: Where by *Ethiopia* is to be underſtood, not the *Aſiatic Ethiopia*, or Part of *Arabia* ſo ſtiled in the Old Teſtament, but the *African Ethiopia*, lying below *Egypt*, in the South Part of *Africa*, where *Candace* had been long the Name of the Queens, as we learn from *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Dio*.

As ſoon as *Philip* and the Eunuch came out of the Water, we read [s] that *the Spirit of the Lord caught away* Philip, *that the Eunuch ſaw him no more*; *but* that *Philip* was found at *Azotus*. This *Azotus* is the ſame which is called in the Old Teſtament [t] *Aſhdod*, memorable therein for the Temple of *Dagon*. It lies near the Shore between *Gaza* and *Joppa*. In the Times that Chriſtianity flouriſhed in theſe Parts, it was made an Epiſcopal See, and continued a fair Village till the Days of St. *Jerome*. The Evangeliſt *Philip* being brought to *Azotus*, we are inform'd, that from thence *he preached in all the Cities* lying in that Tract, *till he came to* Cæſarea; where we left St. *Paul*, whom now we ſhall follow in his Voyage to *Tarſus*. For we have related,[u] that *the Brethren brought him down to* Cæſarea, *and* thence *ſent him forth to* Tarſus.

Tarſus is the ſame which in *Hebrew* is called *Tarſhiſh*, from whence the Heathens derived the common Name *Tarſus*. It took the original Name from [w] *Tarſhiſh*, one of the Sons of *Javan*, who ſettled in theſe Parts, afterwards called *Cilicia*, being the South-Eaſt Country of *Aſia Minor*, and lying on the Northern Coaſt, at the Eaſt End of the *Mediterranean Sea*. The City of *Tarſhiſh* or *Tarſus* ſtands in a Plain, on the Banks of the River *Cydnus*, and was all along in antient Times a great trading and rich Town; whence all Trading and Merchant Ships came to be denoted by the Name of *Ships of* Tarſhiſh, ſo often mentioned in Holy Writ [x].

St. *Paul* having ſtaid ſome Time at this his native Place, was fetched from thence by [y] *Barnabas* to *Antioch* in *Syria*, called by ſome *Antiochia Epidaphne*, to diſtinguiſh it from the ſixteen other Cities, which in *Syria* and elſewhere bore the Name of *Antioch*. It took this additional Name from its Neighbourhood to *Daphne*, a Village ſo denominated from a Temple of *Daphne* ſtanding therein. It had the Name of *Antioch* given it by *Seleucus Nicanor*, the firſt King of *Syria* after *Alexander the Great*, in Memory of his Father *Antiochus*; and was after that the Royal Seat of the ſucceeding Kings of *Syria*. In the flouriſhing Times of the *Roman* Empire, it was the ordinary Reſidence of the Præfect or Governor of the Eaſtern Provinces, and was alſo honoured with the Reſidence of many of the *Roman* Emperors, eſpecially of *Verus* and *Valens*, who ſpent here the greateſt Part of their Time. But this Place is famous for nothing more than giving the Name [z] of Chriſtians to the Diſciples of *Chriſt*, who before this were commonly ſtiled *Nazarenes*, as being the Followers of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*: A Name which when it is uſed by the *Jews* at this Day, is uſed in Scorn, with the ſame Intent that the *Gentiles* of old were wont to call them *Galilæans*. It is alſo famous among us Chriſtians for being the Birth-Place of St. *Luke* the Evangeliſt; and of *Theophilus*, hence ſurnamed *Antiochenus*; and for its celebrated Biſhop, St. *Ignatius* the Martyr. Indeed, in ſuch Reputation has this Place been had in the earlier Times of Chriſtianity, that its Biſhop has been honour'd with the Title of Patriarch.

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[n] Acts ix. 33.
[o] Acts. ix. 35.
[p] Acts viii. 26.
[q] Judges xvi.
[r] Acts viii. 26, 38.
[s] Acts viiii. 39, 40.
[t] 1 Sam. v. 1, 2.
[u] Acts ix. 30.
[w] Gen. x. 4. Joſeph. Ant. of the Jews, B. i. Ch. 7.
[x] See more concerning this City at Page 774.
[y] Acts xi. 25, 26.
[z] Acts xi. 26.

As to the Situation of this City, it lay on both Sides the River *Orontis*, about twelve Miles diſtant from the Shore of the *Mediterranean Sea*. By Nature and Art it was fortify'd even to Admiration. It was adorned in former Times, with many ſumptuous Palaces and magnificent Temples, anſwerable to the Reputation of ſo great a City. But being taken by the *Saracens*, and afterwards by the *Turks*, it began to grow into decay, and is now in ſo deſolate and ruinous a Condition, that the Patriarch has long ſince removed his Dwelling to *Damaſcus*.

We read [a] that St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas* ſtaid preaching in *Antioch* a whole Year. About this Time happened that terrible Famine foretold by *Agabus*; the Conſideration whereof made the Chriſtians at *Antioch* commiſerate the Caſe of their ſuffering Brethren, and to raiſe conſiderable Contributions for the Relief and Succour of them that dwelt in *Judea*, which they ſent by St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas* to *Jeruſalem*; who [b] having diſpatched the Errand they were ſent about, leave *Jeruſalem* and return to [c] *Antioch*. Here, while they were joining in the public Exerciſes of Religion, the Holy Ghoſt by ſpecial Direction order'd, that theſe Two ſhould be ſet apart to preach the Goſpel in other Places. Which being accordingly done, by Prayer, Faſting, and Impoſition of Hands, they departed to [d] *Seleucia*. This City lay to the Weſt, or rather a little North-Weſt of *Antioch*, upon the *Mediterranean Sea*, and was ſo named from the Founder of it *Seleucus*, before-mentioned under *Antioch*, and reputed to be the greateſt Builder in the World. For he is ſaid to have founded nine Cities called by his own Name, ſixteen in Memory of his Father *Antiochus*, ſix by the Name of *Laodice* his Mother, and three in Honour of *Apamia* his firſt Wife; beſides many others of great Note in *Greece* and *Aſia*, either new-built, or beautify'd and repair'd by him. From this, *Seleucia*, the adjacent Part of *Syria*, had formerly the Name of *Seleucis*.

From *Seleucia* St. *Paul* ſet ſail with St. *Barnabas* for [e] *Cyprus*, an Iſland of the *Mediterranean Sea*, lying over-againſt *Seleucia* to the Weſt. 'Tis reputed to be diſtant from the Main-Land of *Syria* about an hundred Miles, and about ſixty Miles from *Cilicia*; to be extended in Length from Eaſt to Weſt about two hundred Miles, in Breadth, ſixty; and therefore to be one of the largeſt Iſles in the *Mediterranean*. The firſt Inhabitants of it were in all Probability the Poſterity of [f] *Kittim*, the Brother of *Tarſhiſh*, and Son of *Javan*; the City called *Citium* by the *Romans*, preſerving the Name of the firſt Planter for many Ages after. And hence it is that we find *Tarſhiſh* and *Chittim* mentioned together by the Prophet [g] *Iſaiah*, and both repreſented as Places well known to the *Tyrians*, the former being *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, the latter *Citium* in this Iſland, or the Iſland itſelf. The Name *Cyprus*, whereby it is called by the *Greeks*, is ſaid to be taken from the Cypreſs-Tree, which grows in great Abundance here. Tho' ſome tell us, that the *Greek* Word does not truly denote the Tree called by us the *Cypreſs*, but that which we call the *Privet*, being a Shrub which bears a white Flower, with a pleaſant Smell.

But from whatever Tree this Iſle took itſelf the Name of *Cyprus*, 'tis certain that it gave the Name of *Cypris*, or *Cypria*, to *Venus*, who was the chief Goddeſs of it in the Time of Heatheniſm, the Inhabitants being mightily addicted to Venery. Since the Times of Chriſtianity it has been famous for being the native Country of St. *Barnabas*, who accompanied St. *Paul* over hither; and with him here firſt planted the Goſpel.

The firſt Place in *Cyprus*, to which the Apoſtles St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas* are related to have come, is [h] *Salamis*, then one of the four moſt conſiderable Cities in the Iſle, giving Name to the whole Eaſtern Tract thereof, wherein it lay. It was oppoſite to the *Syrian* Coaſt, and particularly to *Seleucia*, whence the Apoſtles ſet ſail from the Main-land to the Iſland; ſo that it came naturally firſt in their Way. And being thus the firſt Place in the Iſle, where the Goſpel was preached; hence it was afterwards made the See of the Primate, or Metropolitan of the whole Iſle, in the primitive Times. It was deſtroyed by the *Jews* in the Reign of *Trajan*, and rebuilt: But being after that taken, ſacked, and razed to the Ground by the *Saracens*, in the Time of *Herodius*, it could never recover; the Metropolitan See being after that removed to *Nicoſia*. Out of the Ruins of *Salamis* is ſaid to have ariſen *Famaguſta*, the chief Place of the Iſle, when it was taken from the *Venetians* by the *Turks* in the Year 1570, in whoſe Hands the whole Iſland ſtill continues.

St. *Paul*, with his Companion St. *Barnabas*, having preached the Goſpel at *Salamis*, went quite [i] through the Iſle unto *Paphos*, the chief Town of the Weſtern Tract of the Iſle, as *Salamis* was of the Eaſtern, and which accordingly gave Name to the ſaid Tract. In this City *Venus* had the moſt antient and celebrated Temple, whence ſhe took the Name of *Paphia*. It was alſo under the *Romans* the Seat of the Proconſul, who was, at the Time of St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* coming hither, [k] *Sergius Paulus, a prudent Man, who called for the Apoſtles, and deſired to hear the Word of God*; and, upon St. *Paul*'s ſmiting *Elymas the Sorcerer* blind for withſtanding the Goſpel, was converted to the Faith.

Now [l] *when* Paul *and his Company looſed from* Paphos, *they came to* Perga *in* Pamphilia. This *Pamphilia* is a Province or Country of *Aſia the Leſſer*, lying to the North, over-againſt the Weſtern Part of *Cyprus*; the Part of the *Mediter-*

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[a] Acts xi. 26, 30.

[b] Acts xii. 25.

[c] Acts xiii. 1, 3.

[d] Acts xiii. 4.

Acts xiii. 4.

[f] Joſeph. Ant. Lib. i. cap. 7.

[g] Iſaiah xxiii.

[h] Acts xiii. 5.

[i] Acts xiii. 6.

[k] Acts xiii. 7, 12.

[l] Acts xiii. 13.

ranean Sea running between theſe, being peculiarly ſtiled from this Country, the [m] *Sea of Pamphilia.* And as it is thus bounded to the South with that Part of the *Mediterranean Sea*, which is denominated from it; ſo on the Land to the Eaſt it joins to *Cilicia*, the native Country of St. *Paul*. From the Etymology of the Name, ſome think it to have been ſo called from the ſame Reaſon that *Arabia* had its Name, becauſe inhabited by a Mixture of many Nations; for ſo the Word *Pamphylia* does expreſly ſignify in the *Greek* Tongue. And probable enough it is, that lying near unto the Sea, with an open Shore, partly oppoſite to *Africa*, near *Syria*, and not far from *Greece*, ſeveral Nations from all theſe Parts might repair unto it. Certain it is, that many *Jews* dwelt herein; whence *the Dwellers in* Pamphylia are [n] mentioned among them that appeared at *Jeruſalem* at the Day of *Pentecoſt*.

As for *Perga* [o] the City of *Pamphylia*, whither St. *Paul* is ſaid to come, it was famous among the Heathens for a Temple of *Diana*, and the yearly Feſtivals there held in Honour of her, who was thence ſtiled *Diana Pergæa.* From hence *John*, ſurnamed *Mark*, departing from St. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, returned to *Jeruſalem*; which was the Occaſion of the Heat which afterwards happened between theſe two Apoſtles concerning him.

When the Apoſtles departed from *Perga*, they came to [p] *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, a ſmall Province or Country lying North of *Pamphylia*. The City *Antioch*, whither the Apoſtles are peculiarly ſaid to have come, was the principal City of the ſaid Country, and is, to diſtinguiſh it from others of the ſame Name, uſually ſtiled *Antiochia Piſidiæ*. It was one of the Cities built by *Seleucus*, above-mention'd, in Honour of his Father *Antiochus*. Here was a Synagogue of the *Jews*, wherein St. *Paul* preached that excellent Sermon above recited.

A Perſecution [q] being raiſed againſt the Apoſtles by the unbelieving *Jews*, and they being expell'd the Coaſts of *Piſidia*, they came unto *Iconium*, and after that to *Lyſtra* and *Derbe*, all three Cities of *Lycaonia*, a ſmall Region or Province lying to the North-Eaſt of *Piſidia*, and adjoining Southward to *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*.

Iconium [r] was the chief City of the ſaid Province, and is ſaid by *Strabo* to be well built, and in the richeſt Part of the Province. It was alſo a Place of great Strength and Conſequence, and therefore choſen for the Seat of the *Turkiſh* Kings in *Leſſer Aſia*, at ſuch Time as they were moſt diſtreſſed by the Weſtern Chriſtians. 'Tis ſaid ſtill to keep ſome Remains of its old Name, being now called *Cogni*, and in ſo conſiderable a Condition, as to be the Reſidence of a *Turkiſh Beglerbeg*, or *Baſha*.

An [r] Aſſault being here made both of the unbelieving *Jews*, and alſo of the *Gentiles*, to uſe the Apoſtles deſpitefully, and to ſtone them, they were aware of it, and fled to *Lyſtra*, where having miraculouſly cured a Cripple, they were adored as Gods. Tho' not long after, upon the Inſtigation of ſome *Jews*, which came from *Antioch* and *Iconium*, the People of *Lyſtra* were ſo far ſet againſt the Apoſtles, that they even *ſtoned* Paul, *drawing him out of the City*, and not leaving him till they *ſuppoſed he was dead*. This City is famous among us Chriſtians for being the ſuppoſed Birth-place of St. *Timothy*, to whom St. *Paul* writes two of his Epiſtles.

St. *Paul*, [s] being by the Divine Goodneſs raiſed up to Life again, came privately into the City, and the next Day departed with *Barnabas* to *Derbe*, another City of *Lycaonia*; of which there is nothing more peculiarly remarkable, than that this is by ſome eſteemed to have been the native Place of St. *Timothy*, and therefore ſtands in Competition with *Lyſtra*; and that the Preaching of the Goſpel had good Succeſs herein.

The Apoſtles leaving *Derbe*, [t] returned again to *Lyſtra*, and ſo to *Iconium*, and thence to *Antioch*; and having paſſed through *Piſidia*, they came to *Pamphylia*; and when they had preached again at *Perga*, they came down to *Attalia*, which is a Sea-port, and was formerly the chief Reſidence of the Prefect, as *Strabo* tells us. It is ſaid to take its Name from King *Attalus*, its Founder, which it ſtill retains with a ſmall Variation, being now-a-days called *Sattalia*. It ſtands on a very fair Bay; and ſo is commodiouſly ſeated for Trade, having a good Haven; which likely has been the Occaſion of its being preſerved from Ruin by the *Turks*, who are ſaid to be at this Day very careful to keep its Fortifications and Caſtle in Repair. The City is ſuppoſed to ſtand at preſent nearer to the Sea than it did formerly.

From *Attalia* [u] the Apoſtles ſet ſail for *Antioch* in *Syria*. Hence they went to *Jeruſalem*, on the famous Diſpute about Circumciſion. In order hereto they took their Way through *Phœnice*, or *Phœnicia*; under which Name is denoted in the Times of the New-Teſtament, ſo much of the Coaſt of *Syria* largely taken, as lay between the two Rivers, *Eleutherus* to the North, and *Cherſeus*, or the *Kiſhon* in Scripture, to the South. So that it was bounded North with *Syria propria*; Eaſt with Part of *Syria propria* again, and *Paleſtine*, or the *Holy Land*; South with the laſt again; and Weſt with the *Mediterranean*. In the South Part of this Province lay *Tyre* and *Sidon*, whence it is denoted in the Goſpels by *the* [w] *Coaſts of* Tyre *and* Sidon. Having paſſed through *Phœnicia* and *Samaria*, the adjoining Provinces in their Way, they came to *Jeruſalem*.

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[m] Acts xxvii. 5.
[n] Acts xi. 10.
[o] Acts xiii. 13.
[p] Acts xiii. 14.
[q] Acts xiii. 50, 51. xiv. 6.
[r] Acts xiv. 5——20.
[s] Acts. xiv. 20.
[t] Acts xiv. 21——25.
[u] Acts. xiv. 26.
[w] See a large Deſcription of this Country, Page 509.

SECT.

SECT. V.

St. Paul *confers with the Apoſtles at* Jeruſalem *about his own Doctrine and Practice. Refuſes to circumciſe* Titus. *Reproves* Peter *for his Diſſimulation at* Antioch. *Parts with* Barnabas *in Anger, and chuſes* Silas *for his Companion. Viſits the Churches of* Syria, Cilicia, Lycaonia; *circumciſes* Timothy, *and receives him to the Miniſtry. Invited to* Macedonia *by a Viſion. Preaches at* Philippi. *Converts* Lydia, *and caſts out a Devil from a young Woman. Impriſoned. Converts the Goaler, and is deliver'd from Priſon. Preaches at* Theſſalonica, *where he is uſed ill by the* Jews. *Goes to* Berea, *where he converts many* Jews. *Conducted to* Athens. *Preaches in the* Areopagus, *and converts ſeveral. Sends* Timothy *to* Theſſalonica, *and goes himſelf to* Corinth.

ST. *Paul*, in his [a] Voyage to *Jeruſalem*, took Opportunity to confer privately with the Apoſtles, and moſt eminent Pillars of that Church, in the Preſence of *Barnabas* and *Titus*, about ſome difficult Points of the Chriſtian Doctrine and Apoſtolical Office, and to give them an Account of his Teaching: But both his Doctrine and Practice were upon Examination found ſo pure and blameleſs in every Particular, that they ſaw no Reaſon either to add any thing to it, or take any thing from it: Wherefore, after they ſaw that it was the ſame Spirit that inſpired him, which inſpired them, they received him into their Fellowſhip, and agreed, That as the Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion was given to *Peter*, ſo *Paul* was to be acknowledged the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*; and that he ſhould go unto the Uncircumciſion, and they unto the Circumciſion. Only they added, That *Paul* ought to have a particular Care of the Poor; meaning the poor Chriſtians of *Judea*, who had ſold all their Goods to uphold the Church, and therefore ought to be relieved by the *Gentiles*: To which *Paul* willingly conſented, and then departed from them to the Execution of his Charge.

Paul [b] carried *Titus* with him to *Jeruſalem* at this Time: And becauſe *Titus* was known to be a *Greek*, and a *Gentile* born, the Apoſtle was much importuned to have him circumciſed. But *Paul*, tho' he was willing at all Times to abridge himſelf of his Chriſtian Liberty to pleaſe others to their Edification, and tho' he knew it to be a Thing indifferent, and did afterwards yield to have *Timothy*, a Perſon of like Condition, circumciſed; yet would by no means conſent to it in the preſent Caſe, when the *Jews* required him to do it as of Neceſſity, and ſought thereby to enſlave thoſe whom *Chriſt* had made free, and to entangle them again in the ſame Yoke of Bondage. Nor did the Apoſtles endeavour to oblige him to it, knowing of what ill Conſequence ſuch Practices might be to the Church.

When theſe Things were over, *Paul* and *Barnabas*, who had been deputed from the *Antiochians* to the fore-mentioned Council, returned back to them with that decretal Epiſtle before-recited; which being read amongſt them, gave them abundance of Comfort and Satisfaction. Shortly after this, about the tenth Year of *Claudius*, in the Year of our Lord 50, *Peter* [c] coming to *Antioch*, was guilty of that Tergiverſation in communicating with, and preſently ſeparating from the *Gentiles*, which we have already mentioned in his Life. This Act of St. *Peter*'s quite diſannulled the Decree at *Jeruſalem*: Which ſo incenſed St. *Paul*, that he could not hold his Peace, but before the whole Chriſtian Aſſembly blamed him for his Diſſimulation, and reproved him for his uneven Practice; ſaying to this Effect, *That by his living like the* Gentiles, *though he was a* Jew, *he manifeſted that he underſtood the Chriſtian Liberty: And was it not then very ill for him to teach the* Gentiles, *by his Example, a contrary Practice, namely, to live like* Jews? *What palpable Hypocriſy is this at the beſt? And if we look farther into the Nature of this Action, what is it but a plain leading Men out of the Way of Salvation? For do we not believe in* Chriſt, *and ſeek Juſtification by Faith, becauſe we know that by the Deeds of the Law no Fleſh can be juſtified? And why then doth he lead Men to the Law again, but to ruin them? Surely he is highly to be blamed for this Apoſtacy, which is of dangerous Conſequence to himſelf and others.*

Paul and *Barnabas* [d] having remained ſome Time at *Antioch*, after the Council at *Jeruſalem*, teaching and preaching the Word of God; *Paul*, who had daily on him the Care of all the *Gentile* Churches, propounded to *Barnabas* to go and viſit the Cities which they had converted, and confirm and ſtrengthen them in the Truths they had received. *Barnabas* freely conſented to ſuch a pious Propoſal, but was very earneſt to take along with them his Kinſman *John-Mark*. *Paul* was againſt his Deſire, becauſe he had before found *Mark* unfit for that Work, having in a ſomewhat unaccountable Manner, either through Fear or Unſoundneſs of Faith, left them about five Years before at *Perga* in *Pamphylia*. *Barnabas*, whoſe natural Love to his Siſter's Son made him over-ſee former Faults, and hope better of him for the future, was angry at this Refuſal and Rejection of him; and ſo there began a Conteſt about it. They were both reſolute in their Judgment; and, though very good Men, yet were ſo inflexible in their Paſſions, that the Matter cauſed a Rupture and Separation between them. So liable are the beſt of Men to human Paſſions and Infirmities; which the all-wiſe God often improves to his own Glory, and the Good of the Church, as he did in the preſent Caſe. *Barnabas* took *Mark*, and ſailed to *Cyprus*; and *Paul* choſe *Silas*, or *Silvanus*, a Perſon of eminent Abilities, who had been with him at the late Synod, and attended him back to *Antioch*, to aſſiſt him in the Viſitation of the Churches. Accompany'd with this Man, he went on his intended Voyage, being recommended by the Prayers of the Faithful to the Protection and Favour of God. He firſt viſited the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and confirmed them in the Faith by his Inſtructions and Exhortations. From hence Dr. *Cave* thinks he ſail'd into *Crete*, and having founded a Church there, left *Titus* to ſettle it, and ordained him the firſt Biſhop of it. From *Crete* he went to *Derbe* and *Lyſtra*, Cities of *Lycaonia*, where he had made ſome Converts three Years before. Here he met[e] with *Timothy*, a Chriſtian himſelf, and born of Chriſtian Parents: He was but young, but very eminent for his Wiſdom, Piety, and good Senſe; but that which drew *Paul*'s Affection the moſt ſtrongly to him, was his being particularly well ſkill'd in the Holy Scriptures, which had been diligently taught him from his Childhood. From this Circumſtance the Apoſtle, knowing him a Perſon who might do much Service to the Goſpel, determined to take him for his Companion. *Timothy*'s Father was a *Gentile* born, tho' his Mother was a *Jeweſs*; which was the Occaſion that the young Man had not been circumciſed in his Infancy. Now tho' *Paul* much oppoſed the Neceſſity of legal Rights, and would not ſuffer *Titus* to be circumciſed, yet in this Caſe he thought it the prudenteſt Courſe to become a *Jew*, that he might gain the *Jews*; and therefore circumciſed *Timothy*, that his Preaching might be more acceptable in the Places where he went, where the Chriſtians were moſt of them *Jews*. In all theſe Places he left the Chriſtians a Copy of the Decrees made by the Apoſtles and Elders of *Jeruſalem*, to confirm them in the right Uſe of their Chriſtian Liberty. By theſe Means the Churches were eſtabliſhed in the Faith, and increaſed in Number daily.

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[a] Gal. ii. 2—9.

[b] Gal. ii. 3—5.

[c] Gal. ii. 11—21.

[d] Acts xv. 30—41.

From[f] *Lycaonia Paul* paſſed through *Phrygia* and *Galatia*, and going through *Myſia* came down to *Troas*. He had a Deſire in his Journey to have preached the Word of God in the Province of *Aſia*, properly ſo called, (otherwiſe denominated *Ionia)* and in *Bithynia*; but by a ſpecial Revelation of God's Spirit he was forbidden it. While he remained at *Troas*, preaching the Goſpel, a Viſion appeared to him in the Night: A *Macedonian* ſeemed to ſtand before him, intreating him to come into his Country and help them. From whence the Apoſtle gathered, that it was the Will of God that he ſhould go into *Macedonia* to preach the Goſpel; and, accordingly, prepared to paſs out of *Aſia* into *Europe*. The Hiſtorian St. *Luke* beginning in this Place to uſe the Term *We*, *Immediately We endeavoured to go into* Macedonia; moſt Interpreters think he became, from this Time, *Paul*'s inſeparable Companion, having been converted by him at *Antioch*, and now attending upon him in the Miniſtry of the Word. But Biſhop *Pearſon* will have him to have been St. *Paul*'s Diſciple at *Antioch*, eight Years before.

St. *Paul* being thus invited into *Macedonia*, [g] was diligent to find out the ſpeedieſt Paſſage thither. Accompany'd therefore with *Silas*, *Luke*, and *Timothy*, he took Ship and came to *Samothracia*, an Iſle of the *Ægean Sea*, not far from *Thrace*; and the next Day to *Neapolis*, a Port of *Macedonia*. From *Neapolis* they went to *Philippi*, the Metropolis of that Part of *Macedonia*, and a *Roman* Colony; where they ſtaid ſome Days. In this City *Paul*, according to his Cuſtom, preached in a *Proſeucha*, or Oratory of the *Jews*, which ſtood by a River's Side at ſome Diſtance from the City, and was much frequented by the devouter Women of their Religion, who met there to pray, and to hear the Law. To theſe St. *Paul* preached the Word of God, and, by the Influence of God's Spirit, converted, among others, a certain Woman named *Lydia*, a *Jewiſh* Proſelyte, and a Seller of Purple in that City, tho' born at *Thyatira*: Who being baptized, with all her Family, was ſo importunate with St. *Paul* and his Companions to abide at her Houſe, if they judged her ſincere in her Converſion, that they could not deny her, but were conſtrained to accept of her Entertainment.

So long as they continued in this City, they kept on their daily Courſe of worſhipping at the ſame Oratory. And, after ſeveral Days, as they were going to the ſame Place of Devotion, there met them a Damſel who had a Prophetic Spirit, by whom her Maſters got great Advantage. This Woman follow'd *Paul*, and them that were with him, crying, *Theſe Men are the Servants of the moſt High God, which ſhew unto us the Way of Salvation.* *Paul* took no Notice of her at firſt, not being willing to multiply Miracles without Neceſſity: But when he ſaw her following them ſeveral Days together, he began to be troubled at it, and, in Imitation of our Saviour, who would not ſuffer the Devil to confeſs him, leſt his falſe and lying Tongue ſhould prejudice the Truth in Mens Minds, commanded the Spirit, *in the Name of* Jeſus, to come out of her. The Devil, though unwillingly, obeyed, and went out of her at that very Inſtant.

This miraculous Cure proving to the Loſs of her Maſters, who got ſo much Gain by her Sooth-ſaying, brought their Odium and Anger upon the Apoſtle and his Aſſiſtants. By their Inſtigation the Multitude aroſe, and ſeizing upon *Paul* and his Companions, hurried them before the Magiſtrates and Governor of the Colony; accuſing them of introducing many Innovations, which were prejudicial to the State, and unlawful for them to comply with, being *Romans*. The Magiſtrates, being concerned for the Tranquility of the State, and jealous of all Diſturbances, were very forward to puniſh the Offenders, againſt whom the whole Multitude teſtified; and therefore commanded the Officers to tear off their Clothes, and ſcourge them as ſeditious Perſons. Then committing them to cloſe Cuſtody, they gave the Goaler more than ordinary Charge to keep them ſafely; who thereupon thruſt them into the inner Priſon, and put them into the Stocks. But it was not the moſt inmoſt obſcureſt Hole in the Priſon, nor the moſt ſilent and melancholy Time of the Night, that could intercept the Beams of divine Joy and Comfort from ſhining into the Souls of theſe pious Men. They were all Brightneſs and Serenity within, *and at Midnight prayed and ſung Praiſes to God, ſo that they were heard all over the Priſon.* And the Effects of their Prayers were quickly ſeen and felt there. An Earthquake ſhook the Foundations, and open'd the Doors; looſed the Chains, and ſet the Priſoners at Liberty. The Goaler, rous'd out of his Sleep by this Commotion, and concluding from what he ſaw, that he had loſt all his Priſoners, and conſequently muſt anſwer for them, was about to diſpatch himſelf with his own Sword. Which *Paul* obſerving, haſtily cried out to him, *Do thyſelf no harm, for we are all here.* The Man was as much ſurprized at the Goodneſs of the Apoſtles, as he was at the Greatneſs of thoſe Things, which God, he doubted not, had wrought for their Sakes: And immediately he came to them, with a Light in his Hand, fell down at their Feet, brought them out of the Dungeon to his own Houſe, waſhed their Stripes, and begg'd of them to inſtruct him in the Knowledge of that God who was ſo mighty to ſave.

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[e] Acts xvi. 1—5.

[f] Acts xvi. 6—10.

[g] Acts xvi. 11—40.

St. *Paul,* not reſenting the Severity he had ſhewed to them, but glad to ſee the Power of God, in working ſo great a Change in ſo rough a Temper, replied, *That if he believed in* Jeſus Chriſt, *he might be ſaved, and all his Houſe.* The Goaler, after a competent Inſtruction, received the Faith, and was baptized immediately, together with his whole Family; and, as a Teſtimony of his Sorrow for the Severity uſed againſt them, entertained them in his Houſe with much Kindneſs and Civility.

But as ſoon as it was Day, the Magiſtrates, either hearing what had happen'd, or reflecting on what they had done, as too harſh and unjuſtifiable, ſent their Serjeants to the Goaler, to order him to diſcharge the Apoſtles. The Goaler, with ſeeming Joy, deliver'd the Meſſage, and bad them *depart in Peace*; but *Paul,* that he might make the Magiſtrates ſenſible what Injury they had done them, and how unjuſtly they had puniſhed them without Examination or Trial; and alſo to let them know, that he did not take this Diſcharge as a Favour; ſent them Word, "That for as much as they had ſcourged and impriſon'd them contrary to the Laws of the *Romans,* whoſe Subjects they were, he expected they ſhould come themſelves, and make them ſome Satisfaction." The Magiſtrates, conſidering of what dangerous Conſequence it was to provoke the formidable Power of the *Romans,* came very ſubmiſſively, and craved their Pardon, and that they might part without further Diſturbance: Which ſmall Recompence theſe good Men accepted of, and retired to the Houſe of *Lydia*; where they comforted their Brethren with the Account of their Deliverance, and then parted; having laid the Foundation of a very eminent Church, as appears from St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Philippians.*

Paul [h] and his Company, having left *Philippi,* travelled Weſtward through *Amphipolis* and *Apollonia,* and came to *Theſſalonica,* the Metropolis of all *Macedonia,* about one hundred and twenty Miles from *Philippi*: The ſmall Villages not being ſo convenient for the diſperſing of the Goſpel, as the great and populous Cities; from whence, as from the Fountain-Head, the Truth would eaſily diſperſe itſelf into the neighbouring Villages. At *Theſſalonica,* as ſoon as they were arrived, *Paul,* according to his Cuſtom, went into the Synagogue of the *Jews,* and preached to them; his ungrateful Entertainment in other Places, not diſcouraging him from going on in ſo glorious a Work. His Doctrine was much oppoſed by the *Jews,* who were prejudiced againſt *Jeſus* the Meſſiah, becauſe of his ignominious Death: Wherefore *Paul* was forced to diſpute with them three Sabbath-Days together, and prove it out of the Scriptures, *That the Meſſiah was to ſuffer, and to riſe again, as* Jeſus *had done; and that, according to the Prophecies of the Scripture,* Jeſus *was certainly the* Chriſt. Theſe Diſcourſes did not prove ineffectual, but having ſo good a Foundation, convinced ſome of the *Jews* themſelves, and many more of the *Greeks*; who follow'd him and *Silas* in great Multitudes, both Men and Women; being fully ſatisfied, by the Miracles they wrought in confirmation of their Doctrine, that it was [i] not the Word of Men, but the Word of God, which they preached. The Goſpel having thus gained Ground among the *Greeks, Paul* was [k] very ſolicitous to confirm them in their new Faith; and therefore, to prevent a Relapſe, he and his Companions were very diligent to inſtruct them in the perfect Knowledge of the Chriſtian Doctrines; and [l] exhorted, and comforted, and charged every one of them, as a Father doth his Children, that they ſhould walk worthy of God, who had called them to his Kingdom and Glory. And that they might not diſcourage them, by making the Goſpel chargeable to them, [m] they laboured in their Trades Night and Day, to get their own Livelihood; and what they could not ſupply to their Wants that Way, they [n] procured from the Church of *Philippi.*

While the Apoſtles continued in *Theſſalonica* [o], they lodged in the Houſe of a certain Chriſtian, named *Jaſon*; a very conſiderable Man, who entertained them courteouſly: Which the *Jews* of this City, who, not believing themſelves, envied the Proſperity of the Goſpel, being ſenſible of, gathered a Number of lewd and wicked Ruffians, and beſet the Houſe of *Jaſon*; intending to take *Paul* and his Companions, and expoſe them to the Fury of the prophane and incenſed Rabble. But they were diſappointed in their Attempt; *Paul* and *Silas* being removed from thence by the Chriſtians, and concealed in ſome other Place: Wherefore they ſeized upon *Jaſon,* and ſome other of the Brethren, and carried them before the Magiſtrates of the City, accuſing them, as they had done the Apoſtles themſelves at *Philippi*, "Of diſturbing the Peace of the Empire, and ſetting up *Jeſus* as a King, in Derogation to the Emperor's Dignity and Authority." This Accuſation moved both People and Magiſtrates againſt them; and tho' *Jaſon* was only accuſed as one who harboured theſe Innovators, yet the Magiſtrates would not diſmiſs him and his Companions, without obliging them firſt to give Security.

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[h] Acts xvii. 1—4.
[i] 1 Theſſ. i. 5. ii. 13.
[k] 1 Theſſ. ii. 8.
[l] 1 Theſſ. ii. 11, 12.
[m] 1 Theſſ. ii. 9.
[n] Phil. iv. 10, 11.
[o] Acts xvii. 5—9.

As [p] ſoon as the Tumult was over, the *Theſſalonians*, who had been converted by them, ſent away *Paul* and *Silas* by Night to *Beræa*, a City about fifty Miles South of *Theſſalonica*, but out of the Power of their Enemies. Here alſo his Love to his Countrymen the *Jews*, and his Deſire of their Salvation, incited *Paul* to preach to them in particular; and for that End he went into their Synagogue, and explained the Goſpel to them; proving the Truth of what he ſaid from the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, which were acknowledged by them to be infallibly true. Theſe *Jews* were of a more ingenuous and candid Temper than thoſe of *Theſſalonica*; and as they heard him with great Reverence and Attention expound and apply the Scriptures, ſo they enquired and ſearched diligently, whether his Proofs were proper and pertinent, and conſonant to the Senſe of the Texts he referr'd to: Which when they found, many of them believed, and by their Example brought over many *Gentiles* to the Faith; among whom were ſeveral Women of Quality. The News of this good Succeſs was carried to *Theſſalonica*, and much incenſed the inveterate Enemies of the Goſpel there; who repair'd to *Beræa*, and rais'd Tumults againſt the Apoſtles; ſo that *Paul*, to avoid their Fury, was forced to leave the Town: But *Silas* and *Timotheus*, either not ſo well known, or not ſo much envied, continued there ſtill. At this Time [q] *Soſipater* was converted by St. *Paul*.

Paul [r] leaving *Beræa* under the Conduct of certain Guides, it was given out, that he intended to take Sea and depart out of *Greece*, that his Perſecutors might not follow him; but the Guides, according to *Paul*'s Order, brought him to *Athens*, and left him there, having received a Meſſage from him to *Silas* and *Timotheus*, *That they ſhould come to him with all Speed.* *Athens* was antiently the moſt famous Academy of all *Greece*, and yielded very learned and illuſtrious Philoſophers: and at this Time it [s] had not ſo far degenerated, but that it was accounted a Place well ſtored with learned and wiſe Men. The Inhabitants of it were very religious and devout, for the wiſeſt Men are generally the moſt pious: They had a great Number of Gods, whom they adored: Falſe indeed they were; but yet ſuch as they, in the want of Revelation, accounted true: And ſo careful were they that no Deity ſhould want due Honour from them, that they had an Altar, inſcribed, *TO THE UNKNOWN GOD.* Divers Reaſons are given for this Inſcription; and ſome affirm, That it was the Name which the Pagans generally gave to the God of the *Jews*. Others are of Opinion, [t] That it included all the Gods of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*; beſides the *Unknown God*. While *Paul* remained at *Athens*, he could not but [u] take Notice of their Idolatry; and it much grieved him to ſee ſo much Zeal and Devotion miſplaced; which if he could but ſettle upon its proper Object, he thought it would be an eminent Piece of Service to God. Wherefore he laboured all he could for their Converſion; and not only on the Sabbath-Days diſputed with the *Jews* and Proſelytes in the Synagogues, but took all Opportunities, where-ever he met with a convenient Auditory, to inſtruct the *Athenians* in the Coming of the Meſſiah to ſave the World: And this he often met with in the Market-Place, whither the *Athenians* daily came to hear and tell the News, which was almoſt all the Buſineſs of their Lives. His Doctrine was new, and ſtrange to the *Athenians*; and tho' they did not perſecute him as the *Jews* did, yet his Preaching of *Jeſus* was entertained by the Philoſophers of the *Epicurean* and *Stoic* Sects, as a fabulous Legend, and by thoſe that had the more ſober Thoughts of it, as a Diſcovery of ſome new Gods, which they had not yet gotten among all their Croud; which tho' they were not unwilling to receive, yet becauſe the *Areopagus*, the ſupreme Court of the City, was to judge of all Gods to whom public Worſhip might be allow'd, they brought him before thoſe Judges, to give an Account of his Doctrine.

Paul [w] being ſet before the Judges of this High Aſſembly, readily gave them an Account of his Doctrine in a grave and eloquent Speech: Wherein he did not tell them that they were horrible and groſs Idolaters, leſt that ſhould offend them; but having commended them for their religious Diſpoſition, he took Occaſion from the Altar dedicated to the *Unknown God*, to make an handſome Defence of his Doctrine; telling them, *That he endeavoured only to explain that Altar to them, and manifeſt the Nature of that God whom they ignorantly worſhipped; which is the God that made the World, and all Things therein; and who being Lord of all, dwells not in Temples made with Hands, nor is to be worſhipped in lifeleſs Idols: That being the Creator of all Things, he could not be confin'd to Man's Workmanſhip, whether Temples or Statues; nor ſtands in need of Sacrifices, ſince he is the Fountain of Life to all Things. That from one common Original he had made the whole Race of Mankind, and had wiſely determin'd their Dependance on him, that they might be obliged to ſeek after him and ſerve him. A Truth perceivable in the darkeſt State of Ignorance, and acknow-*

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[p] Acts xvii. 10—14. [q] Acts xx. 4. [r] Acts xvii. 15—21. [s] Aug. Ser. 150. Chryſ. hom. 38. Lucian, p. 1129.

[t] Dr. Cave tells us, the intire Inſcription, whereof the Apoſtle quotes only a Part, is thought to have been this Θεοῖς Ἀσίας ϗ Εὐρώπης ϗ Λιβύης, Θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ ϗ ξενῷ. *To the Gods of Aſia, Europe, and Africa, to the ſtrange and* UNKNOWN GOD. See Oecumen. Schol. in Act. 17. Hieron. Com. in Tit. Cap. 1.

[u] Petronius ſays, 'Twas eaſier to find Gods than Men at Athens. [w] Acts xvii. 22—34.

ledged by one of their own[x] *Poets. This being the Nature of God, it was highly abſurd to reſemble him to his Creatures, by an Image or Similitude which we can conceive. That the Divine Patience had been too much exerciſed already with ſuch groſs Abuſes in Religion; but now God expected a thorough Reformation of them, in that he had ſent his Son* Jeſus *Chriſt to make him known to the World, and alſo had appointed a Day of general Judgment, wherein Mens Religion ſhall be try'd by the Teſt of the Goſpel, before his Son* Jeſus, *whom he hath declared Judge in this Caſe; and ratified his Commiſſion to this Office, by raiſing him from the Dead.* No ſooner had he mention'd the Reſurrection, but ſome of the Philoſophers mocked and derided him; others, more modeſt, yet not ſatisfied with the Proofs he had given, gravely anſwer'd, *They would hear him again upon the ſame Subject.* And ſo *Paul* departed from the Court. Yet not without ſome Succeſs; for a few of his Auditors believed, and attended his Inſtructions; among whom were *Dionyſius*, one of the Senators and Judges of the Court; and *Damaris*, whom ſome think to have been his Wife. It is generally believ'd, that this *Dionyſius* was afterwards conſtituted by St. *Paul* the firſt Biſhop of *Athens*.

While *Paul* continued at *Athens*[y], *Timothy*, according to his Order, came to him out of *Macedonia*. *Silas* did not return along with him, as it ſeems; being detained in *Macedonia* either by Sickneſs or Buſineſs. *Timothy*, at his Arrival, brought him an Account, That the Chriſtians of *Theſſalonica* were under Perſecution from their Fellow-Citizens, ever ſince his Departure: At which *Paul* was ſo much concerned, that he had ſome Deſign to go to them again himſelf, and by his Preſence to confirm them in the Faith; but being hindered by the Malice of the Enemies of the Goſpel, he ſent *Timothy* to them, to ſupply his Abſence, and eſtabliſh and comfort them in the Faith; that none of them might be deterred, or diſcouraged by Perſecutions, which he had before told them ſhould be the conſtant Attendants of their Profeſſion. *Timothy* had not long left *Paul*, before that Apoſtle went from *Athens* to *Corinth*, a Place of great Trade, and populous, where he lodged in the Houſe of one *Aquila*, a *Jew*.

While *Paul* lodged in the Houſe of this *Aquila*, becauſe he ſaw it would be an Hindrance to the Progreſs of the Goſpel among the *Corinthians*, to receive Maintainance from them, he wrought with *Aquila* at his Trade, which was the ſame which he had himſelf learn'd, namely, Tent-making. *Aquila* was a converted *Jew*, born in *Pontus*, but had his ſettled Habitation at *Rome*,[z] till *Claudius*, by his Edict, baniſhed all the *Jews* for their Turbulency from thence, upon which Occaſion he and his Wife *Priſcilla* came to *Corinth*. On the Sabbath-Days the Apoſtle taught here in the *Jewiſh* Synagogue, and by his convincing Arguments brought the *Jews* and *Greeks* to the Faith; thus laying the Foundations of a Church in this City. [a] *Stephanus* and his Houſhould were the firſt Fruits of his Labours here, and baptized by him, with *Criſpus* and *Gaius*: Theſe were choſen to be Miniſters in that Office, to the reſt that ſhould believe; for *Paul* himſelf was not ſent to baptize, but to preach. While he was thus buſied at *Corinth* in preaching the Goſpel, to propagate which he underwent many Labours and Troubles, *Timothy* came from *Theſſalonica* to him, bringing *Silas* along with him, and gave him an Account of the ſtedfaſt Firmneſs, and Perſeverance of that Church; which ſo much rejoiced the Apoſtle, that it was like a comforting Cordial to him in the Midſt of his Afflictions. This made him take up ſome freſh Reſolutions of going to ſee them himſelf; but in the mean Time he thought fit to ſend them a Letter, which is the [c] firſt of his Epiſtles now extant: And tho' our vulgar Poſtſcripts aſſert, it was ſent from *Athens*, yet the manifeſt Circumſtances of the Hiſtory prove it ſent from *Corinth*. In it he ſhews abundance of Tenderneſs and Affection for the Chriſtians of *Theſſalonica*, highly commends their Courage and Zeal for the Faith, and exhorts them to Conſtancy and Perſeverance in it. He extols their Charity to the Chriſtians of *Macedonia*, gives them many Inſtructions about an holy Life, and adviſes them to the ſtrict Practice of Holineſs; particularly, to uſe Marriage chaſtly and piouſly; to avoid Lazineſs, and be diligent in their Callings; not to be immoderate in their Grief for the Dead, as tho' there was no Reſurrection, or Hope of another Life; with many other good Inſtructions and Exhortations. In this Epiſtle he alſo cautions them about the Coming of Antichriſt. A little Time after the firſt, he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to them, as ſeems more than probable from the Conformity there is between them in the Matter and the Inſcription. In it he [d] confutes the Opinion of ſome falſe Teachers, who, for Lucreſake, had taught and perſwaded them, that the World ſhould ſhortly have an End; which they confirmed by a forged Epiſtle from St *Paul*. He exhorts [e] them to endure Perſecution couragiouſly, that they might be the better qualified for their Cœleſtial Glory; and aſſures them, that he continually prayed for them; and orders, [f] That thoſe who had not reformed their irregular Lives upon his firſt Epiſtles, but lived idly ſtill, ſhould be excommunicated from their Aſſemblies, as Drones are baniſhed the Hives of the induſtrious Bees: And in the Concluſion tells them, [g] That the Mark to know his Epiſtles was, that they were written with his own Hand.

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[x] Aratus. [y] 1 Theſ. iii. 1, 2.

[z] About the Time of Paul's Abode at Athens, A. D. 52. in the twelfth Year of the Reign of Claudius, that Emperor by his Edict baniſhed all the Jews from Rome, by Reaſon of their Conteſt about our Saviour, whom Suetonius calls *Chreſtus*. Many are of Opinion, that under the Name of Jews, the Chriſtians alſo were expell'd; among whom St. Peter has been ſuppos'd to be one, as we mentioned in his Life.

[a] 1 Cor. xvi. 15. [b] 1 Theſ. iii. 6.

[c] The Firſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians is not only the firſt of St. Paul's Epiſtles, but the third, if not the ſecond, or even the firſt, of all the Writings of the New Teſtament.

[d] 2 Theſ. ii. 2, 3, 4. [e] 2 Theſ. ii. 5—12. [f] 2 Theſ. iii. 6—15. [g] 2 Theſ. iii. 17.

Paul, who by the Obſtinacy of the *Jews* was almoſt diſcouraged from preaching to them; [h] yet finding himſelf repleniſhed with a freſh Zeal for them at the coming of *Silas* and *Timothy*, thereupon boldly teſtified to them again, *That* Jeſus *was the true Meſſiah*: But they ſtill oppoſing his moſt ſerious Aſſertions, and blaſpheming both *Chriſt* and him, he took his Leave of them as incorrigible Infidels; and ſhaking his Garment; to denote their utter Rejection from Grace and Mercy, ſaid unto them, *Your Blood be upon your own Heads, I am clear*, &c. that is, "You are the Deſtroyers of your own Souls, and ſhall bear the Blame forever: I am innocent of your Deſtruction, having uſed all poſſible Ways to convert you: From hence therefore I will go unto the *Gentiles*, and ſpend all my Labours among them, I hope with better Succeſs than I have laboured among you." Hereupon he left his Lodgings with *Aquila* the *Jew*, and took up his Abode with *Juſtus*, a religious Proſelyte, whoſe Houſe joined to the Synagogue; being deſirous that the *Jews* might ſee his Succeſs among the *Gentiles*, and through Emulation be provoked to believe. Nor was his pious Deſign wholly without Effect: For *Criſpus*, the chief Ruler of the Synagogue, believed on the Lord, as did all his Family; and *Paul* baptized them himſelf. But his Preaching was far more ſucceſsful among the *Gentiles* than it had been with the *Jews*; for many of the idolatrous *Corinthians* hearing, believed in *Chriſt*, and were baptized, [i] *Silas* and *Timotheus* aſſiſting him in Preaching. *Silas* is thought to have died here, becauſe this is the laſt Place of Holy Scripture he is mentioned in; tho' *Ado* in his Martyrology ſays, he died in *Macedonia*.

The more the Goſpel proſpered by *Paul*'s Labours, the more his Enemies were inraged, and conſulted all ways to deſtroy him [k]; by which he was, as he tells us, reduced to very greats Streights, and wants of bodily Neceſſaries, and lived [l] in continual Fears and Terrors of Mind. [m] But leſt theſe afflicting Circumſtances ſhould deter him from the Work he had undertaken, *Jeſus Chriſt* appeared to him by Night in a Viſion to comfort him, and ſpake theſe Words to him: *Fear nothing, but ſpeak with all Freedom, and let not thine Enemies deter thee from delivering my Meſſage: I am with thee to protect and defend thee; ſo that no Man ſhall ſet on thee to hurt thee, for I have much People in this City*. This Aſſurance made him tarry there a full Year and ſix Months, preaching the Word of God among the Citizens, and in the neighbouring Parts. In which Time, beſides the Doctrines he taught, he eſtabliſhed ſeveral [n] Ordinances among them about Church-Order and Decency; As, that the Women ſhould have their Heads covered, when they were at Prayers in the public Aſſemblies, with a Veil; that the Men ſhould wear ſhort Hair, and the Women long; with ſeveral others of the like Nature.

During St. *Paul*'s Stay at *Corinth*, [o] *Novatus* the Brother of *Seneca*, called *Gallio*, becauſe he was adopted by *Gallio* a *Roman*, was, by the Intereſt of his Brother, made Proconſul of *Achaia*. [p] He was a Perſon of excellent Virtues, and great Probity. The *Jews*, for this Reaſon, thought him a fit Judge of their Quarrel againſt *Paul*; and therefore having ſeized upon the Apoſtle, they carried him before *Gallio*'s Tribunal, and accuſed him of introducing a new Way of worſhipping God, contrary to the Law. *Paul* was about to have made his Defence, but *Gallio* prevented both him and his Accuſers, by telling the latter, that if they had laid any Thing of Wrong or Injuſtice to his Charge, he would have given them the Hearing; it being his Buſineſs, as a civil Judge, to take Cognizance of Matters of Right and Wrong; but ſince it was nothing but a Controverſy of Words and Names, and Matters that concerned their Religion, he would not meddle with it; and ſo diſmiſſed the Cauſe; and when the *Jews* continued to be clamorous, he commanded his Officers to drive them out of the Court. Whereupon ſome of the Townſmen ſeiz'd upon *Soſthenes*, one of the Rulers of the Synagogue, who had been a forward Man in this troubleſome Buſineſs, and beat him before the very Seat of Judicature, the Proconſul not at all concerning himſelf about the Matter, or rather conniving at it. Thus did the Apoſtle's Enemies in vain attempt his Ruin: God having warranted his Security, begun now to verify it in Fact, *That no Man ſhould be able to hurt him*.

After this Tumult was over, *Paul* ſtaid a conſiderable Time at *Corinth*. At eighteen Months [q] End he took his Leave of the Church, and embarking at *Cenchrea*, ſailed into *Syria*, with a Purpoſe to be at *Jeruſalem* at the following *Paſſover*. At the Port of *Cenchrea*, either he or *Aquila*, for Criticks are not agreed which of them, ſhaved his Head, in Performance of a *Nazarite* Vow formerly made, the Time whereof was now expired. He landed at the famous City of *Epheſus*, having *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* with him; and there taught the *Jews* in their Synagogue, reaſoning with them about the Meſſiah. *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* thought his Continuance there was neceſſary, and therefore beſought him to ſtay: But he was ſo reſolutely bent upon keeping the Feaſt, that he would not conſent, but ſet forward to *Cæſarea*, and ſo to *Jeruſalem*; promiſing to return again to them, if God would permit him, and leaving *Aquila* to conduct that Church in his Abſence. Perhaps the Reaſon of his being ſo earneſt in this Journey, was, that he might have a better Opportunity, at ſo public a Feaſt, of propagating the Doctrines of Chriſtianity. Being arrived at *Jeruſalem*, he ſaluted the Apoſtles and Elders of that Church, and ſtaid and celebrated the Feaſt with them: After which he went down to *Antioch*, where he ſpent ſome Time, and then travell'd over *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, ſtrengthening and confirming the Diſciples there.

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[h] Acts xviii. 5.
[i] 2 Cor. i. 19.
[k] 2 Cor. xi. 9.
[l] 1 Cor. ii. 3.
[m] Acts xviii. 9, 10, 11.
[n] 1 Cor. xi. 2, 5, 14, 15.
[o] Acts xviii. 13——17.
[p] Chryſ. p. 343.
[q] Acts xviii. 18——23.

SECT. VI.

Of St. Paul's *Travels and Voyages into* Phrygia, Galatia, Myſia, Troas, Macedonia, Achaia, *&c. till his fourth Return to* Jeruſalem, *after his Converſion.*

ST. *Paul*, [a] after his fourth Departure from *Jeruſalem*, took a very great Circuit both by Land and Sea before he returned again to the Holy City; for he went through *Syria*, and ſo into his native Country *Cilicia*. Thence he came to *Derbe* and *Lyſtra*; and ſo into *Phrygia*. After which he went over *Galatia*, *Myſia*, *Troas*, *Samothracia*, *Macedonia*, *Attica*, and *Peloponeſus*.

The Country called in the New Teſtament *Phrygia*, is the ſame with that which in common Authors is generally ſtiled *Phrygia Major*, or the *Greater*, to diſtinguiſh it from another Country called *Phrygia Minor*, or the *Leſſer*, by the ſaid common Authors. The Scripture *Phrygia* lay to the Weſt of *Lycaonia*, where ſtood *Derbe* and *Lyſtra*; from which laſt, as lying next to it, St. *Paul* ſeems to have come directly into *Phrygia*. The People of this Country are ſaid to be antiently more ſuperſtitious than the other *Aſiatics*; as is gathered from the Rites uſed by them in the Sacrifices of *Cybele*, and ſome other Heathen Goddeſſes. They are ſaid alſo to be the Inventors of Augury, and other Kinds of Divination; and yet for the moſt Part Men of Afterwits; whence the Proverb, *Sero ſapiunt Phryges, The* Phrygians *are wiſe too late*, is wont to be applied to ſuch as want Fore-caſt, and know better to lament Misfortunes than to keep them off. They were likewiſe noted for their Effeminacy and Lightneſs of Converſation; and for fear they ſhould not of themſelves be wanton enough, their very Muſic was ſo fitted as to dipoſe them to Laſciviouſneſs. Hence that Sort of Muſick, which is ſtiled by *Ariſtotle* Enthuſiaſtic, as unhinging the Affections, is by *Boethius* termed *Phrygian*; which by the Philoſopher firſt mentioned, is forbidden to be uſed, by Reaſon of the ill Influence it was apt to have on Mens Behaviours. And 'tis an Obſervation of the Orator, that *Change of Muſic makes a Change in Manners*; and therefore *Care is to be taken in a Commonwealth, that the moſt grave Muſic only be uſed.* But to return to the Geographical Account of this Province.

It was by *Conſtantine* divided into two Provinces, *Phrygia Salutaris*, and *Phrygia Pacatiana*; of which laſt mention is made in the Poſtſcript at the End of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*. In *Phrygia*, and more particularly in that Part of it, which after its Diviſion by *Conſtantine* was called *Pacatiana*, lay the City *Hierapolis*, mentioned by St. *Paul* in [b] his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, being the principal City of that Diviſion. Of this Place take the following Account from [c] Sir *Paul Rycaut*.

“ About five Miles on our Right Hand from *Laodicea* to the North, we eſpied a white Cliff on the Side of a Hill, with ſome Buildings thereon, which the *Turks*, from their Whiteneſs, call *Pambuck* or *Cotton*; and having received Information from the *Greeks*, that *Hierapolis* was there to be ſeen, Curioſity carried us thither; of which Place *Strabo* reporteth in this Manner.

Hierapolis is ſeated over-again *Laodicea*, where are to be ſeen Baths of hot Waters, and the *Plutonium*. The Waters eaſily congeal the Earth whereon they run, into Stone; ſo that the Channels are firm Rocks. The *Plutonium* is under the Brow of the Hill, the Entrance into which is no wider, than that a Man can thruſt himſelf through; yet it is very deep within, of a quadrangular Form, containing about the Compaſs of half an Acre; and is filled with ſuch a thick and caliginous Air, that the Ground cannot be ſeen. At the New Moon the poiſonous Air contains itſelf within the Circumference of the Cave; ſo that a Man may approach to the Mouth of it at that Time without Danger; but if any living Creature ventures to go in, it immediately expires. Cattle which have been put in there, have been drawn out dead; and ſome Sparrows which we let fly therein, preſently died. Thoſe which attend the Temples, enter in without Danger; becauſe perhaps they are full of an enthuſiaſtical Spirit, and ſo are preſerved by Divine Providence; or elſe becauſe they have diſcovered ſome Conſervations againſt the Peſtilence of that Air. The Water of *Hierapolis*, which ſo abounds that the whole City is full of Baths, hath an admirable Virtue for Dying; ſo that Colours dyed there, with the Help of certain Roots, equal the beſt Scarlets and Purples of other Places. Thus far *Strabo*: But what we ourſelves ſaw and obſerved, was in this Manner:

We mounting at firſt an Aſcent towards the Ruins, obſerv'd the Ground to be covered with a ſoft brittle Stone, cruſted by the hot Waters, which deſcend with a full Stream from the Hill. Being come to the Top, the firſt Object which preſented itſelf to our Sight, and to put us in mind of our Mortality, as well as of the Period and Subverſion of Cities, were certain magnificent Tombs of entire Stone: I may rather call them Coffins, with Covers of the ſame, cut in a cubical Form: One bore the Sculpture, as it ſeemed, of *Apollo* in a Chariot; but the Charioteer was diſmounted, and both he and the other Part of the Monument ſubverted. Other Sepulchres there were, like ſmall Chapels, covered with Ridges of vaſt Stones, inſtead of Lead or Tiles, to caſt off the Rain: Other Vaults and Charnel Houſes lay open, where lay expoſed the white Bones of Men light and dry, and as durable almoſt as the Walls of the City. Near hereunto was the *Campus Martius*, or a Place which ſeemed to have been deſigned for Exerciſes and Feats of Arms.

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[a] Wells's Geography, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 54, &c.

[b] Col. iv. 13.

[c] Preſent State of the Greek Church, Chap. ii. p. 64, &c.

Proceeding farther, we enter'd into a Solitude ſo diſmal, as affected our Minds with a ſtrange Confuſion, and with the Thoughts of the ſad Fate of this unhappy City. The Waters, which tumbled down the Precipice, added, by their murmuring Sound, to the Melancholy of the Place; and as they run, petrified all before them, making rude Chanels for themſelves of Stone; and when ſometimes they overflow, they petrify the Earth with a brittle Cruſt.

In the midſt of the City is a Bath of hot Waters, paved at the Bottom with white Marble; but the Pavement is now diſordered by the Fall of Pillars, and other Ornaments, which encompaſs it. For it ſeems to have been ſet off with Columns and Arches, agreeable to the Magnificence of antique Buildings, and to the excellent Virtues of the Waters. For I am of Opinion, that the Quality of thoſe Waters at the Beginning, drew Inhabitants to that Place; the Situation thereof not being otherwiſe advantageous to Trade, no more than the Air ſeems conducing to Health; lying open to a large Plain to the South, and ſhut in to the North with a high Mountain. It might alſo in all Probability have had the Name of *Hierapolis* from the Medicinal Virtues of thoſe Waters, which often have been accounted ſacred, and dedicated to ſome Deity; or elſe perhaps the Cures they operated in many Diſeaſes, might beſtow the Name on it of the [d] *Holy City*, as Rivers and Fountains have upon leſs conſiderable Occaſions been hallowed and accounted ſacred by the *Gentiles*. Not far diſtant remains the Ruin of a Theatre, not very large, but ſumptuous, of a round Form, the Seats about twenty three in Number, one above the other; but it is almoſt filled with the Down-fall of vaſt and weighty Pillars; the Marble of which is ſo curiouſly poliſhed, and ſtill ſmooth and not defaced, (eſpecially thoſe Parts of it, which the Rubbiſh and Stones have preſerved from the Weather) that I have not obſerved better in the Countries of Chriſtendom. Some Inſcriptions we found, but ſuch as were worn out with Time, and broken off in the Midſt; only [e] one was very legible on the Portal of a Gate, which was fallen into the Theatre.

Some Authors ſay, that the Multitude of Temples and Fanes, with which this City did abound, was the Reaſon they gave unto it the Name of *Hierapolis*, or the *Holy City*. And indeed the Ruins of vaſt Fabricks are ſo numerous, that we may well believe, that the falſe Gods had once there a great Poſſeſſion and Share of Worſhip. And as the Walls and Pillars are the greateſt and ſtrongeſt, that I have obſerved; ſo the Covering and the Roofs are the moſt different from all others that I have ſeen; being Stones of an incredible Magnitude and Weight; which by Force of Engines being carried aloft, are there cloſe cemented, without the Help of Timber, and, what is more, of arched Work, and yet are joined ſo artificially, that unto this Day they remain unmoveable either by Time or Earthquakes.

In this Place is ſtill to be ſeen the Grotto or Cavern, ſo much defamed by antient Writings, and particularly by *Strabo*, as before-mentioned, for thoſe peſtilential or noxious Vapours, which it perſpires, infecting the Air about it with unwholſome Atoms; which [f] *Pliny* confirms in his Natural Hiſtory. The *Turks* that have had the Curioſity to enter into this Cave, being ignorant of its ill Vapours, have often felt the bad Effects of them, having either ſuddenly died, or elſe fallen deſperately ſick: And therefore they have a Report generally amongſt them, that the Place is haunted by Spirits, which ſtrike Men dead that have the Boldneſs to enter into their Region. For my Part I would not go near it; for I ingenuouſly confeſs, that Curioſity was never ſo prevalent in me, as to make thoſe Experiments, which might either hazard my Life or prejudice my Health.

This Place, which had the Honour to be a Metropolis, now lies deſolate, not ſo much as inhabited by Shepherds; and ſo far from the Ornaments of God's antient Worſhip, which renowned it in former Ages, that it cannot now boaſt of an Anchorite or Hermit's Chapel, where God's Name is praiſed or invoked." This is the Account given us of *Hierapolis*, by the worthy Sir *Paul Rycaut*.

As *Hierapolis* lay about ſix Miles from [g] *Laodicea*, ſo 'tis generally agreed among learned Men, that *Coloſſæ* ſtood at no great Diſtance from *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*; whence we find St. *Paul* [h] mentioning the Inhabitants of theſe three Cities together. And that *Coloſſæ* was a City of this *Phrygia*, we are inform'd by the antient *Greek* Hiſtorian [i] *Herodotus*, who withal marks out very exactly the Place of its Situation; telling us, that it was a great City of *Phrygia*, ſtanding where the River *Lycus* running underground, diſappears; but riſing up again aboveground, at about the Diſtance of five *Stadia* or Furlongs, it empties itſelf into the River *Meander*. This City has been long ſince quite buried in Ruins, the Memory of it being now chiefly, if not ſolely, preſerved by the Epiſtle which St. *Paul* writ to the Inhabitants thereof, and which is one that makes up the Canonical Books of the New Teſtament.

The next Country which is mention'd in the Courſe of St. *Paul*'s Travels, is [k] *Galatia*, which join'd to *Phrygia* towards the Eaſt or North-Eaſt. *Galatia* took its Name from *Galatæ* or the *Gauls*, who leaving their own Country in *Europe*, and having ranged over *Italy* and *Greece*, paſſed over into the *Aſiatic* Continent, and brought a great Part of it under their Command. But being broken by *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and driven out of other Parts, they were at laſt confined to this Country. Theſe *Gauls*, though mixed with ſome *Grecians*, who united themſelves to them, when they came from the *Aſiatic* Continent, (whence *Galatia* is ſometimes termed *Gallo-Græcia*, ſometimes *Greco-Gallia,)* yet are ſaid not only to have preſerved their Language, but in ſhort Time to have made it the common Language of the whole Country. And it continued ſo till St. *Jerome*'s Time, who tells us, in the Preface to his Commentaries on St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, that it was a Language very like to that of the People of *Triers*, or *Treves*, in the *European Gaul*.

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[d] So the Word Hierapolis ſignifies.

[e] Απολλωνι Αρχηγετῃ ϗ— that is, *To Apollo the chief Preſident, and*——

[f] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. ii. cap. 83.

[g] Laodicea we ſhall ſpeak of among the ſeven Churches of Aſia, to which St. John wrote.

[h] Col. iv. 13.

[i] Herod. Polyhymn. B. 7. p. 251. Stephan. Edit. 1570.

[k] Acts xvi. 6.

To the Eaſt of *Galatia* joined *Cappadocia*, a Country mentioned in the ſecond Chapter of *Acts*, and by St. *Peter*, who directs his firſt Epiſtle to the Diſperſed throughout *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia* and *Aſia*. The People of this Country were formerly of very ill report, for Viciouſneſs and Lewdneſs of Life. Hence [l] they were reckoned the firſt of the three worſt People which began with the Letter *K*, or in *Engliſh C*, the other two being *Cretans* and *Cilicians*. And as they had a Share in the ſaid old *Greek* Proverb, ſo was a *Cappadocian* uſed as a Proverbial Expreſſion for One that was moſt extremely wicked. However this Country, after it had received Chriſtiany, afforded very great and worthy Men and Martyrs, as well as ſome very infamous and unworthy Men. To paſs by the Mention of theſe latter, among the former are juſtly reckoned *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Gregory Nyſſen*; and St. *Baſil*, commonly ſtiled *the Great*; all learned and religious Biſhops, and *Cappadocians*. And amongſt many Martyrs of great Faith and Conſtancy, St. *George*, a noble *Cappadocian*, a Tribune or Colonel of Soldiers under *Diocleſian*, was moſt celebrated in the Churches both Eaſt and Weſt, and for that Reaſon was made Patron of the Order of the *Garter* by King *Edward* III.

As *Cappadocia* lay to the Eaſt of *Galatia*, ſo to the North of it lay *Pontus*, mentioned together with the former two, both [m] by St. *Peter*, and [n] the Writer of the Acts of the Apoſtles, in the Places afore-cited. Under this Name of *Pontus* was ſome time comprehended all the Country lying on the South-ſhore of the Sea called *Pontus*, and by way of Diſtinction *Pontus Euxinus*, now-a-days the *Black-Sea*. Whether the Sea gave Name to the adjacent Coaſt, or the Coaſt to the Sea, is not agreed upon, nor worth while to diſpute; but the former ſeems moſt probable. This was the native Country of [o] *Aquila*, whom St. *Paul* met with at *Corinth*, and with whom he abode, they being both of the ſame Trade. And the firſt Epiſtle of St. *Peter* is by ſome ſtiled *Epiſtola ad Ponticos*, from *Pontus* being the firſt of the Countries to whoſe Inhabitants it was ſent.

Having thus taken notice, in our way, of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, adjoining to *Galatia*, and mentioned in the New Teſtament, though not in the Courſe of St. *Paul*'s Travels; let us now return to St. *Paul*, whom we left in *Galatia:* He departing hence, and being forbidden by the Holy Ghoſt to preach the Word at this Time in *Aſia*, went into [p] *Myſia*, adjoining on the Weſt to *Galatia*; and ſo called, as ſome ſay, from the Abundance of Beach-Trees growing in it, and called by the *Lydians*, a neighbouring People, *Myſæ*. The People of *Myſia* are noted by *Tully*, in his Oration for *Flaccus*, to be deſpicable and baſe to a Proverb.

St. *Paul* being come into *Myſia* [q], deſigned to go from thence into *Bithynia*, a Country adjoining to *Myſia* on the North or North-Eaſt, and alſo to *Phrygia* on the North; and ſtretching along the Sea, which lies between the *European* and *Aſiatic* Continents, quite up to the *Pontus Euxinus*; and ſo adjoining to the Country *Pontus* afore-mentioned on the Weſt. It is one of the Countries, to whoſe Inhabitants St. *Peter* directs his firſt Epiſtle, in the Place above-cited. It has been made famous ſince the Times of the New Teſtament for the firſt General Council held at *Nice*, a City thereof, againſt the *Arian* Hereſy, by Command of *Conſtantine the Great*; as alſo for the Fourth General Council held at *Chalcedon*, (a Place lying on the Streights of *Conſtantinople*, and out of whoſe Ruins *Scutari* has ſince riſen,) by Command of the Emperor *Martianus*, for repreſſing the Hereſy of *Neſtorius*. But as to our Apoſtle, tho' he purpoſed to go into *Bithynia*, yet he did not go, [r] *The Spirit not ſuffering him*. Whereupon paſſing by *Myſia*, he came down to *Troas*.

Troas was a ſmall Country lying to the Weſt of *Myſia*, upon the Sea. It took this Name from its principal City, *Troas*, a Sea-Port, and built, as is ſaid, about ſome four Miles from the Situation of *Old Troy*, by *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexander the Great*'s Captains; who peopled it from the neighbouring Cities, and called it *Alexandria*, or *Troas Alexandri*, in Honour of his Maſter *Alexander*; who began the Work, but lived not to bring it to any Perfection. But in following Times it came to be called ſimply *Troas*. The Name may be underſtood, as taken by the ſacred Writers, to denote the Country as well as the City ſo called, but chiefly the latter. Whilſt St. *Paul* was here, a Viſion [ſ] appeared to him in the Night, inviting him to come over into *Macedonia*.

St. *Paul* and his Companions looſing from *Troas*, came [t] with a ſtrait Courſe to *Samothracia*, a ſmall Iſland lying on the Weſt, and off the Coaſt of *Thrace*, and ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from the Iſle *Samos* lying over-againſt *Ionia*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. The Iſle *Samothracia* is now called *Samandrachi*, and is ſaid to be better ſtored with commodious Harbours, than others in theſe Seas.

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[l] Καππαδόκαι, Κρῆτες, Κίλικες, τρία Κάππα Κάκιστα; this was the old Proverbial Verſe.

[m] 1 Pet. i. 1.

[n] Acts ii. 9.

[o] Acts xviii. 2.

[p] Acts xvi. 7.

[q] Acts xvi. 7.

[r] Acts xvi. 7, 8.

[ſ] Acts. xvi. 9.

[t] Acts xvi. 11.

From *Samothracia* the Apoſtle ſailed next Day to [u] *Neapolis*, a Sea-Port, reckon'd at firſt to *Thrace*, afterwards to *Macedonia*, as were the adjacent Cities and Towns, which follow.

1. *Nicopolis*, a Town ſeated on the River *Neſſus*, from which *Neapolis* was not far diſtant, but higher to the North than *Neapolis*. This is the City, where St. *Paul* tells [w] *Titus* that he determin'd to winter, and whither he would have him come to him; if we may rely on the Poſtſcript at the End of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to *Titus*, which tells us, that the Epiſtle was written from *Nicopolis* in *Macedonia*. But this Place is not mentioned in the Courſe of St. *Paul*'s Travels.

2. For from *Neapolis*, we [x] are told by the ſacred Writer, St. *Paul* went to *Philippi*, lying more to the Weſt, and the chief City of that Part of *Macedonia*; which being formerly reckon'd to *Thracia*, as lying Eaſt of the River *Strymon*, the old middle Boundary, was therefore more diſtinctly ſtiled *Macedonia Thracica*, or *Thracia Macedonica*. This City took its Name from *Philip*, the famous King of *Macedon*, who repaired and beautified it. It was afterwards made a *Roman* Colony. Near to it lay the Fields thence called *Campi Philippici*, famous for two great and memorable Battles, the former between *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey the Great*, the latter between *Auguſtus* and *Mark Anthony* on the one Side, and *Caſſius* and *Brutus* on the other. But the City is more famous among Chriſtians, on Account of the Epiſtle writ by St. *Paul* denominated from it.

3. Departing from *Philippi* the Apoſtle came to [y] *Amphipolis*; ſo called, as being encompaſſed by the River *Strymon*, the old Boundary between *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; and from this Place he paſſed on to *Apollonia*, and ſo to *Theſſalonica*.

Theſſalonica was the Metropolis or Head City of *Macedonia*, a noble Mart, and the moſt populous City of the Country. It is now-a-days callad *Salonichi*, and is ſaid to keep up ſtill ſomething of its antient Greatneſs and Wealth, having a large ſafe Haven, as ſtanding at the Bottom of a Bay call'd by its own Name. It is ſtill an Archbiſhop's See of the *Grecian* Church, being firſt converted to Chriſtianity by our Apoſtle at this his coming hither; and it is, and will be, thro' all Ages of the World, memorable on Account of two Epiſtles writ by St. *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians*, generally allowed by learned Men to be the two firſt of all the Epiſtles written by him.

The Apoſtle being obliged to quit *Theſſalonica*, thro' the Malice and Envy of the *Jews* dwelling there; was conducted [z], together with *Silas*, by Night, unto *Beræa*, a great and populous City likewiſe of *Macedonia*, and lying more to the South, towards *Athens*. Here likewiſe was a Synagogue of the *Jews*, into which St. *Paul* went and preached with good Succeſs: Inſomuch that the ſacred Writer has beſtowed a peculiar Elogium on the *Beræans*, telling us they were [a] more noble or ingenuous than thoſe of *Theſſalonica*, in that they received the Word with all Readineſs of Mind, and diligently ſearched the Scriptures, whether the Things they had heard of *Paul* concerning the Meſſiah, or *Chriſt*, were ſo or no. But the *Jews* of *Theſſalonica*, [b] hearing what Entertainment the Apoſtle had met with here, quickly purſued him with their Malice, and forced him to retire hence to *Athens*.

Athens was one of the moſt renowned Cities in the World. It ſtands on the Gulph of the *Ægean Sea*, which comes up to the Iſthmus of the the *Peloponeſe* or *Morea*; in that Diſtrict of *Greece* properly ſo called, which was named *Attica*, whence the *Attic* Dialect was eſteemed as the pureſt or fineſt *Greek*. To ſay all that is to be ſaid of this famous City, would take up too much Room in this Work. It will be ſufficient to our preſent Purpoſe to obſerve, that as it was the moſt powerful City of *Greece* by Sea, and one of the two which for a long Time contended for, and ſometimes had, the chief Sway in *Greece*, and on this Account makes a great Figure in the Hiſtory of *Greece*; ſo it was more renowned for being the Seat of Learning and Philoſophy. On which Score we find ſeveral great Encomiums given it by the antient Writers. We ſhall now take notice but of two; the Firſt, that of the famous Orator *Cicero*, who deſcribes it as the Fountain, whence Civility, Learning, Religion, Arts, and Laws, were derived into all other Nations. The other [c] carries in it a true Taſte of the *Grecian* Humour, running thus: "If thou haſt not ſeen *Athens*, thou deſerveſt to be accounted a Block; if thou haſt ſeen it, and art not in Love with it, thou art a dull ſtupid Aſs; if having ſeen it, thou canſt be willing to leave it, thou art fit for nothing but to be a Pack-Horſe." In the Number of St. *Paul*'s Converts in this City, was [d] *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, that is, one of the Senators and Judges of the Courts held in the *Areopagus*; and *Damaris*, not improbably eſteemed his Wife by the Antients. This *Dionyſius* is ſaid by ſome to have gone afterwards into *France*, and there to have planted Chriſtianity, and to have become Biſhop of *Paris*. But Monſieur *Launoy*, a learned Doctor of the *Sorbon*, to mention no other, has unanſwerably proved *Dionyſius* of *Athens*, and St. *Denis* of *France*, or *Paris*, to have been diſtinct Perſons.

St. *Paul* departing from *Athens*, directed his Travels ſtill Southward, going into the *Peloponneſus* or *Morea*, to the famous City of [e] *Corinth*, then the Reſidence of the Proconſul of *Achaia*. This City was commodiouſly ſeated, not only for Trade, but alſo for the Command of all *Greece*; lying at the Bottom of the Iſthmus, or Neck of Land, that joins the *Morea* to the Main-land. But the Inhabitants were chiefly given to trading, which rendered them very wealthy. Here were alſo ſeveral Orators and Philoſophers reſiding. On which Account it is that St. *Paul* tells them, [f] *Ye are rich, ye are wiſe and honourable.* In this City lived the famous, or rather infamous Whore, *Thais*, who exacted ten thouſand Drachma's for a ſingle Night's Lodging; which made *Demoſthenes* cry out, *I will not purchaſe at ſo dear a Rate, what I muſt repent of afterwards*; a Saying ſpoken by an Heathen, but which 'twould be very well if ſome that call themſelves Chriſtians would remember, and act accordingly. The ſame Strumpet is ſaid to be the Occaſion of [g] an old By-word.

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[u] Acts xvi. 11.
[w] Tit. iii. 12.
[x] Acts xxi. 12.
[y] Acts xvii. 1.
[z] Acts xvii. 10.
[a] Acts xvii. 11.
[b] Acts xvii. 13, 15.
[c] Lyſipp. Conic. apud Dicæarch. de vit. Græc.
[d] Acts xvii. 34.
[e] Acts xviii. 1.
[f] 1 Cor. iv. 8, 9, 10.

I ſhall only obſerve farther, that this City is memorable among Heathen Writers for its Citadel *Acro-Corinthus*; ſo called as being built on a very high Rock or Hill; as alſo for its Inſolence to the *Roman* Legates, which cauſed *L. Mummius*, thence ſtiled *Achaicus*, to deſtroy it. In the Burning whereof ſo many Statues of Gold, Silver, Braſs, and other Metals, were melted down, that hence, by a fatal Chance, aroſe that famous mixt Metal, called *Corinthian* Braſs, eſteemed above Gold and Silver, and of which [h] *Joſephus* ſaith, the Beautiful Gate of the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was made. Laſtly, the Houſes of this City were ſo neatly built, and beautified with Pillars, that from it the Sort of Pillars here uſed, have been ever ſince called by the Name of *Corinthian* Pillars.

St. *Paul* having ſtaid [i] a good while at *Corinth*, takes Leave of the Brethren there, deſigning to ſail to *Syria*. In order whereto he goes to *Cenchrea*, the Port or Road for Ships belonging to *Corinth* on the Eaſtern Bay; where taking Ship, he ſails croſs the *Archipelago* to *Epheſus*, where he made but a ſhort Stay; and therefore we ſhall defer the Deſcription of *Epheſus* till a more convenient Opportunity, namely, till we come to ſpeak of it among the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*.

SECT. VII.

Apollos *teaches at* Epheſus. Paul *returns to* Epheſus, *and baptizes twelve Diſciples, who had recived only* John's *Baptiſm. Works Cures by the Application of Handkerchiefs to his Body. The ſeven Sons of* Sceva, *Exorciſts, put to Shame by an evil Spirit. Magical Books burned.* Paul *writes his Epiſtle to the* Galatians, *and his firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians. Demetrius *and the Craftſmen raiſe a Tumult about* St. Paul's *Doctrine, which is appeaſed by the Town-Clerk.* Paul *goes from* Epheſus *to* Macedonia, *and ſends his ſecond Epiſtle to the* Corinthians. *Abides three Months at* Corinth, *and writes his Epiſtle to the* Romans. *Preaches at* Troas, *and raiſes* Eutychus *to Life. Goes to* Miletus, *and ſends for the* Epheſian *Paſtors, to whom he gives a Charge concerning their Flocks. Premoniſh'd of his Sufferings at* Jeruſalem, *but could not be kept from going thither. Arrives at* Jeruſalem, *is joyfully received, and conforms to the* Jewiſh *Rites.*

HAVING [a] viſited the Church at *Jeruſalem*, and kept the Feaſt, we took Notice that *Paul* went down to *Antioch* in *Syria*; and after ſome little Stay there, paſſed thro' the Provinces of [a] *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, confirming the new Converts. In this Journey it was, that he [b] enjoined the *Galatians* to make Contributions to the Poor every Lord's Day. While [c] he was taking this large Circuit, Providence took Care of the Churches of *Epheſus* and *Corinth* by the Means of one *Apollos*, an eloquent *Jew* of *Alexandria*, and exquiſitely well ſkill'd in the Law and the Prophets: Who coming to *Epheſus*, tho' he was only inſtructed in the Rudiments of Chriſtianity, and *John*'s Baptiſm, yet he taught with great Courage and a moſt powerful Zeal. Having been fully inſtructed in the Faith of *Chriſt* by *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, he paſs'd over into *Achaia*, being furniſhed with Commendatory Letters from the Church of *Epheſus* to that of *Corinth*. In this laſt Place he prov'd highly ſerviceable, [d] watering what *Paul* had planted, confirming the Diſciples, and powerfully convincing the *Jews* that *Jeſus* was the true and only Meſſiah promiſed in the Holy Scriptures.

While [e] *Apollos* was thus happily employ'd at *Corinth*, Paul *having paſs thro' the Upper Coaſts*, that is, the Parts of *Aſia* fartheſt diſtant from the Sea, as far as *Cappadocia*, return'd again to *Epheſus*, where he ſettled his Abode for three Years. He brought along with him *Gaius* of *Derbe*, *Ariſtarchus* a *Theſſalonian*, *Timotheus* and *Eraſtus*, *Corinthians*, and *Titus*. The firſt Thing he did here, was to examine certain Diſciples, *Whether ſince their Converſion they had receiv'd the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt?* They gave him to underſtand, *That the Doctrine which they had receiv'd, had nothing in it of that Nature; nor had they ever heard that any ſuch extraordinary Spirit had of late been beſtow'd upon the Church.* He demanded farther, *In what Name they had been baptized?* ſince in the Chriſtian Form of Baptiſm, the Name of the Holy Ghoſt was always expreſs'd. They reply'd, *They had receiv'd no more than* John's *Baptiſm*; which though it obliged Men to Repentance, yet did it expreſly mention nothing of the Holy Ghoſt, or his Gifts and Powers. Hereupon St. *Paul* inform'd them, *That though* John's *Baptiſm did openly oblige to nothing but Repentance, yet it did implicitly acknowledge the whole Doctrine concerning* Chriſt *and the Holy Ghoſt.* When they heard this, they were baptized according to *Chriſt*'s own Preſcription, in the Name of the Bleſſed Trinity; and after Impoſition of the Apoſtle's Hands, receiv'd the Gift of Tongues, and other miraculous Powers then common in the Church. The Number of theſe Diſciples were about Twelve.

Having [f] confirmed theſe *Epheſians*, he went into the Synagogue, where for three Months together he ceaſed not to convince the *Jews*, and perſuade them to embrace the Faith of *Chriſt*. But when divers of them fell to their old Method of calumniating and blaſpheming, he quitted the Synagogue, and formed an Aſſembly of Diſciples in the School of a Chriſtian Convert, named *Tyrannus*. In this Courſe he continued for two whole Years; and *Epheſus* being a City of great Reſort for Traffick and Merchandiſe, Perſons from all Parts of *Aſia*, both *Jews* and *Greeks*, had an Opportunity to hear the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And becauſe Miracles are the cleareſt Evidence of a divine Commiſſion, therefore God was pleaſed to ratify the Doctrine which St. *Paul* delivered, by miraculous Cures, and ſuch as were wrought not only on thoſe that came to him, but if Napkins and Handkerchiefs were but touched by him, and applied to the Sick, their Diſeaſes immediately left them, and evil Spirits departed out of thoſe that were poſſeſſed by them.

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[g] *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum*, i. e. 'Tis not for every one to go to Corinth.

[h] Joſeph. of the Wars of the Jews, B. vi. C. 6. P. 934. L'Eſtrange's Eng. Edit.

[i] Acts xviii. 18—22.

[a] Acts xviii. 22, 23.

[b] 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

[c] Acts xviii. 24—28.

[d] 1 Cor. iii. 6.

[e] Acts xix. 1—7.

[f] Acts xix. 8—12.

This [g] Evidence of the divine Power ſtirred up the Emulation of certain *Jewiſh* Exorciſts, Vagrants, who made it their Trade to wander up and down, to get a Livelihood by pretending to cure Diſeaſes, and caſt out Devils. Seven Sons of one *Sceva* a *Jew*, and chief of the Prieſts, ſeeing what Miracles of this kind *Paul* did in the Name of *Jeſus*, attempted to caſt a Devil out of a poſſeſſed Man, by uſing theſe Words as a Charm, *We adjure you by* Jeſus *whom* Paul *preacheth*. But our Lord not bleſſing the Uſe of his Name in the Mouth of ſuch profane Perſons, and for ſuch covetous Ends, the Demoniac leapt upon the Exorciſt, crying, *Jeſus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?* and forced them to fly out of the Houſe naked and wounded. Before our Saviour came, the [h] *Jews* uſed the Name of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, to work theſe Effects. While our Saviour lived, [i] they did it in his Name; and after his Death the Power ſtill continued; ſo that many who did not believe in *Chriſt*, did yet caſt out Devils in his Name. But *Chriſt* would not always ſuffer his Name to be abuſed, through Vanity and Intereſt, and therefore made uſe of the Devil himſelf to puniſh the Prophanation of it. This Vindication of *Chriſt*'s Honour being divulged in *Epheſus*, cauſed all Men to magnify his Name, and mention it with due Reverence. It proved likewiſe the Occaſion of converting many, both *Jews* and *Greeks*, who came to the Apoſtles, and confeſſed their former Miſdeeds, and evil Courſes. Many alſo, who had uſed Sorceries and infernal Arts, made a Bonfire of all their magical Books; burning ſo many of them as, the Learned ſay, amounted to fifteen hundred Pounds of our Money: The Owners now converted to Chriſtianity, not being tempted to ſpare them, either out of their former Love to them, or for the ſake of the preſent Value and Price of them. So powerful did the Goſpel prevail over the Minds of Men. This was [k] that great Door and effectual, which St. *Paul* ſays was opened to him at *Epheſius*: Yet it was not without much Oppoſition, and great Perſecution from the *Jews*, who lay daily in wait for him, and [l] ſought to caſt him to the wild Beaſts. He hazarded his Life to ſave others; and died daily, that others might live for ever.

Whilſt *Paul* reſided at *Epheſus*, he had occaſion to write his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and his firſt to the *Corinthians*. The Occaſion of that to the *Galatians*, was as follows. *Paul* had preached twice or thrice in *Galatia*, and had found them very ready and compliant Auditors; [m] receiving him as an Angel of God, even as *Jeſus Chriſt*. And as they embraced the Faith readily, ſo God approved their Sincerity by beſtowing on them the Holy Spirit. They [n] ran well, and made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Ways of Truth; and gave good Proofs of their Conſtancy, by ſuffering many Things for the Goſpel. But after *Paul*'s Departure from them, they [o] were ſoon removed from the Truth preached to them by that Apoſtle, to another Goſpel. Certain *Jews*, who had embraced the Faith, coming to *Galatia*, taught them, that it was not ſufficient to believe in *Chriſt* to ſave them, but they muſt be circumciſed, as *Peter*, *James*, and *John* had inſtructed them, and conſtantly practiſed among them: And whereas the *Galatians* alledged, that they had received no ſuch Doctrine of *Paul*; they told them, That he was not to be compared with thoſe great Lights of the Church, who had received their Doctrine from the Mouth of *Chriſt* himſelf, and were inſpired with extraordinary Knowledge in the higheſt Myſteries of Chriſtianity; whereas *Paul* was no Apoſtle, but taught by them, or ſome others. Theſe falſe Teachers pretended a great Zeal for the Salvation of the *Galatians*; though indeed they chiefly aimed at their own Intereſts, and deſigned nothing but to glory in having brought the *Galatians* to be circumciſed: But the *Galatians*, being a dull and ignorant People, could not ſee through their fair Pretences, but ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with their Doctrine. *Paul* having [p] heard of this their Apoſtacy from the Truth of the Goſpel, was forced to write this Epiſtle to them. In it he ſhews a Zeal proportionable to the Cauſe he undertook; charging them with Madneſs and Folly, to be led away by ſuch extravagant Errors, which over-turn the Foundation of the Goſpel. He ſhews, [q] That he had his Doctrine and Apoſtleſhip from *Chriſt* himſelf; [r] that he was forced at *Antioch* to reprove *Peter* for his Diſſimulation, and too great Condeſcenſion to ſuch Judaizers. He then [s] produces ſeveral Proofs out of Scripture to convince them of their Error; and ſhews, That the Slavery of the Law deſtroys their Chriſtian Liberty; That the Law brings a Curſe along with it; and no Man can be juſtified by the Law in the Sight of God. Among his Reproofs and Arguments he mixes ſeveral Exhortations to that Church, full of paternal and apoſtolic Charity: And becauſe he always took as much Care of their Manners as their Faith, he gives them, in the two laſt Chapters, many excellent Directions and Rules to moderate and govern their Converſation by. He [t] wrote this Epiſtle all with his own Hand, contrary to his ordinary Cuſtom of Dictating.

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[g] Acts xix. 13—20. [h] Matth. xii. 27. [i] Luke ix. 49, 50. [k] 1 Cor. xvi. 9. [l] 1 Cor. xv. 32.
[m] Gal. iv. 14. [n] Gal. v. 7. [o] Gal. i. 6. [p] Hier. in Gal. p. 174. Chryſ. in Gal. p. 778.
[q] Gal. i. 1, 15, 16. [r] Gal. ii. 11, &c. [s] Gal. iii. 6—13. [t] Gal. vi. 11.

Concerning the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, take the following Account, as it is given by Perſons of the beſt Learning. *Paul* having [u] continued above two Years in *Epheſus*, intended to have returned to *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, and to have [w] wintered at *Corinth*, and ſo to have paſſed to *Jeruſalem*, there to keep the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. After which he propoſed to take a Journey which he had deſigned many Years, namely, to viſit the Church in the Imperial City of *Rome*. But this Progreſs being deferred for ſome Time, [x] he ſent *Timothy* and *Eraſtus* into *Macedonia*, directing the former to viſit the Church of *Corinth* before his Return, and prepare their Alms for *Jeruſalem*. Not long after *Timothy*'s Departure, *Apollos*, *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*, came from *Corinth* to *Paul*, bringing him an Account of the State of that Church from ſome Perſons [y] of the Family of *Chloe*, and alſo a Letter from the Church itſelf, deſiring a Reſolution of ſeveral Points concerning Marriage and Celibacy, and ſome other Subjects. By the Account which theſe Perſons gave, he underſtood the diſtracted Condition of that Church; that the *Corinthians* were unhappily divided into many Parties and Factions upon the Account of their Teachers, ſome adhering to *Paul*, others to *Cephas* or *Peter* (who, as *Clemens* in his Epiſtle ſays, was at *Corinth* when *Apollos* was there;) others to *Apollos*, and others to *Chriſt*; ſeparating from, and contemning each other, as not ſo well edified or inſtructed: That many Diſorders were committed at their Love-Feaſts, and the holy Sacrament was corruptly and ireverently celebrated: That the Chriſtians injured and defrauded each other, and went to Law at the Heathen Tribunals; that one of them had married his own Father's Widow; and that ſome denied the Reſurection.

To rectify theſe Abuſes, and reſolve their Doubts, St. *Paul* writes his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, in the Name of himſelf and of *Soſthenes*. In it he ſmartly reproves their Faults, ſolidly anſwers their Queſtions, and convincingly ſhews them their Errors. He tells them, that their Schiſm ſhews them Carnal; that they ought to excommunicate the inceſtuous Perſon, leſt his Example ſhould infect others. He blames their contentious going to Law one with another, and adviſes them to refer their Differences to ſome prudent Perſon of their Church. To bring them to the right Uſe of the Sacrament, he expounds the Inſtitution of it, and exhorts them to fit themſelves for it by examining their Lives. He commends Marriage; but prefers a ſingle Life, if it be chaſte, and imployed in ſtricter Devotion. Laſtly, he proves the Reſurrection. This Epiſtle he ſent by *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*. He deſired *Apollos* to go along with them, but *Apollos* would not conſent to it. Some are of Opinion, That St. *Paul* had written a former Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which he ſent by *Timothy*. This they gather from theſe Words of the Epiſtle under Conſideration, [z] *I wrote unto you in an Epiſtle*: But, ſay others, theſe Words may very well be referred to the foregoing Part of this Epiſtle. What Effect this Epiſtle had upon the Offenders, the next [a] informs us: It brought them to a ſerious Remorſe for their Faults, and a careful Vigilance and Regard of their Duty for the Future; and none more than the inceſtuous Perſon, who fell into ſuch extreme Sorrow, that *Paul* feared he would be quite ſwallowed up with the Affliction.

Before St. *Paul* left this City of *Epheſus*, an Accident happened, which brought him into great Trouble and Danger. There was in this Place the famous Temple of *Diana*, a Structure ſo magnificent, for Beauty, Riches, and Capaciouſneſs, that it was reckoned one of the ſeven Wonders of the World. It [b] was built at the Charges of all *Aſia*, being two [c] hundred twenty Years in building; which we are to underſtand of its ſucceſſive Rebuildings and Reparations, being often waſted and deſtroyed. It was four hundred and twenty five Foot long, two hundred and twenty broad, ſixty Foot high, and ſupported by one hundred twenty ſeven Pillars. For its Antiquity, it was in ſome Degree before the Times of *Bacchus*, coeval with the Reign of the *Amazons*. But that which gave it the greateſt Fame and Reputation, was [d] an Image of *Diana* kept there, and which the idolatrous Prieſts perſuaded the People, was formed by *Jupiter*, and dropt down from Heaven; for which reaſon it was had in great Veneration, not only at *Epheſus*, but in all *Aſia*: Inſomuch that People procured ſilver Shrines or Figures of this Temple and Image, of ſuch a Size as to carry in their Pockets, either for Curioſity, or to ſtir up their Devotion. This occaſioned a great deal of Buſineſs for the *Epheſian* Silverſmiths: Of whom one *Demetrius* was the chief Trader, and Maſter-workman. This Man plainly perceiving, that Chriſtianity tended to the Subverſion of Idolatry, and conſequently to the Ruin of their gainful Imployment, called all the Shrine-makers together, and pathetically repreſented to them, "How certainly they muſt be reduced to a ſtarving Condition, if they ſuffered *Paul* to bring their Temple and Goddeſs into Contempt, by perſuading People, as he did, that they were no Gods which were made with Hands." This fired them with a Zeal which they could no longer contain, but they cryed out with one Voice, *Great is* Diana *of the* Epheſians. They ought to have conſidered, that if *Paul* was able to deſtroy their Gods, it would be in vain for them to oppoſe him; but Intereſt and Superſtition meeting in an heady Crowd, admitted of no Arguings. They were all in a furious Rage and Zeal for the Goddeſs, and reſolved to expoſe *Paul* to the Beaſts in the Theatre, if they could find him. The whole City was filled with the Tumult; and the Croud miſſing of *Paul*, laid hold of *Gaius* and *Ariſtarchus*, two *Macedonians* of St. *Paul*'s Company, and hurried them into the Theatre, with an Intent to have caſt them to the wild Beaſts. *Paul*, who was at preſent out of the Tumult, hearing of the Danger of his Brethren, would fain have ventured after them, to have ſpoke in their Behalf, had he not been diſſuaded, not only by the Chriſtians, but by the *Gentile* Governors of the theatrical Games, who were his Friends, and ſent to him to aſſure him, that he would only endanger himſelf, without reſcuing his Companions.

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[u] Acts xix. 21, 22.
[w] 1 Cor. xvi. 5, 6.
[x] 1 Cor. 4. 17.
[y] 1 Cor. i. 11.
[z] 1 Cor. v. 9.
[a] 2 Cor. vii. 8, 9.
[b] Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. xxxvi. cap. 14.
[c] He elſewhere ſays four hundred Years.
[d] Acts xix. 24——41.

Great was the Noiſe and Confuſion of the Multitude, moſt of them not knowing what they were about; and therefore ſome cry'd one thing, ſome another. In this Diſtraction *Alexander*, a *Jewiſh* Convert, was ſingled out by the Multitude, and, by the Inſtigation of the *Jews*, went about to make his Defence; in which no doubt he would have laid the Blame upon St. *Paul*, if he was, as 'tis generally thought, that *Alexander the Copper-Smith*, of whom the Apoſtle complains, that [e] *he did him much Evil, and greatly withſtood his Words*; and whom [f] *he deliver'd over to* Satan for his Apoſtaſy, for *blaſpheming* Chriſt, and reproaching Chriſtianity. But the Multitude perceiving him to be a *Jew*, and therefore ſuſpecting he was one of *Paul*'s Aſſociates, rais'd another Outcry for near two Hours together, wherein nothing could be heard, but *Great is* Diana *of the* Epheſians. This brought the Town-Clerk, who kept the Regiſter of the Games, to endeavour the Supreſſion of this Riot; who having obtain'd Silence, diſcreetly and calmly told the People, "That the World knew what Devotion the *Epheſians* paid to the great Goddeſs *Diana*, and the Image which fell down from *Jupiter*; ſo that it was a needleſs Piece of Zeal, which they expreſt at that Time; eſpecially ſince the Perſons they called in Queſtion were neither Church-Robbers, nor Blaſphemers of their Goddeſs: That if *Demetrius* and his Fraternity had any Thing to alledge againſt them, the Courts were open; and they might bring their Action againſt them: Or if they were queſtioned about the Breach of any of their Laws, the Cauſe ought to be heard in a regular Aſſembly: That they ought to conſider this, and be quiet; having already render'd themſelves obnoxious to the Diſpleaſure of their Superiors, if they ſhould call them to an Account for that Day's Tumult." With this prudent Diſcourſe he appeas'd and diſmiſs'd the Multitude. *Gaius*, *Ariſtarchus*, and *Alexander*, were releas'd without Hurt. *Paul*'s Eſcape was ſo narrow, that he ſpeaks of it, as of a miraculous Deliverance. [g] *We had*, ſays he, *the Sentence of Death in ourſelves, that we ſhould not truſt in ourſelves, but in God who raiſeth the Dead, who delivered us from ſo great a Death.* And elſewhere when he tells us, [h] *He fought with Beaſts at* Epheſus, he probably had an Eye, either to the Deſign the enraged Multitude had to throw him to the Wild Beaſts in the Theatre, tho' this Deſign was not executed; or to the Manners of the People, who ſufficiently deſerved the Character of Savage and Brutal in an high Degree.

Shortly after this Diſturbance, *Paul* [i] called the Chriſtians together, and took his Leave of them, with the tendereſt Expreſſions of Love and Affection. He had now ſpent almoſt three Years at *Epheſus*, and founded a very conſiderable Church there; over which he ordained *Timothy* Biſhop, as ſeveral of the Antients teſtify. He travelled about two hundred Miles Northwards to *Troas*, before he took ſhipping, [k] expecting and deſiring to meet *Titus* there; but miſſing of him, he purſued his Voyage into *Macedonia*. Some believe, it was in this Paſſage, that he preached the Goſpel as far as *Illyricum*; Part of *Macedonia* bordering upon that Province. He met with many Troubles and Dangers in this Journey; *without were Fightings, within were Fears*, [l] as he ſpeaks himſelf. But God, who comforteth thoſe that are caſt down, comforted him by the Arrival of *Titus*, who gave him an Account of the good Effects his Epiſtle had at *Corinth*. In particular, *Titus* informed him, that all the Chriſtians had ſeparated themſelves from the Company of the inceſtuous Perſon, and had delivered him over to *Satan*; at which he was ſo much humbled, that they deſired the Apoſtle to abſolve him. *Titus* alſo aſſured him, that the Alms of the *Corinthians* for the *Jews* were ready: Which *Paul* ſignified to the *Macedonians*, to provoke them to a like liberal Contribution, on the ſame Occaſion. He likewiſe ſignified to the *Corinthians* the Liberality of the *Macedonians*; and that their Contribution might not fail, obtained of *Titus* to go again to *Corinth*. By him he ſent his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which he inſcribed alſo, "To all the Chriſtians of *Achaia*." In this Epiſtle St. *Paul* firſt pardons the inceſtuous Perſon, at the Intreaty of the *Corinthians*. He then juſtifies himſelf againſt falſe Teachers, and threatens to puniſh them by his Apoſtolical Authority. He vindicates the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and proves the Excellency of it above that of the Law. He exhorts them to a liberal Contribution; finding their Alms to come ſhort of what he expected. And, laſtly, that he might ſecure the People againſt the Seducements of Deceivers, he, againſt his Inclination, boaſts of the Revelation he had received from Heaven, and of his Labours for the Goſpel; in Deliverance of which he uſes much Eloquence, which was natural to him on all Occaſions. It ſeems by this Epiſtle, notwithſtanding the good Fruits of his former, that there were at *Corinth* a Set of factious vain-glorious Men, who made it their Study to derogate from the Apoſtle's Authority. They charged him with Levity in his Promiſe, in not coming to them as he had given out; with Severity in his Dealings; with Contempt of the *Moſaic* Law;

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[e] 2 Tim. iv. 14.

[f] 1 Tim. i. 20.

[g] 2 Cor. i. 9, 10.

[h] 1 Cor. xv.

[i] Acts xx. 1.

[k] 2 Cor. ii. 12.

[l] Cor. vii. 5, 6.

and that though his Writings were authoritative, yet his bodily Preſence was abject and deſpicable. For theſe Reaſons he thought it neceſſary to write this ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, which was the fifth of his Epiſtles in order of Time. It was written from *Philippi* in *Macedonia*, in the Name of *Paul* and *Timothy*, and directed to the Church of God in *Corinth*, and to all the Saints in *Achaia*.

St. *Paul* having paſſed over *Macedonia* came into [m] *Greece*, that is, into *Achaia*, and abode three Months there, reſiding for the moſt Part in the Metropolis of it, *Corinth*. Here having gotten together a Contribution for the Saints at *Jeruſalem*, he wrote an Epiſtle to the *Romans* juſt before his Departure thither. This Epiſtle to the *Romans*, tho' it was written after ſeveral others, yet hath always been placed the firſt in the ſacred Canon; either becauſe of the Dignity of the City of *Rome*, or becauſe it contains ſuch exact and perfect Explications of ſeveral Doctrinal Points of the higheſt Nature, and ſuch excellent Directions for our Lives and Manners: For 'tis in this Epiſtle that St. *Paul* ſo [n] diſtinctly explains the Nature of that Grace which juſtifieth the Ungodly, in treating of that great Queſtion, *Whether the* Jews *only deſerved to receive the Goſpel, upon the Account of their Works wrought by the Law? or, Whether both* Jews *and* Gentiles *are juſtified, not by Merit, but by the free Grace of God only?* St. *Paul* delivers his Judgment with that Wiſdom, as to beat down the Opinion of Merit in both *Jew* and *Gentile*, and to unite them in *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the chief Corner-Stone. He firſt humbles the *Gentiles*, by ſhewing them the Blindneſs and Impiety of their Philoſophers; and then the *Jews*, by proving that they themſelves did what they condemned in the Pagans. He proves, [o] by the Example of *Abraham*, That a Man is juſtified by Faith only; but yet ſuch a Faith, as lives and acts by Charity: That no Man is juſtified by Works, as the *Jews* affirmed. He diſplays the Effects of Original Sin, and the Power it hath even in the Regenerate. He explains the deep Queſtion of Election and Reprobation, in his Diſcourſe of the Calling of the *Gentiles*, and Rejection of the *Jews*. To theſe Doctrines of Faith he hath added ſeveral Leſſons about the Duties of Life and Chriſtian Piety, which are contain'd in the fifth, ſixth, twelfth, and thirteenth Chapters. He had not been at *Rome* when he wrote this Epiſtle; but being the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, he looked upon them as Part of his Charge, tho' that Church was planted by ſome other Perſon, probably by St. *Peter*. This Epiſtle was [p] written by *Tertius*, St. *Paul*'s Amanuenſis; and carried to *Rome* by *Phœbe*, a Deaconeſs of the Church of *Cenchræa*, near *Corinth*.

After this three Months Stay at *Corinth*, [q] he purpoſed to go into *Syria*, to relieve the poor Chriſtians in *Judea* with the Collections he had made for them in *Macedonia* and *Greece*. He intended to have gone by Sea, as being the neareſt and ſpeedieſt Way: But having an Intimation that the *Jews* had contrived to intercept him in his Paſſage, he reſolved to go about thro' *Macedonia*. [r] *Sopater*, or *Soſipater*, of *Beræa*, *Ariſtarchus* and *Secundus* of *Theſſalonica*, *Tychicus* and *Trophimus* of *Aſia*, *Gaius* of *Derbe*, and *Timothy*, accompanied him in his Journey, as far as *Philippi*; from whence he ſent them before to *Troas*, ordering them to ſtay there 'till he came to them. At *Philippi* he ſtaid with St. *Luke*, and ſome others, till after *Eaſter*, and kept that Feaſt with the *Philippians*, a very pious and charitable People. This was the third Viſit that he had made to that Church. [s] Setting ſail from thence, in five Days he arrived at *Troas*, and ſpent a Week in that Place. The Church there meeting on the Lord's Day, to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and celebrate the other Parts of divine Worſhip; *Paul* took this Opportunity to preach to them; and being to leave them next Morning, he continued his Diſcourſe the longer to them, even till Midnight. This cauſed a young Man of the Company, named *Eutychus*, to be overtaken with a deep Sleep; who thereupon fell out of a Window where he ſate, three Stories high, and was ſo ſtunn'd with the Fall, that he was taken up for dead. [t] "This Fall, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſhews what Puniſhment they deſerve, who hear God's Word negligently, ſuffering their Minds to wander, or their Senſes to be locked up with Sleep." But God turn'd this Account to his own Glory, and the Confirmation of the Apoſtle's Miniſtry: For *Paul* went down, and embracing him, brought him to Life again, to the Joy and Wonder of the whole Aſſembly. After which he proceeded in the ſacred Offices, adminiſtered the Lord's Supper, and abounded in many gracious Words, till Break of Day; and then they all departed to their Homes, greatly rejoicing for the Life of the young Man. The next Day *Paul* departed from *Troas*, and went on Foot to *Aſſos*, a Sea-Port Town, a few Miles to the South; very likely that he might give ſome Inſtructions to the Chriſtians dwelling in the Way. At *Aſſos* he met with *Luke* and his other Companions, whom he had ſent before to meet him there by Sea; and taking Ship, they all ſailed to *Mitylene*, a City in the Iſle of *Leſbos*. The next Day they ſailed thence, and came over-againſt *Chios*; and the Day following arrived at *Samos*, another Iſland in the *Ægean Sea*, and landed at *Trogyllium*, a Promontory of *Ionia*, near *Samos*. The Day following they proceeded to *Miletus*, a famous City upon the Coaſts of *Aſia*, in the Province of *Caria*, about thirty Miles South of *Epheſus*.

Paul being deſirous to get to *Jeruſalem* before the Time of *Pentecoſt*, that he might celebrate the Feaſt, would not go up to *Epheſus*, for fear that Journey ſhould detain him too long. He ſent, however, for the Elders, or Preſbyters of the Church of *Epheſus*, to him at *Miletus*; thinking it neceſſary to give them a particular Charge of the Flock which he had ſpent ſo much Time with, and which he could not be certain he ſhould ſee again. When they were come down to him, he ſpake to them after this Manner: "That they were Witneſſes how much Pains he had been at to plant their Church; how great Dangers he had gone through, and how much Labour he had taken, to inſtruct them in the fundamental Points of the Chriſtian Doctrine, Faith and Repentance; and particularly, that he had been careful to declare the whole Counſel of God to them, who, by a ſpecial Deſignation of God's Spirit, were appointed the Paſtors of the Church. He could with a good Conſcience aſſert, That he was clear from the Blood of all Men, and that no Man had periſhed through his Negligence: And now he was to bid them finally adieu, the whole Care of that Flock of God was devolved upon them. Wherefore he adjures them to take heed to themſelves, and to all their Flock; not only teaching them plainly, and governing them wiſely, but making themſelves Examples of Piety and Sobriety to them; as ſenſible how great a Sin it would be to loſe any one Soul by their Conduct, for which *Chriſt* laid down his Blood to purchaſe it. But particularly, he entreats them to watch againſt Seducers, who, like devouring Wolves, would enter upon their Flocks, and not only make a Prey of their Eſtates, but of their Souls; and that the more carefully, becauſe they would ariſe out of themſelves, which they would not ſuſpect. He concludes his Diſcourſe with a ſolemn Recommendation of them to God's ſpecial Grace and Protection, wiſhing them all the Benefits of the Goſpel, Perfection of Knowledge here, and an heavenly Inheritance hereafter; and cautioning them againſt Covetouſneſs, and making a Gain of their Flocks; which as he himſelf had avoided, and choſe rather to work with his Hands than be burthenſome to them, ſo he adviſes them to do, that they may ſupport themſelves and others; being mindful of our Saviour's Words, *That it is more bleſſed to give than to receive.*" After this Exhortation, like a tender Parent loth to part with his Children, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. *And they all wept ſore, and fell on his Neck and kiſſed him; ſorrowing moſt of all at theſe Words which he ſpake, That they ſhould ſee his Face no more. And they accompanied him to the Ship.*

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[m] Acts xx. 3.

[n] Aug. in Rom. cap. i. p. 925.

[o] Aug. ad Sim. q. ii. c. 2.

[p] Rom. xvi. 22, 27.

[q] Acts xx. 3. xxiv. 17.

[r] Acts xx. 4. Rom. xvi. 21.

[s] Acts xx. 6——12.

[t] Chryſ. hom. 43. p. 380.

[u] Acts xv. 13——38.

And now [w] *Paul* and his Companions proceed on their Voyage towards *Jeruſalem*. From *Miletus* they came with a ſtrait Courſe to *Coos*, and the next Day to *Rhodes*, two Iſles in the *Ægean Sea*. From thence to *Patara*, the Metropolis of *Lycia*, where they went on board another Veſſel bound for *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, and arrived there after five Days Sail. Some of the *Tyrian* Chriſtians, who had the Gift of Prophecy, ſhew'd *Paul* the Danger of his going up to *Jeruſalem* But this did not hinder him from proceeding on his Journey, after a Week's Stay in this Place. When he parted from *Tyre*, the Chriſtians, with their Wives and Children, accompanied him to the Ship; whom he embraced, and prayed with them on the Shore, as he had done at *Miletus*. From *Tyre* they ſail'd a few Leagues to *Ptolemais*, a City of *Phœnicia*, near *Galilee*; where only ſaluting the Brethren, they came the next Day to *Cæſarea*. Here they lodged in the Houſe of *Philip the Evangeliſt*, one of the ſeven Deacons, who converted the *Samaritans* and the Eunuch. *Philip* had four Daughters, all Virgins, who had the Gift of Prophecy. During their ſhort Stay in this Place, *Agabus*, the Chriſtian Prophet, came thither from *Judea*; who taking *Paul*'s Girdle, bound his own Hands and Feet with it; ſignifying, that *the* Jews *would ſo bind* St. Paul, *and deliver him to the* Gentiles. Whereupon his own Company, and the Chriſtians of *Cæſarea*, earneſtly beſought him, that he would not venture himſelf among them. But the Apoſtle aſk'd them, what they meant by theſe compaſſionate Diſſuaſives, which could only tend to add more Affliction to his Sorrow? *For I am ready not to be bound only*, ſaid he, *but alſo to die at* Jeruſalem, *for the Name of the Lord* Jeſus. When the Diſciples found he was not to be moved from his Reſolution, they importun'd him no further, but left the Event to the divine Will and Pleaſure. And ſo *Paul* and his former Attendants, with ſome others who join'd them at this Place, took up their Carriages, and ſoon arrived at *Jeruſalem*, where they were joyfully received by the Chriſtians, and lodged in the Houſe of one *Mnaſon* a *Cyprian*, ſaid to be one of our Lord's Seventy Diſciples. This was St. *Paul*'s laſt Journey to *Jeruſalem*, that we are certain of, and the fifth after his Converſion. His firſt was *A. D.* 38, his ſecond in 44, his third in 49, his fourth in 54, this laſt in 58, about twenty-three Years after his Converſion, and nine from the Council of *Jeruſalem*.

SECT. VIII.

Of St. Paul's *Travels into* Aſia, *and from thence into* Macedonia *and* Greece, *till his fifth Return to* Jeruſalem.

ST. *Paul* having paſſed thro' *Syria*, *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, after he ſet out a fifth Time from *Jeruſalem*, came again to *Epheſus* in *Aſia*, where he now made a long Stay, as related in the preceding Section. From *Epheſus* he went into *Macedonia*, and ſo into *Greece*, where he alſo ſpent a conſiderable Time. Of theſe Places, *Syria*, *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, have been before deſcribed in this Work; *Epheſus* we ſhall ſpeak of in the Life of St. *John*, when we come to treat of the ſeven Churches in *Aſia*, to which he wrote Epiſtles; the other Places therefore, mentioned betwixt St. *Paul's* third and fourth Return to *Jeruſalem*, are what we are to treat of here. We begin with a general Deſcription of *Aſia*, and then proceed to *Macedonia* and *Greece*.

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[w] Acts xxi. 1——16.

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Sailing from *Mitylene*, St. *Paul* came the next Day [l] over-againſt *Chios*, an Iſle alſo in the *Archipelago*, next to *Leſbos* or *Metelin*, both in Situation and Bigneſs; whence alſo this Iſle is eſteemed [m] by the *Turks* worthy of a Fort. Its chief Town is of the ſame Name, and both now-a-days commonly termed *Scio*. This Iſle lies over-againſt *Smyrna*, and is reckoned not above four Leagues diſtant from the *Aſiatic* Continent.

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[a] Wells's Geography, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 82, 83, 118, &c.

[b] See Cic. Orat. pro Flacco.

[c] The only Exception hereto is Acts xxvii. 2. where the Coaſts of Aſia may denote all the Coaſt from Cæſarea to Sidon, and ſo along Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, &c.

[d] Rom. xv. 19.

[e] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[f] Rom. i. 14.

[g] Acts xx. 3——6

[h] Acts xx. 13.

[i] Acts xx. 14.

[k] Rycaut's Preſent State, &c. p. 337.

[l] Acts xx. 15.

[m] Preſent State of the Greek Church, p. 337.

We are inform'd by[n] Sir *Paul Rycaut*, that in no Place in the *Turkiſh* Dominions do the Chriſtians enjoy more Freedom in their Religion and Eſtates, than in this Iſle; to which they are entitled by an antient Capitulation made with Sultan *Mahomet* II. to whom they ſurrender'd themſelves on Compoſition and Articles of Liberty, and of Enjoyment of their Eſtates; which to this Day is maintained ſo faithfully, that a *Turk* cannot ſtrike or abuſe a Chriſtian without ſevere Correction. Here the Men wear Hats and Clothes almoſt after the *Spaniſh* Mode; carry the Crucifix in Proceſſion through the Streets, and exerciſe their Religion with all Freedom. This Iſland produces the moſt excellent [o] *Maſtich* in the World; and I think, ſaith our Author, there is no Place where it is ſo good, and in ſo great Abundance; and herein they pay their Tribute to the Grand Seignior. In this Place both the *Greek* and *Roman* Religion are profeſſed. The chief Families of the latter Sort are two, and thoſe of conſiderable Eſteem, the *Moneſi*, alias *Giuſtiniani*, and *Borgheſi*. Theſe latter are noble, but the firſt have been Princes; who having in the Year 1345 been ſent thither from *Liguria*, or the Parts of *Genoa*, as Governors, afterward became ſupreme Lords of that Iſland, which they ruled with abſolute Authority, until the *Turks* approaching as near to them as *Magneſia*, and having poſſeſſed themſelves of that Capital City, they judged their ſmall City uncapable to reſiſt; and therefore, like the remoter Parts of *Raguſi*, they addreſſed themſelves with all Humility and Subjection to demand Peace. This Place has ſtoutly engaged among the other Cities and Iſlands in the Contention of *Homer*'s Birth; but in our Times, as Sir *Paul Rycaut* obſerves, it is ſo far from having gained the Reputation of producing many wiſe Men, that it is become contemptible to a Proverb; there being amongſt the *Greeks* a common Proverb, importing, that *a wiſe Man is as rare amongſt them as a green Horſe*. This Iſland is celebrated [p] by the antient Poets for the Wine and Figs that came from thence, and by others [q] for its Marble and white Earth.

Setting ſail from *Chios*, or *Scio*, St. *Paul* arrived the [r] next Day at *Samos*, another Iſle of the *Archipelago*, on the South-Eaſt of *Chios*, and about five Miles from the *Aſiatic* Continent. The Iſland is ſaid to be very fruitful, and the Wines of it exceeding pleaſant; but for want of Trade and Encouragement, they plant little more than they uſe. It was formerly a free Commonwealth, and the Inhabitants were ſo powerful, that they managed many proſperous Wars againſt their Neighbours. To paſs by one of the *Sibyls*, who is ſaid to be born here, the greateſt Glory of this Iſle may be juſtly eſteemed, that it was the Birth-Place of *Pythagoras*, a Perſon wiſer than any of the ſeven Wiſe Men, ſo renowned among the *Greeks*, and one of the Fathers of Philoſophy, firſt bringing it into *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy*. This Iſland, once ſo powerful, rich, and populous, is by the *Turks* reduced to that mean and depopulated Condition, that a few Pirates dare land and plunder it as they pleaſe; ſo that ever ſince 1676, no *Turk* durſt venture to live upon it, leſt he ſhould be carried into Captivity by theſe Rovers. Sir *Paul Rycaut*, [s] as he informs us, that in ſome of theſe Iſlands are found the moſt excellent Divers under Water in the World; ſo withal he tells us, that the beſt of theſe Divers are of this Iſle *Samos*, and of another Iſle, called *Simo*. He tells us, that he ſaw one of theſe employed in very cold Weather, on Occaſion of an *Engliſh* Boat, which was ſunk by a Ship's Side, laden with Tin and Lead, in the Port of *Smyrna*, in about eight Fathom Water; who, for want of Heat rather than Breath, the Weather being very cold in the Month of *January*, was forced to dive four Times to fix four Ropes to the Boat; two of which he hooked within the Rings of the Head and Stern, and two at each Side of the Mid-ſhips; which he acted very dexterouſly, not miſſing at any Time of that which he went about. Upon Diſcourſe with him afterwarwards, ſays Sir *Paul*, he told me he was born at *Simo*, where at the Age of three or four Years his Father brought him to the Sea, and taught him to ſwim, and then to dive, which by Degrees he ſo well learned, with other young Companions, that their common Practice was to try, who could ſtay longeſt under the Water; in which they were very emulous to exceed, becauſe it is the ſole Trade of their poor Iſland to cut Spunges; and he that is the moſt expert therein gets the handſomeſt Wife, and the beſt Portion. This Man farther informed me, that he never could ſtay under Water when his Belly was full; but that in a Morning, or at any Time of the Day faſting, in warm Weather, and in a calm Sea, he could ſtay three Quarters of an Hour under Water. He never heard of Spunges dipped in Oil to hold in their Mouths, as we vulgarly report; nor uſed they any other Help, than before they dived into the Water, to fill their Lungs with as much Air as they could draw in. If they ſtaid long under the Water, they felt a Pain in their Ears, and many Times Blood iſſued thence and from their Noſes: Their Eyes were always open, ſo that they could ſee almoſt as well under, as above the Water. And indeed I obſerved, ſaith Sir *Paul*, that his Eyes were ſo glazed and burnt with the Sea, that they looked like Glaſs, or the Eyes of a Fiſh. But to return to the Deſcription of the Iſle of *Samos*, which, as it lies over-againſt the *Aſiatic* Continent, ſo it lies particularly oppoſite to [t] *Trogyllium*, a Cape and Town of the like Name, not much below *Epheſus*.

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[n] Preſent State of the Greek Church, p. 357, 358.

[o] Iſidore in his Origines tells us, that the Iſle took the Name of Chios from its abonding in Maſtich, this being called Chios in the Syriac Language. The Gum ſo called proceeds from the Lentisk-Tree.

[p] Horace and Martial. [q] Pliny and Strabo. [r] Acts xx. 15. [s] Preſent State, &c. p. 367, &c.

[t] 'Tis obſervable that this Clauſe Acts xx. 15. *and tarried at Trogyllium*, is not read in the Alexandrian Copy, nor the vulgar Latin, nor the Ethiopic Verſion, nor in ſeveral Manuſcripts, and it ſeems to have been at firſt but a Marginal Note, being not well reconcileable to the Courſe of St. Paul's Voyages mention'd in the Text.

South

that Journey ſhould detain him too long. He ſent, however, for the Elders, or Preſbyters of the Church of *Epheſus*, to him at *Miletus*; thinking it neceſſary to give them a particular Charge of the Flock which he had ſpent ſo much Time with, and which he could not be certain he ſhould ſee again. When they were come down to him, he ſpake to them after this Manner: "That they were Witneſſes how much Pains he had been at to plant their Church; how great Dangers he had gone through, and how much Labour he had taken, to inſtruct them in the fundamental Points of the Chriſtian Doctrine, Faith and Repentance; and particularly, that he had been careful to declare the whole Counſel of God to them, who, by a ſpecial Deſignation of God's Spirit, were appointed the Paſtors of the Church. He could with a good Conſcience aſſert, That he was clear from the Blood of all Men, and that no Man had periſhed through his Negligence: And now he was to bid them finally adieu, the whole Care of that Flock of God was devolved upon them. Wherefore he adjures them to take heed to themſelves, and to all their Flock; not only teaching them plainly, and governing them wiſely, but making themſelves Examples of Piety and Sobriety to them; as ſenſible how great a Sin it would be to loſe any one Soul by their Conduct, for which *Chriſt* laid down his Blood to purchaſe it. But particularly, he entreats them to watch againſt Seducers, who, like devouring Wolves, would enter upon their Flocks, and not only make a Prey of their Eſtates, but of their Souls; and that the more carefully, becauſe they would ariſe out of themſelves, which they would not ſuſpect. He concludes his Diſcourſe with a ſolemn Recommendation of them to God's ſpecial Grace and Protection, wiſhing them all the Benefits of the Goſpel, Perfection of Knowledge here, and an heavenly Inheritance hereafter; and cautioning them againſt Covetouſneſs, and making a Gain of their Flocks; which as he himſelf had avoided, and choſe rather to work with his Hands than be burthenſome to them, ſo he adviſes them to do, that they may ſupport themſelves and others; being mindful of our Saviour's Words, *That it is more bleſſed to give than to receive.*" After this Exhortation, like a tender Parent loth to part with his Children, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all. *And they all wept ſore, and fell on his Neck and kiſſed him; ſorrowing moſt of all at theſe Words which he ſpake, That they ſhould ſee his Face no more. And they accompanied him to the Ship.*

And now [w] *Paul* and his Companions proceed on their Voyage towards *Jeruſalem*. From *Miletus* they came with a ſtrait Courſe to *Coos*, and the next Day to *Rhodes*, two Iſles in the *Ægean Sea*. From thence to *Patara*, the Metropolis of *Lycia*, where they went on board another Veſſel bound for *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, and arrived there after five Days Sail. Some of the *Tyrian* Chriſtians, who had the Gift of Prophecy, ſhew'd *Paul* the Danger of his going up to *Jeruſalem*. But this did not hinder him from proceeding on his Journey, after a Week's Stay in this Place. When he parted from *Tyre*, the Chriſtians, with their Wives and Children, accompanied him to the Ship; whom he embraced, and prayed with them on the Shore, as he had done at *Miletus*. From *Tyre* they ſail'd a few Leagues to *Ptolemais*, a City of *Phœnicia*, near *Galilee*; where only ſaluting the Brethren, they came the next Day to *Cæſarea*. Here they lodged in the Houſe of *Philip the Evangeliſt*, one of the ſeven Deacons, who converted the *Samaritans* and the Eunuch. *Philip* had four Daughters, all Virgins, who had the Gift of Prophecy. During their ſhort Stay in this Place, *Agabus*, the Chriſtian Prophet, came thither from *Judea*; who taking *Paul*'s Girdle, bound his own Hands and Feet with it; ſignifying, that *the* Jews *would ſo bind* St. Paul, *and deliver him to the* Gentiles. Whereupon his own Company, and the Chriſtians of *Cæſarea*, earneſtly beſought him, that he would not venture himſelf among them. But the Apoſtle aſk'd them, what they meant by theſe compaſſionate Diſſuaſives, which could only tend to add more Affliction to his Sorrow? *For I am ready not to be bound only*, ſaid he, *but alſo to die at* Jeruſalem, *for the Name of the Lord* Jeſus. When the Diſciples found he was not to be moved from his Reſolution, they importun'd him no further, but left the Event to the divine Will and Pleaſure. And ſo *Paul* and his former Attendants, with ſome others who join'd them at this Place, took up their Carriages, and ſoon arrived at *Jeruſalem*, where they were joyfully received by the Chriſtians, and lodged in the Houſe of one *Mnaſon* a *Cyprian*, ſaid to be one of our Lord's Seventy Diſciples. This was St. *Paul*'s laſt Journey to *Jeruſalem*, that we are certain of, and the fifth after his Converſion. His firſt was *A. D.* 38, his ſecond in 44, his third in 49, his fourth in 54, this laſt in 58, about twenty-three Years after his Converſion, and nine from the Council of *Jeruſalem*.

SECT. VIII.

Of St. Paul'*s Travels into* Aſia, *and from thence into* Macedonia *and* Greece, *till his fifth Return to* Jeruſalem.

ST. *Paul* having paſſed thro' *Syria*, *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, after he ſet out a fifth Time from *Jeruſalem*, came again to *Epheſus* in *Aſia*, where he now made a long Stay, as related in the preceding Section. From *Epheſus* he went into *Macedonia*, and ſo into *Greece*, where he alſo ſpent a conſiderable Time. Of theſe Places, *Syria*, *Galatia*, and *Phrygia*, have been before deſcribed in this Work; *Epheſus* we ſhall ſpeak of in the Life of St. *John*, when we come to treat of the ſeven Churches in *Aſia*, to which he wrote Epiſtles; the other Places therefore, mentioned betwixt St. *Paul's* third and fourth Return to *Jeruſalem*, are what we are to treat of here. We begin with a general Deſcription of *Aſia*, and then proceed to *Macedonia* and *Greece*.

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St. *Paul* being after this [g] reſolved for *Syria*, and underſtanding that the *Jews* had a Deſign to kill him by the Way, he altered the Courſe of his Journey, not going the direct Way out of *Greece*, but returning through *Macedonia* to *Philippi*, and ſailing thence to *Troas*; whence after a Week's Stay he went by Land to [h] *Aſſos*, a Sea-Port Town at the South-Weſt Part of the Province of *Troas*, and lying over-againſt the Iſle of *Leſbos* or *Mitylene*; which therefore St. *Paul* touched at next.

For St. *Paul* taking ſhipping at *Aſſos*, came to [i] *Mitylene*, one of the principal Cities of the Iſle *Leſbos*, and which in Time became the moſt conſiderable, ſo as to give Name long ſince to the whole Iſle, hence called now-a-days *Metelin*. It is reckoned to be about ſeven Miles from the Main-land of *Troas*, and to be one of the largeſt Iſles in the *Archipelago*; upon which Account, as alſo of its Situation near the Mouth of the *Helleſpont*, 'tis thought [k] worthy of a Fortreſs, and the Defence of the *Ottoman* Sword. It is memorable for the many eminent Perſons which it has produced, as *Sappho*, the Inventreſs of *Sapphic* Verſes, *Alcæus*, a famous *Lyric* Poet, *Pittacus*, one of the ſeven wiſe Men of *Greece*, *Theophraſtus*, that noble Phyſician and Philoſopher; to which may be added *Arion*, the celebrated Muſician. As for the City of *Mitylene*, 'tis ſeated on the Eaſt Side of the Iſland, in a Peninſula, with a commodious Haven on each Side.

Sailing from *Mitylene*, St. *Paul* came the next Day [l] over-againſt *Chios*, an Iſle alſo in the *Archipelago*, next to *Leſbos* or *Metelin*, both in Situation and Bigneſs; whence alſo this Iſle is eſteemed [m] by the *Turks* worthy of a Fort. Its chief Town is of the ſame Name, and both now-a-days commonly termed *Scio*. This Iſle lies over-againſt *Smyrna*, and is reckoned not above four Leagues diſtant from the *Aſiatic* Continent.

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[a] Wells's Geography, Vol. IV. Part ii. p. 82, 83, 118, &c.

[b] See Cic. Orat. pro Flacco.

[c] The only Exception hereto is Acts xxvii. 2. where the Coaſts of Aſia may denote all the Coaſt from Cæſarea to Sidon, and ſo along Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, &c.

[d] Rom. xv. 19.

[e] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

[f] Rom. i. 14.

[g] Acts xx. 3—6

[h] Acts xx. 13.

[i] Acts xx. 14.

[k] Rycaut's Preſent State, &c. p. 337.

[l] Acts xx. 15.

[m] Preſent State of the Greek Church, p. 337.

We are inform'd by [n] Sir *Paul Rycaut*, that in no Place in the *Turkiſh* Dominions do the Chriſtians enjoy more Freedom in their Religion and Eſtates, than in this Iſle; to which they are entitled by an antient Capitulation made with Sultan *Mahomet* II. to whom they ſurrender'd themſelves on Compoſition and Articles of Liberty, and of Enjoyment of their Eſtates; which to this Day is maintained ſo faithfully, that a *Turk* cannot ſtrike or abuſe a Chriſtian without ſevere Correction. Here the Men wear Hats and Clothes almoſt after the *Spaniſh* Mode; carry the Crucifix in Proceſſion through the Streets, and exerciſe their Religion with all Freedom. This Iſland produces the moſt excellent [o] *Maſtich* in the World; and I think, ſaith our Author, there is no Place where it is ſo good, and in ſo great Abundance; and herein they pay their Tribute to the Grand Seignior. In this Place both the *Greek* and *Roman* Religion are profeſſed. The chief Families of the latter Sort are two, and thoſe of conſiderable Eſteem, the *Moneſi*, alias *Giuſtiniani*, and *Borgheſi*. Theſe latter are noble, but the firſt have been Princes; who having in the Year 1345 been ſent thither from *Liguria*, or the Parts of *Genoa*, as Governors, afterward became ſupreme Lords of that Iſland, which they ruled with abſolute Authority, until the *Turks* approaching as near to them as *Magneſia*, and having poſſeſſed themſelves of that Capital City, they judged their ſmall City uncapable to reſiſt; and therefore, like the remoter Parts of *Raguſi*, they addreſſed themſelves with all Humility and Subjection to demand Peace. This Place has ſtoutly engaged among the other Cities and Iſlands in the Contention of *Homer*'s Birth; but in our Times, as Sir *Paul Rycaut* obſerves, it is ſo far from having gained the Reputation of producing many wiſe Men, that it is become contemptible to a Proverb; there being amongſt the *Greeks* a common Proverb, importing, that *a wiſe Man is as rare amongſt them as a green Horſe.* This Iſland is celebrated [p] by the antient Poets for the Wine and Figs that came from thence, and by others [q] for its Marble and white Earth.

Setting ſail from *Chios*, or *Scio*, St. *Paul* arrived the [r] next Day at *Samos*, another Iſle of the *Archipelago*, on the South-Eaſt of *Chios*, and about five Miles from the *Aſiatic* Continent. The Iſland is ſaid to be very fruitful, and the Wines of it exceeding pleaſant; but for want of Trade and Encouragement, they plant little more than they uſe. It was formerly a free Commonwealth, and the Inhabitants were ſo powerful, that they managed many proſperons Wars againſt their Neighbours. To paſs by one of the *Sibyls*, who is ſaid to be born here, the greateſt Glory of this Iſle may be juſtly eſteemed, that it was the Birth-Place of *Pythagoras*, a Perſon wiſer than any of the ſeven Wiſe Men, ſo renowned among the *Greeks*, and one of the Fathers of Philoſophy, firſt bringing it into *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy*. This Iſland, once ſo powerful, rich, and populous, is by the *Turks* reduced to that mean and depopulated Condition, that a few Pirates dare land and plunder it as they pleaſe; ſo that ever ſince 1676, no *Turk* durſt venture to live upon it, leſt he ſhould be carried into Captivity by theſe Rovers. Sir *Paul Rycaut*, [s] as he informs us, that in ſome of theſe Iſlands are found the moſt excellent Divers under Water in the World; ſo withal he tells us, that the beſt of theſe Divers are of this Iſle *Samos*, and of another Iſle, called *Simo*. He tells us, that he ſaw one of theſe employed in very cold Weather, on Occaſion of an *Engliſh* Boat, which was ſunk by a Ship's Side, laden with Tin and Lead, in the Port of *Smyrna*, in about eight Fathom Water; who, for want of Heat rather than Breath, the Weather being very cold in the Month of *January*, was forced to dive four Times to fix four Ropes to the Boat; two of which he hooked within the Rings of the Head and Stern, and two at each Side of the Mid-ſhips; which he acted very dexterouſly, not miſſing at any Time of that which he went about. Upon Diſcourſe with him afterwarwards, ſays Sir *Paul*, he told me he was born at *Simo*, where at the Age of three or four Years his Father brought him to the Sea, and taught him to ſwim, and then to dive, which by Degrees he ſo well learned, with other young Companions, that their common Practice was to try, who could ſtay longeſt under the Water; in which they were very emulous to exceed, becauſe it is the ſole Trade of their poor Iſland to cut Spunges; and he that is the moſt expert therein gets the handſomeſt Wife, and the beſt Portion. This Man farther informed me, that he never could ſtay under Water when his Belly was full, but that in a Morning, or at any Time of the Day faſting, in warm Weather, and in a calm Sea, he could ſtay three Quarters of an Hour under Water. He never heard of Spunges dipped in Oil to hold in their Mouths, as we vulgarly report; nor uſed they any other Help, than before they dived into the Water, to fill their Lungs with as much Air as they could draw in. If they ſtaid long under the Water, they felt a Pain in their Ears, and many Times Blood iſſued thence and from their Noſes: Their Eyes were always open, ſo that they could ſee almoſt as well under, as above the Water. And indeed I obſerved, ſaith Sir *Paul*, that his Eyes were ſo glazed and burnt with the Sea, that they looked like Glaſs, or the Eyes of a Fiſh. But to return to the Deſcription of the Iſle of *Samos*, which, as it lies over-againſt the *Aſiatic* Continent, ſo it lies particularly oppoſite to [t] *Trogyllium*, a Cape and Town of the like Name, not much below *Epheſus*.

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[n] Preſent State of the Greek Church, p. 357, 358.

[o] Iſidore in his Origines tells us, that the Iſle took the Name of Chios from its abonding in Maſtich, this being called Chios in the Syriac Language. The Gum ſo called proceeds from the Lentiſk-Tree.

[p] Horace and Martial.

[q] Pliny and Strabo.

[r] Acts xx. 15.

[s] Preſent State, &c. p. 367, &c.

[t] 'Tis obſervable that this Clauſe Acts xx. 15. *and tarried at Trogyllium*, is not read in the Alexandrian Copy, nor the vulgar Latin, nor the Ethiopic Verſion, nor in ſeveral Manuſcripts, and it ſeems to have been at firſt but a Marginal Note, being not well reconcileable to the Courſe of St. Paul's Voyages mention'd in the Text.

South of *Samos* lies *Patmos*, now ſaid to be called *Palmoſa*; a little Iſland, mountainous, but indifferently fruitful, eſpecially of Wheat and Pulſe; of other Commodities not ſo well provided. On one of theſe Mountains ſtands a Town of the ſame Name with the Iſland, having on the Top thereof a Monaſtry of *Greek Caloirs*. The Soil about the Town is ſaid to be ſo incomparably barren, that nothing grows on or near it, but on ſuch Earth as is brought thither from other Places. Unto this Iſland, as to others in other Parts of the World, did the *Roman* Emperors uſe to confine Offenders: A Puniſhment laid by *Domitian* on St. *John the Divine*, who in this Place writ his *Revelation* to the Churches in *Aſia*. So much the [u] Text affirms for certain, as to the Writing of it in this Iſland: And the Inhabitants by Tradition ſhew an Houſe on the North Side of the Town, in which it was written; and not far off the Cave where it was revealed; both Places being equally honoured by the *Greeks* and *Latins*.

To go on now with the Courſe of St. *Paul*'s Voyages, who having left *Samos*, ſailed [w] to *Miletus*, a Port-Town on the *Aſiatic* Continent, in the Province of *Caria*. It is memorable for being the Birth-place of *Thales*, one of the ſeven Wiſe Men of *Greece*, and the Father of the *Ionic* Philoſophy; as alſo for the Birth of *Anaximander* his Scholar, *Timotheus* the Muſician, and *Anaximenes* the Philoſopher. There was another *Miletus* in *Crete*, or in a little Iſle ajoining, and ſo appertaining to *Crete*, where St. *Paul* left [x] *Trophimus* ſick. The *Miletus* in *Aſia*, where St. *Paul* now was in his Voyage to *Syria*, is at preſent called by the *Turks*, as Sir *Paul Rycaut* [y] informs us, *Melas*; not far diſtant from which the true *Mæander*, called by the *Turks Boluck Mendrees*, or the *Great Meander*, falls more gently into the Sea, than it runs before. For though it encircles all the Plain it runs thro' with wanton Mazes or innumerable Turnings and Windings, yet it runs with ſuch a rapid Current, that it ſtirs up the Earth and Gravel from the Bottom; ſo that we found not, ſaith Sir *Paul*, the Streams of Water ſo clear and chryſtalline as we hoped to have enjoy'd, when we ſat down to make our Collation on the Banks of the River.

Looſing from *Miletus*, St. *Paul* came with a ſtrait Courſe [z] unto *Coos*, another Iſle of the *Archipelago*, lying near the South-Weſt Point of *Aſia the Leſſer*. It is now commonly called *Lango*; and was formerly celebrated for its excellent Wine. 'Tis alſo memorable for the Birth of *Hippocrates* the Phyſician, and *Apelles* the famous Painter. Here was formerly made that fine thin Stuff, ſo much in uſe among the chief Ladies of *Rome*, which at once ſhew'd them both clothed and naked. In the Suburbs of the chief Town of this Iſle, called by the ſame Name as the Iſle, ſtood a Temple of *Æſculapius*, famous and rich, with Offerings made to the ſaid ſuppoſed Deity.

From *Coos* St. *Paul* came the Day [a] following to *Rhodes*, another famous Iſle on the South of the Province of *Caria*, in the *Leſſer Aſia*, accounted for Dignity next to *Cyprus* and *Lesbos* among the *Aſiatic* Iſles. It was remarkable among the Antients for the Clearneſs of its Air; inſomuch that it is ſaid by ſome of them, that there is no Day in the whole Year wherein the Sun does not ſhine there. On which Scorce *Phœbus* or the Sun was thought by them to have a peculiar Kindneſs for this Iſle, and was look'd upon as the more peculiar God thereof. Hence there was erected in the Harbour of the City of *Rhodes*, and conſecrated to the Sun, a vaſt Statue of Braſs, called a *Coloſſus*, ſeventy Cubits high; every Finger of it being ſaid to be as big as an ordinary Man; and ſtanding aſtride over the Mouth of the Harbour, ſo that the Ships ſail'd between its Legs; on Account of its vaſt Bulk eſteemed one of the ſeven Wonders of the World. It was thrown down by an Earthquake, and ſome Years after the Braſs thereof was carried by the *Saracens* into *Egypt*, nine hundred Camels being loaded therewith. The City of *Rhodes* was eſteemed formerly one of the principal Univerſities of the *Roman* Empire; *Rhodes*, *Marſeilles*, *Tarſus*, *Athens*, and *Alexandria*, being reckoned the old Academies of that Empire.

Sailing from *Rhodes*, St. *Paul* touched next at [b] *Patara*, a Sea-Port of *Lycia*, formerly beautified with a fair Haven and many Temples, one of them dedicated to *Apollo*, with an Oracle in it, for Wealth and Credit not much inferior to that of *Delphi*.

At *Patara* St. *Paul* and his Companions finding a Ship bound for [c] *Phœnicia*, went aboard her; and leaving *Cyprus* on the Left Hand, they ſailed for *Syria*, and arrived at *Tyre*, where the Ship was to unlade. Having ſtaid here a Week, they took Ship again, and came to [d] *Ptolemais*, of which we have before given an Account from Mr. *Maundrell* [e]. From hence, having ſtaid one Day, St. *Paul* [f] with his Company departed and came to *Cæſarea*; and thence [g] to *Jeruſalem*, where the Brethren received them gladly.

SECT. IX.

Paul *at* Jeruſalem *ſalutes the Apoſtles, and is ſet upon by the* Jews, *tho' he conforms to the* Jewiſh *Rites. His Defence to the People. Pleads the Privilege of a* Roman. *His Defence before the High-Prieſt.* Chriſt *appears to him. The* Jews *conſpire his Death. Brought before* Felix; *and makes his Defence. Diſcourſes before* Felix *and* Druſilla. *Tried before* Feſtus. *Appeals to* Cæſar. *His Diſcourſe before* Agrippa *and* Feſtus. *Sent to* Rome. *Foretels the Shipwreck that happened to him. By Viſion is aſſured of his being ſaved. Shipwreck'd at* Malta, *where a Viper faſtening on him, is*

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[u] Rev. i. 9.

[w] Acts xx. 15.

[x] 2 Tim. iv. 20.

[y] Preſent State, &c. p. 57.

[z] Acts xxi. 1.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Acts xxi. 2, 3.

[d] Acts xxi. 7.

[e] See Page 523 of this Work.

[f] Acts xxi. 8.

[g] Acts xxi. 15.

ſhook off without Harm. He cures the Governor's Father. Is brought to Rome.

ST. *Paul* [a] being arriv'd with his Company at *Jeruſalem*, with the Collection he had made for the Saints, was received with great Joy by the Chriſtians there. The next Day after his Arrival he went to the Houſe of St. *James*, where the Elders of the Church were met to ſalute him. To theſe he declared the Succeſs of his Miniſtry among the *Gentiles* of ſeveral Countries, and what very great Miracles God had enabled him to do for their Converſion: Which when they heard, they magnified God's Goodneſs to Mankind. But theſe *Jewiſh* Chriſtians, knowing that the *Jews* had a Prejudice againſt *Paul*, for teaching the Abolition of the Law of *Moſes*, for which they were very zealous; perſuaded him to ſubmit to the Ceremonies of the *Nazarites*, with four more, who then had Vows upon them; and to purify himſelf, and offer the Sacrifices enjoined by the Law in ſuch Caſes: Hoping that the *Jews*, by this Means, would be convinced that the Opinion they had of him was falſe, ſince they ſaw him themſelves obſerve the legal Ceremonies. They inform'd him, that as ſoon as the News of his Arrival was ſpread abroad, the Zealots would be continually gathering about him, to inſpect his Behaviour: Which if they did not find agreeable to their Inſtitutions, he would be certain to feel the Weight of their Reſentment. As for the *Gentiles* whom he had brought with him, they told him, they exacted no ſuch Conformity of them, nor impoſed any more Obſervances on them, than what had been before decreed by the Apoſtolical Synod in that Place. St. *Paul*, who to gain the *Jews* was willing to become a *Jew*, took their Advice; and accordingly the next Day, having purified himſelf with the four *Nazarites*, entered into the Temple with them, to ſignify unto the Prieſts, that the Time of a certain Vow which they had made being now accompliſhed, they had purified themſelves, and were come to make their Offerings, as the Law obliged them in ſuch Caſes.

Paul had been almoſt ſeven Days in *Jeruſalem*, and had neither diſputed with any Man, nor aſſembled the People, either in the Synagogues, or in the Temple, or in any other Place of the City: He was wholly taken up in diſpoſing of the Alms he brought to the *Jews*, and offering the Sacrifices appointed by the Law. But at the End of the ſeven Days, certain *Jews*, who had often oppoſed him in *Aſia*, being come to *Jeruſalem*, to celebrate the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, and there ſeeing him in the City with *Trophimus* an *Epheſian*, who was a *Gentile*, afterwards happened to light upon him in the Temple, and immediately fell upon him, crying out to all the *Jews*, *To help them in apprehending a notorious Criminal, who had defiled the Temple by bringing Heathens into it*, (ſuppoſing *Trophimus* to be then with him) *and was a profeſſed Enemy to the* Jews *and their Law, teaching Men, in all Places he came to, that they ought to deſpiſe both.* At this Cry all the City was in an Uproar: The People ran together, and laying Hands upon the Apoſtle, drew him out of the Temple, that they might beat and kill him without Fear. *Claudius Lyſias* the *Roman* Tribune was then Captain of the Garriſon, which the *Romans* always kept at *Jeruſalem*, in the Caſtle *Antonia*, eſpecially at the three great Feſtivals, to prevent any Tumults that might riſe by the great Concourſe of that People, who were very ſeditious, and required a watchful Eye to keep them in Obedience. The great Tumult of the People upon this Occaſion, look'd ſeditiouſly; wherefore, as ſoon as *Lyſias* had Information of it, he immediately took Soldiers and Centurions, and marched down upon the Rioters. His Preſence awed the Rout, who thereupon left beating of *Paul*; and the Captain took him from them, and having bound him with double Chains, demanded, Who he was, and what he had done? But the Anſwers of the clamorous Multitude were ſo confuſed, that not being able to diſcover any Thing certain, he commanded him to be carried into the Caſtle. The Soldiers were forced to take him in their Arms, to ſecure him from the Outrage of his Purſuers; who all cried, That he ſhould be put to Death; tho' none of them alledged a juſt Cauſe for ſo doing. The Governor therefore commanded him to be kept in Chains, till his Cauſe could be better examined and tried.

As [b] *Paul* was about to be carried into the Caſtle by the Soldiers, hoping to pacify the People, he deſired Leave of the Captain to ſpeak to them, from the Stairs. The Captain hearing him ſpeak *Greek*, aſked him, Whether he was not that [c] *Egyptian*, who ſome Time before had ſtirred up a Sedition in the City, and was fled for his own Safety, after his Aſſociates were ſcattered and deſtroyed. *Paul* replied, that he was no ſuch Man, but a *Jew* of *Tarſus*, a Freeman of a rich and honourable City; and therefore begg'd of him, that he might have Leave to make his Apology to the People: Which being granted, *Paul* ſtood on the Stairs near the Door of the Caſtle; and making Signs for Silence, began to addreſs himſelf to them in the *Hebrew*, or rather the [d] *Syriac* Tongue: Hearing which, they grew calm, and attended to his Diſcourſe, which was to this Effect: " [e] He told them, he was born and educated in the *Jewiſh* Religion, in the moſt exact Knowledge and Obſervance of the Law; and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his Zeal againſt Chriſtians, binding and impriſoning both Sexes, and proſecuting them to Death; as the High-Prieſt and Sanhedrim could bear him Witneſs: By Virtue of whoſe Commiſſion he was going to *Damaſcus* to carry on the Proſecution againſt thoſe People, at that very Time when his miraculous Converſion happen'd; (the Particulars whereof he punctually related.) That after he came back again to *Jeruſalem*, while he was praying in the Temple, he fell into a Trance, and heard a Voice commanding him to depart from *Jeruſalem*, and preach the Meſſiah to other Nations.

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[a] Acts xxi. 15——36. [b] Acts xxi. 37——40. [c] See an Account of this Egyptian in Joſeph. Ant. Jud. Lib. xxii. c. 6.

[d] The Jews at this Time uſed a mixed Language, which was nearer the Syriac than the true Hebrew.

[e] Acts xxii. 1——21.

[f] Theſe laſt Words diſturb'd his Auditors, who hitherto had given him a fair Hearing. They were ſhock'd to hear a *Jew* defend his teaching Religion to the *Gentiles*, and demanded ſpeedy Execution to be done upon him, as not to be endured any longer upon Earth. And as Men prepared to ſtone him forthwith, they caſt off their Clothes, and threw Duſt into the Air. *Lyſias* now ſaw it was Time to carry him into the Caſtle, without more Ceremony: And not being able all this while to learn his Crime, he reſolved to extort it from himſelf, and to ſcourge him 'till he confeſs'd; to which End he commanded him to be bound to a Poſt: But as the Executioner was binding his Hands, *Paul* asked a Centurion that ſtood by, What Law they had for binding and ſcourging a *Roman*, without Trial or Sentence? The Centurion immediately went, and intimated this to his Captain *Lyſias*; adviſing him to have a Care what he did, for the Priſoner was a *Roman*. And the *Roman* Laws prohibited ſuch a Uſage of any Citizen of theirs, under very ſevere Penalties. When the Captain heard this, he came himſelf, and queſtion'd *Paul* about this Privilege which he pleaded; and finding he made good his Claim, he order'd the Lictors to deſiſt, fearing leſt what they had done already ſhould prove of ill Conſequence to himſelf.

The next Day [g] he caus'd his Chains to be knock'd off; and being ſtill deſirous to know his Crime, reſolved to proceed with him in another way. He ſummon'd the *Jewiſh* Sanhedrim to meet, and brought *Paul* to give an Account of himſelf before them. [h] *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedæus* was then High Prieſt of the *Jews*, and Preſident of the Aſſembly: Who, when St. *Paul* began to aſſert his Innocence, and *that he had lived in all good Conſcience before God, till that Day*, commanded the Standers-by to ſtrike him on the Face. *Paul*, juſtly provoked with this Violence, ſharply replied, *God ſhall ſmite thee, thou whited Wall: For ſitteſt thou to judge me after the Law, and commandeſt me to be ſmitten contrary to the Law?* Some that were preſent reproved him for reviling God's High-Prieſt: Which Reproof the Apoſtle took in very good Part, excuſing his Inadvertency, and alledging that Law which ſaith, [i] *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak Evil of the Ruler of thy People*. But withal knowing how to mix the Wiſdom of the Serpent with the Innocence of the Dove, and perceiving that the Council conſiſted of the two potent Sects of *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, he openly declared himſelf a Phariſee, *the Son of a* Phariſee, *and that he was called in Queſtion about the Hope and Reſurrection of the Dead.* Hereupon the Doctors of the Law, who were *Phariſees*, and believ'd the Reſurrection of the Dead, ſtood up to acquit him, affirming, *That they could not find wherein he had offended; that poſſibly he had received a Revelation from the Holy Spirit, or ſome Angel; and if ſo, their oppoſing his Doctrine would be fighting againſt God.* At length the Contention grew ſo high, that *Lyſias* was conſtrained to ſend a Party of Soldiers, and fetch *Paul* out of the Sanhedrim into the Caſtle, fearing he would have been torn to Pieces in the Tumult. For *Lyſias* thought himſelf obliged to keep a *Roman* Citizen from Danger, tho' he was willing to have gain'd the Favour of the *Jews* in puniſhing him, if they could have proved any thing capital againſt him.

After [k] *Paul* had eſcaped this Danger, *Jeſus Chriſt*, who is wont to come ſeaſonably with his Comforts in the Depths of Fears and Sorrows, appeared to him the following Night, and bid him be courageous, and of good Cheer; for as he had defended and owned the Faith of him at *Jeruſalem*, ſo he ſhould do at *Rome* alſo: He would carry him ſafe through all the Dangers he might meet with from the *Jews*, and bring him to *Rome*.

The [l] next Morning certain *Jews*, ſome of the Apoſtle's moſt deſperate Enemies, finding he was too hard for them in Courts and Aſſemblies, reſolv'd to end the Controverſy by Aſſaſſination. For the executing of which, above forty of them combin'd together, and ſealed the horrid Conſpiracy with an Oath, and a particular Curſe upon themſelves if they eat or drank till *Paul* was dead. Having acquainted the Sanhedrim with their Deſign, they moved them, for the compaſſing of it, "to deſire the Governor *Lyſias*, that *Paul* might be ſent down to them on the Morrow for a ſtricter Examination; and an Ambuſcade of Conſpirators would intercept him, and kill him." But by a ſpecial Providence *Paul*'s Nephew was acquainted with the Plot, who went into the Caſtle, and diſcover'd it to his Uncle, and by his Direction to the Governor. *Lyſias* ſaw Reaſon in the Circumſtances of the Relation, to believe it; and immediately order'd a Guard of four hundred Foot, and ſeventy Horſemen, to conduct *Paul* to *Antipatris*, and thence to *Cæſarea*, where *Felix* the Governor of that Province had his Reſidence. To whom he wrote a Letter, "Informing him of the Condition of the Priſoner, and how he had been proſecuted and plotted againſt by the *Jews*; who yet could not alledge any thing againſt him that deſerved Death or Impriſonment. However, he referr'd the Cognizance of the Cauſe to him, and for that Purpoſe would ſend the Accuſers after the Priſoner." *Felix* having read the Letter, aſk'd of what Province *Paul* was; and when it was anſwer'd, Of *Cilicia*, he promiſed to allow him a fair Hearing, as ſoon as his Accuſers ſhould come down; commanding him in the mean Time to be ſecured in the Place called Herod'*s Judgment-Hall.*

The Chief Prieſts, according to the People's Requeſt, went to deſire *Lyſias* to bring down *Paul* to their Council, and were much ſurprized when they heard that he had eſcaped. *Lyſias* told them, That he had ſent him to the Governor; and if he were a Malefactor, they might have Juſtice done againſt him at *Cæſarea*. Whereupon [m] about five Days after, *Ananias* the High Prieſt, with ſome others of the Sanhedrim, being diſappointed of their Deſigns at *Jeruſalem*, follow'd *Paul* to *Cæſarea*, with one *Tertullus* for their Advocate; who after an inſinuating Addreſs to *Felix*, "began his Charge againſt *Paul*, accuſing him of Sedition, Hereſy, and Profanation of the Temple: That they would have ſaved *Felix* the Trouble of this Buſineſs, and have try'd the Priſoner by their own Law, had not *Lyſias* by Force and Arms taken him out of their Hands, and ſent both him and them down thither." The Truth of this Charge being affirm'd by the *Jews* there preſent; the Apoſtle, having Leave from *Felix*, enter'd upon his Defence, with telling the Governor, "It was a great Comfort to him, that he was to anſwer before one, who for [n] many Years had ſate in that Place, as Judge of that Nation." And firſt for the Sedition, he ſhew'd him that it was a mere Calumny; that he had not been a Fortnight in *Jeruſalem*; which time he had ſpent, not in Diſputes and popular Harangues, but only in performing his Devotions, for which End he came thither. As for the Hereſy charged upon him, he ingenuouſly acknowledged, that his Worſhip of God was in the Way which they call'd ſo; but ſuch a Way as was agreeable to the Senſe of the Prophets, and the Faith of his Forefathers; believing, what his very Accuſers allow'd, that there ſhould be a Reſurrection of all Men, good and bad; in Expectation of which he was careful to live with an unblameable Conſcience towards God and Man. And laſtly, to the Charge of prophaning the Temple, he own'd he was in it, but not in a riotous Manner, as ſome *Aſiatic Jews* had falſly ſuggeſted; but only to purify himſelf according to the Rites and Cuſtoms of the *Moſaic* Law. This he averr'd, and challenged his Accuſers to prove the contrary; appealing farther to them, whether any thing of Moment had appear'd againſt him in the Sanhedrim, except the Clamours of the *Sadducees* for his maintaining the Doctrine of the Reſurrection.

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[f] Acts xxii. 22—29.
[g] Acts xxii. 30.
[h] Acts xxiii. 1—10.
[i] Exod. xxii. 27.
[k] Acts xxiii. 11.
[l] Acts xxiii. 12—35.

[o] When *Felix* had heard both Sides, he would not paſs any Sentence at preſent; but put them off, ſaying, *When I have got a more perfect Knowledge of this Way of Chriſtianity, and when I have ſpoken with* Lyſias, *and underſtand the Truth concerning the Tumult, I will then determine the Difference between you. In the mean Time the Captain of the Guard ſhall have the Priſoner in Cuſtody.* But he order'd *Paul*'s Confinement to be very eaſy, and that none of his Friends ſhould be denied Admittance to him. *And after certain Days,* Felix *came with his Wife* Druſilla, *and heard* Paul *concerning the Faith of* Chriſt. *And as he reaſoned of Righteouſneſs, Temperance, and Judgment to come,* Felix *trembled.* Theſe Points touched him to the Quick; for he himſelf was guilty of Tyranny and Bribery; and his Wife *Druſilla*, who was a *Jeweſs*, had forſaken her Huſband and her Religion, and lived with him in Adultery, as [p] *Joſephus* and *Tacitus* relate. For theſe Reaſons they broke up abruptly, and referred the reſt of the Diſcourſe to a more convenient Opportunity.

[q] This Governor had afterwards frequent Conferences with *Paul*, not ſo much for the Sake of his Diſcourſe, as in Hopes he would offer him a good round Sum to obtain his Diſcharge. But getting nothing from him after a two Years Impriſonment, and being then remov'd from his Government, to ſoften the *Jews*, whom he had provoked by his Opreſſions and Cruelties, *he left* Paul *bound*. This confirms the fore-mention'd Character of his corrupt Dealings. However this did not pacify the *Jews* ſo far, but that he himſelf was ſent bound to *Nero*, to anſwer for the Abuſes of his Truſt. *Ananias* likewiſe was depoſed from his Prieſthood by *Agrippa*, and came to a miſerable End, ſuffering the Puniſhment of his Injuſtice, which St. *Paul* had [qq] denounced againſt him.

Porcius Feſtus [r] ſucceeded *Felix*, and was a Man of a much better Character. Three Days after his Arrival at *Cæſarea*, he went up to *Jeruſalem*, where the High-Prieſt and Rulers of the *Jews* quickly began to inform him againſt *Paul*, and beſought him that he might be removed from *Cæſarea* to *Jeruſalem*, intending to lay their Aſſaſſins in the Way to murder him. But the Divine Providence over-ruled the Mind of *Feſtus* in ſuch a Manner, that he would not conſent to their Requeſt; but order'd his Accuſers to be ſhortly at *Cæſarea*, where he ſhould be ready to hear them. After ten Days he return'd thither himſelf, and ſat in Judgment upon *Paul*; the *Jews* alledging many grievous Things againſt him, but without any good Proof; while he ſufficiently cleared himſelf, and made it appear, *That he had done nothing againſt the* Jewiſh *Laws, nor againſt the Temple, nor againſt the* Roman *Government.* Here *Feſtus*, willing to gratify the *Jews* at his firſt coming among them, aſk'd *Paul, If he would go up to* Jeruſalem, *and there be judged of theſe Matters?* The Apoſtle well apprehending the Conſequences of ſuch a Removal, replied, "That being entitled to the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, he was in the proper Court where he ought to be tried: That he refuſed not the Sentence of Death, if he had deſerv'd it, even by the *Jewiſh* Laws: But ſince he had committed no capital Offence againſt his Country, he ought not to be given up to a Set of malicious Proſecutors. He therefore ſolemnly appeal'd to the Emperor himſelf, to be heard by him in Perſon." This way of Appealing was frequent among the *Romans*, being introduced to ſecure the Lives and Fortunes of the People from the arbitrary Dealings of corrupt Magiſtrates. *Feſtus* was a little ſtartled at this; but it being a Privilege ſo often claim'd, and ſo plainly granted by the *Roman* Laws, he durſt not deny it; and therefore anſwer'd, *Huſt thou appealed unto* Cæſar? *Unto* Cæſar *ſhalt thou go.*

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[m] Acts xxiv. 1——21.

[n] It was now five Years and a half, as Biſhop Pearſon proves out of Joſephus, ſince the Emperor Claudius had ſent Felix into that Government.

[o] Acts xxiv. 22——25.

[p] Joſeph. Ant. Lib. xx. cap. 5. Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. v. cap 9.

[q] Acts xxiv. 26, 27.

[qq] Acts xxiii. 3.

[r] Acts xxv. 12.

Some [s] Time after this, King *Agrippa*, who ſucceeded his Father *Herod* in the Tetrarchate of *Galilee*, with his Siſter *Berenice*, and a ſplendid Retinue, came to welcome the new Governor into his Province, and continued with him for ſome Time. Amongſt other Things, *Feſtus* thought fit to acquaint them with St. *Paul*'s Caſe; how ſeverely he had been proſecuted by the *Jews*; and how, to eſcape their Violence, he had appealed unto *Cæſar*: Whereupon he held him in Durance, till he had an Opportunity to ſend him to the Emperor at *Rome*. *Agrippa* had before heard of *Paul*, and the Account *Feſtus* gave of him, rais'd a greater Curioſity in his Mind to ſee and hear him; which *Feſtus* promiſed he ſhould the next Day. Accordingly on the Morrow, the King and his Siſter, with the Governor, and other Perſons of Quality and great Officers, went together into the Place of Judicature, where *Paul* was brought out and ſet before them. *Feſtus* told the King and the Aſſembly, "That they now ſaw the Man, about whom he had been importuned by all the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* and *Cæſarea*, to put him to Death, as one of the worſt of Men; tho' upon hearing both Sides, he could not find him guilty of any capital Crime. But *Paul* having appealed to the Emperor's own Hearing, he deſired his Cauſe might be diſcuſs'd over again before that Aſſembly, and particularly before *Agrippa*, that they might aſſiſt him in repreſenting it to his Prince at *Rome*, and ſo prevent the Abſurdity of ſending a Priſoner, without ſignifying the Crime laid to his Charge."

Hereupon [t] *Agrippa* told the Apoſtle, that now was his Time to ſpeak for himſelf: Who, after Silence made, particularly addreſſed himſelf to the King; "Declaring it his Happineſs, that he was to plead before a Judge ſo well skill'd in all Points and Cuſtoms of the *Jewiſh* Law: Which made him confident, that he would ſoon be ſatisfied of his Innocency, and eaſily believe the Doctrine he preached concerning *Jeſus*, as the Meſſiah, becauſe in him the Prophecies of the Old Teſtament, which he underſtood and read, were ſo plainly fulfilled: That the *Jews* who ſtood there, knew how he had been educated in the ſtricteſt Sect of their Religion, that of the *Phariſees*; and that what he was now arraign'd for, had always been an Article of their Faith, and clearly grounded upon Holy Scripture, namely, *the Reſurrection of the Dead*: And why any Man ſhould think this impoſſible with God, he could not imagine. He next gave an Account, how outrageous he had once been againſt Chriſtians, compelling them to blaſpheme, and beating them in every Synagogue: How miraculouſly he had been converted, by an amazing Light and Voice from Heaven: What an expreſs Revelation he had to go and preach to the *Gentiles*; which was the main Ground of the Quarrel his Countrymen had againſt him, and for which they went about to kill him: But being preſerv'd by the ſingular Goodneſs of God, he ſtill witneſſed thoſe Things which *Moſes* and the Prophets had foretold; *That* Chriſt *ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould riſe from the Dead, and ſhould ſhew Light unto the People, and to the* Gentiles." As *Paul* was thus intent upon his Apology, *Feſtus*, wholly unacquainted with theſe Matters, cry'd out to him, Paul, *thou art beſide thyſelf; much Learning doth make thee mad.* But he calmly replied, "That his Words were not the Effect of Madneſs, but ſerious and ſober Truths; That he ſubmitted them to King *Agrippa*, who both underſtood the antient Prophecies, and could not but perceive that the Things which had lately happened to *Jeſus Chriſt*, were the juſt Accompliſhment of them." His Diſcourſe had ſuch an Influence upon *Agrippa*, that he openly declared, *he was almoſt perſuaded by it, to embrace the Chriſtian Faith.* To which *Paul* return'd his hearty Wiſhes, "That both he and the whole Auditory were not in part only, but entirely, as much Chriſtians as himſelf, and unlike him only in his Sufferings on that Account." Here ended St. *Paul*'s Apology for the Chriſtian Faith. The Aſſembly broke up, and, in their Diſcourſes one with another, acquitted him of any Crime. *Agrippa* told *Feſtus* expreſly, that *he might have been diſcharged forthwith, had not his Appeal to* Cæſar *bound him to appear at* Rome. For the Appeal being once made, the inferior Judge had no Power either to acquit or condemn.

Purſuant therefore to this Appeal [u], *Feſtus* delivers *Paul*, and his Aſſociates, *Luke*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Trophimus*, *Epaphras*, and ſome others, to *Julius*, a Centurion or Captain of a Company belonging to the Legion of *Auguſtus*. In *September* they went on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, a Port of *Myſia*, which probably being a trading Ship, was to ſail along by the Coaſts of the *Leſſer Aſia*. Having ſail'd about twenty-five Leagues Northward, they caſt Anchor at *Sidon*; where *Julius* the Commander, a very courteous Perſon, permitted *Paul* to go on Shore to viſit his Friends, and refreſh himſelf. Putting out from hence, they were obliged by contrary Winds to ſail under the Iſland *Cyprus*: And coaſting by the Provinces of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, after one hundred and eighty Leagues Sail from *Sidon*, they landed at *Myra*, a Port of *Lycia*, where this Ship finiſhed its Voyage. They then went on Board a Ship of *Alexandria*, bound for *Italy*, carrying to the Number of two hundred ſeventy ſix Perſons. The Winds were ſtill contrary, and ſailing Weſtward, it was ſeveral Days before they got ſeventy Leagues, which brought them againſt *Cnidus*, a City and Promontory of *Caria*: From whence they turn'd Southward; and after thirty Leagues Sail, ſtood over-againſt *Salmone*, a Promontory of *Crete*; and at laſt, coaſting the Iſle, came to a Place called *The fair Havens*, near the City *Laſea*, or *Thalaſſa*. Sailing grew now dangerous in thoſe Seas, it being the Month of *October*, the Days ſhort, the Clouds thick, the Weather dark and ſtormy: Wherefore *Paul*, by divine Impulſe foreſeeing the Dangers and Damages they ſhould ſuſtain in going forward, adviſed them to winter in that Place. But becauſe the Harbour was incommodious, the Owner of the Ship, with moſt of the Company, were for wintering at *Phœnice*, another and much better Haven of *Crete*, about fifty Leagues Weſtward: And a favourable South Wind juſt then blowing, the Commander *Julius* was more influenced by theſe Motives, than by the Advice of St. *Paul*. So forward they went, and ſail'd cloſe by the Iſland, hoping to compaſs their Port. But theſe Hopes ſuddenly vaniſhed. For ſoon after there aroſe a violent North-Eaſt Wind, which ſo furiouſly bore upon them, that the Seamen could not govern the Ship, but were forced to give it up to the Mercy of the Winds and Waves, which carried it to a ſmall Iſland call'd *Clauda*, on the South-Weſt of *Crete*. Here they were obliged to undergird the Ship, to ſave it from ſplitting. And being more violently toſs'd by the Storm, the next Day they lighten'd the Ship, by caſting out the Merchants Goods. Two Days after they threw alſo the Tackle and Furniture of the Veſſel over-board. And being deprived of the Sight of Sun, Moon, and Stars, for many Days together, nothing but Horror ſurrounding them, they were all grown Hopeleſs and Comfortleſs, except St. *Paul*; who ſtood forth in the midſt of them, and mightily encourag'd them: "Reminding them indeed of their Error, in not wintering where he adviſed them, whereby all this Damage and Trouble had been prevented; and forewarning them, that they ſhould ſtill be ſhipwreck'd upon a certain Iſland; but yet aſſuring them, that not one of their Lives ſhould be loſt; for God had ſent an Angel to him laſt Night, with this Meſſage; *Fear not* Paul, *thou muſt be brought before* Cæſar; *and lo, God hath given thee all them that ſail with thee.*"

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[s] Acts xxv. 13—27.

[t] Acts xxvi. 1—32.

[u] Acts xxvii. 1—25.

For [w] fourteen Days together the Ship was continuaully toſt in the Sea, till they were got about two hundred and thirty Leagues Weſt from *Crete*. Then the Mariners ſounded, and finding but twenty Fathom of Water, they concluded they were nigh Land: Sounding a ſecond Time, and finding but fifteen Fathom, they durſt not venture any further, but let down four Anchors at the Stern, and earneſtly wiſhed for the Day. And under this Colour of caſting Anchor, they likewiſe privately let down the Boat, intending in that to convey themſelves to Land, and leave the Soldiers and Paſſengers to ſhift for themſelves. *Paul* perceiving what they were about, told the Centurion and Soldiers, that tho' God had promiſed to preſerve them, yet they muſt not expect it without uſing the Means for their Preſervation; which was, to ſtay the Mariners, whoſe Care and Management of the Ship was abſolutely neceſſary on this Occaſion. Hereuppon the Soldiers cut the Ropes of the Boat, and let it fall into the Sea, ſo that the Sailors could not get off. Now the Apoſtle comforted them with repeated Aſſurances of Safety: And the Apprehenſions of Death having been upon them a Fortnight together, ſo that they had eaten little, next to nothing, he invited them to a hearty Meal; affirming it was well worth their while to take Care of their Bodies, for not a Hair of any Man's Head ſhould periſh. *Then he took Bread, and gave Thanks to God in Preſence of them all; and when he had broken it, he began to eat.* All the reſt follow'd his Example, and chearfully fell to their Meat. Having well refreſhed themſelves, they lighten'd the Ship, by throwing the Overplus into the Sea. This was before Day. In the Morning they diſcover'd Land, not knowing what Country it was: But perceiving a Creek, with a kind of Haven, they reſolved, if it were poſſible, to thruſt the Ship in there, or at leaſt to bring it as near Land as the Shore would permit. Whereupon the Sailors weighed Anchor, looſed the Rudder-Bands, hoiſted up the Mainſail to the Wind, and made directly for Shore. In their Paſſage they unexpectedly fell into a Place where two Seas met, where the Veſſel ran a-ground; ſo that the Head of the Ship being fix'd and immoveable, the Stern was ſoon broken in Pieces with the Torrent and Violence of the Waves. In this Extremity, every one caſting about how to ſave himſelf, the Soldiers, afraid of loſing their Priſoners, cry'd out to kill them, to prevent their Eſcape. But the Captain, deſirous to ſave *Paul*, and probably in Confidence of the Deliverance he had promiſed, kept them from ſo barbarous an Execution, and commanded that ſuch as could ſwim ſhould throw themſelves firſt into the Sea, that they might be the more helpful to others. And the reſt upon Planks, and broken Pieces of the Ship, ſhifted ſo well, that St. *Paul*'s Prediction was verified, and they came all ſafe to Land.

The [x] Iſland upon which they were caſt, was *Melita*, now *Malta*, ſituate in the *Libyan Sea*, between *Syracuſe* and *Africa*; inhabited by *Carthaginians*, but ſubject to the *Romans*, who treated this ſhipwreck'd Company with great Humanity, making good Fires to dry their Clothes, and cheriſh their Bodies benumb'd with Cold. While *Paul* was buſied in throwing a Bundle of Sticks upon the Hearth, a Viper, diſlodged by the Heat, came out of the Wood, and faſten'd on his Hand. The Iſlanders ſeeing this, readily concluded that he could be no better than a Murderer, who tho' he had eſcaped the Sea, yet could not break looſe from the Hands of Divine Juſtice. But *Paul* ſhook off the venomous Creature into the Fire, without receiving any Harm; according to that Promiſe of our Lord, [y] *They ſhall take up Serpents.* The People obſerved him a great while, expecting when he would ſwell or drop down dead, knowing how penetrating the Venom of that Creature was. But when they ſaw he remain'd unhurt, they changed their Opinion of him, and ſaid, *He muſt ſure be ſome God.*

The [z] Governor of this Iſland, a noble *Roman*, whoſe Name was *Publius*, invited theſe diſtreſſed Travellers to his Houſe, and entertained them for three Days with great Kindneſs and Hoſpitality. For which he was gratefully requited in the miraculous Cure of his Father, then ſick of a Fever and Bloody-Flux; *to whom* Paul *went in, and prayed, and laid his Hands on him, and healed him.* When this was reported abroad, others alſo who had ſick Perſons in their Houſes, brought them to the Apoſtle, and had them healed. This made the Iſlanders eſteem and honour their Gueſts very highly, and furniſh their Ship, when they departed, with Plenty of all neceſſary Proviſions. We cannot doubt but *Paul* took his Opportunities to inſtruct theſe Barbarians in the Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in whoſe Name he wrought Cures upon them. Some ſay, *Publius* himſelf was his Diſciple, and from a ſecular Governor became a Biſhop of this Iſland: That he was afterwards tranſlated to the See of *Athens*, upon the Deceaſe of *Dionyſius the Areopagite*, and is reckoned among the Martyrs of that Church.

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[w] Acts xxvii. 26—44.

[x] Acts xxviii. 1—6.

[y] Mark xvi. 18.

[z] Acts xxviii. 7—10.

After[a] three Months Stay in this Iſland, *Paul* and his Company ſet ſail for *Rome*, in an *Alexandrian* Veſſel, named the *Caſtor and Pollux*, which had lain there all the Winter. In their Paſſage Northwards, after forty Leagues Sail, they put in at *Syracuſe*, a famous City of *Sicily*, and tarried there three Days. After which they ſail'd fifty-four Leagues farther to *Rhegium*, a Port and City of *Calabria* in *Italy*: From whence they ſail'd with a South Wind eighty Leagues farther, and in two Days arriv'd at *Puteoli*, a Port of *Campania* in *Italy*, near *Naples*, where the Ships of *Alexandria* uſually landed. Here *Paul* meeting with ſome Chriſtians, at their Requeſt tarried with them a Week, and then proceeded on his Journey to *Rome* by Land, which was near a hundred Miles. The Chriſtians at *Rome* hearing he was coming to them, went out to meet him; ſome as far as *Appii forum*, fifty-one Miles from *Rome*; others as far as the Place called *The three Taverns*, thirty one Miles Diſtance: When *Paul* ſaw them, he bleſſed God, and took Courage, believing Chriſtianity was in a thriving Condition at *Rome*, ſince the Profeſſors of it durſt come ſo publickly to receive him. When they were come to *Rome*, *Julius* the Captain deliver'd his Priſoners to the *Præfectus-Prætorii*, or Captain of the Emperor's Guards, *Afranius Burrhus*, a good-temper'd Man, and much in Favour with *Nero*, whoſe cruel Diſpoſition he is ſuppoſed much to have reſtrained. However he might deal with the other Priſoners, he was very obliging to the Apoſtle; permitting him to dwell in his own hired Houſe, or Lodgings, with the Soldier that kept him; whoſe Buſineſs, it is believed, was more to protect him from the Attempts of the *Jews*, than to prevent him from making his Eſcape. In theſe Lodgings he continued two whole Years, inſtructing all that came to him, without any Moleſtation.

SECT. X.

Of St. Paul's *laſt Journey from* Jeruſalem; *including chiefly his Voyage from* Cæſarea *to* Rome: *And of ſome other Places mentioned in the New Teſtament, which fall not in the Way of St.* Paul's *Travels, nor within the Circuit of the ſeven* Aſian *Churches.*

IN this Section we ſhall conclude the Travels of St. *Paul*, with deſcribing not only thoſe undeſcribed Places, by or thro' which he is ſaid by the ſacred Penman to have journey'd or ſail'd, but alſo thoſe other Places to which he is ſuppoſed to have gone, either from ſome Hints in his own Writings, or from the Teſtimonies of certain Fathers of the Church, who lived neareſt his Time: And to this we ſhall add ſomewhat of divers other Countries, and of one Town, occaſionally mentioned in this Hiſtory, but which we have not hitherto had an Opportunity to deſcribe, nor ſhall hereafter have, in the one remaining Section of Geography, that we ſhall have Occaſion to make in the Life of St. *John*.

The firſt Place to which St. *Paul* was carried by the *Roman* Soldiers, after his Apprehenſion at *Jeruſalem*, was *Antipatris*, an inland Town, about one hundred and fifty Furlongs, or ſeventeen Miles, from *Joppa*[a], according to *Joſephus*. The old Itinerary of *Jeruſalem* places it at ten Miles Diſtance from *Lydda*, and ſix and twenty from *Cæſarea*. It was antiently called *Caphar-Saba*, or *Caphar-Salama*; But *Herod the Great*, having rebuilt it, aboliſhed its old Name, and gave it that of *Antipatris*, in Honour of his Father *Antipater*. This Town was ſeated in a very fruitful and agreeable Plain, watered with fine Springs and Rivulets, and pretty near the Mountains in the Way from *Jeruſalem* to *Cæſarea*.

Cæſarea, whither St. *Paul* next arrived, and where he was examined before two ſucceſſive *Roman* Governors, and *Agrippa* King of *Galilee*, has been before deſcribed. Here having appealed to *Cæſar*, he was delivered, with ſeveral other Priſoners, to a Centurion of *Auguſtus*'s Band, who took them all on board a Ship of *Adramyttium*, a Sea-Port Town in *Myſia* in the *Leſſer Aſia*, lying over-againſt the Iſle *Leſbos* or *Mitelene*, and not far from *Troas*.

Setting ſail they took their Courſe by[b] *Sidon*, and ſo under *Cyprus*, and then over the Sea of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, till they came to *Myra*, a City of *Lycia*. As for *Lycia*, it was a Province lying between *Pamphylia* to the Eaſt; *Caria* to the Weſt; *Lydia*, or *Aſia Proper* in the Scripture Senſe, and *Phrygia*, to the North; and the Sea to the South. In this Province it is that the moſt famous and chief Mountain of all the *Aſiatic* Continent begins, named *Taurus*.

The City of *Myra*, at which St. *Paul* now touched, was the Metropolis of the Province of *Lycia*, when under the *Romans*; and by Conſequence an Archbiſhop's See, when Chriſtian. St. *Nicholas*, one of the Biſhops hereof in the primitive Times, is ſaid to have been a great Patron of Scholars; His Feſtival, annually holden on the Sixth of *December*, is celebrated in the Church of *Rome* with ſeveral Paſtimes; and ſtill in ſome Schools here in [c] *England*, as in that of *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, for a Feaſt and Play-Day.

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[a] Acts xxviii. 11—16, 30.

[a] Ant. Lib. xiii. cap. 13. & Lib. xvi. cap. 9.

[b] Acts xxvii. 1—5.

At this Place the Centurion found a Ship of [d] *Alexandria*, that was bound for *Italy*. For *Alexandria* is a City on the Coaſt of *Egypt*, and was then one of the moſt celebrated Marts in the World. The great Cauſe of the Abatement of its Trade, has been the Diſcovery of the Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, or on the South of *Africa*. For before this Diſcovery the whole Spice Trade was carried into this Part of the World thro' this City, the Spices being brought from the *Eaſt-Indies* up the *Red Sea* to *Egypt*, and from thence by Land, on Camels, to *Alexandria*. It takes its Name from *Alexander the Great*, by whom it was built and peopled with *Greeks*, immediately after his Conqueſt of *Egypt*. It was afterwards the Regal Seat of the *Ptolemys*, whilſt *Egypt* maintain'd the State of a Kingdom; and when it became a Province of the *Roman Empire*, it continued the Metropolis, or principal City of it. 'Twas adorned with many ſtately Buildings, of which the moſt memorable was the Temple of *Serapis*, for ſumptuous Workmanſhip and Magnificence of the Fabrick inferior to none but the *Roman Capitol*. Here was alſo a noble Library, erected by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who had ſtored it with ſeven hundred, or as others, five hundred thouſand Volumes; and which was unfortunately burnt in the War between *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey*. The City is built on a Promontory, over-againſt the ſmall Iſle of *Pharos*, which is now joined to the Land, and a Fort built upon it by the *Turks*, for the Security of the Port. In this little Iſle the Seventy-two Interpreters are ſaid to have tranſlated the *Hebrew* Bible into *Greek*, (which Tranſlation, from the Number of Tranſlators, is commonly call'd the *Septuagint*) and that in ſo many diſtinct Cells, or ſmall Apartments, and yet all of them to have agreed in the ſame Words. The Biſhop of *Alexandria* has, from the primitive Times, had the Title of Patriarch.

St. *Paul* being put into the Ship of *Alexandria*, after many Days [e] ſlow Sail, came over-againſt *Cnidus*, a City ſtanding on a Promontory or Foreland of the ſame Name, in that Part of the Province of *Caria*, which was more peculiarly called *Doris*: This City was remarkable for the Worſhip of *Venus*, and for the celebrated Statue of that Goddeſs, made by the famous Artificer *Praxiteles*.

The Maſter of the Ship[f], wherein St. *Paul* was, deſigned to have took the ſhorteſt Cut to *Italy*, ſailing from the Place where they now were over-againſt *Cnidus* directly Weſtward, and ſo keeping to the North of *Crete*. But the Wind not ſuffering them, they were obliged to alter their intended Courſe of ſailing, and let the Ship ſail under the Eaſt and South Coaſt of *Crete*; which is one of the nobleſt Iſles in the *Mediterranean Sea*, being formerly ſtiled *Hecatompolis*, as having an hundred conſiderable Towns or Cities; as alſo *Macarios*, or *Macaroneſus*, the *Happy Iſland*, from the Goodneſs of the Soil, and Temper of the Air. It is now commonly called *Candia*, from its principal Town *Candia*, which was an Archbiſhop's See, great, rich, and populous, as long as it continued in the Hands of the *Venetians*; and ſtood the longeſt Siege againſt the *Turks* of any Place in the World, but was at laſt forced to ſubmit in 1669. This Iſle lies over-againſt the Mouth or Entrance of the *Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*, and at a pretty near equal Diſtance from *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. The inland Parts are very mountainous, yet fruitful, eſpecially of Wines called *Muſcadine*; but it is deficient in Corn. It was very famous among the Antients on many Accounts, but chiefly for being the Place where, in the more early Ages of the World, reigned *Saturn*, the Father of *Jupiter*, who was born here, and nurſed ſecretly in the Hill *Ida*. For by a Compact made between *Saturn* and his Brother *Titan*, *Saturn* being to enjoy the Kingdom only for his own Life, and all his male Children to be murdered as ſoon as born; *Jupiter*, by the Care of his Mother, was conveyed away, and ſecretly nurſed in the Mountain aforeſaid.

Here alſo reigned *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, whoſe Laws were of ſo great Repute among the *Grecians*, and who for their Equity, are feigned by the Poets to be, together with *Æacus*, the Judges in Hell.

Here alſo was the ſo-much-celebrated Labyrinth, made by *Dædalus*, ſo full of various Windings and Turnings, that it is ſaid to have been impoſſible for One once got in, to find his Way out again, but by the Help of a Clew of Thread.

The Inhabitants were formerly eſteemed good Seamen, but remarkably addicted to Lying, and ſome other Vices. Whence an extravagant Lye was wont to be called proverbially a *Cretian Lye*. This and their other Faults are ſtruck at by the Poet *Epimenides*, a Native of this Iſland, whoſe Verſe on this Occaſion is cited at large by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to *Titus*. They are alſo included in another Proverb before-mentioned, in ſpeaking of *Cappadocia*; being one of the three Nations which begin with a *K*, or in *Engliſh C*, and were worſe than any others.

On the *Eaſtern* Shore of this Iſland is a Promontory or Cape, called formerly [g] *Salmone*, and ſaid ſtill to retain that Name; which therefore is mentioned by the ſacred Writer, in St. *Paul*'s coaſting along this Iſle; who tells us withal, that they paſſed the ſaid Cape not without Difficulty.

Having paſſed it, they came into a Place of the ſame Iſle, called the *Fair Haven*, reaſonably ſuppoſed to be the ſame with, or at leaſt a Part of, that Coaſt of *Crete*, which is called by *Stephanus* the *Fair Shore* or *Coaſt*; who tells us alſo that there was adjoining a City or great Village, which without doubt is that mention'd by the ſacred Writer, namely [h] *Laſea*.

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[c] Dr. Heylei's Coſmagr. on the Place.

[d] Acts xxvii. 6.

[e] Acts xxvii. 7.

[f] Ibid.

[g] Ibid.

The Place where they now were, notwithſtanding its fine Name, being not a [i] commodious Haven to winter in, the Centurion departed thence, deſigning to reach, if they could by any means, to *Phœnice*, and there to winter; it being an Haven of *Crete*, lying towards the South-Weſt and North-Weſt. But of this they were diſappointed; for the [k] Wind proving contrary, they were driven under a ſmall Iſland, ſituated towards the South-Weſt Extremity of the Iſle of *Crete*. This Iſland is called *Cauda*, or *Gauda*, in *Pliny*; but in the *Greek* Text of the *Acts*, and in *Ptolomy*, *Clauda*, as in our Tranſlation. To avoid [l] the Quick-ſands on this Shore, they ſtruck Sail again, and were driven for a Fortnight together up and down the *Adriatic Sea*, till at laſt they were ſhip-wreck'd on the Iſle of *Malta*, as related in the preceding Section.

The *Adriatic Sea* receives its Name from *Adria*, a City of *Italy* upon the *Tartaro*, in the State of *Venice*. This Sea is alſo ſometimes called ſimply *Adria*, as by the inſpired Writer of the *Acts*. Strictly ſpeaking, it includes only what is at preſent called the Gulph of *Venice*: But the ſaid inſpired Writer extends it to all the Sea between *Crete* and *Sicily*, and which encompaſſes all the lower Parts of *Italy*, called alſo the *Ionian* and *Sicilian Seas*.

The Iſland of *Melita*, upon which the Apoſtle and his Companions were ſhip-wreck'd, was ſo named by the *Greeks*, in all probability, from the Abundance of Honey, which this Iſle formerly yielded; the Word *Meli* in the *Greek* Language denoting Honey. It yielded likewiſe great Abundance of Cotton-Wool, which they ſow as we do Corn. For the Commodity of which Wool, and the Cloth made of it, the *Romans* had this Iſle in great Eſteem; thinking themſelves very happy when they had gained it from the *Carthaginians*. Here is alſo no ſmall Store of excellent Fruits, both for Taſte and Colour. And yet the Iſle is ſituate wholly upon a Rock, being not above three Foot deep in Earth; and the Strength of it depends on its rocky Coaſts and Havens. 'Tis computed not to be above twelve Miles broad, and twenty long, diſtant from *Sicily* about ſixty Miles, and much more from the Coaſt of *Africa*. For which Reaſon it is very improperly reckoned by ſome Geographers among the *African Iſles*; nor can any other Reaſon be aſſigned for the firſt Occaſion hereof, unleſs it was becauſe it formerly belonged to *Carthage*. It is now-a-days called *Malta*; and is remarkable on Account of its being granted to the Knights of *St. John of Jeruſalem* by *Charles* V. after they were beaten out of the Iſle of *Rhodes* by the *Turks*, in 1530; whence as they were afore called commonly the Knights of *Rhodes*, ſo are they now-a-days commonly called the Knights of *Malta*. Theſe Knights are in Number one thouſand, of whom five hundred are to be reſident in the Iſland. The other five hundred are diſperſed through *Chriſtendom* in their ſeveral Seminaries, which are in *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*. There was alſo a Seminary for them in *England*, till it was ſuppreſſed by King *Henry* VIII. Over every one of their Seminaries they have a Grand Prior, and they are ſaid to have ſtill among them a Titular Grand Prior of *England*. The Chief of the whole Order is ſtiled Great Maſter of the Hoſpital of *St. John of Jeruſalem*, and the others are frequently ſtiled Knights Hoſpitallers. Hence ſeveral Places formerly belonging to them here in *England*, ſtill retain ſomewhat of their Title, being commonly called in ſhort *Spitals*.

'Tis now time to think of St. *Paul* again, who after three Months [m] departed in another Ship of *Alexandria*; and landing next at *Syracuſe*, he and his Company tarried there three Days. This *Syracuſe* was once the principal City of the whole Iſle of *Sicily*, on the Eaſtern Coaſt whereof it lies. Nay, it was for ſome Time the greateſt and beſt City the *Greeks* poſſeſs'd in any Part of the World. It was very ſtrong, and had a fine Proſpect from every Entrance, both by Sea and Land. The Port thereof, which had the Sea on both Sides of it, was for the moſt Part environed with beautiful Buildings; and that Part of it which was without the City, was on both Sides banked up and ſuſtained with very fair Walls of Marble. *Strabo* tells us, it was about twenty-two Miles in Circumference; and *Livy* and *Plutarch* acquaint us, that the Spoil of it was almoſt equal to that of *Carthage*, when it was taken and ſack'd by *Marcellus* the *Roman* General, about two hundred and ten Years before the Birth of our Saviour. In ſtorming this Place, *Archimedes*, the celebrated Mathematician, was ſlain by a common Soldier, whilſt he was intent upon his Mathematical Studies. He is eſteemed the firſt Inventor of the Sphere; of which he made one of that Art and Bigneſs, that ſtanding within it, one might ſee the ſeveral Motions of the Celeſtial Orbs. He made alſo divers Military Engines, which, during the Siege of the City, very much gall'd the *Romans*. On Account of theſe his great Endowments and Abilities, *Marcellus* the *Roman* General was extremely concerned and grieved, when he was informed of his being killed; he having, as is ſaid, given particular Orders that Care ſhould be taken of him, and no Hurt or Affront offered him. After its being deſtroyed by *Marcellus*, it did however recover again, and had three Walls, three Caſtles, and a Marble Gate, and could ſet out twelve thouſand Horſe, and four hundred Ships. But it has never well recovered the Blow given it by the *Saracens* in 884, who then razed it to the Ground. For whereas it was before an Archbiſhop's See, 'tis now but a Biſhop's See, ſmall, and not very populous. Mr. *Sandys* tells us, that it ſtands now on a little Iſle, which was only one of the four Parts which compoſed it antiently; Having a ſtrong Caſtle well fortified; and was itſelf ſtrongly walled, when he ſaw it, having two noble Havens.

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[h] Acts xxvii. 8. [i] Acts xxvii. 12. [k] Acts xxvii. 13—16. [l] Acts xxvii. 17—27. [m] Acts xxviii. 11, 12.

From hence St. *Paul* came to [m] *Rhegium*, now *Reggio*, a Sea-Port at the Extremity of *Italy*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and oppoſite to *Meſſina* in *Sicily*. It is ſuppoſed to have this Name given it by the *Greeks*, as judging *Sicily* to have been broken off from *Italy* by the Sea hereabout. It is an Archbiſhop's See, and very conſiderable at this Day for Trade, tho' it has been formerly ſurpriz'd and plunder'd ſeveral Times by the *Mahometans*.

Having ſtaid one Day at *Rhegium*, [n] St. *Paul* came the next Day to *Puteoli*, now called commonly *Puzzuoli*; a City in *Terra di Lavoro*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and a Biſhop's See, under the Archbiſhop of *Naples*. It ſtands upon an Hill in a Creek of the Sea, and juſt oppoſite to *Baiæ* on the other Side of the Creek, and famous among the *Roman* Writers. There are within the Bounds of this City thirty-five natural Baths, of different Sorts of warm Waters, very uſeful for the Cure of ſeveral Diſeaſes; and from theſe Baths or Pits of Water, call'd in *Latin Putei*, the Town is thought to have taken the Name of *Puteoli*. There are very many *Roman* Antiquities and natural Rarities in it, not eaſily to be found elſewhere.

Finding ſome Chriſtians at *Puteoli*, St. *Paul* ſtaid there a Week, and then ſet forward in his Journey to *Rome*, being met in the Way by ſome Chriſtians [o] at *Appii-forum*, a Place above fifty Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and thought to be ſo called from the ſame *Appius* that gave Name to the *Appian Way*. Others met St. *Paul* at the *Three Taverns* or *Inns*, which were Places of Reception or Entertainment, above thirty Miles from *Rome*. Being conducted into the City of *Rome*, the reſt of the Priſoners were delivered over to the Captain of the Guard, but St. *Paul* was permitted to dwell in a Private-Houſe, with a Soldier to ſecure and guard him. And here the Scripture ends the Account it gives us of St. *Paul*'s Travels and Voyages.

[p] Before we come to a particular View of the City of *Rome*, we muſt, by all Means, take notice of the *Pomœrium*, for the Singularity of the Cuſtom, to which it own'd its Original. *Livy* defines the *Pomœrium*, in general, to be that Space of Ground both within and without the Walls, which the *Augurs*, at the firſt Building of Cities, ſolemnly conſecrated, and on which no Edifices were ſuffer'd to be raiſed [q]. But the Account which *Plutarch* gives us of this Matter, in Reference to *Rome* itſelf, is ſufficient to ſatisfy our Curioſity; and is deliver'd by him to this Purpoſe: *Romulus* having ſent for ſome of the *Tuſcans* to inſtruct him in the Ceremonies to be obſerv'd in the laying Foundations of his new City, the Work was begun in this Manner.

Firſt, They dug a Trench, and threw into it the Firſt-Fruits of all Things, either good by Cuſtom, or neceſſary by Nature; And every Man taking a ſmall Turf of Earth, of the Country from whence he came, they all caſt them in promiſcuouſly together. Making this Trench their Centre, they deſcrib'd the City in a Circle round it. Then the Founder fitted to a Plough a brazen Plough-ſhare; and yoking together a Bull and a Cow, drew a deep Line, or Furrow, round the Bounds; thoſe that follow'd after, taking Care that all the Clods fell inwards, towards the City. They built the Wall upon this Line, which they call'd *Pomœrium*, from *Pone Mœnia* [r]. Tho' the Phraſe *Pomœrium proferre* be commonly us'd in Authors, to ſignify the enlarging of the City; yet 'tis certain the City might be enlarg'd without that Ceremony. For *Tacitus* and *Gellius* declare no Perſon to have had a Right of extending the *Pomœrium*, but ſuch an one as had taken away ſome Part of an Enemy's Country in War; whereas it is manifeſt, that ſeveral great Men, who never obtain'd that Honour, increas'd the Buildings with conſiderable Additions.

'Tis remarkable, that the ſame Ceremony with which the Foundations of their Cities were at firſt laid, they us'd too in deſtroying and razing Places taken from the Enemy; which we find was begun by the Chief Commander's turning up ſome of the Walls with a Plough [s].

As to the Form and Bigneſs of the City, we muſt follow the common Direction of the ſeven Hills, whence came the Phraſe of *Urbs Septicollis*, and the like, ſo frequent with the Poets.

Of theſe *Mons Palatinus* has ever had the Preference; whether ſo call'd from the People *Palantes*, or *Palatini*; or from the Bleating or Stroling of Cattle, in *Latin Balare* and *Palare*; or from *Pales*, the Paſtoral Goddeſs; or from the Burying-Place of *Pallas*; we find diſputed, and undetermin'd among their Authors. 'Twas in this Place that *Romulus* laid the Foundations of the City, in a Quadrangular Form; and here the ſame King and *Tullus Hoſtilius* kept their Courts, as did afterwards *Auguſtus*, and all the ſucceeding Emperors; on which Account, the Word *Palatium* came to ſignify a Royal Seat [t]. This Hill to the Eaſt has *Mons Cælius*; to the South, *Mons Aventinus*; to the Weſt, *Mons Capitolinus*; to the North, the *Forum* [u]. In Compaſs twelve hundred Paces [w].

Mons Tarpeius took its Name from *Tarpeia*, a *Roman* Virgin, who betray'd the City to the *Sabines*, in this Place [x]. It was call'd too *Mons Saturni*, and *Saturnius*, in Honour of *Saturn*, who is reported to have lived here in his Retirement, and was ever reputed the tutelar Deity of this Part of the City. It had afterwards the Denomination

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[m] Acts xxviii. 13. [n] Acts xxviii. 17. [o] Acts xviii. 14—31. [p] Kennet's Rom. Ant. Pt. II. B. i.

[q] Liv. lib. i. [r] Plutarch. in Romul. [s] Dempſter. Paralipom. ad Roſin. lib. i. cap. 3.

[t] Roſin. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 4. [u] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [w] Marlian. Topograph. Antiq. Romæ, lib. i. cap. 14.

[x] Plutarch. in Romul.

nomination of *Capitolinus*, from the Head of a Man caſually found here in digging for the Foundations of the famous Temple of *Jupiter*[y], called *Capitolium*, for the ſame Reaſon. This Hill was added to the City by *Titus Tatius*, King of the *Sabines*, when having been firſt overcome in the Field by *Romulus*, he and his Subjects were permitted to incorporate with the *Romans*[z]. It has to the Eaſt, *Mons Palatinus*, and the *Forum*; to the South, the *Tiber*; to the Weſt, the level Part of the City; to the North, *Collis Quirinalis*[a]. In Compaſs ſeven *Stadia*, or Furlongs[b].

Collis Quirinalis was ſo call'd either from the Temple of *Quirinalis*, another Name of *Romulus*; or more probably from the *Curetes*, a People that remov'd hither with *Tatius* from *Cures*, a *Sabine* City[c]. It afterwards chang'd it's Name to *Caballus*, *Mons Caballi*, and *Caballinus*, from the two Marble-Horſes, with each a Man holding him, which are ſet up here. They are ſtill ſtanding; and if the Inſcription on the Pilaſters be true, were the Work of *Phidias* and *Praxiteles*[d]; made by thoſe famous Maſters to repreſent *Alexander the Great*, and his *Bucephalus*, and ſent to *Nero* for a Preſent by *Tiridates* King of *Armenia*. This Hill was added to the City by *Numa*[e]. To the Eaſt it has *Mons Eſquilinus*, and *Mons Viminalis*; to the South, the *Forums* of *Cæſar* and *Nerva*; to the Weſt, the level Part of the City; to the North, *Collis Hortulorum*, and the *Campus Martius*[f]. In Compaſs almoſt three Miles[g].

Mons Cælius owes its Name to *Cælius*, or *Cæles*, a famous *Tuſcan* General, who pitch'd his Tents here, when he came to the Aſſiſtance of *Romulus* againſt the *Sabines*[h]. *Livy*[i] and *Dionyſius*[k] attribute the taking of it in, to *Tullus Hoſtilius*; but *Strabo*[l] to *Ancus Martius*. The other Names by which it was ſometimes known, were *Querculanus*, or *Quercetulanus* and *Auguſtus*: The firſt occaſion'd by the Abundance of Oaks growing there; the other impos'd by the Emperor *Tiberius*, when he had rais'd New Buildings upon it after a Fire[m]. One Part of this Hill was call'd *Cæliolus*, and *Minor Cælius*[n]. To the Eaſt it has the City Walls; to the South, *Mons Aventinus*; to the Weſt, *Mons Palatinus*; to the North, *Mons Eſquilinus*[o]. In Compaſs about two Miles and a half[p].

Mons Eſquilinus was antiently call'd *Ciſpius*, and *Oppius*[q]: The Name of *Eſquilinus* was varied, for the eaſier Pronunciation, from *Exquilinus*, a Corruption of *Excubinus*, *ab Excubiis*, from the Watch that *Romulus* kept here[r]. It was taken in by *Servius Tullius*[s], who had here his Royal Seat[t]. *Varro* will have the *Eſquilæ* to be properly two Mountains[u]; which Opinion has been ſince approv'd by a curious Obſerver[w]. To the Eaſt it has the City Walls; to the South, the *Via Labicana*; to the Weſt, the Valley lying between *Mons Cælius* and *Mons Palatinus*; to the North, *Collis Viminalis*[x]. In Compaſs about four Miles[y].

Mons Viminalis derives its Name from the [z] Oſiers that grew there in great Plenty. This Hill was taken in by *Servius Tullius*[a]. To the Eaſt it has the *Campus Eſquinalis*; and to the South, Part of the *Suburra* and the *Forum*; to the Weſt, *Mons Quirinalis*; to the North, the *Vallis Quirinalis*[b]. In Compaſs two Miles and a half[c].

The Name of *Mons Aventinus* has given great Cauſe of Diſpute among the Critics; ſome deriving the Word from *Aventinus*, an *Alban* King[d]; ſome others from the River *Avens*[e]; and others *ab Avibus*, from the Birds which us'd to fly hither in great Flocks from the *Tiber*[f]. It was call'd too *Murcius*, from *Murcia*, the Goddeſs of Sleep, who had here a *Sacellum*, or little Temple[g]; *Collis Dianæ*, from the Temple of *Diana*[h]; and *Remonius* from *Remus*, who would have had the City begun in this Place, and was here buried[i]. *Aulus Gellius* affirms[k], That this being all along reputed ſacred, was never inclos'd within the Bounds of the City, till the Time of *Claudius*. But *Eutropius*[l] expreſsly attributes the taking of it in, to *Ancus Martius*; and an old Epigram inſerted by *Cuſpinian*, in his Comment on *Caſſidorus*, confirms the ſame. To the Eaſt, it has the City Walls; to the South, *Campus Figulinus*; to the Weſt, the *Tiber*; to the North, *Mons Palatinus*[m]. In Circuit eighteen *Stadia*, or two Miles and a Quarter[n].

Beſides theſe ſeven principal Hills, three others of inferior Note were taken in, in later Times.

Collis Hortulorum, or *Hortorum*, had its Name from the famous Gardens of *Salluſt* adjoining to it[o]. It was afterwards call'd *Pincius*, from the *Pincii*, a noble Family who had here their Seat[p]. The Emperor *Aurelian* firſt inclos'd it within the City Walls[q]. To the Eaſt and South it has the plaineſt Part of *Mons Quirinalis*; to the Weſt, the *Vallis Martia*; to the North, the Walls of the City[r]. In Compaſs about eighteen *Stadia*[s].

Janiculum, or *Janicularis*, was ſo call'd either from an old Town of the ſame Name, ſaid to have been built by *Janus*; or, becauſe *Janus* dwelt and was buried here[t]; or, becauſe 'twas a Sort of [v] *Gate* to the *Romans*, whence they iſſued out upon the *Tuſcans*[w]. The ſparkling Sands have at preſent given it the Name of *Mons Aureus*, and by Corruption *Montorius*[x]. We may make two Obſervations about this Hill from an Epigram of *Martial*; That 'tis the fitteſt

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[y] Liv. lib. i. cap. 55. [z] Dionyſius. [a] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [b] Marlian. lib. i. cap. 1. [c] Sext. Pom. Feſtus.
[d] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [e] Dionyſ. Halic. lib. ii. [f] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [g] Marlian lib. i. cap. 1.
[h] Varo de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. [i] Lib. i. cap. 30. [k] Lib. 3. [l] Georg. lib. v. [m] Tacit. Ann. 4. Suet. in Tib cap. 48.
[n] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [o] Ibid. [p] Marlian. lib i. cap. 1. [q] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [r] Vid. Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. 8.
[s] Liv. lib. i. cap. 44 [t] Ibid. [u] De Ling. Latin. Lib. iv. [w] Marlian lib. i. cap. 1. [x] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3.
[y] Marlian. lib. i. cap. 1. [z] Vimina. [a] Dionyſ. lib. iv. [b] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [c] Marlian lib. i. cap. 1.
[d] Varro Ling. Lat. lib. iv. [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid. [g] Sext. Pom. Feſtus. [h] Martial. [i] Plut. in Romul.
[k] Lib. xiii cap. 14. [l] Lib. i. [m] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [n] Marlian. lib. i. cap. 1 [o] Roſin. lib. i. cap. 11.
[p] Ibid. [q] Ibid. [r] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3. [s] Marlian. lib. i. cap. 1. [t] Roſin. lib i. cap. 11.
[v] Janua. [w] Feſtus. [x] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3.

Place to take one's Standing for a full Proſpect of the City; and that 'tis leſs inhabited than the other Parts, by reaſon of the Groſſneſs of the Air[y]. It is ſtill famous for the Sepulchres of *Numa*, and *Statius* the Poet[z]. To the Eaſt and South it has the *Tiber*; to the Weſt, the Fields; to the North, the *Vatican*[a]. In Circuit (as much of it as ſtands within the City Walls) five *Stadia*[b].

Mons Vaticanus owes its Name to the Anſwers of the *Vates*, or Prophets, that us'd to be given here; or from the God *Vaticanus* or *Vagitanus*[c]. It ſeems not to have been inclos'd within the Walls 'till the Time of *Aurelian*. This Hill was formerly famous for the Sepulchre of *Scipio Africanus*; ſome Remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen[d]. But it is more celebrated at preſent on Account of St. *Peter*'s Church, the Pope's Palace, and the nobleſt Library in the World. To the Eaſt it has the *Campus Vaticanus*, and the River; to the South, the *Janiculum*; to the Weſt, the *Campus Figulinus*, or Potters Field; to the North, the *Prata Quintia*[e]. It lies in the Shape of a Bow drawn up very high; the convex Part ſtretching almoſt a Mile[f].

As to the Extent of the whole City, the greateſt we meet with in Hiſtory, was in the Reign of *Valerian*, who enlarg'd the Walls to ſuch a Degree as to ſurround the Space of fifty Miles[g]. The Number of Inhabitants in its flouriſhing State, *Lipſius* computes at four Millions[h]. At preſent the Compaſs of the City is not above thirteen Miles[i].

We ſhall now add, in few Words, the beſt Account we have left us of St. *Paul*'s Travels and Voyages, during the remaining Part of his Life.

That St. *Paul*, after two Years Cuſtody, was perfectly reſtored to Liberty, is agreed upon by learned Writers; but which Way he directed after this the Courſe of his Travels, is not abſolutely certain. By ſome he is ſaid to have returned into *Greece* and the Parts of *Aſia*, upon no other Ground than a few Intimations in ſome of his Epiſtles, that he intended to do ſo. By others he is thought to have preached both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Parts, which is not inconſiſtent with the Time he had after his Departure from *Rome*. But of the latter we have better Evidence. An Author beyond all Exception, and St. *Paul*'s Contemporary and Fellow-Labourer, we mean *Clemens*, in his famous Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, expreſsly tells us, that being a Preacher both in the Eaſt and Weſt, he taught Righteouſneſs to the whole World, and went to the *utmoſt Bounds of the Eaſt and Weſt*. Probable it is, that he went into *Spain*, a Thing which himſelf[k] tells us he had formerly once and again reſolved on. Certain it is, that the[l] Antients do generally aſſert it, without ſeeming in the leaſt to doubt of it. *Theodoret* and others tell us, that he preached not only in *Spain*, but that he went to other Nations, and brought the Goſpel into the *Iſles of the Sea*, by which he undoubtedly means *Britain*; and therefore he elſewhere reckons the *Gauls* and *Britains* among the Nations which the Apoſtles, and particularly the *Tent-maker*, perſuaded to embrace the Law of *Chriſt*. Nor is he the only Man that has ſaid it; others[m] having given in their Teſtimony and Suffrage in this Caſe.

There are ſome few Countries, and one City, which fall not well in with the Deſcription of the Courſe of St. *Paul*'s Travels: and therefore remain to be here ſpoken of. They are moſt of them mentioned in the ſecond Chapter of the *Acts*; where, amongſt thoſe that came together and heard the *Twelve* ſpeak, every Man in his own Language, on the Day of *Pentecoſt*, and upon the Deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, are reckon'd *Parthians*, and *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and the Dwellers in *Meſopotamia*.

We ſhall begin with *Meſopotamia*, as lying next to *Syria*, already deſcrib'd, Eaſtward, between the two famous Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whence it takes its Name; *Meſopotamia* in the *Greek* Tongue importing as much as *Mid-River-Land*.

In the fore-mention'd Country, in the Weſtern or North-Weſt Part thereof, on a River which runs into *Euphrates*, lay the City *Charran*, mention'd by St. *Stephen* the Proto-martyr, called[n] in the Old Teſtament *Haran*, and ſo named (as is thought) in Memory of *Haran* the Son of *Terah*, the Brother of *Abraham*, and the Father of *Lot*; this being the Place to which *Terah* removed when he left *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and where he died. It was called, with a little Alteration, by the *Romans*, *Carræ*, and was made memorable on Account of a great Overthrow they received here by the *Parthians*.

Chaldæa, or the *Land of the* Chaldæans, out of which *Abraham* originally came with his Father, lies to the South of *Meſopotamia*, being divided from it by the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, as is alſo *Arabia Deſerta*. However, as the South-Weſt Part of *Meſopotamia* is by ſome[o] antient Writers aſcribed to *Arabia Deſerta*, ſo it ſeems the South-Eaſt Part of it was reckon'd ſometimes as pertaining to *Chaldæa*. On which Account *Ur*, ſeated in *Meſopotamia*, between *Niſibis* and *Tigris*, is not improbably conceived to have been the ſame with Ur *of the* Chaldees, the Birth-place of *Abraham*; and hereby is cleared what St. *Stephen* ſaith, *The God of Glory appeared unto our Father* Abraham, *when he was in* Meſopotamia, *before he dwelt in* Charran, *and ſaid, Get thee out of thy Country.—Then came he out of the* Land of the *Chaldeans and dwelt in* Charran.

To the Eaſt of *Chaldæa*, on the other Side of the River *Euphrates*, lay *Perſia*, which in the more early Times of the World was denoted by the Word *Elam*; the Word *Perſia* being not uſed in the Old Teſtament, before the Prophecies of

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[y] Martial. lib. iv. Ep. 64.
[z] Fabricii Roma, lib i. cap. 3.
[a] Ibid.
[b] Marlian. lib. i. cap. 1.
[c] Feſtus.
[d] Warcup's Hiſt. of Italy, Book II.
[e] Fabricii Roma, cap. 3.
[f] Marlian. lib. i. cap. 1.
[g] Vopiſc. in Aureliano.
[h] De Magnitud. Rom.
[i] Fabricii Roma, cap. 2.
[k] Rom xv. 24, 28.
[l] Epiphan. Chryſoſt. Cyril. Catech. Athan.
[m] Sophron, &c.
[n] Gen. xi. 31, 32.
[o] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped.

Ezekiel and *Daniel*, but the Word *Elam* made uſe of to denote that Country and People. And in the ſame Senſe no doubt it is to be underſtood, in the fore-cited Place of the Acts of the Apoſtles. Only 'tis to be obſerved, that the Name does more properly belong to the Region of *Elymais* in *Perſia*; and that it ſeems to have been taken from *Elam*, one of the Sons of *Shem*, who ſettled here.

To the North of *Elam*, or *Perſia* more properly ſo called, lay *Media*, or the Country of the *Medes*, frequently mentioned in the Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, and particularly by the Prophet *Daniel*; who lived when *Belſhazzar* the King of the *Chaldæans* was ſlain, and *Darius* the *Median* took the Kingdom; and who proſpered in the Reign of *Darius*, and of *Cyrus* the *Perſian*, who ſucceeded *Darius*, and founded the Empire of *Perſia*. This Country doubtleſs took its Name from *Madai*, one of the Sons of *Japhet*.

To the Eaſt of *Media* lay *Parthia*, which for a long Time was only an Appendix or Appurtenance of *Media*; and ſo together with it devolved to the King of *Perſia*, and was brought with it under the *Grecian* Yoke by *Alexander the Great*; under which it continued till *Arſaces*, a noble *Parthian*, wreſted his own Country, and the other Provinces lying Eaſt of *Euphrates*, out of the Hands of the *Greeks*, and erected the *Parthian* Kingdom. With the Succeſſors of *Arſaces* the *Romans* had ſeveral Engagements, till at length the *Parthians* ſubmitted themſelves to *Auguſtus Cæſar* and the *Romans*, ſo far as to receive for their Kings ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the *Roman* Emperor and Senate. But this Submiſſion was of no long Continuance.

It will be requiſite only to obſerve further, in Reference to the fore-mentioned Provinces lying to the Eaſt of *Euphrates*, namely, *Parthia*, *Media*, *Elam*, and *Meſopotamia*; that there lived there a great many [p] *Jews*, probably Deſcendants of thoſe that were carried away captive by the Kings of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon*; whence it is that we find the Inhabitants of theſe Countries at *Jeruſalem* on the Day of *Pentecoſt*.

But beſides theſe, we find mentioned by the ſacred Writer the *Dwellers in the Parts of* Lybia *and* about Cyrene. Of which, *Lybia*, in its largeſt Acceptation, is taken to denote the whole *Lybian* or *African* Continent, being the South-Weſt Part of the three general Parts, into which the World was antiently divided. But in its proper Acceptation *Lybia* denotes the Parts of the ſaid Continent, lying along the *Mediterranean Sea*, from *Egypt* Eaſtward to the greater *Syrtis*, or Gulph of *Sidra*, Weſtward.

Within *Lybia propria*, in the Weſtern Part of it, ſtood *Cyrene*, a City of great Note, and once of ſuch Power, as to contend with *Carthage* for ſome Preheminencies. It was the chief City of this Country, which is therefore ſtiled by ſome *Cyrenaica*, and by the ſacred Writer paraphraſtically *Lybia about Cyrene*. The City is famous for being the Birth-place of *Eratoſthenes* the Mathematician, *Callimachus* the Poet, and, in holy Writ, of that *Simon*, whom the *Jews* compelled to bear our Saviour's Croſs. Nor need we wonder, that when *Egypt*, particularly *Alexandria*, abounded with ſuch vaſt Numbers of *Jews*, that fifty thouſand of them were ſlain at one Time; there ſhould be ſome Colonies or Proſelytes of them in the neighbouring Country of *Lybia* properly ſo called, or *Cyrenaica*, ſome of whom ſhould, among others, come up to *Jeruſalem* at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*.

SECT. XI.

St. Paul *converſes with the* Jews *of* Rome, *and brings over many of them to Chriſtianity. Aſſiſted by the* Philippians *in his Impriſonment, writes an Epiſtle to them. Converts* Oneſimus, *and writes his Epiſtle to* Philemon. *Writes to the* Coloſſians. *To the diſperſed* Hebrews. *Releaſed from Priſon, preaches in divers Countries. Writes his firſt Epiſtle to* Timothy, *and his Epiſtle to* Titus. *Returns to* Rome, *and is again impriſoned. Writes his ſecond Epiſtle to* Timothy, *and his Epiſtle to the* Epheſians. *Beheaded. Writings attributed to him.*

THREE [a] Days after St. *Paul*'s Arrival at *Rome*, as ſoon as he was recovered from the Fatigue of his Journey, he ſent for ſome of the chief Men among the *Jews*, in order to talk with them, before they could imbibe any Prejudice againſt him. When they were come to him, he informed them, "That tho' he had broke none of their Laws, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, yet the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* had deliver'd him up a Priſoner into the Hands of the *Romans*; and would not ſuffer him to be ſet at Liberty, tho' the *Roman* Magiſtrates, who try'd him, had found him free from any capital Offence: For which Reaſon he was conſtrain'd to appeal to *Cæſar*, not with an Intention to accuſe his Countrymen, but only to ſecure himſelf. That now he had deſired this Conference with them, to aſſure them, the Cauſe of his Perſecution was becauſe he had preached that the Meſſiah was come; whom tho' they hoped for and expected, yet would not receive him now he was come." The *Jews* replied, "That they had received no Advice from *Jeruſalem* concerning him, nor any Complaints by any of their Countrymen who came from thence. But as to the Doctrine which he own'd himſelf a Preacher of, they deſired to be better informed about that, it being every where decry'd both by *Jew* and *Gentile*." Accordingly they agreed on a Day when to meet again. At the Time appointed great Numbers of them came to hear *Paul*; who diſcourſed to them on theſe two Points; Firſt, *That the promiſed Kingdom of the Meſſiah was a ſpiritual, and not an earthly Kingdom*. Secondly, *That* Jeſus *of* Nazareth *was the true Meſſiah*. Both theſe he proved from the Writ-things of *Moſes* and the Prophets, and inſiſted largely upon them, from Morning till Evening. Several of the *Jews* who heard him, were perſuaded by what he ſaid, to believe; others perſiſted in their Infidelity. To theſe laſt the Apoſtle apply'd that of [b] *Iſaiah*, ſpoken to their Fore-Fathers, *That they ſhould be judicially blinded and hardened; ſo that ſeeing they ſhould ſee, and not perceive; and hearing they ſhould hear, and not underſtand.* Which Words St. *Paul* cited, not only to confirm thoſe *Jews* that embraced the Truth, that they might not be offended at the Unbelief of ſome of their Brethren, but to ſtir up theſe obſtinate People to Jealouſy. He concluded all with a plain Declaration to them, *That for the future he would preach the ſame Doctrine of Salvation to the Gentiles, who would readily hearken to it, and embrace it.* Upon which the *Jews* went away, and had great Diſputing among themſelves about what *Paul* had ſaid, ſome oppoſing, others as zealouſly defending the Truth of it.

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[p] Philo Leg. ad Caicum.

[a] Acts xxviii. 17—29.

During [c] the whole two Years that St. *Paul* was a Priſoner at *Rome*, he received all that came to him, either out of Curioſity or Kindneſs, and preached to them the Kingdom of God; [d] teaching thoſe Things which concern the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* with all Confidence, and without any Oppoſition or Diſcouragement; inſomuch that his Impriſonment ſerved very much for the Propagation of the Goſpel, and made the Apoſtle famous at Court, where he had converted ſeveral to Chriſtianity. Many alſo of the Brethren waxing confident by his Bonds, grew bolder to preach the Word without Fear, tho' ſome did it with an ill Deſign; namely, to make him be mote ſeverely perſecuted; ſtirring up *Nero*'s Fury at the Progreſs and Fame of Chriſtianity. Some ſay, That St. *Paul*, while he was at *Rome*, had a Correſpondence with *Seneca* the learned Philoſopher, by Letters; but thoſe which bear their Names now-a-days, are rejected as ſpurious by all the learned World.

The [e] Chriſtians of *Philippi* in *Macedonia*, who had before ſhewn St. *Paul* ſeveral Proofs of their Affection and Liberality, and amongſt whom he had been three ſeveral Times, gave him ſpecial Signs of their Care in his Impriſonment at *Rome*; for they ſent unto him *Epaphroditus* their Biſhop, to carry him a Supply of Money, and to aſſiſt his Perſon in their ſtead: In doing of which he expoſed himſelf to ſo many Dangers, that he fell into a Diſeaſe which endangered his Life, and kept him a long Time at *Rome*. The *Philippians* heard of his Sickneſs, and were much troubled at it; for which Reaſon it was, that as ſoon as he was well, St. *Paul* ſent that Epiſtle to the *Philippians*, which now bears that Inſcription. It is directed to the Biſhops and Deacons: But by the Biſhops we are to underſtand the Prieſts, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. In it he ſhews a great Love and Tenderneſs for them, and Joy for their Bounty to him; not ſo much for his own Sake, who had learnt to endure Want, as for theirs, to whom it would procure ſo great a Reward from God. He ſpeaks to them as his Children, and exhorts them to walk as Children of the Light, and to ſhine as Stars among the Heathens, with whom they lived. He warns them of the Judaizing Teachers, whom he calls the Enemies of the Croſs of *Chriſt*. He adviſes them to live in continual Obedience to *Chriſt*, to avoid Diſputations, to delight in Prayer, to be conſtant in Afflictions, to be full of Joy and Peace. He beſeeches them to live in perfect Union one with another: And ſince Unity cannot be preſerved without Humility, which makes us to prefer others before ourſelves, he propounds to them the Example of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who humbled himſelf ſo much as to become obedient to Death, even the Death of the Croſs. Particularly he recommends this Union to *Euodias* and *Syntiche*, two Women of that Church, famous for good Works, who had been his Fellow-Labourers in the propagating of the Goſpel, but it ſeems were at ſome Difference with the Church and among themſelves; and deſires one of the Chief Paſtors, whom he calls his Yoke-Fellow, to compoſe the Quarrels between them. *Paul* [f] joins *Timothy* with himſelf in the Title of this Epiſtle, and gives them ſome Hopes of ſending him to them, as ſoon as he knew how his Impriſonment would end. He hoped alſo to ſee them himſelf; for tho' he wiſhed to die, yet he knew God would continue him in Life, for their Furtherance, and the Joy of Faith which they would feel in having his Company.

One of the moſt eminent Fruits of St. *Paul*'s Impriſonment was the Converſion of *Oneſimus* [g], who of a Slave, Renegade, and Thief, became a faithful Servant of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and was thought worthy by St. *Paul*, of the Names of *his dear and faithful Brother, his Son, his Bowels, Himſelf.* He was a Native of [h] *Coloſſe*, a City of *Phrygia*, and Servant to one of the Inhabitants there, *Philemon*, who had embraced the Chriſtian Faith, and was *Paul*'s intimate Friend. *Oneſimus* being a faulty Servant, to eſcape Puniſhment, ran away from his Maſter to *Rome*; where he met with St. *Paul*, whom probably he had known, at leaſt heard of, in his Maſter's Family. The Apoſtle having dealt with him ſo, as to reform his vicious Inclinations, baptized him into the Chriſtian Faith. *Oneſimus* after his Converſion became a very good Man, and extremely ſerviceable to the Apoſtle in his Impriſonment, who was very deſirous to have kept him with him, to miniſter to him in his Maſter's ſtead: But [hh] becauſe he had not *Philemon*'s expreſs Conſent, without which it was unlawful; he ſent him back to his Maſter, writing at the ſame Time a very kind Letter in his Behalf, interceding for his Pardon, and deſiring his Maſter to uſe him, notwithſtanding his former Faults, as a Brother; promiſing alſo, that if he had wronged him, or owed him ought, he would repay it. In the ſame Letter he acquaints *Philemon* how ſerviceable and faithful *Oneſimus* had been to him in his Impriſonment, inſomuch that he would gladly have retain'd him at *Rome*, but not without expreſs Leave. And that this Epiſtle might more eaſily obtain what he deſir'd, he ſalutes, in the Title, *Apphia*, *Philemon*'s Wife, and *Archippus* the Paſtor of the Church, and Partner with *Philemon*. St. *Paul* was about ſixty-three Years old when he wrote this Letter, and a Priſoner; tho' he had Hopes ſhortly to be freed and be at *Coloſſe*: For which Reaſon it is, that he deſires *Philemon* to get him a Lodging. *Timothy*, *Epaphras*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Demas*, *Luke*, and *Mark*, were with him at this Time; but he joins only *Timothy* with him in the Title of the Epiſtle. [i] *Philemon* having received this Epiſtle, and finding how helpful *Oneſimus* had been to St. *Paul*, ſent him back again to the Apoſtle, whom he afterwards ſerved faithfully in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. *Philemon* [k] was a moſt ſincere and zealous Believer, who had turned his Houſe into a Church, was very charitable to the poor Chriſtians, and tender of all the Believers. He had dedicated both himſelf and all he had to the Service of the Goſpel, and was ready and glad to relinquiſh his Title to his Servant's Labour, when it might be conducible to the Work of *Chriſt*.

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[b] Iſai. vi. 9.

[c] Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

[d] Phil. i. 12, 13.

[e] Phil. iv. 10, 15, 17, 18. i. 12, 13. ii. 25.

[f] Phil. i. 1. ii 19, 23. i. 25, 26.

[g] Philem. ver. 10, 12, 17.

[h] Col. iv. 9.

[hh] Phil. ver. 18, 19.

Philemon having returned *Oneſimus* to St. *Paul*, the Apoſtle wrote an Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, the Fellow-Citizens of *Philemon*, and ſent it by this Servant. *Coloſſe* was a City of *Phrygia*, near to *Laodicea*, and the chief City of that Province. [l] St. *Paul* had never preached in thoſe Parts; but the Goſpel, which had now ſpread itſelf in all the World, had taken Root among them, and brought forth the Fruit of Love unto all the Saints. *Epaphras* was their Inſtructor, who alſo had given St. *Paul* an Account of their Converſion and mutual Love in the Spirit, being then at *Rome* a Priſoner with him. St. *Paul* being ſatisfied of this, always put them into his Prayers, deſiring of God, [m] That they might be filled with the Knowledge of his Will, in all Wiſdom and Spiritual Underſtanding; and that they might walk worthy of the Lord, unto all well-pleaſing, being fruitful in every good Work. But the Enemy ſowed among the good Corn, the Tares of Philoſophy and a falſe Humility; for the Seducers of thoſe Times endeavoured to perſuade the *Coloſſians*, that we ought not to go to God by *Jeſus Chriſt*, becauſe he is ſo far exalted above us, but by Angels, whom they aſſerted to be our Mediators in ſuch a Senſe as agreed to *Jeſus Chriſt* only. Which Notion ſeems to be deriv'd from the *Platoniſts*: [n] But becauſe theſe falſe Teachers added ſome *Jewiſh* Obſervations, it is probable that they were ſome of the Scholars of *Simon Magus*, or ſome *Jews*, who ſought to mix the Goſpel and the Law in one. St. *Paul* perhaps heard this partly from *Epaphras*, and partly by a Letter he received from the Church of *Laodicea*: And tho' he had never preached to them, yet having a common Concern for all the Churches of *Chriſt*, both as a Miniſter and an Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, he had a great Affection for them, and a Deſire to comfort their Hearts, and unite them in perfect Charity one with another, which he had no better Way to do at this Time than by Letter.

In this Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* he moſt magnificently ſets forth *Chriſt* and his Benefits, as being the Image of his Father, the Redeemer of all Mankind, the Reconciler of all Things to God, and the Head of the Church, which gives Life and Vigour to all its Members. He commends the Doctrine preached to them by *Epaphras*, and exhorts them not to ſuffer themſelves to be beguiled of the Reward of Obedience, in being led away by Seducers. And in the three laſt Chapters he gives them an Abſtract of many chief and principal Duties of the Chriſtian Life, eſpecially ſuch as reſpect the Relations of Parents, Huſbands, Wives, Maſters, and Servants.

Tychicus [o] was ſent by St. *Paul* at this Time, together with *Oneſimus*, to know the State of the *Coloſſians*, and to comfort their Hearts. He orders in the Epiſtle, That it ſhould be read to the Church of *Laodicea*; of which Church he ſalutes *Nymphas* and ſome others. St. *Paul* was certainly in Priſon when he wrote it, but teſtifies much Joy for his Sufferings, becauſe it was for the Goſpel and the Church, and to fill up the Afflictions of *Chriſt*.

St. *Paul* is ſaid, at this Time alſo, to have written a Letter to the Church of *Laodicea*; and ſome have pretended to have it: But as the *Greek* Text gives no Ground for ſuch a Writing, the [p] Expreſſion being, *The Epiſtle from*, or *Of Laodicea*, not *To the Laodiceans*: So the Epiſtle bearing that Name is a manifeſt Forgery.

Epaphras, who was the firſt Preacher of the Goſpel in *Coloſſe*, *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, had great Zeal for thoſe Churches, and was a true Servant of *Jeſus Chriſt*. St. *Paul* calls him his [q] *dear Brother, and Fellow-Labourer in the Service of* Jeſus Chriſt. He was a Priſoner with the Apoſtle at *Rome*, as we have before intimated: In which Confinement his Care was ſo great for the Churches he had planted, that he was always labouring fervently for them in Prayers, that they might ſtand perfect and compleat in all the Will of God; acting therein as a faithful Miniſter of *Jeſus Chriſt*, for their Salvation. *Uſuardus* and [r] *Ado* ſay, That he was ordained Biſhop of *Coloſſe* by St. *Paul*; and that after he had gloriouſly ſuffered Martyrdom for the Doctrine he had taught them, he was buried in that City.

Timothy was with St. *Paul* when he wrote this Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*: But it is probable he went ſoon after to *Philippi*, according to St. *Paul*'s [s] Promiſe, becauſe he was not with him when he wrote to the *Hebrews*.

In this Seaſon of St. *Paul*'s Bonds it was, that his Companion St. *Luke* wrote the third Goſpel, which he compoſed by the Apoſtle's Aſſiſtance: And it is generally believ'd that St. *Paul* alludes to this, when he uſes the Phraſe, as he doth ſeveral Times, of *my Goſpel*. The Occaſion of it was, partly to prevent thoſe fabulous Relations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, and partly to ſupply what ſeem'd wanting in the two former Evangeliſts; tho' it is not certain that he had ſeen St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel when he wrote this. The Hiſtory of the *Acts of the Apoſtles* was writ by him afterwards, as appears by the Dedication of it to *Theophilus*, and contains the Tranſactions of about thirty Years.

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[i] Phil. ver. 9, 22, 23, 24.
[k] Ver. 5, 6.
[l] Col. iv. 9. i. 6. iv. 7, 8. ii. 1. iv. 12.
[m] Phil. v. 23.
[n] Col. iv. 16.
[o] Col. iv. 7, 8, 9, 16, 3.
[p] Col. iv. 13.
[q] Col. i. 7.
[r] Ado Feſt. p. 38.
[s] Phil. ii. 19—23.

In the Year of our Lord 63, and the ninth of *Nero*'s Reign, as Biſhop *Pearſon* computes it, St. *Paul* was releaſed out of Cuſtody, and reſtored to full Liberty. Having gain'd many of the *Romans* to *Chriſt*, he left them, to travel into other Parts of the World. About the Time of his Departure, and before he paſs'd out of *Italy*, he wrote his famous and moſt elaborate Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*; that is, to the converted *Jews* dwelling in *Jeruſalem* and *Judea*; the *Jews* of other Countries being call'd *Helleniſts*. Many think that he deſign'd it for a Treatiſe rather than an Epiſtle; for tho' it is one of the longeſt of his Writings, yet he [t] excuſes its Brevity. It is alſo imagined by ſome, that he wrote it in *Hebrew* or *Syriac*, the *Greek* Verſion being made by another Hand. Thoſe who are of this Opinion hold the *Syriac* Copy, which is now extant in the *Polyglot*, to be the Original. Others are of Opinion, that St. *Paul* dictated the Matter to St. *Luke*, by whom it was put into an elegant Stile. Indeed the Want of the Inſcription hath given Occaſion to ſome particular Men, to diſpute the Authority of it; ſome attributing it to *Luke*, others to *Clemens*, others to *Barnabas*: But St. *Jerome* aſſures us, that all the Eaſtern Churches and *Greek* Fathers receiv'd it as St. *Paul*'s, and the *Latins* have follow'd them; and *Theodoret* reproves the *Arians* for rejecting this Epiſtle, contrary to the Authority of the Church. In ſhort, the Epiſtle itſelf, as well as the Church's Authority, ſhews it to be St. *Paul*'s, and all the Diſputes about it began in the third Century and vaniſhed in the Fifth.

Some Men think, that this is the Epiſtle St. *Peter* [u] mentions; partly becauſe it was written to the *Jews*, and partly becauſe it was written after ſeveral of his other Epiſtles. The Reaſon why he hath neither prefixed his Name nor any Title to it, is thought to be, as well becauſe the believing *Jews* themſelves had an Antipathy againſt him, as becauſe he was not properly their Apoſtle. [w] *Clemens* adds, becauſe of the Reverence he bore to *Chriſt* himſelf, who was peculiarly the Apoſtle of the *Hebrews*; and others ſuggeſt, what is above-mention'd, That perhaps he intended it for a Treatiſe, and not an Epiſtle, which made an Inſcription unneceſſary.

His Deſign in this Epiſtle, as in thoſe to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, is to prove, [x] That Juſtification is not by the Law, but by Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, who hath alſo given us his Spirit. The Method he takes to do this, is by ſhewing the Inſufficiency of the legal Sacrifices for that End; as he had, in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, ſhewn the Inſufficiency of the Moral Law, and Works performed without the Grace of *Chriſt*; and in that to the *Galatians*, the Inſufficiency of the Ceremonies, and of Circumciſion. To make this Truth plain, he explains the Greatneſs of *Jeſus Chriſt* above the Angels themſelves, much more above *Moſes*. He demoſtrates the Virtue of his Sacrifice, and the Excellency of his Prieſthood; by which the Prieſthood of *Aaron*, and all the old Sacrifices, are rendered uſeleſs and unprofitable, and conſequently are finally and totally aboliſhed. He proves, by the Examples of the Patriarchs and Prophets, That Juſtification is by Faith alone. He exhorts them to repoſe an immoveable Truſt in *Jeſus Chriſt*, in the midſt of thoſe Sufferings which they endured at preſent, and ſhould hereafter be expoſed to. In the whole Epiſtle, he ſcatters many excellent Precepts to regulate their Converſation by. And, in the Concluſion, he aſſures them, That *Timothy* was ſet at Liberty; and that if he came to him ſhortly, he would come and ſee them; deſiring their Prayers for the Accompliſhment of his Deſign, which he performed ſoon after.

This Promiſe made to the *Jews* by St. *Paul*, that he would come and ſee them, makes it credible that he was at Liberty to perform it at the Time of Writing, being delivered from his long Impriſonment. It is needleſs to enquire by what Means he got his Freedom, ſince neither himſelf nor any antient Author ſpeak any Thing of it; ſave that *Euſebius* and ſome others ſay, that he vindicated his own Innocency, referring to that which St. *Paul* two or three Years after [y] ſpeaks in his Epiſtle to *Timothy*: *That at his firſt Anſwer no Man ſtood with him*; *yet he was delivered out of the Mouth of the Lion*, meaning from *Nero* and his Judges. Whither he went after this is uncertain; but 'tis probable he ſpent his Time either in making new, or in perfecting his old Converſions. He undertook [z] new Voyages, and travelled into ſeveral Nations to preach the Goſpel. He ſuffered, again, Torments, Impriſonments, and many Dangers of Death. We have no other Ground, ſays *Du Pin*, for the Opinion that he went into *Spain*, but his Deſign when he wrote his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, which we have Reaſon to believe was prevented by intervening Circumſtances; and it is certain that in all his Epiſtles written from *Rome*, he never ſpeaks of going into *Spain*, but into the Eaſt only, when *Timothy* would come to him. It is therefore probable that he now went, as *Theodoret* ſays, and preached in the Iſle of *Crete*; where, after he had laid the Foundation of a Church, he left *Titus* to finiſh what was wanting, and to place Prieſts, or Biſhops, in every City. 'Tis alſo probable that he left *Apollos* and *Zeno* the Lawyer in this Iſland when he was firſt there.

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[t] Heb. xiii. 22. [u] 2 Pet. iii. 15. [w] Clem. Hyp. [x] Heb. xiii. 22. [y] 2 Tim. iv 16, 17.

[z] Theodoret and Clement aſſure us he preached the Goſpel in Spain: And many conclude from certain Paſſages in Euſebius his Demonſtratio Evangelica, St. Jerome, and other antient Writers, that he planted a Church in this our Iſland of Great Britain; as we have already intimated in the preceding Section. See Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, Dr. Cave in the Life of St. Paul, and Mr. Nelſon upon his Feſtival. Others leave this very uncertain.

There is Reaſon to think, that St. *Paul* went alſo with *Timothy* into *Judea*, as he had [a] promiſed in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. After ſome ſhort Stay there, he paſs'd into the Proconſular *Aſia*; but not with *Timothy* in his Company, for he met him at *Epheſus*. Here he excommunicated *Hymenæus* and *Philetus* for denying the Reſurrection of the Dead, and other Articles of Faith: Then he ordered *Timothy* to have his Reſidence at this great City, and to take the Charge of all the Proconſular *Aſia*. But whether *Timothy* was now firſt ordained Biſhop of this Place, or whether it was in the Year 57, when St. *Paul* took his Leave of the *Epheſians*, as we hinted before, is not determin'd among learned Men.

From *Epheſus* he paſſed into *Macedonia*, and viſited the *Philippians*, as he had promiſed them. This was the fourth Time of his coming among them. Here he tarried a conſiderable Time; and from hence, in all Probability, he wrote his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*. He had promiſed to ſee him in a ſhort Time; but leſt he ſhould be prevented, he gave him Inſtructions by Letter how to behave himſelf in his Charge at *Epheſus*.

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[a] Heb. xiii. 23.
[b] 1 Tim. iv. 13. Iſid. Pel. Ep. 88.
[c] Tit. i.
[d] Tit iii. 13.
[dd] 2 Tim. iii. 11.
[e] Aug. de pec. lib. ii. cap. 16. Athan. Sug.
[f] Chryſ. in Act. h. 46.

Alexander[g] the Copper-Smith, who had been excommunicated by St. *Paul* a little before, now took an Opportunity to wreek his Malice upon the Apoſtles, and did them ſome Miſchief; which St. *Paul* wiſhed the Lord would reward him for. The[h] Diſciples of *Aſia*, of whom were *Phygellus* and *Hermogenes*, who attended him to *Rome*, forſook him in this Trouble, fearing to run any Hazard with him. But *Oneſiphorus*, a Diſciple of *Aſia*, who had been very ſerviceable to him at *Epheſus*, coming to *Rome*, ſought him out, and miniſtred to him in Priſon, not being aſhamed of his Chains; on which Account the Apoſtle prays zealouſly for the Proſperity both of him and his Houſhold. All this Time *Paul* deſiſted not from perfecting the Converſion of *Nero*'s Concubine, and his Cup-bearer, which haſtened his Death. Some Fathers add, That he had an Hand in the Death of *Simon* the Sorcerer, together with St. *Peter*; which alſo concurred to bring him to his End.

In this Impriſonment, and before he appeared at *Nero*'s Tribunal, he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, who was at that Time in ſome Part of *Aſia*, but not at *Epheſus*. It is evident from his own Words, that it was written near his Death, which he intimates to be an involuntary Death, or Martyrdom: For which Reaſon it is that St. *Chryſoſtom*[i] ſays, *This Epiſtle was, as it were, his laſt Will and Teſtament*. The Apoſtle therein not only deſires *Timothy* to come to him before Winter, but exhorts him a-new to diſcharge all the Duties of a Biſhop and Doctor with a Zeal ſuitable to thoſe excellent Graces he had received, and with a generous Contempt of the World; ſince the Spirit of Chriſtianity is not a Spirit of Fear, but of Love and Courage, and of a ſound Mind. He adds, That whoever will live godly in *Chriſt Jeſus* muſt ſuffer Perſecution, in the ſame Manner as they had him for an Example. He adviſes him not to forget the Doctrines he had taught him, nor to be diſturbed or ſurpriſed at the Apoſtacy of ſome from the Faith and Truth. The more he ſaw of this Falling-off, he adviſed him to preach the more zealouſly againſt ſuch as oppoſed the Truth, and could not endure ſound Doctrine, but were heaping to themſelves Teachers after their own Humour, having itching Ears. The Reaſon why he deſired *Timothy*'s Coming, was, becauſe he had none of his old Companions and Diſciples with him, but only St. *Luke*. *Demas* had forſaken him, and was gone to *Theſſalonica* about his worldly Occaſions. *Creſcens* was gone to *Galatia*; *Titus*, to *Dalmatia*; and *Tychicus* he had ſent to *Epheſus*. There were doubtleſs many Chriſtians at *Rome* of eminent Piety and Courage, of whom he names *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, and *Linus*, who had miniſtred to him in his Bonds: But he deſired to have ſome of his Scholars about him, to aſſiſt him in his Miniſtry, and to comfort the Faithful under Perſecution, who alſo might manage that Church after his Death. He ſpeaks of *Philetus* and *Hymeneus*, as Perſons who had erred from the Faith; becauſe they maintained, That the Reſurrection of the Fleſh was already paſt, and there was no other to come but that from Sin: Which Opinion led away many. What is ſpoken of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians, that withſtood *Moſes* in *Egypt*, is not taken out of a Book which ſome pretend to have been written by theſe two Magicians, but from[k] ſome antient Tradition or Writing among the *Jews*.

St. *Paul* telling us, in this ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, That he had ſent *Tychicus* to *Epheſus*, has given Ground for many to believe, that he now ſent his Epiſtle to that Church. It bears the Name of the *Epheſians* only, but ſome have thought it a circular Letter ſent to the neighbouring Churches as well as them, particularly to that of *Laodicea*, under whoſe Name it is quoted[l] by *Tertullian*. In this Letter St. *Paul* firſt of all commends their Faith and Charity: But his main Deſign in it, is, to inſtruct them fully in the great Myſteries of Faith; their Redemption and Juſtification by the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*; their gratuitous Predeſtination; the Calling of the *Gentiles*; the Union of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* in one Body, of which *Jeſus Chriſt* is the Head; and the Exaltation of this our Head above all Creatures, both ſpiritual and temporal. This is the Subject of the three firſt Chapters; whoſe Stile is ſomething obſcure and confuſed, by Reaſon of the Sublimity of the Matter handled in them, his Tongue not being able to expreſs the Depth of his Thought. Some are of Opinion, That he oppoſes by-the-bye, not only the judaizing Chriſtians of that Church, but the Scholars of *Simon Magus*, and thoſe other Heretics of that Time, who aſſumed to themſelves the Name of *Gnoſticks*, and held, as we before remarked, That Angels were Mediators between God and us, inſtead of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that we muſt have recourſe to them for Reconciliation. And ſince theſe Heretics did not oppoſe an holy Life leſs than they did the Truth, therefore it is that St. *Paul* fills the four laſt Chapters with moſt excellent Moral Precepts, for the ordering of a Chriſtian Life in all Conditions. This Letter was ſent by *Tychicus*, to whom St. *Paul* gives the Character of *Dear Brother*, *A faithful Miniſter of* Jeſus Chriſt, and *His Companion in the Service of the Goſpel*: Nor was *Tychicus* ſent only as a Meſſenger, but that he might take care of the *Epheſian* Church in *Timothy*'s Abſence.

And now this illuſtrious Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, having for above thirty Years ſerved God in the

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[g] 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15. [h] 2 Tim. i. 15, 16, 18. [i] Chryſ. n. h. 9. p. 605. [k] Orig. in 2. Mat. vii. [l] Tert. in Marc. l. v. c. 11, 17.

Goſpel of his Son, with much Aſſiduity in writing and preaching, and numberleſs Travels and Sufferings; finiſhed his Courſe, and, according to his own Deſire, was diſſolv'd and went to *Chriſt*. *Nero*, at the Sollicitation of *Helius*, was upon his Return from *Greece*; but while he was yet in ſome remote Parts of *Italy*, the two Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paul*, were, by the Order of the then preſent Governors, led out to Execution, as *Clemens Romanus* teſtifies. *Nero* is ſaid by others to have been preſent at their Martyrdom, and to have ſeen the Execution with Pleaſure, as having overturned the Church by deſtroying the chief Architects of it: But the Church is founded upon the Rock *Chriſt Jeſus*, not upon *Paul*, nor *Peter*, nor any of his Apoſtles; and the Blood of thoſe that die for the Faith, are the ſtrongeſt Cement and Props of it. *Paul*, as being a *Roman* Citizen, was [m] beheaded, at a Place called *Aquæ Salviæ*. But *Peter* was crucified, as not having a Right to that Privilege. The Day of their Martyrdom was the twenty-ſecond of *February*, *A. D.* 68, and in the fourteenth Year of *Nero*'s Reign, according to Biſhop *Pearſon*'s Calculation in his Annals of St. *Paul*; tho' *Antony Pagi* places it in *A. D.* 65. Thus died that holy, learned, and incomparable Apoſtle St. *Paul*, at the Head City of the World, who himſelf was the moſt eminent of the Apoſtles, and the chief Miniſter of the Church.

He left behind him ſeveral Writings, that we have already enumerated; namely, his thirteen Epiſtles, which are all full of excellent Inſtructions for the Chriſtians, both with regard to Faith, and Manners. All theſe Epiſtles have been received by the Church without Contradiction; and ſome have ſaid, [n] that every Word of them is Thunder. St. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* cites ſeveral Diſcourſes attributed to St. *Paul*, beſides his Canonical Epiſtles; as, his Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, of which we have ſpoken already; a third Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, and to the *Corinthians*; a ſecond to the *Epheſians*; his Letters to *Seneca*; a Book of his own Acts; a Revelation; his Goſpel, which was condemned with his Revelation, by a Council at *Rome* under *Gelaſius*; his Voyage with *Thecla*; and his Sermons; all forged by Heretics or ill-minded Men. *Tertullian* [o] aſſerts him to be the Author of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, as being dictated by him to St. *Luke*, who only committed it to Writing; but this is contrary to the common Sentiments of the reſt of the Fathers, and of God's Church.

He left the Care of the Churches, planted by him, to his Diſciples, whoſe Zeal and Knowledge he had long Experience of; ſuch as St. *Luke*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Clemens*, *Dionyſius*, *Mark*, *Thecla*, *Creſcens*, *Eraſtus*, *Andronicus*, *Amphas*, *Urban*, *Tertius*, &c. who treading in their Maſter's Steps, exactly perfected thoſe Churches, which St. *Paul* had but laid the Foundation of, and by their Miniſtry made the Goſpel to be both known and practiſed in the whole World.

St. *Paul*'s Body was [p] buried in the *Via Oſtienſis*, about two Miles from *Rome*. Over his Grave *Conſtantine the Great* built a ſtately Church, at the Inſtance of Pope *Silveſter*, about the Year 318. Yet *Valentinian*, or rather *Theodoſius* the Emperor, (for the one finiſhed what the other begun) thinking it too ſmall for ſo great an Apoſtle, took it down, and built one more noble in the Room of it. This Church is deſcribed at large by *Prudentius*, the Chriſtian Poet.

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[m] Greg. Lib. xii. Ep. 9. Euſ. Lib. ii. Cap. 25.

[n] Fern. Div. 19. E. 1. Tert. bapt. Cap. xvii. p. 263.

[o] Tert. Max. Lib. iv. Cap. 5.

[p] Euſeb. Lib. ii. Cap. 25.

The LIFE *of* St. ANDREW.

St. Andrew's *Parentage and Trade. He is made a Diſciple of* Chriſt *by* St. John *the Baptiſt. Diſcovers the Meſſiah to* Peter. *Becomes a conſtant Follower of* Chriſt. *Made an Apoſtle. Informs* Chriſt *of the Lad with five Loaves and two Fiſhes. Conſults* Chriſt *about introducing to him certain* Greeks. *Aſks when the Temple ſhould be deſtroy'd. His Acts after the Death of our Saviour. Crucified in* Achaia. *Why eſteemed the Patron of* Scotland.

THE Reaſon why the ſacred Hiſtory, which hath been ſo copious in its Accounts of the two former Apoſtles, is ſo ſparing in thoſe that follow, mentioning no more of ſome than their bare Names, is conjectured by the learned Dr. *Cave* to be this; That it ſeemed good to the Spirit of God, not to enlarge the ſacred Volume with any further Relations of the firſt Beginnings of Chriſtianity, than what concerned *Judea*, and the neighbouring Countries, with ſome of the moſt eminent Parts of the *Roman* Empire. So much being ſufficient to evidence the Truth of the antient Propheſies, *That the Law of the Meſſiah ſhould come forth from* Sion, *and the Word of the Lord from* Jeruſalem: And the Divine Wiſdom accommodating the Goſpel to the Circumſtances of the meaneſt and moſt laborious Part of Mankind, who neither have Leiſure for much Reading, nor a Capacity to retain and digeſt any great Variety of Matter: For which Reaſons all the fundamental Points of Religion in both Teſtaments, are deliver'd with great Brevity and Plainneſs.

St. *Andrew* was born at *Bethſaida*, a City of *Galilee*, ſituate upon the Banks of the Lake of *Genneſareth*. He was the Son of *Jonas*, or *John*, a to him. It is therefore probable that he now went, as *Theodoret* ſays, and preached in the Iſle of *Crete*; where, after he had laid the Foundation of a Church, he left *Titus* to finiſh what was wanting, and to place Prieſts, or Biſhops, in every City. 'Tis alſo probable that he left *Apollos* and *Zeno* the Lawyer in this Iſland when he was firſt there.

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The Fathers, [e] *Athanaſius* and *Auſtin*, relate, that about this Time God revealed to St. *Paul* that his Death approached: And *Athanaſius* ſays, that it was particularly made known to him by God that he ſhould ſuffer Martyrdom at *Rome*, and that thereupon, inſtead of avoiding it, he haſted with Joy thither. *Nero* had ſhut up the Temple of *Janus* in Token of univerſal Peace, was gone into *Greece* with a pompous Retinue, and had left one of his wicked Inſtruments, *Helius*, ſole Governor of the City in his Abſence, when St. *Paul* came a ſecond Time to *Rome*. Finding St. *Peter* there, he join'd with him in labouring the Converſion of both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in reclaiming People from their exceſſive Sports and Debaucheries, which were much in Faſhion under the libertine Government of *Nero*, and inſtilling in them right Notions of God, and a Love of Virtue. Their Endeavours were ſucceſsful, and it is certain that ſome even of the Emperor's Houſhold were made Chriſtians by their Means. *Chryſoſtom* ſays [f], that one of *Nero's* Concubines was of this Number, who preſently changed her Courſe of Life from Lewdneſs to great Sobriety and Virtue. And the Father adds, That it was not their teaching of the People, but the Converſion of this Concubine, whom he was very fond of, that incenſed the Emperor againſt the Apoſtles. Be that as it will, we find in general, that this unacceptable Reformation of Manners, together with the Oppoſition of their Enemies, provoked *Nero*, or his Deputy *Helius*, to arreſt the Apoſtles, who were committed to the *Mamertine* Priſon: Where they ceaſed not to preach, and converted many, as the Antients report.

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[a] Heb. xiii. 23.

[b] 1 Tim. iv. 13. Iſid. Pel. Ep. 88.

[c] Tit. i.

[d] Tit iii. 13.

[dd] 2 Tim. iii. 11.

[e] Aug. de pec. lib. ii. cap. 16. Athan. Sug.

[f] Chryſ. in Act h. 46.

Alexander [g] the Copper-Smith, who had been excommunicated by St. *Paul* a little before, now took an Opportunity to wreck his Malice upon the Apoſtles, and did them ſome Miſchief; which St. *Paul* wiſhed the Lord would reward him for. The [h] Diſciples of *Aſia*, of whom were *Phygellus* and *Hermogenes*, who attended him to *Rome*, forſook him in this Trouble, fearing to run any Hazard with him. But *Oneſiphorus*, a Diſciple of *Aſia*, who had been very ſerviceable to him at *Epheſus*, coming to *Rome*, ſought him out, and miniſtred to him in Priſon, not being aſhamed of his Chains; on which Account the Apoſtle prays zealouſly for the Proſperity both of him and his Houſhold. All this Time *Paul* deſiſted not from perfecting the Converſion of *Nero*'s Concubine, and his Cup-bearer, which haſtened his Death. Some Fathers add, That he had an Hand in the Death of *Simon* the Sorcerer, together with St. *Peter*; which alſo concurred to bring him to his End.

In this Impriſonment, and before he appeared at *Nero*'s Tribunal, he wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, who was at that Time in ſome Part of *Aſia*, but not at *Epheſus*. It is evident from his own Words, that it was written near his Death, which he intimates to be an involuntary Death, or Martyrdom: For which Reaſon it is that St. *Chryſoſtom* [i] ſays, *This Epiſtle was, as it were, his laſt Will and Teſtament.* The Apoſtle therein not only deſires *Timothy* to come to him before Winter, but exhorts him a-new to diſcharge all the Duties of a Biſhop and Doctor with a Zeal ſuitable to thoſe excellent Graces he had received, and with a generous Contempt of the World; ſince the Spirit of Chriſtianity is not a Spirit of Fear, but of Love and Courage, and of a ſound Mind. He adds, That whoever will live godly in *Chriſt Jeſus* muſt ſuffer Perſecution, in the ſame Manner as they had him for an Example. He adviſes him not to forget the Doctrines he had taught him, nor to be diſturbed or ſurpriſed at the Apoſtacy of ſome from the Faith and Truth. The more he ſaw of this Falling-off, he adviſed him to preach the more zealouſly againſt ſuch as oppoſed the Truth, and could not endure ſound Doctrine, but were heaping to themſelves Teachers after their own Humour, having itching Ears. The Reaſon why he deſired *Timothy*'s Coming, was, becauſe he had none of his old Companions and Diſciples with him, but only St. *Luke*. *Demas* had forſaken him, and was gone to *Theſſalonica* about his worldly Occaſions. *Creſcens* was gone to *Galatia*; *Titus*, to *Dalmatia*; and *Tychicus* he had ſent to *Epheſus*. There were doubtleſs many Chriſtians at *Rome* of eminent Piety and Courage, of whom he names *Eubulus*, *Pudens*, and *Linus*, who had miniſtred to him in his Bonds: But he deſired to have ſome of his Scholars about him, to aſſiſt him in his Miniſtry, and to comfort the Faithful under Perſecution, who alſo might manage that Church after his Death. He ſpeaks of *Philetus* and *Hymeneus*, as Perſons who had erred from the Faith; becauſe they maintained, That the Reſurrection of the Fleſh was already paſt, and there was no other to come but that from Sin: Which Opinion led away many. What is ſpoken of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians, that withſtood *Moſes* in *Egypt*, is not taken out of a Book which ſome pretend to have been written by theſe two Magicians, but from [k] ſome antient Tradition or Writing among the *Jews*.

St. *Paul* telling us, in this ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, That he had ſent *Tychicus* to *Epheſus*, has given Ground for many to believe, that he now ſent his Epiſtle to that Church. It bears the Name of the *Epheſians* only, but ſome have thought it a circular Letter ſent to the neighbouring Churches as well as them, particularly to that of *Laodicea*, under whoſe Name it is quoted [l] by *Tertullian*. In this Letter St. *Paul* firſt of all commends their Faith and Charity: But his main Deſign in it, is, to inſtruct them fully in the great Myſteries of Faith; their Redemption and Juſtification by the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*; their gratuitous Predeſtination; the Calling of the *Gentiles*; the Union of the *Jews* and *Gentiles* in one Body, of which *Jeſus Chriſt* is the Head; and the Exaltation of this our Head above all Creatures, both ſpiritual and temporal. This is the Subject of the three firſt Chapters; whoſe Stile is ſomething obſcure and confuſed, by Reaſon of the Sublimity of the Matter handled in them, his Tongue not being able to expreſs the Depth of his Thought. Some are of Opinion, That he oppoſes by-the-bye, not only the judaizing Chriſtians of that Church, but the Scholars of *Simon Magus*, and thoſe other Heretics of that Time, who aſſumed to themſelves the Name of *Gnoſticks*, and held, as we before remarked, That Angels were Mediators between God and us, inſtead of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and that we muſt have recourſe to them for Reconciliation. And ſince theſe Heretics did not oppoſe an holy Life leſs than they did the Truth, therefore it is that St. *Paul* fills the four laſt Chapters with moſt excellent Moral Precepts, for the ordering of a Chriſtian Life in all Conditions. This Letter was ſent by *Tychicus*, to whom St. *Paul* gives the Character of *Dear Brother*, *A faithful Miniſter of* Jeſus Chriſt, and *His Companion in the Service of the Goſpel*: Nor was *Tychicus* ſent only as a Meſſenger, but that he might take care of the *Epheſian* Church in *Timothy*'s Abſence.

And now this illuſtrious Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, having for above thirty Years ſerved God in the

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[g] 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15. [h] 2 Tim. i. 15, 16, 18. [i] Chryſ. n. h. 9. p. 605. [k] Orig. in 2. Mat. vii. [l] Tert. in Marc. l. v. c. 11, 17.

Goſpel of his Son, with much Aſſiduity in writing and preaching, and numberleſs Travels and Sufferings; finiſhed his Courſe, and, according to his own Deſire, was diſſolv'd and went to *Chriſt*. *Nero*, at the Sollicitation of *Helius*, was upon his Return from *Greece*; but while he was yet in ſome remote Parts of *Italy*, the two Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paul*, were, by the Order of the then preſent Governors, led out to Execution, as *Clemens Romanus* teſtifies. *Nero* is ſaid by others to have been preſent at their Martyrdom, and to have ſeen the Execution with Pleaſure, as having overturned the Church by deſtroying the chief Architects of it: But the Church is founded upon the Rock *Chriſt Jeſus*, not upon *Paul*, nor *Peter*, nor any of his Apoſtles; and the Blood of thoſe that die for the Faith, are the ſtrongeſt Cement and Props of it. *Paul*, as being a *Roman* Citizen, was[m] beheaded, at a Place called *Aquæ Salviæ*. But *Peter* was crucified, as not having a Right to that Privilege. The Day of their Martyrdom was the twenty-ſecond of *February*, *A. D.* 68, and in the fourteenth Year of *Nero*'s Reign, according to Biſhop *Pearſon*'s Calculation in his Annals of St. *Paul*; tho' *Antony Pagi* places it in *A. D.* 65. Thus died that holy, learned, and incomparable Apoſtle St. *Paul*, at the Head City of the World, who himſelf was the moſt eminent of the Apoſtles, and the chief Miniſter of the Church.

He left behind him ſeveral Writings, that we have already enumerated; namely, his thirteen Epiſtles, which are all full of excellent Inſtructions for the Chriſtians, both with regard to Faith, and Manners. All theſe Epiſtles have been received by the Church without Contradiction; and ſome have ſaid, [n] that every Word of them is Thunder. St. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* cites ſeveral Diſcourſes attributed to St. *Paul*, beſides his Canonical Epiſtles; as, his Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, of which we have ſpoken already; a third Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*, and to the *Corinthians*; a ſecond to the *Epheſians*; his Letters to *Seneca*; a Book of his own Acts; a Revelation; his Goſpel, which was condemned with his Revelation, by a Council at *Rome* under *Gelaſius*; his Voyage with *Thecla*; and his Sermons; all forged by Heretics or ill-minded Men. *Tertullian* [o] aſſerts him to be the Author of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, as being dictated by him to St. *Luke*, who only committed it to Writing; but this is contrary, to the common Sentiments of the reſt of the Fathers, and of God's Church.

He left the Care of the Churches, planted by him, to his Diſciples, whoſe Zeal and Knowledge he had long Experience of; ſuch as St. *Luke*, *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Clemens*, *Dionyſius*, *Mark*, *Thecla*, *Creſcens*, *Eraſtus*, *Andronicus*, *Amphas*, *Urban*, *Tertius*, &c. who treading in their Maſter's Steps, exactly perfected thoſe Churches, which St. *Paul* had but laid the Foundation of, and by their Miniſtry made the Goſpel to be both known and practiſed in the whole World.

St. *Paul*'s Body was [p] buried in the *Via Oſtienſis*, about two Miles from *Rome*. Over his Grave *Conſtantine the Great* built a ſtately Church, at the Inſtance of Pope *Silveſter*, about the Year 318. Yet *Valentinian*, or rather *Theodoſius* the Emperor, (for the one finiſhed what the other begun) thinking it too ſmall for ſo great an Apoſtle, took it down, and built one more noble in the Room of it. This Church is deſcribed at large by *Prudentius*, the Chriſtian Poet.

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[m] Greg. Lib. xii. Ep. 9. Euſ. Lib. ii. Cap. 25.

[n] Fern. Div. 19. E. 1. Tert. bapt. Cap. xvii. p. 263.

[o] Tert. Max. Lib. iv. Cap. 5.

[p] Euſeb. Lib. ii. Cap. 25.

The LIFE of St. ANDREW.

St. Andrew's *Parentage and Trade. He is made a Diſciple of* Chriſt *by St.* John the Baptiſt. *Diſcovers the Meſſiah to* Peter. *Becomes a conſtant Follower of* Chriſt. *Made an Apoſtle. Informs* Chriſt *of the Lad with five Loaves and two Fiſhes. Conſults* Chriſt *about introducing to him certain* Greeks. *Aſks when the Temple ſhould be deſtroy'd. His Acts after the Death of our Saviour. Crucified in* Achaia. *Why eſteemed the Patron of* Scotland.

THE Reaſon why the ſacred Hiſtory, which hath been ſo copious in its Accounts of the two former Apoſtles, is ſo ſparing in thoſe that follow, mentioning no more of ſome than their bare Names, is conjectured by the learned Dr. *Cave* to be this; That it ſeemed good to the Spirit of God, not to enlarge the ſacred Volume with any further Relations of the firſt Beginnings of Chriſtianity, than what concerned *Judea*, and the neighbouring Countries, with ſome of the moſt eminent Parts of the *Roman* Empire. So much being ſufficient to evidence the Truth of the antient Propheſies, *That the Law of the Meſſiah ſhould come forth from* Sion, *and the Word of the Lord from* Jeruſalem: And the Divine Wiſdom accommodating the Goſpel to the Circumſtances of the meaneſt and moſt laborious Part of Mankind, who neither have Leiſure for much Reading, nor a Capacity to retain and digeſt any great Variety of Matter: For which Reaſons all the fundamental Points of Religion in both Teſtaments, are deliver'd with great Brevity and Plainneſs.

St. *Andrew* was born at *Bethſaida*, a City of *Galilee*, ſituate upon the Banks of the Lake of *Geneſareth*. He was the Son of *Jonas*, or *John*, a Fiſherman of that Town, and Brother to *Simon Peter*; but whether elder or younger, the Holy Scriptures have not acquainted us, nor do the primitive Fathers clearly reſolve us. In general, however, they intimate *Andrew* to have been the younger Brother, there being but the ſingle Authority of *Epiphanius* on the other Side. He and *Peter* removed from the Place of their Nativity, to *Capernaum*, the Metropolis of all *Galilee* for Riches and Traffic, ſtanding on the Lake or Sea aforeſaid; where they follow'd the Trade of Fiſhing. But this was not 'till after they were called to be Chriſt's Diſciples.

Andrew was one of the Diſciples of *John the Baptiſt*: Not that he always attended upon him; but, as [a] *Epiphanius* believes, went frequently to hear him, and returned to his Buſineſs again. Being one Day with [b] *John the Baptiſt*, our Saviour being lately come from his Temptation in the Wilderneſs, happen'd to paſs by that Way. Upon his Approach, the *Baptiſt* told thoſe about him, that this was the Meſſiah, whom he had ſpoken of before, *The Lamb of God which taketh away the Sins of the World*. By this Saying *Andrew*, who knew the Paſchal Lamb to be the Type of the Meſſiah, and of his Sacrifice for Man's Sins, eaſily underſtood that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*. Thereupon he followed him, with another of *John*'s Diſciples, as the Saviour of the World. And being invited by him to his Houſe, they went and abode with him the remaining Part of that Day; for it was about four o'Clock in the Afternoon when they met him. The next Night, they heard his Inſtructions, and improved their Faith, by conferring with him. So that St. *Andrew* was the firſt of all the Apoſtles who was admitted to be *Chriſt*'s Scholar and Diſciple: And for that Reaſon he is generally denominated by the *Greeks*, *The firſt-called Diſciple*; tho, in a ſtrict Senſe, he was not called till ſome Time after.

As ſoon as *Andrew* had obtained the Knowledge of the Meſſiah, and was confirmed in that Faith, that *Jeſus* was he, he departed from him. After which, the [c] firſt Perſon he met with, was his Brother *Simon*. He could not forbear imparting to him the joyful News, that he had found the Deſire of the World, and their long-expected Happineſs, the *Chriſt*, who was promiſed by the Prophets: And thereupon carried him immediately to *Jeſus*. *Simon*, embracing the ſame Faith with his Brother, was no ſooner come to *Jeſus*, but the Saviour of the World admitted him as a Scholar and Adherent, giving him the Name of *Peter*: And from this Time both he and his Brother became *Jeſus*'s Diſciples; not conſtantly attending upon him, as they afterwards did, but hearing him upon Occaſions, and returning to their Trades again; according as their Family Affairs, and the Buſineſs of their Calling would permit. At this firſt coming to him, they tarried one Day with him to hear his Doctrine, and the next Day returned home again. Doubtleſs *Peter* and *Andrew*, tho' departed from *Jeſus*, were not backward to communicate their Diſcovery to others. They ſpoke of *Jeſus* to thoſe that expect Redemption in *Iſrael*; by which *Philip* being prepared to entertain the Faith in *Chriſt*, immediately followed *Jeſus* the next Day; who then met him, and called him. By *Philip* was *Nathaniel* brought to the Knowledge and Belief of *Jeſus*; tho' he was a little prejudiced againſt him, upon the Account of his reputed Birth-place, *Nazareth*, of which the *Jews* had an Opinion, that *no good Thing could come out of it*.

Towards the End of this Year, *Jeſus Chriſt* [d], meeting *Andrew* and *Peter* together a Fiſhing, called them to a conſtant and inſeparable Attendance upon the Miniſtry of his Goſpel; which he expreſſes to them under Terms relating to their Trade, *making them Fiſhers of Men: Whereupon they immediately left their Nets to follow him*, and never went from him again, but were ſoon ſet apart by him, to be of the Number of his twelve Apoſtles.

Not long after this, *Jeſus Chriſt* went down to *Capernaum*, and lodged at the Houſe of *Andrew* and *Peter*; where *Peter*'s Wife's Mother lay ſick of a Fever. [e] After he had been in the Houſe a while, both of them made known her Condition to him, and deſired her Cure. *Jeſus*, who was always ready to hear the Prayers and Deſires of his Diſciples, ſpeedily granted their Requeſt, and taking her by the Hand, rebuked the Fever; and it left her: And ſhe aroſe, and miniſtred unto them; ſhewing her perfect Recovery by doing Houſhold Work.

The Year following, our bleſſed Lord, having celebrated the Paſſover at *Jeruſalem*, returned again into *Galilee*, and there choſe him twelve Diſciples. At the Head of theſe both [f] St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* place *Peter* and *Andrew*; the one deſerving the Preference for his Zeal and Firmneſs to *Chriſt*, and the other for his firſt Adherence to *Chriſt*.

Some Months after this, *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was now grown [g] famous over all *Jewry* for his Miracles and Teaching, and was thronged in all Places he went to by the Multitude; (partly to get Cure for their Sick, and partly to hear his Doctrine;) being tired with Company, withdrew himſelf from them: And becauſe he could enjoy no Privacy where he was commonly known or lived, he [h] took Ship, and croſſing the Lake of *Genneſareth*, retired into a deſart Place, belonging to the City of *Bethſaida*. But the Multitude, either obſerving the Ship on the Lake which way it ſailed, or getting Intelligence of his Deſign, went after him on Foot, and getting to the Shore before him, met him when he came out of the Ship. *Jeſus* ſeeing their Zeal and Diligence, was moved with Compaſſion to them, and healed all the Sick that they brought to him for that Purpoſe. It was juſt Night when they came to *Jeſus*; wherefore his Diſciples deſired him to ſend the Multitude away, to get themſelves Proviſion in the neighbouring Towns. But *Jeſus*, [i] who knew they had left their Houſes to follow him, was not for ſending them away, till he had refreſhed them with Meat; and therefore required his Diſciples to give them ſomewhat to eat. The Diſciples judged this a Thing almoſt impoſſible for them; and therefore *Philip* ſaid, [k] *Two hundred Penny-worth of Bread is not ſufficient for them, that every one may take a little: And how can we ſatisfy them, who have not ſo much?* But *Andrew*, who had a ſtronger Faith in *Jeſus*, told him, "That there was [l] a Lad with them, who had five Barley-Loaves and two ſmall Fiſhes; which tho' they were indeed nothing among ſo many, yet if he would undertake to feed them by his Power, as [m] *Eliſha* did the two hundred Men with twenty Loaves, they might be ſufficient, ſince he was greater than *Eliſha*. Whereupon *Jeſus* made the Multitude ſit down, and fed them to the full: And not only ſo, but he multiplied the Meat to ſuch a Degree, that there was more left than was at firſt.

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[a] Epiph. Hær. li. cap. 14, 15.

[b] John i. 29——40.

[c] John i. 41——50.

[d] Matth. iv. 18, 19. Mark i. 17.

[e] Mark i. 29—31. Matth. viii. 14, 15.

[f] Matth. x. 2. Luke vi. 14.

[g] Matth. xiv. 13——20.

[h] Matth xiv. 13——20.

Six Days before the *Paſſover* wherein he ſuffered, [n] *Jeſus Chriſt*, coming to *Bethany* to the Houſe of *Lazarus*, abode there, and almoſt every Day went up to *Jeruſalem*. Upon one of thoſe Days, perhaps the ſecond Day of his coming thither, certain *Grecians*, who came to worſhip God at the Feaſt, came to *Philip*, and deſired him to ſhew them *Jeſus*. *Philip* [o] told *Andrew* of it; but neither of them dared to gratify their Deſire, till they had conſulted their Maſter about the Lawfulneſs of it; becauſe he had before ſo ſtrictly forbidden them not to preach to the *Gentiles* or *Samaritans*. They therefore told their Maſter, that the *Grecians* had a Deſire to ſee him. *Jeſus* reply'd, "That this Deſire proceded from a Divine Inſtinct in their Minds. He had indeed hitherto reſtrain'd them from preaching his Goſpel to the *Gentiles*; but now the Hour was at Hand, when he ſhould be glorified by the Converſion of the *Gentiles*. His Death would be a plain Demonſtration that he was rejected by the *Jews*: And after that, as Corn, being ſown, brings forth much Fruit, tho' it die and rot in the Earth; ſo, tho' he was crucified and buried, yet his Goſpel, being preached thro' the World, ſhould gather him abundance of Proſelytes out of the *Gentiles*.

Three Days after this, as *Jeſus* and his Diſciples went out of the Temple, [p] one of them ſpake to him about the exquiſite Building of that Structure, and the Magnificence of it: Whereupon *Jeſus* foretold the utter Ruin and Deſtruction of it. Some of them hearing this, were very deſirous to know the Time when this Calamity ſhould befal their Nation; and therefore, when he was in the Mount of *Olives*, *Peter*, and *John*, and *James*, and *Andrew*, aſked him privately, "When it ſhould come to paſs, and what ſhould be the Signs of that great Revolution?" Which they asked, that they might forewarn their Brethren of it, or eſcape from it themſelves, if it ſhould happen in their Days.

This is all which the Scripture ſpeaks in particular of this Saint and Holy Apoſtle, St. *Andrew*. What it ſays of him in Conjunction with the reſt of the Apoſtles, doth no otherwiſe concern him, than that it ſhews he continued in their Communion, had the ſame Concern for the Goſpel, and joined with them in preaching and promoting of it. And even thus we have no mention of him, longer than our Saviour's [q] Aſcenſion. What became of him afterward, the Scripture relates not: And what is gathered from other Hiſtories, is of little or no Credit. *Sophronius* [r], who lived a little after St. *Jerome*, and tranſlated his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, hath added all the Apoſtles who left no Writings: And in thoſe Additions ſays, That St. *Andrew* preached in *Scythia*, *Sogdiana*, and in the great City of *Sebaſtiopolis*, which ſtands upon the River *Phaſis* in *Colchis*. *Origen* in [s] *Euſebius* confirms the former Relation; and [t] *OEcumenius* adds the *Sacæ*, a People bordering on *Sogdiana*, between *Scythia* and *India*. *Theodoret* writes, that he preached the Goſpel in *Greece*: Particularly, ſays *Gregory Nazianzen*, in *Epirus*. *Jerome* finds him in *Achaia*; and St. *Paulinus* [u] adds, that he preached in *Argos*, and put all the Philoſophers there to Silence. St. [w] *Philaſtrius* relates, that he came out of *Pontus* into *Greece*; and aſſures us, that at *Synope* in *Pontus* they hold, by an antient Tradition, that they received the Goſpel from St. *Peter* and St. *Andrew*; and they pretend to have his Image, and the Pulpit he preached in. The modern *Greeks* [x] attribute to him the [xx] Founding of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, then called *Byzantium*; which the antient *Greeks* ſeem altogether ignorant of. The *Muſcovites*, in divers Parts of their State, pretend that St. *Andrew* preached among them; but upon what Grounds they can give no Account; no more than of what they aſſert [y] of St. *Polyxenus*, who, they ſay, came out of *Spain* into *Achaia*, to be inſtructed by St. *Andrew* [yy].

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[i] John vi. 5—14.
[k] This was a great Quantity according to the Coin and Price of Things in that Country.
[l] Probably ſome Victualler's Servant.
[m] 2 Kings iv. 42, 44.
[n] John xii. 20—23.
[o] Matth. x. 5.
[p] Mark xiii. 3.
[q] Acts i. 13.
[r] Soph. ap. Hier. lib. i.
[s] Euſ. lib. iii. cap. 1.
[t] OEc. p. 1. Prol. p. 13.
[u] Paul. car. 24.
[w] Philaſt. cap. 88.
[x] Boll. May. t. 1.

[xx] Baronius is unwilling to allow this, being deſirous to engroſs the Honour of it to St. Peter: But it is expreſly aſſerted, both by Nicephorus Calliſtus, and the other Nicephorus Patriarch of Conſtantinople, who may be preſumed to know more of his Predeceſſors in that See, than Baronius.

[y] Paul car. 14, 26.

[yy] See ſome farther Account of this Saint in the following Authors: Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 1. Sophronius apud Hieron. lib. 1. Origen. in Gen. lib. iii. Niceph. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 39. lib. v. cap. 6. Nicephorus C. P. in Chronogr. à Scaligero Edit. p. 309. Menæon Græcorum ἡμέρ. λʹ. τῦ Νοεμβρ ſub litera π. Out of this laſt Dr. Cave gives a more particular Account of St. Andrew's Travels, (though he ſays he knows not whence the Author has his Intelligence;) namely, That he firſt came to Aminſus, a City in Cappadocia, unleſs it be miſtaken for Amiſus, a City on the Euxine Sea, about a hundred Miles Diſtance from Sinope, towards Trapezus, afterwards an Archbiſhop's See: That here was a Jews Synagogue, wherein he preached,

St. *Andrew*, having taken many People in the Net of the Goſpel, confirmed the Truths he had preached, by the Effuſion of his Blood, at *Patræ* in *Achaia*; being condemned to be crucified by *Ægeas*, the Proconſul of the Province. Which Sentence he ſoon after ſuffered, as is generally thought, on the thirteenth Day of *November*. All the [z] particular Circumſtances of his Death are very largely deſcribed in a Letter attributed to the Prieſts and Deacons of *Achaia*, his Diſciples: But the Authority of that Piece is not to be depended upon; it having been condemned by all the Antients, as being compoſed by Heretics. In what Year after *Chriſt*'s Death he ſuffered Martyrdom, is not known; ſome fix it in the Year 95, in the Perſecution of the Church under *Domitian*; whoſe Proofs, however, are weak. His Body was interred at *Patræ*, where he died; and afterwards removed to *Conſtantinople*, in the Year 357. Here he was buried in the Apoſtles' Church, the Place deſtined for the Burial of the Emperors, and the Reception of the Apoſtles' Relics, by *Conſtantine*, when he built it. *Gregory* of *Tours* [a] relates ſeveral Miracles, done in ſeveral Places, by the Relics of this Apoſtle; and particularly, a kind of Oil miraculouſly iſſued out of his Tomb, ſending forth a very pleaſant and ſweet Smell; which, if it came out in large Quantities, was a certain Preſage of a fruitful Year. Thre was a Church at *Patræ*, dedicated to St. *Andrew*, famous in the Time of *Juſtinian* the Emperor, which now is turned into a *Turkiſh* Moſque: And our [b] Modern Travellers ſay, that there were ſeveral Churches dedicated to this Apoſtle, in and near that City, the Remains of two of which are ſtill to be ſeen in thoſe Parts.

St. *Gregory the Great* [c] built a Monaſtry at *Rome* to the Honour of St. *Andrew*, and lived in it ſome Time himſelf. He aſſures us, that this Apoſtle declared himſelf viſibly to be the Guardian of it, by a great Number of Miracles done therein. And *Arcadia*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Arcadius*, built a Church of his Name, with a Monaſtery adjoining to it, at *Conſtantinople*: Where there are alſo ſeveral other Churches and Monaſteries bearing his Name. We have an Elogy of [d] *Proclus*, Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and Scholar of *Chryſoſtom*, upon this Saint: As alſo of *Epiphanius* the Monk, *Arſenius* Archbiſhop of *Corſu*, *Heſychius*, *Simeon*, *Metaphraſtes*, *Damianus*, and St. *Bernard*. [e] The Church hath always rejected the Acts, ſaid to be written by St. *Andrew*, as ſpurious, or at leaſt corrupted by the Heretics.

The Occaſion of St. *Andrew*'s being acknowledged for the Tutelar Saint of *Scotland* is thus related by [f] *Buchanan*. *Athelſtan* King of *England*, having invaded the *Picts*, who then inhabited the South of *Scotland*, and overtaking their King *Hungus* at [g] *Hadington*, about twenty-eight Miles from the Borders; the *Picts*, being inferior in Strength, kept ſtrong Guard in the Night, while *Hungus* betook himſelf to his Prayers. After which, compoſing himſelf to Sleep, he thought he ſaw St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle ſtanding by him, and promiſing him the Victory. Which Viſion when he had declared to his People, it inſpired them with Courage next Day to join Battle; which as ſoon as begun, St. *Andrew*'s Croſs appeared in the Air, in Form of an X, and ſo terrified the *Engliſh*, and animated the *Picts*, that they obtained a ſignal Victory, and ſlew *Athelſtan* in the Field of Battle, by the River *Tyne*: Which Place bears the Name of *Athelſtan's Ford* unto this Day. Hereupon *Hungus* aſcribed the Victory to St. *Andrew*; and, beſides other Gifts, offer'd him the Tythes of his Royal Demeſnes. So that the *Scots* having ſucceeded the *Picts* in theſe Countries, thought they had alſo a Right to St. *Andrew*'s Tutelage. *Achaius*, who was then King of *Scotland*, inſtituted an Order of Knighthood in Honour of St. *Andrew*.

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ed, and converted many: Hence he went to Trapezus, a Town upon the ſame Coaſt; and thence thro' ſeveral Towns to Nice, where he ſtaid two Years: Thence to Nicomedia, and ſo to Chalcedon; whence ſailing thro' the Propontis, he came by the Euxine Sea to Heraclea, and from thence to Amaſtris. He next came to Sinope, a Town ſituate upon the Euxine Sea, famous for the Birth and Burial of the great King Mithridates. Here, as the Author reports from the Antients, he met his Brother Peter, and ſtaid with him a conſiderable Time. As a Monument of this he tells us, that the Chairs of white Stone, whence they taught the People, were commonly ſhewn in his Time. That the People of Sinope, who were then Jews, took Occaſion to aſſault him with Clubs, Stones, &c. till they left him for dead, and caſt him out of the City: But that he miraculouſly recovering, returned into it again, and brought many to a better Mind. Departing thence, after ſeveral Travels among the Abaſgi, Zecchi, and Boſphorani, reviſiting ſeveral Places he had preached at before, coming to Byzantium, as was above-ſaid, and being expulſed thence by the Governor, he fled to Argyropolis, a Place not far off the laſt, where he continued two Years. That afterwards he travelled over ſeveral Parts of Thrace, Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Achaia; Nazianzen adds Epirus; till after much Labour in preaching and working of Miracles, he at laſt ſealed his Doctrine with the Blood of Martyrdom, at Patræ in Achaia.

[z] The Occaſion and Manner of St. Andrew's Suffering is related by Surius, ad diem 30 Novemb. p. 653. Which Account, ſaid there to be written by the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of Achaia, though Dr. Cave will not maintain it to be genuine, yet he obſerves 'tis mentioned by Philaſtrius, who flouriſhed A. D. 380, and was doubleſs writ long before his Time. 'Tis briefly thus: That St. Andrew having converted ſeveral at Patræ, and attempting as much upon Ægeas, the Proconſul of Achaia, met with much Outrage from this great Officer, who at laſt delivered him up to be ſcourg'd and crucified on the Thirteenth of November. And that his Death might be more lingering, he was faſtened to the Croſs, not with Nails, but with Cords. That as he was led to Execution, he ſhewed a cheerful and compoſed Mind, and that being now come within Sight of the Croſs, he ſaluted it with this Addreſs: "That he had long expected and deſired that happy Hour; that the Croſs had been conſecrated by bearing the Body of Chriſt; that he came joyful and triumphing to it, that it might receive him as a Diſciple and Follower of him who once hung upon it, and be the Means to carry him ſafe to his Maſter, having been the Inſtrument upon which his Maſter did redeem him." Having prayed, and exhorted the Converts to Conſtancy and Perſeverance in their Religion, he was faſtened to the Croſs, whereon he hung two Days, preaching to the People all that Time: And when great Importunities were uſed with the Proconſul to ſpare his Life, he earneſtly begged of our Lord, that he might at that Time glorify him with his Death, and ſo quickly expired.

The Form of his Croſs is ſaid to have been ſomething peculiar, being in the Figure of the Letter X, and ſtiled a Croſs decuſſate, compoſed of two Pieces of Timber, croſſing each other in the Middle. His Body being taken down was embalmed, and honourably interred by Maximilla, a Lady of great Quality and Eſtate. Afterwards it was removed to Conſtantinople by the Emperor Conſtantius, A. D. 357, according to Antony Pagi, and buried in the great Church, which was built to the Honour of the Apoſtles. A Church was built at Patræ, and dedicated to him, famous in the Reign of the Emperor Juſtinian, now turned into a Turkiſh Moſque. Certain Acts and a Goſpel are attributed to him, but ſpurious, and always rejected by the Church.

[a] Greg. Tu. cap. 31. [b] Wheel. p. 315. [c] Greg. lib. ix. Ep. 38. [d] Procl. Or. 20. [e] Euſ. lib. iii. cap. 5.

[f] Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. lib. v. lxv. R. [g] Anno Domini 790.

The

The LIFE *of St.* JAMES the GREAT.

St. James the Great; *why ſo called. His Parentage and Education. His firſt Knowedge of* Chriſt. *Called to follow* Chriſt. *Named* Boanerges. *Preſent at* Chriſt's *Agony,* &c. *He preaches in* Judea. *His Martyrdom. The Officer that apprehended him, ſuffered with him. Time of his Death. His exemplary Life. His Body where interred.*

THE Epithet of *Great* was given to this Apoſtle, to diſtinguiſh him from the other Apoſtle of the ſame Name, who for the like Reaſon was called *the Leſs.* 'Tis generally ſuppoſed that theſe Appellations were given them with reſpect to their Age, the firſt being the Elder of the two. *James the Great* was [a] by Country a *Galilean,* born probably either at *Capernaum* or *Bethſaida*; Neighbour to *Simon Peter,* and Partner with him in the Trade of Fiſhing. He was the Son of *Zebdai* or *Zebedee,* who follow'd the ſame Calling. *Origen* concludes they were a richer Family than *Andrew* and *Peter,* becauſe mention is made of their hired Servants; but ſince they were not leſs laborious, and [b] mended their Nets with their own Hands, it ſhould ſeem there was but little Difference in their Circumſtances. Whether our Apoſtle had any Knowledge of Letters, is uncertain. Dr. *Cave* conjectures he might be the ſame whom the *Jews* in their *Talmud* ſtile Rabbi *James,* or *Jacob, the Son of* Zebedee: Others are perſuaded that he had never ſtudied Books, but was wholly illiterate.

His Mother's Name was *Salome,* whom the Goſpel ſometimes calls [c] *Mary,* and reckons amongſt thoſe religious Women who uſually attended our Lord, and ſupplied him with Neceſſaries; and at the Time of his Paſſion, follow'd him with Tears and Lamentations; and when [d] he was taken down, embalm'd his dead Body with coſtly Spices and Ointments, according to the *Jewiſh* Faſhion, before it was laid in the Tomb. Indeed ſhe is, according to the Mode and Cuſtom of the *Jews,* ſtiled the Siſter of *Mary,* the Mother of our Lord; not her own Siſter in a ſtrict Senſe (the bleſſed Virgin being in all likelihood an only Daughter) but her Couſin-german, the *Jews* being wont to call ſuch near Relations, Brothers and Siſters. In this Reſpect *James* had the Honour of a near Relation to our Lord himſelf. Brother he was to St. *John* the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, and much older than he, being ſuppoſed to be twelve Years at the Nativity of our Lord, whereas *John* was not born till the eighth Year of *Chriſt,* being but twenty-five when called to the Apoſtleſhip.

[e] St. *Epiphanius* holds, That the Diſciple of *John the Baptiſt,* who went with *Andrew* to *Jeſus Chriſt,* was either *James,* or *John* his Brother. If ſo, they were acquainted with *Chriſt* at the ſame Time with *Peter* and *Andrew.* But ſince the Goſpel authorizes not this Conjecture, all that can reaſonably be aſſerted, is, that by converſing with *Peter* and *Andrew* they had an early Conviction that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt.*

But whatever Preparatives *James* had for a ſpeedy Belief in *Chriſt,* or whether it was miraculous, this is certain, from the Holy Goſpel, That he became a conſtant Diſciple of *Chriſt* at the [f] ſame Time with his Partners *Andrew* and *Simon,* and his Brother *John*; and upon the ſame Occaſion; namely, the prodigious Shoal of Fiſhes which *Chriſt* with a Word drove into their Net, after they had toil'd all Night, the propereſt Time for that Buſineſs, and taken nothing. Overcome with this aſtoniſhing Manifeſtation of *Chriſt*'s Divine Power, he eaſily quitted his Share in the Ship and Fiſhing Trade, to his Father *Zebedee* and the Servants, and follow'd him, who promis'd to make him *a Fiſher of Men*; preferring, like good *Abraham,* Obedience to the Divine Command, before all the Endearments of the neareſt Relations, and forſaking all that he either had, or was like to have, to rely upon that Power and Goodneſs which governs all Things, and to become a conſtant Attendant upon *Jeſus* in his Miniſtry. Nor is it improbable but that *Zebedee* himſelf approved of his Son's Change of Life, eſpecially ſince we find his Wife *Salome* ſo heartily devoted to the Service of our Lord. Not long after this, he was advanced from the Station of an ordinary Diſciple, to the Apoſtolical Office; and not only ſo, but honour'd with ſome peculiar Acts of Favour beyond moſt of the Apoſtles, being one of thoſe three whom our Lord uſually made Choice of to admit to the more intimate Tranſactions of his Life, from which the other nine were excluded. Of this we have the following Inſtances.

1ſt, When [g] *Jairus* the Ruler of the Synagogue had prevail'd with our Lord to come to his Houſe, and cure his little Daughter, who then lay at the Point of Death, and was actually dead before he came to her; *Jeſus* ſuffer'd none elſe to follow him thither, and ſee his miraculous Power in reſtoring the Damſel to Life, ſave *Peter,* and the two Brothers, *James* and *John.*

2dly, At that glorious Transfiguration of our Lord upon Mount *Tabor,* [h] mentioned by three of the Evangeliſts; where his Face did ſhine as the Sun, and his Raiment was as white as the Light; where *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared in their heavenly Luſtre, diſcourſing with him concerning his approaching Sufferings; and a Voice was heard iſſuing from an exceeding bright Appearance, ſaying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed; hear ye him:* None but theſe three, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, were admitted to this Fore-taſte of celeſtial Glory.

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[a] Luke v. 10.
[b] Matth iv. 21.
[c] Matth. xxvii. 56.
[d] Mark xvi. 1.
[e] Epiph. hær. li. cap. 14
[f] Luke v. 1——15. Mark i. 19, 20.
[g] Mark v. 22.
[h] Matth. xvii. Mark ix. Luke ix.

3dly, Theſe three were again ſelected out of the reſt, to be Spectators of a very different Scene, we mean the bitter Agonies which their Maſter underwent in the Garden at *Gethſemane*, the Night before his Crucifixion; to be as it were his Aſſiſtants and Comforters in the Horrors of the Night, and Conflicts of his troubled Soul.

4thly, After the Reſurrection, [i] expreſs Notice is taken, that our Lord ſhewed himſelf *to the Sons of* Zebedee; and St. *Paul* ſays, [k] *He was ſeen of* James, *then of all the Apoſtles.*

Now though after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, aſſumed no Preheminence over their Fellows in Matters of Church Government, as *Clement* of *Alexandria* well obſerves; yet it is evident from the foregoing Inſtances, that our Lord did on many Occaſions admit them to a more intimate Converſe, than he did the reſt. What were the Grounds of this Preference, we are not expreſly told by any of the Evangeliſts: But we think, we may collect from their general Characters, that it was their peculiar Zeal and Activity which recommended them. Of St. *Peter*'s we have ſpoken already in his Life. That of the Sons of *Zebedee* is intimated by that new Name which their Maſter gave them. For they were ſuch zealous Preachers of his Goſpel, that in Approbation of their Diligence and Labour in that Work, our Saviour gave them the Name of *Boanerges*, that is, *Sons of Thunder*. Which Name denoted not only their above-mentioned powerful and preſſing way of Preaching the Goſpel, but was alſo a Badge of his own Favour to them; it being an uſual Way in antient Times, for God to give new Names to thoſe Men whom he moſt approved of and delighted in, as he did to *Abraham* and *Jacob*.

Our Lord, a little before his Death, had [l] taken up firm Reſolutions to go up to *Jeruſalem*; tho' he was ſure to meet with very unkind Entertainment from the *Jews*. Not being diverted by that Foreknowledge, he ſent his Diſciples before him, to prepare ſome Refreſhments for them in their Journey, in a Village of *Samaria*, that was in their Way. The *Samaritans*, who tho' they worſhipped the ſame God with the *Jews*, and much after the ſame Manner; yet contended, [m] that Mount *Gerizim* was the proper Place for God's Worſhip, and not *Jeruſalem*; diſcovering either by his Diſciples Diſcourſe, or other Circumſtances, that they were not of their Judgment, refuſed to give them any Entertainment, or ſuffer them ſo much as to inn among them. *James* and *John* being furiouſly angry at this unhoſpitable Humour of the *Samaritans*, thought they deſerved a remarkable Puniſhment for their uncivil Treatment of ſo great a Perſon as their Maſter was, and therefore asked him Leave "to call down Fire upon them, as *Elias* did upon the Captains and their Companies." For they had ſo great Faith as to believe, that they ſhould be able to do ſo great a Miracle, if he gave them Leave, and allowed them to do it. But *Jeſus*, who was the greateſt Pattern of Patience and Meekneſs, ſtaid their miſguided Zeal with a ſerious Reprimand; telling them, "That tho' indeed they were his Diſciples, they had not yet perfectly learn'd the proper Temper of a Chriſtian, who ought to behave himſelf with Mildneſs and Patience, not with Revenge and Anger, at ſuch Injuries as theſe. Nor did they leſs miſtake his Office, who came into the World not to deſtroy Men's Lives for their Sins, but to ſave them from their Sins, and by a patient Forbearance convince them, and win them to himſelf. Wherefore, as if he regarded not their Incivility, he went to another Village, to try whether he could find any better-tempered Men. Indeed the Zeal of the Brothers in this Caſe was too fierce and ſanguinary, and therefore ſeverely check'd by their Maſter; however, as it was heartily intended for their Maſter's Honour, it was eaſily ſet right, and would be of admirable Uſe, when guided by a ſufficient Light of Divine Knowledge.

In this [n] ſame Journey to *Jeruſalem*, their active Spirit hurries them into another Miſtake. Imagining that our Lord, by Virtue of his irreſiſtible and all-commanding Power, was going to erect a temporal Dominion and Monarchy, they put their Mother upon ſolliciting for their Advancement to the moſt honourable Stations in it. She preſuming, it may be, upon her Relation to *Chriſt*, and knowing he had promiſed his twelve Apoſtles, *That when he was come into his Kingdom, they ſhould ſit on twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of* Iſrael; and that he had already taken her two Sons into ſpecial Favour; after a low Reverence, and Leave obtain'd to propoſe her Requeſt, ſhe beſeeches him *to grant, that her two Sons might ſit, the one on his Right Hand, and the other on his Left, in his Kingdom. Jeſus*, knowing well that the Sons ſpake by the Mother's Mouth, directed his Anſwer to them, telling them, *they knew not what they aſked*; the Preferments in his Kingdom being not of a ſecular, but ſpiritual Nature, and attainable, not by the moſt forward and ambitious, but by the moſt laborious and ſuffering Perſons. *Are ye able*, ſays he, *to drink of that* bitter *Cup which I ſhall drink of, and to be baptized with that* bloody *Baptiſm which I muſt be baptized withal?* They too peremtorily affirm'd, *that they were able* to do and ſuffer all this. 'Tis plain *Chriſt* had an Eye to the Circumſtances of his own Paſſion; at which Time theſe over-confident Zealots fail'd in their Courage, and deſerted him as well as the reſt. However, our Lord, out of his infinite Goodneſs, treats them with Candour, and tells them, they ſhould indeed have their Portion of Sufferings as well as he; (and accordingly we find St. *James* was martyr'd, and St. *John* underwent many Trials and Hardſhips;) but for the Honours and Dignities of his Kingdom, he would not make any Diſpoſal of them, otherwiſe than in Conjunction with the good Pleaſure of his heavenly Father.

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[i] John xxi.

[k] 1 Cor. xv. 7.

[l] Luke ix. 51—56.

[m] John iv. 20.

[n] Matth. xx. 17—28.

This Requeſt of the two Sons of *Zebedee* offended the reſt of the Apoſtles, whoſe Minds, 'tis likely, were not thoroughly purged from ſuch ambitious Deſires. But their Maſter moderates betwixt them, ſhewing them the Nature of the Evangelical State; that it was not here, as in ſecular Kingdoms, where the great Ones exerciſe their Authority upon the Leſs; but that in his Kingdom Humility was the ſureſt Way to Honour, and Condeſcenſion to the loweſt Services for the Good of Mens Souls, the beſt Qualification for the chief Places; and that this was no more than what he recommended by his own Example, *who came not to be miniſter'd unto*, to be ſerv'd with any Pomp and Grandeur; but to ſerve others, even to the laying down of his Life for the Redemption of Mankind. With this Diſcourſe he ſettled their Minds, and put an End to their Contentions.

Being at [o] *Jeruſalem* ſome few Days before the *Paſſover*, and with their Maſter when he foretold the Ruin of the Temple, *James* and *John* were ſome of thoſe who enquired of him, "When it ſhould happen? Whether there ſhould be any certain and evident Preſages of it?" Being moved with the ſame Fear and Curioſity with *Andrew* and *Peter* about this lamentable Calamity, which ſhould befal their Brethren and Nation.

We have already mentioned, That juſt [p] before the Apprehenſion of *Jeſus* in the Garden of *Gethſemane*, *James* and *John* were particularly ſeparated from the reſt of their Diſciples to be Spectators of the bitter Agony that he underwent there, from the Thoughts of his Father's Diſpleaſure, and the Bitterneſs of that Cup of Torment, which he was to drink off for our Sins; when his Soul was filled with deadly Sorrow, and his Body ſweat out Drops of Blood, as a Sign of it: But their Sleepineſs prevented their beholding his Sufferings, elſe they might here perhaps have better ſeen how much it coſts to redeem Souls, than they could when they beheld him upon the Croſs.

Some Days after the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, *James* and *John* went a Fiſhing, with ſome other Diſciples, in the Sea of *Galilee*. But how *James* was employ'd, either by our Lord's Command, or by the Agreement of the Apoſtles, in promoting and preaching the Goſpel after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion, we have no Account from any authentic Hiſtory. The Addition to St. *Jerome*'s Catalogue of famous Men, tells us, [q] That St. *James* preached the Goſpel to the Twelve Tribes of the *Jews*, in their Diſperſions up and down the World; tho' it is moſt probable, that he preached chiefly in *Judea*, becauſe he was martyred at *Jeruſalem* not many Years after *Chriſt*'s Death, and ſo taſted of the Cup of *Chriſt*'s Paſſion the firſt of all the Apoſtles; and that by the Word *Diſperſion* the Author means that Diſperſion which was made upon the Death of St. *Stephen*.

The *Spaniſh* Writers contend, that he preached in their Nation, where he planted a Church, and then return'd to *Jeruſalem*. But of this there is no mention in any antient Writers, earlier than the middle Ages of the Church; when 'tis mention'd by *Iſidore*, the Breviary of *Toledo*, and the *Arabic* Books of *Anaſtaſius* Patriarch of *Antioch*, concerning the Paſſions of the Martyrs; and ſome others after them. Nay *Baronius* himſelf, though endeavouring to render the Account as ſmooth and plauſible as he could, and to remove what Objections lay againſt it, yet after all confeſſes, he did it only to ſhew that the Thing was not impoſſible, nor to be accounted ſuch an extravagant Fable as ſome Men make it.

St. *James* ſuffered Martyrdom at *Jeruſalem*, *A. D.* 49, in the Fourth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, according to [r] Biſhop *Pearſon*'s Chronology; and about the Time of the *Paſſover*, as ſome think. The Occaſion of his Death was this. [s] *Herod Agrippa*, Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and Grandſon of *Herod the Great*, being lately made King of *Judea*, reſolved, at his firſt Entrance on his Government, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*. To this End he became, not only an accurate Obſerver of the *Moſaic* Law, but a vehement Perſecutor of the Chriſtians, becauſe of the mortal Hatred which the *Jews* bare to them. And underſtanding that St. *James* was an active, ſtirring Man amongſt them, and who by his holy Life, and perſuaſive Diſcourſes, gain'd many to the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, he cauſed him to be apprehended, threw him into Priſon, and in a ſhort Time paſs'd Sentence of Death upon him.

[t] *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and after him [u] *Euſebius*, relate a notable Paſſage concerning the Officer, or rather his Accuſer, who had him before the Judges: That obſerving the great Courage and Conſtancy of Mind wherewith St. *James* underwent his Trial, he was ſo affected with it, that he repented of what he had done, became himſelf a Chriſtian, and owning the Faith of *Chriſt*, was condemned to be beheaded with the Apoſtle. As they were both led together to Execution, he begged Pardon of St. *James* by the Way, for apprehending him. The Apoſtle pauſed a little to conſider, not whether he ſhould pardon him, but whether he ſhould acknowledge him for a Chriſtian, who had not been baptized: But God immediately revealed it to him by his Spirit, "That Martyrdom ſupplies the Want of Baptiſm." Whereupon the Apoſtle embraced him, ſaying, *Peace be with you*; and having kiſſed him, they were both beheaded together.

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[o] Mark xiii 3, 4.

[p] Mark xiv. 33——37.

[q] Sophr. cap. 5.

[r] Annal. Paulin. p. 5.

[s] Acts xii. 1, 2, 15.

[t] Hypotyp. lib. vii.

[u] Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 9.

The Death of St. *James* happened eleven Years after the Death of *Jeſus Chriſt*, according to the Computation above referred to, but nine according to others. He was the firſt Martyr amongſt the Apoſtles, as St. *Stephen* was amongſt the reſt of the Saints; and ſo they were both, in ſome Senſe, the firſt Fruits of the Martyrs. By his Death was our Saviour's Prediction verified, "That he ſhould drink of the Cup which he drank of." The Church indeed by his Sufferings loſt one of her main Pillars, upon which the *Jews* thought ſhe ſtood: But after his Death it remained no leſs firm than before, that all her Enemies might ſee, that ſhe is not founded upon the Authority of Men, but upon the Rock *JESUS CHRIST*: Which is the Reaſon that the Church hath never been unwilling to loſe her chief Members, that God might not only have the Glory of their Deaths, but be ſeen to be her immediate Supporter and Defender againſt her Enemies Malice and Power.

Epiphanius ſays, [w] That St. *James* always lived a Batchelor, in much Temperance and Mortification, neither eating Fleſh nor Fiſh; that he wore only one Coat and a Linnen Cloak; and that he was holy and exemplary in all Manner of Converſation. His Body was interr'd at *Jeruſalem*; and, if we may believe ſome *Spaniſh* Writers, removed afterwards to *Iria Flavia*, and thence to *Compoſtella* in *Spain*. Though *Iſaac Voſſius* will have theſe two to be one and the ſame Place, which, after the Story of St. *James*'s Tranſlation had gotten ſome Footing, began to be called, *ad Jacobum Apoſtolum*; thence in after Times *Giacomo Poſtolo*, which was at laſt contracted into *Compoſtella*; where it is held at this Day in great Veneration, and incredible Miracles are reported to be done by it. But it muſt be remember'd, that the Account of its Tranſlation thither hath no good Foundation in any approved Hiſtory.

After St. *James*'s Death, [x] the Divine Vengeance cloſely purſued *Herod*, and ſeverely puniſhed him for ſhedding the innocent Blood of this holy Apoſtle: For, departing from *Jeruſalem*, he went to *Cæſarea*; and there, as *Joſephus* relates, celebrated Sports in Honour of *Cæſar*, his Patron and Benefactor. [y] Upon one of the greateſt of theſe Days, when all the Nobility of thoſe Parts, and the common People, were gathered together in great Numbers to ſee the Shews, he rode attired in moſt ſplendid Robes of Gold and Silver interwoven, which by the Reflection of the Sun, almoſt dazled the Eyes of the Beholders, and preſented himſelf before the whole Aſſembly, and made an elegant Oration to them. His Flatterers extolled it as the Voice of a God, and not a Man; as tho' nothing but a Divine Rhetoric could have uttered ſuch noble and lively Expreſſions. *Herod*, proud of ſuch Encomiums, rebuked not their vain Words; but, as if they had really made him what they pretended to think him, was willing to believe himſelf more than a Man. God, who cannot bear ſuch Rivalſhip, ſeeing this Piece of Arrogancy in an Enemy of his Goſpel, immediately ſmote him by his Angel with an incurable Diſtemper, and he died miſerably, being devoured of Worms.

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[w] Epiphan. lviii. cap. 4.

[x] Euſeb. lib. ii. cap. 10.

[y] Acts xii. 21——23. Joſeph. Ant. lib. xix. cap. 7.

The LIFE *of* St. JOHN *the* Apoſtle *and* Evangeliſt.

St. John, *Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, his Pedigree and Relations. Made a Diſciple and Favourite of* Chriſt. *Named* Boanerges. *His Age and Piety. Called the beloved Diſciple, and why. Prepares* Chriſt's *laſt* Paſſover. *Rebukes a Perſon for caſting out Devils. Aſks* Chriſt *who ſhould betray him. Preſent at* Chriſt's *Agony. And at the Crucifixion. Made the Guardian of the Virgin* Mary. *Viſits the Sepulchre. Heals a Cripple. Confirms the* Samaritan *Converts. Aſſiſts at the Council of* Jeruſalem. *Preaches to the Churches of* Aſia. *Some remarkable Actions of St.* John. *His Sufferings under* Domitian. *Baniſhed to* Pathmos. *His* Revelations *given him in* Pathmos. *Releaſed, and returns to* Epheſus. *His remarkable Care in converting and recovering from Wickedneſs, a certain young Man. Writes his Goſpel, and his Epiſtles. Lives to a great Age. His Death and Tomb. Called the Divine. His ſtrict Way of Living. Falſe Writings attributed to him.*

ST. *John the Evangeliſt* was the Brother of *James the Great*, the Son of *Zebedee* and *Salome*. Several have believed that he was that Diſciple of *John the Baptiſt*, who went with St. *Andrew* to *Jeſus*; and ſo much the rather, becauſe he is not named. For St. *John* in his own Writings modeſtly conceals his own Name, tho' he is particular enough in the mention of others. [a] His Converſion to *Chriſt* is uncertain; but the miraculous Draught of Fiſhes at *Jeſus*'s Command, made them all Captives to his Will and Doctrine who were preſent at it. And from that Time *John*, with the reſt of the Partners[b], became inſeparable Companions and Attendants

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[a] Luke v. 10, 11.

[b] Mark i. 29. Matth. xvii. 1. Mark iii. 17.

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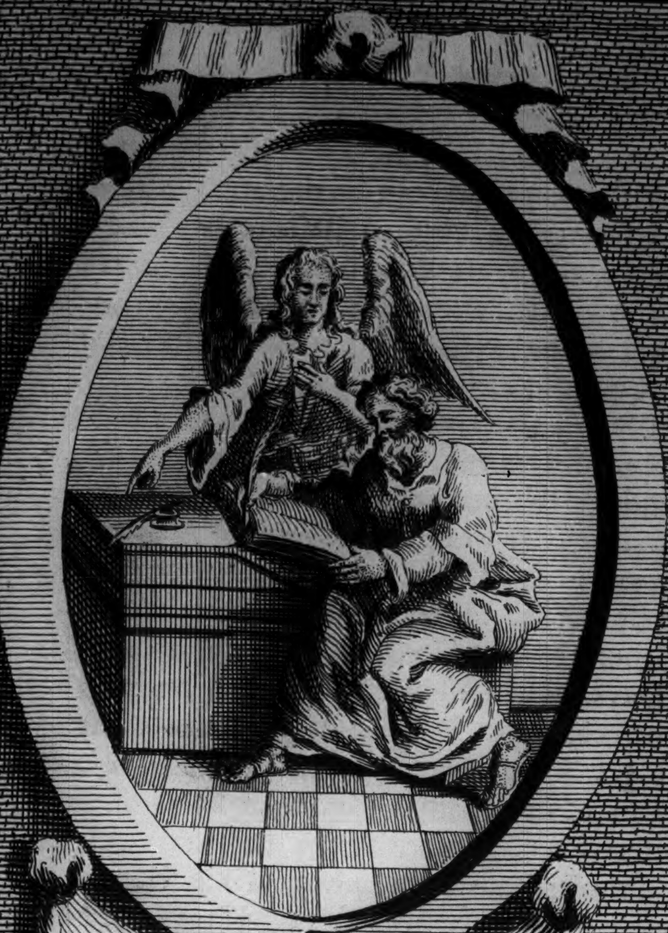
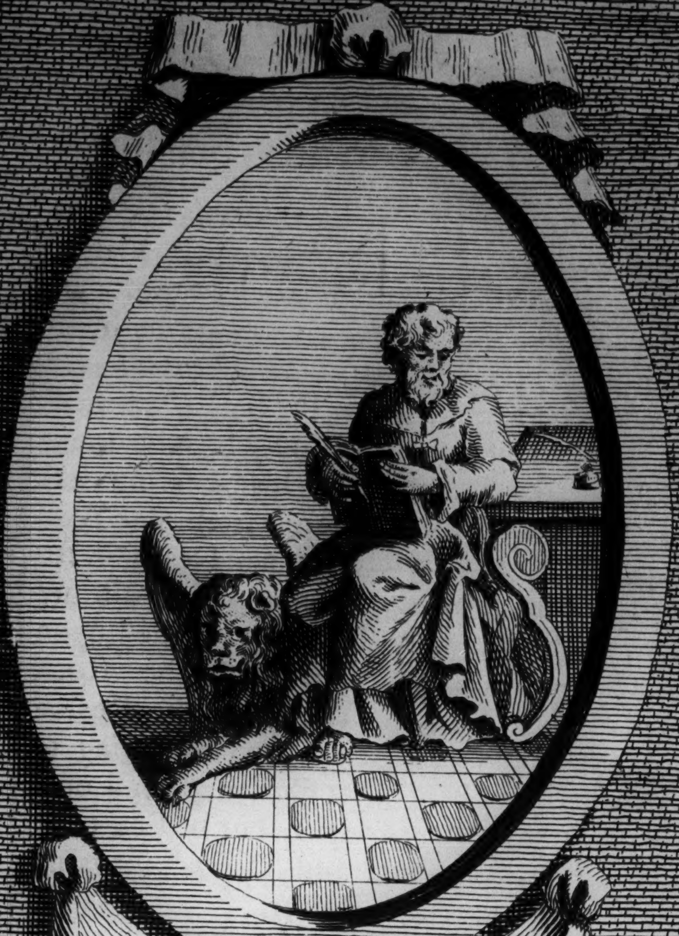
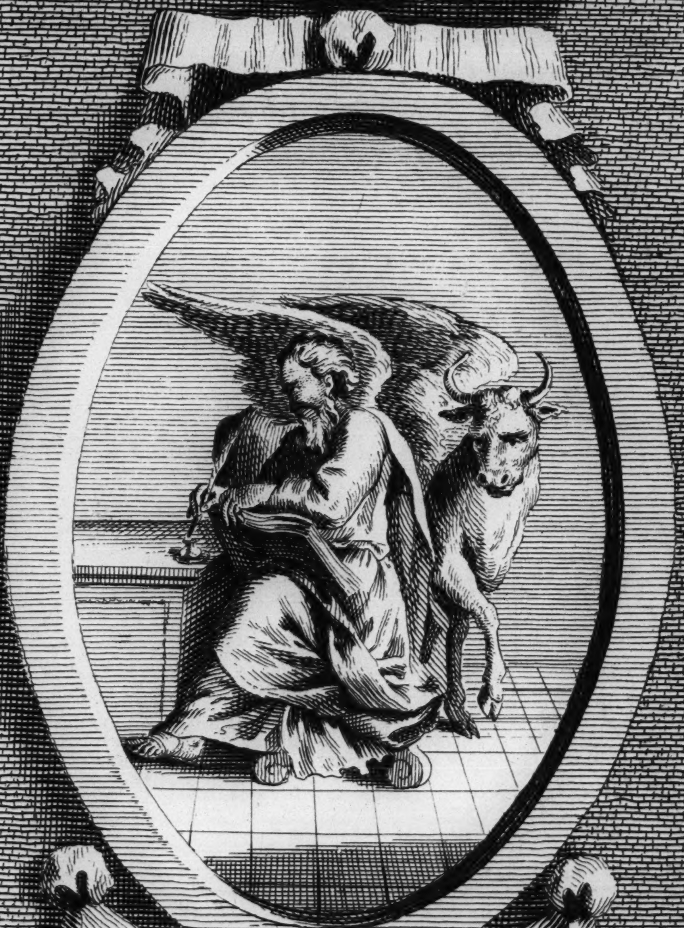


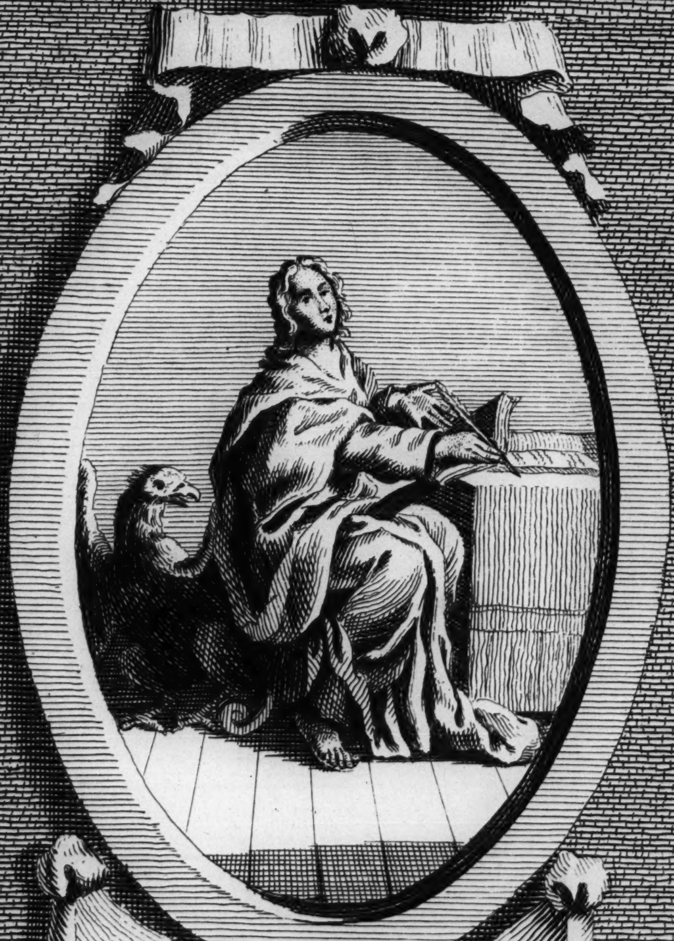
St. MATTHEW
the Evangelist.



St. MARK
the Evangelist.



St. LUKE
the Evangelist.



St. JOHN
the Evangelist

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of him, leaving his Father and all worldly Concerns to follow him. He was preſent at the Cure of *Peter*'s Wife's Mother, the Raiſing of *Jairus*'s Daughter, and the Transfiguration in the Mount, with his Brother *James*.

Jeſus Chriſt, when he called him to the Apoſtleſhip, gave him, in Conjunction with his Brother, the Name of *Boanerges*, that is, *The Sons of Thunder*: To ſhew the Strength and Greatneſs of their Faith, and becauſe they were deſigned to publiſh the Majeſty of God through all the World; not to fear the Power of Man, but to exalt themſelves above them. This Surname was more eſpecially attributed to St. *John*, who was indeed the *Son of Thunder*; becauſe he ſo clearly taught the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt* in ſublime Words, and hath made manifeſt the Truth of the Divine Secrets, whoſe Obſcurity like Clouds, till then deprived us of their Splendor.

This holy Perſon was thought the youngeſt of all the Apoſtles, being about twenty-five or twenty-ſix Years old when he was called: And the Length of his Life, after *Chriſt*'s Death, proves, that he was very young when he firſt became his Diſciple. But he was equal in Piety and Wiſdom to thoſe who were much more antient. His holy Life made him honourable in all the World; which was to him inſtead of old Age, and his Prudence inſtead of grey Hairs. He had in his Youth ſuch a pure and blameleſs Life, as is not ordinarily granted to others but in old Age, and after long Exerciſe in Virtue.

Jeſus Chriſt had a particular Affection for him, and loved him more than any of the Apoſtles; inſomuch that when he ſpeaks of himſelf, he ſaith, *That he was the Diſciple whom* Jeſus *loved*. St. *Auſtin* believes, [c] That *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhewed him particular Kindneſs, that he might give the greater Authority to thoſe great Truths, which he was afterwards to deliver to the World. And St. *John* deſerved this Love, not only becauſe he loved *Chriſt* above all, but becauſe he was very peaceable and meek, and ſo extremely like *Chriſt* himſelf.

St. *John* thought he gave his Maſter a ſound Proof of his Love to him [d], in hindering a Perſon, who was caſting out Devils in the Name of *Chriſt*, to do it, becauſe he was not of the Number of *Chriſt*'s Diſciples, and afterwards telling *Jeſus* what he had done. But *Jeſus*, though he did not reprove him for it, as if he had been guilty of a Fault, knowing that he did it out of true Love and Zeal to him, told him by way of Inſtruction, "That there was no Cauſe why he ſhould hinder the Man, tho' he did not conſtantly follow him as they did; becauſe 'twas a Sign that he had ſome Degree of Faith in him, as Saviour of the World; that he had a Veneration for his Name, which he uſed in ſo ſolemn a Work; and that indeed he was of their Party, and one of his Diſciples, tho' he did not ſo openly profeſs it. *Becauſe none*, ſays our Lord, *can do a Miracle in my Name, but he muſt ſpeak honourably of me; and by ſo doing, in ſome Meaſure, act with us and for us.*

St. *John* ſhewed a particular Reſpect and Love for *Jeſus*, as well as his Brother *James* did [e], when ſeeing the Incivility and Unkindneſs of the *Samaritans* to him, he deſired to call for Fire from Heaven, after *Elias*'s Example, to conſume them, as unworthy to live, who denied Reception to the Son of God. Nor did it proceed from any thing but a ſingular Affection to him, that [f] he deſired to ſit with his Brother on the Right and Left Hand of *Chriſt* in his Kingdom; being ambitious of a near Enjoyment of him in his Glory, and accounting it all his Happineſs to have the Marks of his Favour, as well in the Future as in the preſent Life. He was alſo one of them, who a little before *Chriſt*'s Paſſion, aſked him [g], "When the Ruin of the Temple ſhould happen?" Which our Lord a little before had foretold.

When our Saviour celebrated his laſt *Paſſover* with his Diſciples, at the End of which he delivered to them the ſacred Memorials of his Death and Sufferings for them and all the World; [h] *John* was ſent with *Peter* to find out a convenient Place for it, and provide all Things neceſſary for that ſolemn Rite. Some of the modern *Greeks* have aſſerted, "That it was at St. *John*'s Houſe where this laſt *Paſſover* was kept." But there is not the leaſt Umbrage for ſuch a Conjecture to be found in the Scripture. However, tho' the Perſon be not indeed named, there is ſufficient Proof that it was another Perſon; and 'tis ſcarcely imaginable that St. *John* ſhould have an Houſe at *Jeruſalem*.

At this laſt *Paſchal* Supper, wherein *Chriſt* left us the Pledges of his Love, he gave *John* a particular Mark of his Favour, in ſuffering him to lean upon his Boſom; as he uſually did, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, when he eat with him. St. *John* [i] repeats this Circumſtance ſeveral Times, and the more antient and ſolid Fathers make many Remarks upon it. They deduce from it a Proof, or at leaſt a Figure, of that ſpiritual and ineffable Communication of divine Knowledge which the Word imparted to him; That having been filled with the moſt ſublime Truths and heavenly Myſteries from the Boſom of the Son of God, he might diſcover them to Men by his Goſpel, Revelation, and Epiſtles. They ſay, that he related this particular Favour, leſt Men ſhould think he attributed to himſelf what he had received, or was the Author of thoſe divine Myſteries which were revealed to him by the Spirit of God. While St. *John* lay in this Poſture upon his Maſter; [k] he, by the Inſtigation of St. *Peter*, aſked *Jeſus*, "Who of them it was that ſhould betray him?" And received Information, by Signs, though not in Words, that it was *Judas Iſcariot*, the Son of *Simon*. St. *Jerome* ſays, [l] St. *Peter* durſt not aſk his Maſter himſelf.

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[c] Aug in Jo. h 124. Aug. in Jo. h. 119.

[d] Mark ix. 38, 39, 40. Luke ix. 49, 50.

[e] Luke ix. 51——56.

[f] Matth. xx. 2——28.

[g] Mark xiii. 3, 4.

[h] Luke xxii. 7, 8.

[i] John. xiii. 23——25. xxi. 10.

[k] John xiii. 24, 25, 26.

[l] Hier. in Joan. lib. i. cap. 14.

After the Supper, *Jeſus* went into the Garden of *Gethſemane*, with his Diſciples; where he took *Peter*, and *James*, and *John*, to be Witneſſes of his Agony, and of that Sorrow he voluntarily endured, to comfort us under our involuntary Griefs. When *Jeſus* was by the Treachery of *Judas* betrayed and delivered into the Power of the *Jews*, the Diſciples forſook their Maſter, and for fear fled from him. St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays, [m] that *John* never left him: For tho' the Evangeliſt [n] St. *Matthew* ſays, *All the Diſciples forſook him and fled*, yet ſuch general Expreſſions in Scripture frequently admit of Exceptions. Others of the Antients believe, that he was that [o] *young Man* who followed *Jeſus* with a Linen Cloth caſt about his naked Body; by the Looſeneſs of which he diſengaged himſelf from the Officers, when they laid hold of him, leaving it in their Hands, and flying away naked. This Dr. *Cave* ſuppoſes to be that Garment which he had caſt about him at Supper, (for they had peculiar Veſtments for that Purpoſe;) and being extremely affected with the Treaſon of *Judas*, and his Lord's inevitable Sufferings, haſtily follow'd him without changing his Dreſs, it being then Night, and ſo leſs Notice to be taken of Habits. However, it is not eaſy to imagine that he ſhould fly, and yet go along with *Jeſus* into the Palace of *Caiphas*, as the Fathers believe he did; underſtanding that Diſciple that was known to the High-Prieſt, and who let in *Peter*, to be St. *John*; tho' there be no certain Proof of it.

And it ſeems farther probable, that *John* accompanied *Chriſt* in the former Part of his Sufferings [p], ſince he attended upon him at his Crucifixion, and, for any Thing we know, was the only Apoſtle that did ſo; owning him as well as being owned by him, in the midſt of Arms and Guards, and in the thickeſt Crowds of his moſt inveterate Enemies. Here it was that our Lord declared the ſingular Aſſurance he had of this Diſciple's Love and Affection, by recommending with his dying Words, his Mother, the Bleſſed Virgin, to his Care. *When he ſaw his Mother, and the Diſciple ſtanding by whom he loved, he ſaid unto his Mother, Woman, behold thy Son:* Intimating, that he ſhould be inſtead of a Son to her, to love and honour her, to provide for and take care of her. *Then ſaith he to his Diſciple, Behold thy Mother. And from that Hour that Diſciple took her unto his own Home*; treating her with all the dutiful Regard of a pious and affectionate Son: Whence we may conclude, that *Joſeph* her Huſband was now dead.

St. *John*, tho' full of Sorrow and inexpreſſible Grief for the Death of his Maſter, yet left not the Croſs till he ſaw how the Corps was diſpoſed of. And, from him it is that we learn, that according to the [q] Law of the Paſchal Lamb, *not a Bone of it was broken*: Whereas the two Criminals, who hung on each Side, had their Legs broken, according to the Cuſtom in ſuch Caſes. But that another [r] Scripture in *Zachariah* might be fulfilled, one of the Soldiers pierced our Lord's Side with a Spear, *and forthwith there guſhed out Blood and Water. And he that ſaw it*, that is, St. *John*, *bare Record*; which is Proof enough that he was by all the Time.

Upon [s] the Day of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, *Mary Magdalen* and other Women, came early to the Sepulchre; and not finding *Chriſt*'s Body, which they came purpoſely to anoint, *Mary* went immediately, in great haſte, to *John* and *Peter*, to tell them of it; ſuppoſing that his Body had been taken away by ſome unknown Perſon, and hidden from them. The two Apoſtles, hearing this, were much concerned, and ran immediately to the Sepulchre to be fully informed of the Truth of it. *John*, being not only the younger, but perhaps the more zealous of the two, outran *Peter*, and came firſt to the Sepulchre; and looking into it, ſaw the Linen Clothes wherein our Lord's Body had been wrapped up, lying by themſelves. When St. *Peter* came, and they had jointly conſidered the Affair, they both concluded that his Body was ſtolen; being ignorant, as yet, that he was to riſe again from the Dead; tho' they were afterwards convinced of it, by *Chriſt*'s frequent Appearances to them before his Aſcenſion.

Some few Days after this [t], St. *John* went a Fiſhing, with other of the Diſciples, on the Sea of *Tiberias*; and as they were at their Employ, *Jeſus* appeared to them upon the Shore; but in ſuch a Form as that he was unknown to the Diſciples at firſt; till after ſome Diſcourſe with them about their Fiſhing, and Inſtructions from him about caſting their Net, by which they got a great Draught, St. *John* firſt diſcovered that it was their Lord, and told St. *Peter* of it. They then haſtened all to the Shore, and dined with him. When Dinner was ended, St. *John* followed *Chriſt*, as he walked along the Shore, queſtioning St. *Peter* about the Sincerity of his Love. *Peter* turning him about, ſaw *John*, and aſked *Jeſus*, "What ſhould become of him?" Suppoſing, that ſince that Apoſtle was always his Beſt-beloved, he would particularly protect and defend him. *Jeſus* gave ſuch an Anſwer as made the Diſciples think that *John* ſhould not die, but remain in the Body till *Chriſt*'s Coming to Judgment. And we find that the Fathers, [u] *Hilary* and [w] *Damaſcene*, were of the ſame Opinion. But St. *John* himſelf tells us, that no ſuch Thing was meant by it, but thoſe Words had another Senſe. And accordingly, they have been interpreted by ſome to hint at *Chriſt*'s coming virtually, and by his Divine Power, to the Judgment of the *Jews* in the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. This, however, is certain, that they were intended to check *Peter* for his too great Curioſity, and meddling with that which did not concern him. And thus much for the eminent Inſtances of Duty and Affection which St. *John* expreſs'd to our Lord while perſonally upon Earth.

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[m] Matth. xxvi. 56.
[n] Chryſ. in Mat. h. 85. John xvi. 25—27.
[o] Mark xiv. 51, 52.
[p] John xix. 25, 26, 27.
[q] Exod. xii. 46.
[r] Zach. xii. 10.
[s] John xx. 1—10.
[t] John xxi. 2—7.
[u] Hil. de Trin. lib. vi p. 43.
[w] Dam. tranſ. p. 360.

Clemens Alexandrinus [x] ſays, that *Chriſt*, at his Aſcenſion, communicated the Knowledge of his Doctrine only to St. *James the Great*, St. *John*, and St. *Peter*, who inſtructed the reſt of the Apoſtles, and they the ſeventy Diſciples: Alſo that St. *Peter*, St. *James*, and St. *John*, tho' preferred before the reſt of the Diſciples by our Saviour himſelf in many Reſpects, yet did not challenge any Pre-eminence to themſelves, but choſe *James the Juſt* to be Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*.

Some Time after the Apoſtles had received the Gifts of the Spirit, on the Day of *Pentecoſt*; [y] St. *Peter* and St. *John* went up together into the Temple to pray, and healed the Beggar who had been lame from his Mother's Womb. This Miracle awakened the Minds of the People with Admiration, and prepared their Souls to believe in the Power by which it was done; but at the ſame Time it incenſed the Rulers ſo much, that they ſeized upon the Apoſtles, and put them into Priſon. The next Day, however, they had their Liberties given them, but with a ſtrict Prohibition of not preaching in the Name of *Chriſt*. But they declared, "That they were appointed Witneſſes by God of what they had heard and ſeen, and muſt obey God rather than Man." Notwithſtanding which bold Declaration, they were diſmiſſed with only ſome additional Threats; and going to their Brethren, related what had befallen them. Not long after this, as the Apoſtles ſtill continued preaching the Goſpel, notwithſtanding the Menaces of the *Jewiſh* Rulers, they were again apprehended by them: Who being now very angry at their former Diſobedience, conſulted to put them all to Death. But *Gamaliel*, a learned Doctor of the Law, by his prudent and ſage Advice, prevented the Execution of their bloody Deſign; ſo that they only ſcourged the Apoſtles and let them go, repeating their former Injunction, not to offend any more by preaching in this Manner.

All the Chriſtians, who were at *Jeruſalem*, being diſperſed after the Death of *Stephen*, and upon the Account of the Perſecution that followed it, except the Apoſtles; St. *Philip the Deacon* went down to *Samaria*, and by his Preaching converted and baptized many there, as we have related in the Life of St. *Peter:* But becauſe the Baptiſm they received did not confer the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, *Peter* and *John* were ſent down to beſtow theſe Gifts of the Spirit upon them, by the Impoſition of Hands: Which having performed, they returned again to *Jeruſalem*, preaching in many Villages of the *Samaritans* as they went along.

How long *John* ſtaid at *Jeruſalem* after his Return thither, is not known. St. *Paul* going up thither three Years after his Converſion, [z] ſaw only *Peter* and *James the Leſs*. *John* was gone; but whither is no where diſcovered to us, either in Holy Scripture, or any other Writers. However, when St. *Paul* went thither again in the fourteenth Year after his Converſion, he tells us, that among other Apoſtles, [a] John *gave him the Right Hand of Fellowſhip*; that is, own'd him as a true Miniſter of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and approv'd of his Miſſion to the *Gentiles*. This was the Time when the Apoſtles and Brethren met in Council at *Jeruſalem*, to conſider how far Chriſtians ſhould be ſubject to the *Moſaic* Rites and Ceremonies. Here *John* acted as a Pillar of the Church, with Authority; but ſeems to have inclined to the *Jewiſh* Side, ſubmitting to the Obſervation of the Law, in Condeſcenſion to the *Jews* Weakneſs. It appears from an Epiſtle of *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, mentioned in [b] *Euſebius*, that St. *John* ſtrictly obſerved the *Jewiſh* Law in keeping of *Eaſter*; for *Polycrates* pleads the Authority of his Example for celebrating it on the fourteenth Day of the Moon. It is likewiſe concluded, that his Example made it ſo to be celebrated a long Time after in the *Aſian* Churches, as if of divine Inſtitution.

After this Council, we have little certain of this Apoſtle till the Perſecution of *Domitian*; for the Account which *Prochorus* gives of him is fabulous. Some, however, aſſert, That he preached to the *Jews* in *Parthia* and *India*; becauſe St. *Auſtin* cites his firſt Epiſtle under the Name of an Epiſtle to the *Parthians*. But this cannot be called a very ſtrong Proof.

There is good Reaſon to think, that St. *John*, as well as the other Apoſtles, made a Journey to *Jeruſalem* about the Year ſixty or ſixty-two, to chuſe a Biſhop for that Church in the Place of St. *James the Leſs*, who was not long before martyred: For *Euſebius* ſays, [c] 'That all the Apoſtles who were then alive, (and moſt of them were yet ſurviving) met at *Jeruſalem* for that End, and elected *Simeon*, the Son of *Cleophas*, our Lord's Kinſman, with one Conſent.

The ſame *Euſebius* affirms [d], that in the Diviſion of Provinces which the Apoſtles made amongſt themſelves, for the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, *Aſia* fell to St. *John*'s Share; and that he reſided a long Time at *Epheſus*. Some think that he carried the Bleſſed Virgin along with him, and that ſhe died here. But *Combeſis* and others ſhew, that this is a Miſtake, founded upon a wrong Conſtruction of a Paſſage in a Synodical Epiſtle of the Council of *Epheſus*. The *Greeks* in their Calendar, at the Twenty-ſixth of *September*, ſay, that St. *John* attended upon the Bleſſed Virgin till her Deceaſe, which is thought by moſt to be fifteen Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion, tho' ſome make it much longer; and that then he went into his Province of *Aſia*. In this Part of the World he founded many eminent Churches, at *Smyrna*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, *Laodicea*, and other Places. And conſidering his long Life and active Spirit, we may well allow the Aſſertion of ſome Authors, that he preached in other Parts of the Eaſt. His firſt Epiſtle, we have before take notice, was antiently inſcribed to the *Parthians:* And the

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[x] Clem. Alex. in Euſeb. lib. ii. cap. 1.

[y] Acts iii. 1——10.

[z] Gal. i. 18, 19.

[a] Gal. ii. 9.

[b] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. cap. 24.

[c] Euſeb. lib. iii. cap. 1.

[d] Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 21.

Miſſionaries of the Church of *Rome* aſſure us, that the *Baſſoræ*, a People of *India*, conſtantly affirm from the Tradition of their Anceſtors, that St. *John* planted the Chriſtian Faith in their Country.

After the Death of the Bleſſed Virgin, *Mary Magdalen* is ſaid to have continually attended upon St. *John*, and to have died at *Epheſus*: For all the other Apoſtles, except St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas*, had Women to accompany them in their Journeys, to take Care of their Neceſſaries; it being ordinary among the *Jews* to act in this Manner, nor was it at all ſcandalous. St. *John*'s continual Reſidence at *Epheſus*, cauſed him to be called ſometimes the Biſhop of it. But ſince the Apoſtolical Authority was ſuperior to that of a Biſhop, he did not tie himſelf down to the Church of *Epheſus* in particular, but took Care of all the *Aſian* Churches. His Abode at *Epheſus* did not deprive *Timothy* of his Epiſcopal Authority, which St. *Paul* had conferred on him before St. *John* came thither: For the Charity and Humility of thoſe two holy Men, prevented all Differences upon the Account of their Juriſdictions. The Biſhop of *Aſia*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, acknowledged *Timothy* for the firſt Biſhop of *Epheſus*. And it is evident that the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, reproved by St. *John* in his [e] *Revelation*, was not himſelf, but ſome other Perſon who had been elected Biſhop after he was baniſhed from thence.

St. *Jerome* ſays, [f] That St. *John* founded and governed all the Churches of *Aſia*: And *Tertullian* adds, [g] That he placed Biſhops in all that Country. Which latter cannot be literally true, ſince St. *Paul* and St. *Peter* founded ſeveral Churches there, and without doubt ſettled Biſhops in many of them, as particularly *Timothy* at *Epheſus*. Yet thus far the Aſſertion may hold good, that *John* did really found moſt of the *Aſian* Churches, and ſettled or confirmed the reſt; and perhaps, in the Courſe of his long Life, had put Biſhops into all of them; for while the Apoſtles lived, they ſupplied the Churches with Biſhops of their own appointing, by the Guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Apollonius, an eccleſiaſtical Writer in the Beginning of the third Century, tells us, [h] That St. *John* raiſed a Man from the Dead at *Epheſus*, and depoſed a Prieſt of *Aſia* for writing the fabulous Voyages of St. *Paul* and St. *Thecla*, although he compoſed that Work in Honour of St. *Paul*. St. *Epiphanius* affirms, [i] That St. *John* was carried into *Aſia* by the ſpecial Conduct of the Holy Spirit, to oppoſe the Hereſies of the *Ebionites* and *Cerinthians*, who taught and maintained, "That *Jeſus Chriſt* was a mere Man, the Son of *Joſeph*." On this Occaſion we ſhall relate a Paſſage out of *Irenæus*, who ſays he had it from *Polycarp* the Diſciple of St. *John*, to ſhew how much he was for ſhunning all Society and Communion with Heretics: [k] The holy Apoſtle going one Day with ſome of his Friends to a Bath at *Epheſus*, he enquired of the Servant that waited there, who was within; and underſtanding that *Cerinthus* was there, (*Epiphanius* ſays it was *Ebion*, and poſſibly they might both be there) he ſtarted back and ſaid to his Company; *Let us, my Brethren, make haſte and be gone, leſt the Bath wherein there is ſuch a Heretic as* Cerinthus, *that great Enemy of the Truth, ſhould fall upon our Heads.* By this his Example teaching us, that we ought to avoid the Society of ſuch as abuſe and corrupt the Truth.

This is all we know of St. *John*, till the ſecond Perſecution of the Church; which began, according to the uſual Account, about the Year 90, which was the fifteenth Year of *Domitian*, and ended the next Year with the Death of that Prince. This Perſecution was not more famous for any thing, than for the Sufferings and Martyrdom of St. *John*. The Courage by which ſhews, he conquered all the Power of his Perſecutors, that the Eternal Word, which he preached to others, did really abide in him. 'Tis ſaid, That he was accuſed to the Emperor *Domitian*, not only as a Diſturber of the Government, but a Promoter of Atheiſm; the uſual Calumny faſtened upon the primitive Chriſtians, becauſe they preached againſt thoſe Idols which the *Gentiles* reputed Gods. By *Domitian*'s Command the Proconſul of *Aſia* ſent him bound to *Rome*, where the barbarous Tyrant caus'd him to be caſt into a [l] *Cauldron of boiling Oil*, or rather Oil ſet on Fire, in the Preſence of all the Senate. But *Jeſus Chriſt*, who favoured him above all the Apoſtles, ſo preſerved him in this Danger, that he came out of it unhurt: And as if he had only been anointed, as the antient *Athletæ* were, he appeared more vigorous and active than before. Thus had he the Honour of Martyrdom, without ſuffering the Torments of it, or being left in the Power of Men who endeavoured to hurt his precious Liſe. In [m] this Manner was that fulfilled which his Lord had foretold, *That he ſhould drink of the Cup of his Paſſion.* And hence it is that the Antients give him the Title of a Martyr. For tho' [n] Martyrdom had no Power over him, yet he yielded his Body to all its Tormets, and was willing to die for *Chriſt*: And as the Children caſt by *Nabuchadnezzar* into the fiery Furnace, were Martyrs in their Intentions, tho' the Fire conſumed not their Bodies; ſo was *John* really a Martyr in Will, tho' not in Sufferings; God ſaving him by his Power, beyond his Hopes or Deſires, from his Enemies Malice.

Domitian being thus diſappointed, conſidered not the Miracle: But the mercileſs Perſecutor, nothing mollified by ſo evident a Token of divine Love, immediately baniſhed the Apoſtle into *Patmos*, a diſconſolate Iſland in the *Archipelago*, there to be employed in digging in the Mines, (according to *Victorinus*,) which was the uſual Labour of Perſons baniſhed thither for any Crime. Here it was that he wrote his *Apocalypſe*, or Book of *Revelations*, wherein, by frequent Viſions and prophetic Repreſentations, he had a Scheme and Proſpect of the State of Chriſtianity in all the future Ages and Periods of it. This certainly was not the leaſt Inſtance of our Lord's ſpecial Favour to this Apoſtle; and it was vouchſafed him at a very ſeaſonable Time, that he who was now cut off, in a great Meaſure, from the Society of Men, ſhould be entertain'd with the more immediate Converſe of Heaven.

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[e] Rev ii. i—6.

[f] Hier. de vir. ill. cap. 9.

[g] Tert. in Mar. lib. iv. cap. 5.

[h] Euſeb. lib. iii. cap. 13.

[i] Epiph. li. cap 2.

[k] Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3.

[l] Tert. de Præſc. Hæret. cap. 36.

[m] Hier. in Matth. xx. 23.

[n] Euſeb. lib. iii. cap. 31.

This Work is addreſſed to the ſeven Churches of *Aſia* [o] before-mentioned; and there are many clear and uſeful Paſſages in it, fit for Chriſtians of all Ranks and Capacities. Other Things there are, which are more myſterious and hard to be underſtood; which cauſed ſome of the Antients to heſitate, whether it ſhould be admitted into the Canon of Holy Scripture. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* [p] hath a judicious Diſcourſe upon this Subject. But before his Time, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, and *Origen*, aſcribed it to our Apoſtle.

The Subſtance of what *Dionyſius* ſays of this Book, is to the following Effect. That Father, who objected againſt the Obſcurity of it, and doubted whether it was written by St. *John* the Apoſtle, or by ſome other of that Name, reſpected it as a Book divinely inſpired, becauſe of the Value others had for it. He was perſuaded that it was not leſs admirable, becauſe it was obſcure: *For*, ſaith he, *tho' I do not underſtand the Words; yet I believe, that ſome great Myſteries lie couched under them. I do not pretend to judge of their Verity, or meaſure their Depths by the Shallowneſs of my Underſtanding; but attributing more to Faith than to Reaſon, believe them to be above my Apprehenſion; and reverence them the more, becauſe I comprehend them not.* And with the ſame Reſpect doth [q] S. *Jerome* ſpeak of this Book.

There being mention made in this Book of [r] the Sect of the *Nicolaïtans*, *whoſe Doctrine* our Lord is there ſaid with an Emphaſis *to hate*, it may be proper in this Place to give ſome Account of them from *Clemens Alexandrinus*; who makes it probable that *Nicolas*, from whom theſe Heretics derived themſelves, was one of thoſe ſeven Deacons, mentioned in the ſixth Chapter of the *Acts*. The Account is this, That *Nicolas* having a beautiful Wiſe, and being reproved by the Apoſtles for being jealous of her, to ſhew how far he was from that, he brought her forth, and gave any Perſon leave to marry her; affirming it was ſuitable to that Saying, *We ought to abuſe the Fleſh.* Which Sentence was by ſome aſcribed to our Saviour; by others, to the Apoſtle *Matthias*, who had ſome ſuch Saying; intended, no doubt, of Mortification in general. But the *Nicolaïtans* perverting it to the worſt Senſe imaginable, they ſet looſe the Reins, and gave themſelves over to the greateſt Impurities, making lewd carnal Pleaſures the ultimate End of Men. Yet *Clement* ſays, that *Nicolas* himſelf was a ſober and temperate Man, never tranſgreſſing the Laws of Marriage; that he had one Son and ſeven Daughters, who all lived in perpetual Virginity. This Hereſy was ſuppreſs'd in a ſhort Time, by the great Care and Pains of our Apoſtle.

The holy Apoſtle, while in his Baniſhment, as an [ſ] antient Father obſerves, ſeeing himſelf condemned to great Pains and Labour, in an Age not able to undergo any Hardſhips, deſpaired of Life, and hoped to die: But God diſpell'd his gloomy Apprehenſions, by revealing to him, "That he muſt propheſy before many People, and Nations, and Tongues, and Kings:" By which Revelation his Enlargement was foreſhewn; which happened ſoon after: For he had not been two Years in *Patmos* before *Domitian* was ſlain, and was ſucceeded in the Empire by *Cocceius Nerva*, a prudent Man, of quite another Sort of Genius. He reſcinded the odious Acts of *Domitian*, and by a public Edict recalled thoſe from Baniſhment, whom the Fury of his Predeceſſor had driven into that State. Hereupon St. *John* return'd from *Patmos* to his former Reſidence at *Epheſus*; where *Timothy* the Biſhop of that Place having lately been martyr'd by the People, for perſuading them againſt their idolatrous Feaſts and Sports, the Biſhops of the Province deſired the Apoſtle to take upon him the Care of that Church. He accepted it, and govern'd it till the Reign of *Trajan*. Tho' he was now ninety Years old, he went many Journies into the neighbouring Provinces, to ordain Biſhops and confirm the Churches. One of the laſt Biſhops he made was *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, who had been his Scholar.

One Time [t] as he was viſiting a Church not far from *Epheſus*, after he had made a moſt comfortable Diſcourſe to the Clergy and People, obſerving a young Man in the Company, of a fair Stature, and very promiſing Aſpect, he preſented him to the Perſon whom he had ordained Biſhop of that Church, ſaying, *In the Preſence of* Chriſt, *and before this Congregation, I earneſtly recommend this young Man to your fatherly Care.* The Biſhop took this Truſt upon him, and promiſed to diſcharge it with all Fidelity. St. *John* having repeated his Injunction to him, and conjured him to be careful, return'd to *Epheſus*. The young Man was lodg'd in the Biſhop's Houſe, inſtructed in Religion, and kept to good Rules, and at laſt baptized and confirmed by him. And now, as if he had been in a State of perfect Security, being conſign'd to *Chriſt* by the Seal of Baptiſm, his Tutor began to ſlacken the Reins of Diſcipline, and be leſs watchful over him. This Negligence was quickly diſcovered by a Company of idle diſſolute Wretches, addicted to all Manner of Vices, who allured the Youth into their Society. And firſt they ply'd him with Treats and luxurious Entertainments: Next they engaged him to make one with them in thieviſh Adventures and Robberies by Night: And ſo, by Degrees, they led him from one Step of Villainy to another, and inured him to Wickedneſs, till like a high-

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[o] Namely, Epheſus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

[p] In Euſeb, Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 25.

[q] Hier, Ep. 103.

[r] Rev. ii. 15.

[ſ] Vict. in P. ap. p. 579.

[t] Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 23.

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mettled Horſe, with the Bit between his Teeth, and fearleſs of Precipices, he caſt away all Hopes of Heaven, ſcorn'd to be outdone in Sin, thought it great Bravery to defy the Laws, and ſhew leaſt Dread of the heavieſt Puniſhment. Wherefore forming his Company into a Troop of Robbers, he became their Captain, and exceeded them all in Violence, Murders, and the blackeſt Crimes.

Some Time afterwards an Occaſion happen'd which made it neceſſary for St. *John* to reviſit this Church. When he had finiſhed the Buſineſs he came about, he ſaid, addreſſing himſelf to the Biſhop, *Come, Sir, give up your Charge, which* Chriſt *and I entruſted you with in the Face of the Congregation.* At firſt the Biſhop was ſurprized, as thinking he was going to be charged with Money which he had never received. And while he ſeem'd not to underſtand what was ſaid, *I demand*, ſaid the Apoſtle, *an Account of the Soul of my Brother, the young Man whom I committed to your Care.* The poor old Man could not look him in the Face; but burſting out into Tears and Lamentations, replied, *He is dead. Pray*, ſaid St. *John*, *what did he die of? He is dead to God*, ſaid the other: *For he hath taken to very ill Courſes, and turn'd Robber. And now inſtead of frequenting the Church of* Chriſt, *he hath his Reſorts in the Mountains with Men of the like wicked Principles.* The Apoſtle hearing this, tore his Hair and rent his Clothes, crying out with a lamentable Groan, *Oh, what a Guardian have I provided to watch over my Brother's Soul!*

Preſently he called for a Horſe and a Guide, and rid away from the Church, juſt as he was, till he came to a Place where the Robbers had ſet their Watch; who ſeized him, and made him their Priſoner. He, nothing concerned, nor offering to fly, ſaid, *I muſt ſee your Captain; I came for this Purpoſe.* The Captain, well armed, was waiting for them at ſome Diſtance, expecting they had taken ſome Prize. But perceiving, upon a nearer Approach, that it was St. *John*, in great Confuſion he made off. The holy Apoſtle, forgetting his Age and Weakneſs, ſpeeded after him, crying, *Child, why do you run from your Father, a defenceleſs old Man? Spare me this Pains of following you, good Child; and don't be afraid. Your Salvation is not irrecoverable. I will make up the Breach betwixt* Chriſt *and you. Tho' I were to die for you, as* Chriſt *did for us, nay to give my very Soul in exchange for yours, I could freely do it. Stay, and be convinced that* Chriſt *hath ſent me.* At theſe Words the young Man ſtood ſtill, with his Eyes fixed upon the Ground. Then throwing away his Arms, he fell a trembling, and burſt out into Tears. And when the aged Apoſtle came up to him, he embraced him, and implored Forgiveneſs with ſuch Lamentation and Weeping, that he ſeemed to be baptized again, and to waſh away his Sins with his own Tears. Then the Apoſtle with repeated Vows aſſured him, that he had obtained Pardon for him at *Chriſt*'s Hands; and kneeling before him, with wonderful Condeſcention kiſſed his Right Hand, which he had hitherto hid, as now made clean by Repentance, and ſo brought him back again to the Church. From thenceforth he enter'd with him into ſuch a Courſe of fervent Prayers and long Faſting, and raiſed his dejected Soul with ſuch heavenly Diſcourſes, that he perfectly reſtored him to the State from whence he was fallen. A great Example of ſincere Repentance, and a notable Proof how one that is dead in Sins and Treſpaſſes, may be regenerate and born again to a new State of Holineſs and Virtue. This Hiſtory is related by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in his Treatiſe *concerning the Salvation of a rich Man*; and from him quoted by *Euſebius*, in the Place above referred to.

It was here, at *Epheſus* in *Aſia*, after his Return from *Patmos*, that St. *John* wrote his Goſpel. *Epiphanius* ſays, He was above ninety Years old at the Time of[u] writing it. "It was compoſed at the Deſire of ſeveral of his Scholars, almoſt all the Biſhops of *Aſia*, and all the Faithful of the neighbouring Provinces, who unanimouſly joined in a Petition to him, to give an authentic Teſtimony to the Truth. His Modeſty, and a timerous Reſpect to thoſe profound Truths he was obliged to treat of, in caſe he wrote, made him ſomething backward to undertake the Task: But the Importunity of the Churches of *Aſia*, who ſeverally ſent their Deputies with their Petitions, and the ſecret Inſtinct of the Holy Spirit, forced him to venture upon it. [w] He did not begin it till after much Faſting and public Prayers, and pronounced the firſt Words of it at the End of a deep Viſion and Revelation. In it he declares the divine Nature of *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the other Evangeliſts do his Humanity; ſhews him to be the Son of God, and confutes *Cerinthus*, *Ebion*, the *Nicolaitans*, and others, Inſtruments of *Satan*, who had preached it up and down the World, "That *Jeſus Chriſt* was not God, as well as Man." He alſo ſupplies the Defects of the other Evangeliſts, who had but ſparingly related the Actions of *Chriſt*'s firſt Year of Preaching. It was indeed written the laſt of the divine Books; yet is the chief Part of the Scripture, the Seal to the reſt of the Evangeliſts, and the Pillar by which God ſupports his Church againſt the underminding Hereſies of the antient *Cerinthians*, and *Arians*, the modern *Socinians*, and the like Sorts of Men. [x] It is famous in all the Churches of the World, for its Spirituality and Divinity: And 'tis no Wonder that a Goſpel, compoſed by the Inſtinct of the Spirit, ſhould [xx] be all ſpiritual. The firſt Words of this Goſpel have begotten a mighty

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[u] Iren. lib. i. cap. 1. Epiph. lib. li. cap. 12. Euſ. lib. vi. cap. 14. Hier. in Matt. pr.

[w] Chryſ. hom. 67. e. 6. Euſ. lib. vi. cap. 14. Hier. de vir ill. cap. 9. Iren. l. cap. 11.

[x] Iren. lib. iii. cap. 1: Orig. in Jo. pr. Paul. ep. 24. Hill. de trin. 10. Aug. de civ. D. lib. x. cap. 29. Euſ. Præp. Ev. l. xi. 19.

[xx] On Account of the Sublimity of this Goſpel, St. John is generally by the Antients reſembled to an Eagle ſoaring aloft, and peculiarly honoured with the Title of *The Divine*, as belonging to him in a very eminent Manner.

Admiration of its Author, even by the Heathens themſelves. A *Platoniſt* ſays, That that Sentence, *In the Beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*; is worthy to be written in Letters of Gold, and ſet up in the moſt eminent Places of all Churches. [y] Another *Platoniſt*, named *Amelius*, who lived in the third Age, cites this Place, as an admirable Piece of Philoſophy, equal to *Plato*'s moſt divine Notions. And ſeveral other Philoſophers, who were moſt eſtimable for their Learning, have admired it, and inſerted it in their Works.

This [z] Goſpel of St. *John*, hath been always received as a Canonical Book by the Church; and thoſe who reject it have been treated as Heretics, under the Name of *Alogi*, that is, *Enemies to the Word*. It was written in *Greek* by St. *John* himſelf; and ſome ſay the original Manuſcript was at *Epheſus* in the ſeventh Age. It was tranſlated into *Hebrew* in the fourth Age, and is kept by the *Jews* in their Library at *Tiberias*. St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* gives this Commendation of its Style [a]: "That it is written according to the ſtricteſt Rules of the *Greek* Tongue; with Elegance of Words, Reaſonings, and Conſtructions. It hath nothing barbarous or improper, flat or vulgar in it: So that God gave him not only the Knowledge of the Myſteries he relates, but an Ability to expreſs them fully and fairly. To this is added great Plainneſs and Simplicity."

Beſides the Books before-mentioned, written by St. *John*; we have three Epiſtles, which at this Day bear his Name. [b] The firſt, which St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* joins with his Goſpel in the Encomium above-cited, hath always been received by the Church without any Scruples or Objections. St. *Auſtin* [c] cites it by the Name of the Epiſtle to the *Parthians*. It is very famous in the Church, [d] and an exceeding comfortable Writing to all, who reliſh true Godlineſs; becauſe it treats quite through of Chriſtian Charity. It is very like his Goſpel, both for Matter and Style.

As for the two other Epiſtles, which are very ſhort, [e] ſome have doubted whether they are Canonical; and others have attributed them to another *John*: And this Diſpute continued till the End of the fourth Age. But ſince that both Fathers and Councils have agreed to receive them as the Writings of this Apoſtle, becauſe they breathe out the ſame Charity and Zeal againſt Sin, as St. *John*'s other Writings. *Euſebius* imputes it to his great Humility, that he ſet not his Name to any of his Writings. In his ſecond Epiſtle, which is written to a Lady, who ſome think was named *Electa*; he commends her and her Childrens Piety, encourageth them to Charity, exhorts them to Perſeverance in good Works, and perſuades them to ſhew a great Abhorrence of falſe Teachers and Deceivers, neither being hoſpitable to them, nor ſaluting them. He is ſo ſhort in his Inſtructions, becauſe he deſigned to ſee her ſhortly.

The third and laſt is directed to *Caius*, who many take to be one of *Paul*'s Diſciples. If that be true, he is more likely to have been *Chius* of *Derbe*, than of *Corinth*. In it St. *John* commends his Hoſpitality to the Faithful, and exhorts him to exerciſe it chearfully to thoſe who are not employ'd in the Church's Service. He condemns the Ambition of *Diotrephes*; and threatens, when he comes, to puniſh his abuſive Tongue ſeverely. He commends alſo *Demetrius* for his Virtue, for which he was honoured of all Men. Some object againſt this Epiſtle the Relation of *Diotrephes*; affirming, "That no Man would dare to oppoſe and affront an Apoſtle." But this was ſo frequent with the falſe Teachers in the Primitive Church, that the Objection is of no Worth: For did they not do ſo frequently [f] to both St. *Paul* and *Peter*?

St. *John* takes not upon him the Title of Apoſtle in theſe two Letters, becauſe they ſeem written to private Friends; but he calls himſelf an *Elder* from his great Age, which perhaps was the Title he gave himſelf. St. *Jerome*, ſpeaking of St. *John*'s and the reſt of the Canonical Epiſtles, [g] ſays, "that they are long and ſhort: Short in Words; long in Senſe and Myſteries; which are ſo many, and ſo great, that few Perſons but are dazzled by the View and Contemplation of them."

St. *John*, by the Divine Permiſſion, lived to a very old Age; [h] it being not appointed that he ſhould ſuffer Martyrdom, as St. *Peter* and St. *James* did, but that he ſhould continue long for the Confirmation of the Goſpel. By reaſon of the Length of his Life he was brought to that Weakneſs, that he could not go to the Church or Chriſtian Aſſemblies, unleſs carried by the Scholars: And not being able to make long Diſcourſes, he frequently only ſaid to the People, *My dear Children, love one another*. They being weary at laſt of this Repetition, and telling him of it, he returned this Anſwer, worthy of the beloved Diſciple: [i] *This is what our Lord hath commanded*; *and if we can do this, we need do nothing elſe*. He lived at *Epheſus* at this Time, and remained there till the Reign of *Trajan*, who ſucceeded *Nerva*, in the Year of our Lord 98. *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon* ſays, he died in the third Year of *Trajan*'s Reign, ſixty-eight Years after *Chriſt*'s Death, in the [k] ninety-eighth or ninety-ninth Year of his Age. He was buried at *Epheſus*; where, as ſeveral Fathers obſerve, a Tomb was long remaining in the Church, built to his Honour, and called by his Name: But it is now changed into a *Turkiſh* Moſque. St. *Auſtin* tells us, [l] That a kind of Duſt, like Meal, continually iſſued out of his

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[y] Cyr. Alex. in Jul. lib. viii. Baſ. div. 16.

[z] Euſeb. lib. iii. cap. 24. Epiph. xxx. cap. 3. Euſeb. lib. vii. cap. 25.

[a] Syn. in Joan. p. 1143.

[b] Euſeb. lib. vii. cap. 25.

[c] Aug. Q. E. lib. ii. cap. 39.

[d] Greg. in Ez. hom. 25.

[e] Euſeb. lib. v. cap. 24, 25.

[f] 2 Tim. iv. 15. 1 Tim. i. 20. 2 Pet. ii. 10. Jud. v. 8, 11.

[g] Hier. Ep. 103.

[h] Hier. in Gal. cap. 6. Hill. de Trin. lib. x.

[i] Iren. lib. ii. cap. 39.

[k] Chryſoſtom, in his Homily upon St. John, is very poſitive that he was an hundred Years old when he wrote his Goſpel, and that he lived full twenty Years after. The ſame Extent of Life is allowed him by Dorotheus. But this, with good Reaſon, ſeems wholly improbable to the learned Dr. Cave, ſince by this Account he muſt have been fifty Years of Age when called to be an Apoſtle, a Thing directly contrary to the whole Conſent and Teſtimony of Antiquity, which makes him very young at that Time.

[l] Aug. hom. 124. in Joan. Greg. T. gl. m cap. 30.

Tomb, and when wiped away aroſe again: Which [m] *Gregory* Biſhop of *Tours* affirms to have continued to his Time, and that many Miracles were done by it; among others, that Diſeaſes were cured by the Application of it. Some ſay, [n] That St. *John*, being in perfect Health, cauſed his own Sepulchre to be made; and that, after it was dug and fitted, he went into it, and died immediately. Others affirm, that he went into it, and there fell to ſleep, never to wake again till the Reſurrection: Wherefore they cloſed up his Tomb, and by his Breathing under Ground it ſends out Duſt. St. *Auſtin* ſays, [o] This Fable is not worthy of Confutation; ſince *Jeſus Chriſt* in thus doing, would then have deprived him of the Favour which he granted to St. *Paul* and St. *Peter*, that of leaving their Bodies to be with him. For which Reaſon it is that ſome hold, That God immediately raiſed him from his Tomb, and tranſlated him to Heaven: Where he is reſerved, to come and bear Witneſs for the Truth, againſt Antichriſt, in the laſt Times. This Opinion ſeveral of the antient Fathers embraced. However, not only [p] St. *Auſtin*, but *Polycrates*, who was Biſhop of *Epheſus* about the Year 160 or 180, and could not be ignorant of the Death of St. *John*, put him in the Number of thoſe Saints, who being dead, and their Bodies remaining in the Sepulchre, waited for the Reſurrection of the laſt Day: Which Reaſon makes us reject the other Opinion. The miſtaken Interpretation of our Lord's Words concerning him, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* hath occaſioned theſe ſtrange Stories about his Deceaſe, of which we ſhall relate two or three more. Some pretend, that he charged the Chriſtians to open his Grave the Day after his Interment; which they did, and found nothing but Grave-Clothes. Another Sort fancied, that he was ſtill alive ſomewhere upon Earth. *Beza* [q] tells us of an Impoſtor in his Time, who publickly profeſſed himſelf to be our St. *John*, and was afterwards burnt at *Tholouſe* in *France*. Nor was this any more than what was done in the more early Ages. For *Sulpicius Severus*, [r] giving us an Account of a young *Spaniard*, that firſt perſonated *Elias*, and then *Chriſt* himſelf, adds, that there was one at the ſame Time in the *Eaſt*, who gave out that he was the Apoſtle St. *John*. So faſt will Error multiply itſelf, and one miſtaken Place of Scripture ſhall give Countenance to a hundred Stories that ſhall be built upon it.

St. *John* ſeems always to have led a ſingle Life: So the Antients tell us; and St. *Ambroſe* make him and St. *Paul* the only two of all the Apoſtles that were unmarried. *Polycrates*, his [ſ] Succeſſor in the See of *Epheſus*, ſays, he wore a Plate of Gold on his Forehead. *Valeſius* upon the Place ſays, that *James* the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and *Mark* the Evangeliſt, did the like: And he thinks it was an honourable Badge, commonly worn by the firſt Chriſtian Biſhops, in imitation of Aaron, and the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſts. St. *John's* Feſtival is kept in the *Latin* Church, *December* the Twenty-ſeventh: In the *Greek*, *June* the Thirtieth. He left ſeveral Scholars; the moſt eminent of which were *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*. With him ended the Apoſtolic Age and firſt Century, in which the Church of God, till then moſtly confined to *Judea*, and there alſo miſerably debaſed and corrupted, began to diffuſe itſelf in a moſt ſtupendious Manner; and in the Compaſs of leſs than ſeventy Years, got footing in the greateſt and beſt Parts of the World.

Epiphanius aſſerts, [t] That St. *John* obſerved, thro' his whole Life, a very ſtrict Way of Living, and worthy of him; that he never cut his Hair, nor bathed himſelf, nor eat the Fleſh of any Creature; and that he wore but one Coat and a Linen Garment, like his Brother *James*. He is [u] ſaid to have appeared to *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*, when he was very young, and to have given him a Creed, which is cited in the fifth General Council.

The *Ebionites* of old attributed ſeveral Writings to this Apoſtle, which they forged; particularly a Book of his Voyages, which the *Encratites* made uſe of afterwards, under the Name of *St. John's Acts*. This Work is thought to have been compoſed by *Lucius*, the Author of many of theſe falſe and impious Books. Some cite under his Name an Apocryphal Book, concerning the Death and Aſſumption of the Virgin; but no Man believes it to be his. *S. Senenſis* and *Baronius* produce a Saying of St. *Auſtin's*, in his Sermons, wherein he affirms, "That St. *John* wrote nothing about the Death of the Virgin." But this Sermon is judged to be of *Fulbertus Carnatenſis*, not of *Auſtin*, by the Doctors of *Louvain*.

Gelaſius condemns [w] in general all the Writings attributed to St. *John* by *Lucius*, who wrote ſeveral Acts under ths Names of the Apoſtles, which were received by the *Manichees*. We have an Hiſtory of St. *John* attributed to *Mellitus* Biſhop of *Laodicea*; who admoniſheth all the Churches to reject the falſe Acts which *Lucius* hath written of St. *John*, St. *Andrew*, and St. *Thomas*: But that this is a Piece of no better Credit than the former we may be pretty certain, tho' St. *Auſtin*, St. *Ephrem* of *Antioch*, and others, have quoted from it ſome Relations of St. *John*. The Life of this Apoſtle, written by *Prochorus*, is of the ſame Stamp. *Baronius* affirms, [x] That the Arch-Heretic *Cerinthus* publiſhed falſe Revelations under St. *John's* Name: But his Grounds are not known for that Aſſertion. The *Aſiatic Greeks* have a Liturgy, which they call this Apoſtle's: But it is not of his Compoſure.

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[m] Greg. T. gl. m. c 30. [n] Aug. in Joan. hom. 124. Phot. c. 229. [o] Aug. in Joan. p. 233. Eph. apud Phot. c. 229.
[p] Aug. in Joan. h. 24. Euſ. lib. v. cap. 24. [q] Anot. in Joan. c. 21. [r] In vita Martin. c. 25.
[ſ] Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. v. c. 24. [t] Epiph. her. 30. c. 24. 78. c. 13. Hier. chron. an. 101.
[u] Epiph. her. 30. c. 23, 47. c. 1. Ath. ſyn. p. 154. [w] Bar. 44. Sect. 43. Aug. de fid. c. 38. Flor. 130.
[x] Bar. 44. Sect. 48. Bona lit. lib. i. c. 9.

A DE-

A DESCRIPTION *of the ſeven Cities of* Aſia, *to the Churches of which St.* John *wrote his ſeven Epiſtles; namely,* Epheſus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, *and* Laodicea.

WE are now to conclude our Geography of the New Teſtament, with a Deſcription of the ſeven *Aſian* Cities, which are mentioned at the Beginning of St. *John*'s *Revelation:* And we ſhall begin with the famous City *Epheſus*, becauſe it is ſet firſt in order by the holy Penman [a] St. *John*.

[b] As to the Situation of this City, it lies diſtant about forty five *Engliſh* Miles South-South-Eaſt from *Smyrna*, and about five Miles from the Sea. It was accounted in antient Times for a Maritime Town, by Reaſon of the River *Cayſter*, which runs by the City, and near to the Sea was capable of receiving the Veſſels of thoſe Days. Hence *Strabo* ſpeaking of it, ſaith, This City hath both a Port and Shipping belonging to it: But the Port is very ſhallow, by Reaſon of the great Quantity of Mud, which the *Cayſter* throws up: However, the City daily encreaſes, and is the principal Mart of *Aſia* on this Side of the Mount *Taurus*. It is ſeated on the Side of an Hill, having a Proſpect to the Weſt toward a lovely Plain, water'd and embelliſh'd with the pleaſant Circles of the *Cayſter*, which turns and winds ſo wantonly through this Plain, and with ſuch curious Doublings, as has given Occaſion to Travellers to miſtake it for the *Meander:* Which Error may be the more confirm'd by the Name, which the *Turks* give it, of the *Leſſer Mendres*. Some Marſhes there are, not far diſtant; and yet ſo far, as that the Vapours of them ſeem not to reach or corrupt the Air of the City. The Soil produces abundantly Woods of Tamariſk, which over-running the Plains, render them delightful to the Eyes of the Beholders.

As to the Dignity of this City, it was the Metropolis of the Proconſular *Aſia*, and alſo the Seat of the Primate of the *Aſian* Dioceſs.

As to its Ornaments, it was moſt celebrated among Heathen Writers for the Temple of *Diana*, the Deſcription of which we [c] have before given. The Model of this Building is ſaid to have been contrived by one *Cteſiphon*, and that with much Art and Curioſity of Architecture. After it was finiſhed, it was fired ſeven Times; one of which is ſaid to be on the very Day that *Socrates* was poiſoned. The laſt Time it was ſet on fire by one *Eroſtratus*, only to get himſelf a Name. It was on the ſame Night that *Alexander the Great* was born: Which gave Occaſion to that witty Scoff, that *Diana*, who was accounted one of the Goddeſſes of Midwifery, could not attend the Preſervation of her Temple, being then buſied about the Birth of ſo great a Prince. However, as it is generally ſaid to have been firſt built by that warlike Race of Females the *Amazons*; ſo it is ſaid, after this laſt Burning, to have been again rebuilt by the large and devout Contributions of the ſame Sex. But theſe not being able to raiſe enough to perfect the Work, *Alexander the Great* proffer'd to complete the Work at his own Expence, on Condition that his Name might be entitled to the whole Fabrick. But this Offer was handſomely refuſed by the Compliment of a witty *Epheſian*; alledging, *That it was not ſeemly that one God ſhould contribute to the Temple of another.*

And as this City was famous in the Times of Heatheniſm, for the Temple of *Diana*; ſo in the Times of Chriſtianity it was adorned with a beautiful and magnificent Church, honour'd with the Name of St. *John*. This Church is ſaid to be ſtill ſtanding; concerning which, and the preſent Condition of the City, take the following Account from [d] Sir *Paul Rycaut*.

" Nothing appears more remarkable and ſtately to a Stranger in his near Approach to this Place, than the Caſtle on the Hill, and the lofty Fabrick of St. *John*'s Church, now converted to a *Turkiſh* Moſque; the biggeſt Pillar in which is five *Turkiſh* Pikes and a half in Compaſs, which is upwards of four *Engliſh* Yards. Theſe lifting up their Heads amongſt other Ruins and humble Cottages of the preſent Inhabitants, ſeem to promiſe that magnificent Structure, which renowned and made famous this City in antient Hiſtory. But at the Entrance a Perſon ſtumbles at Pillars of Porphyry, and finds an uneaſy Paſſage over ſubverted Temples and Palaces: The Memory of what they have been, is not preſerved by Tradition; and few or no Inſcriptions remain to direct us. Some Marks there are of a Building more ample and ſtately than the reſt, which ſeems to have been ſeated in the Suburbs of the City without the Walls, and therefore gives us Cauſe to conjecture it to have been the Temple of *Diana*, the Metropolitan Shrine of all others dedicated to that Goddeſs, antiently adjoining to the *Ortygian Grove* and *Cenchrian Stream*, where ſhe and *Apollo* were reported in Fables to be born from *Latona*. This probably might have been the Temple of that Goddeſs, which [e] all *Aſia* and the World worſhipped, and which cauſed that Riot amongſt the Silver-Smiths of this Place. Under the Ruins of this Temple we deſcended about thirty Stairs with Lights in our Hands, where we entered into divers narrow Paſſages, with ſo many Turnings and Windings, that it was neceſſary to make uſe of a Clew of Thread to guide us. On this Account ſome call it a Labyrinth: But to me it ſeemed no other than the Foundation of the Temple, which for Fabricks of that Weight and Magnificence is convenient, according to the Rules of the beſt Architecture. The Air below was moiſt, and of a ſuffocating Heat, which nouriſhed Bats of a prodigious Bigneſs, which often times ſtruck at our Torches, as Enemies unto Light, and Companions of thoſe Spirits which inhabit the

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[a] Rev. ii. 1.

[b] Wells's Geography of the New Teſtament, Pt. II. p. 84, &c.

[c] See Page 803.

[d] Preſent State, &c. p. 44.

[e] Acts xix. 27.

Stygian Darkneſs. Not far from hence was a ſtately Lavatory of Porphyry, called St. *John*'s Font, the Diameter of which was above ſeven *Turkiſh* Pikes; wherein, it is reported, he baptized great Multitudes of Believers. Not far from hence was ſhewn us the Cave of the ſeven Sleepers, the Story of which, whether true or falſe, is yet current through the World, and believed ſo far by the Chriſtians who antiently inhabited *Epheſus*, that they have erected a Chapel in Memory of them, Part of which remains unto this Day, and the Painting as yet not wholly defaced.

The Theatre is almoſt wholly deſtroyed; few Seats being there remaining: And of other Ruins no certain Knowledge can be had; the [f] Inſcriptions which I found, being for the moſt Part ſo disfigured and broken off from the Portals of Gates and Triumphal Arches, as that they can little ſatisfy any Man's Curioſity.

Over a Gate, which appears to have been in the middle of the City, are divers Figures engraven, ſtill plain and not much defaced, which ſeem to repreſent the Story of *Hector*'s Body drawn about the City of *Troy* by *Achilles*; but is without Reaſon fancied by ſome to be a Deſcription of the firſt Chriſtian Perſecutions. For I having no ſuch Strength of Imagination to repreſent it to me in that Form, and obſerving likewiſe that the Stones do not exactly ſquare each with the other, am induced to believe that they were fetched from ſome other Place, and fixed there for Ornament in more modern Times. The Aqueduct on the Eaſt Side, agreeable to the antient Magnificence and Honour of ſo renowned a City, appears not very antique, at leaſt ſeems to have been repaired in latter Times, in regard that ſome Stones which are found there, are reverſed in the Walls, with Inſcriptions denoting *Marcus Aurelius*; and therefore ſeem to have been placed by the *Turks*, as caſually they came to Hand, at the Time that they firſt took Poſſeſſion of that City, when for ſome Years it flouriſhed even in their Days, before the *Ottoman* Family became Maſters of *Conſtantinople*, or thoſe Parts of the *Leſſer Aſia*. But now the Relics of the *Gentiles*, the Chriſtians, and the *Turks*, are ſubverted, and lie unknown, and heaped promiſcuouſly together: For the whole Town is nothing but a Habitation of Herdſmen and Farmers, living in low and humble Cottages of Dirt, covered on the Top with Earth, ſheltered from the Extremity of Weather by mighty Maſſes of ruinous Walls, the Pride and Oſtentation of former Days, and the Emblem in theſe of the Frailty of the World and the tranſient Vanity of human Glory. For I cannot but with many Reflections on the Wiſdom and Providence of Almighty God, who caſts down one, and raiſes another, and on the ſtrange Alterations and Metamorphoſes of worldly Things, take a Proſpect of this City of *Epheſus*, being as well changed in the Variety of Names as of Conditions. For, as *Pliny* ſaith, during the *Trojan* War it was called *Alope*, then *Ortygia*, then *Morgas*, then *Epheſus*, and now by the *Turks* [g] *Ayaſaluck*. This Place, where Chriſtianity ſo flouriſhed, as to be a Mother-Church, and the See of a Metropolitan Biſhop, cannot now ſhew one Family of Chriſtians: So hath the ſecret Providence of God diſpoſed Affairs, too deep and myſterious for us to ſearch into."

The ſecond Church of *Aſia*, mentioned by [h] St. *John*, is that of *Smyrna*. "This City [i] had antiently its chief Situation upon, and on the Side of, the South Hills, which we call the *Windmill-Hills*, over *Santa veneranda*; but being ſhaken with Earthquakes, was afterwards, for the Convenience of Trade, re-edified, for the moſt Part in a Bottom or Level; being removed from the more wholſome Air of a riſing Hill, which ſtill retains its ruinous Footſteps, the Marks and Remembrances of its antient Glory, to a Place of Bogs and Fens, which in the Autumn evaporated thoſe Fumes and Atoms, which engendered malignant Fevers, and proved moſt fatal to *Engliſh* Bodies: Though now, for ſome Years paſt, the lower Parts being inhabited, the Ditches drained, and the Bogs turned into Gardens, and the Air purified by the Fire and Smoke of many Inhabitants, this Place cannot, in my Opinion, be eſteemed leſs healthful than any other Maritime City in the *Levant*. This City is ſtill the moſt happy and flouriſhing of all the Siſter-Churches, having ſtill the Honour to be a Metropolis, and to rule over thoſe which were formerly Co-equals with it. The Convenience of its Port and Harbour, being one of the fineſt Bays in the World, cauſed the Chriſtian Merchants to chuſe it for the chief Scale of the *Turkiſh* Empire; whoſe Trade encreaſing, and thereby the Cuſtoms of the Grand Signior, it began in theſe late Years to be taken notice of by the principal Miniſters of State, and to acquire a Renown above all the Cities in the *Leſſer Aſia*. For this Cauſe the famous Vizier *Achmet*, Son of *Kuperlee*, caſt his Eyes upon it, and underſtanding in what Manner this City was neglected, how its antient Buildings and Royal Structures were deſtroyed, its Aqueducts decayed, and no public Edifice remaining argeeable to the State and Glory of ſuch a Mart and Emporium famous through the World, was moved to take a Reſolution to reſtore in ſome Meaſure the priſtine Magnificence of this City. Which undertaking to do at his own Charge and Expence, he erected a ſtately [k] *Beſaſteene*, which is a Place where Shops are kept, like our Exchange; and a ſumptuous *Chane*, with a Bagnio and Stables belonging to it, all built of Free-ſtone, and covered with Lead, except the Stables. The

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[f] The Inſcriptions, ſuch as they be, are given us in Sir Paul Rycaut's Treatiſe.

[g] Sir Paul Rycaut tells us, that the Turkiſh Name ſeems to be derived from Ἁγιος in Greek, *luck* being a Termination in Turkiſh of the Abſtract, as *neſs* in Engliſh; for Inſtance, *Holy*, *Holyneſs*, and the like.

[h] Rev. ii. 8.

[i] Preſent State of the Greek Church, Chap. ii. Page 33, &c.

[k] A Beſaſteene ſeems to be the ſame which is termed a Bazar by Mr. Maundrell; and a Chane the ſame which Mr. Maundrell writes a Kane; telling us withal, that it is a certain public Lodging, founded in Charity for the Uſe of Travellers.

Stones were brought from the antient Ruins of the old *Smyrna*: He alſo formed and raiſed a handſome Structure for the Cuſtom-Houſe, upon Piles of Wood, within the Sea. For Convenience of all which, he erected a ſtately Aqueduct, and joined ſo many Streams of Water into one Current, that not only the new Buildings were ſupplied therewith, but alſo, beſides ten old Fountains which were dry, but again repaired, ſeventy-three new Fountains were added to this City: So that whereas formerly ſome Houſes were forced to fetch their Water from far, now every Family is well accommodated, and every Street as well ſupplied therewith, as moſt Cities are which are ſeated in the great Continent of *Aſia*. All which was finiſhed and completed in the Year of our Lord 1677.

This is the preſent State and Condition of *Smyrna* in theſe modern Times: How it was antiently, we ſhall beſt underſtand from Hiſtory, and from the Remains of Antiquity; of which a few are diſernable; as namely, the Theatre, which was about the Year 1675 wholly ruined by the *Turks*, and the Stones carried down to raiſe the new Edifices. At the Deſtruction whereof it is obſervable, that in the Midſt of one of the main Walls there was found encloſ'd about a Buſhel of Medals, all of the Stamp of *Galienus* the Emperor: Of which I myſelf procured ſome; judging that this Theatre, which was almoſt as antient as the City itſelf, might be repaired afterwards by *Galienus*; and this Copper Coin there incloſed in Memory of this Emperor, that future Ages might acknowledge him to have been the Builder of that ſtately Fabrick, whenſoever Time or Enemies ſhould bring it to Deſtrnction. Over the Gate of the Upper Caſtle, on the Hill, the *Roman* Eagles continue ſtill engraved; and not far from thence is the Tomb of *Polycarp*, one of the firſt bleſſed Martyrs of the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was put to Death in the Theatre. At the Gate of this Caſtle we ſpeak of, there is a great Head of Stone immured in the Wall, ſomething reſembling the Head of an *Amazon*, which the *Turks* call *Coidaſa*, and thereof have this Story: That in antient Times the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean Sea*, was once firm Land; but when *Alexander the Great*, intending to make his Conqueſt as far as the *Eaſt-Indies*, was refuſed Paſſage through the Countries of this *Coiddſa*, to whom the *Archipelago*, then firm Land, was ſubject; he in Revenge cut that Neck of Land, which we call the *Helleſpont*, and thereby let in the *Propontis* and *Euxine Sea* into her Country, which made ſuch a Deluge and Inundation, as ever after over-whelmed that vaſt Tract of Land, which now makes a Sea; leaving only ſome few Iſles, which were the Tops of Mountains, and make up all thoſe Iſlands which we find in the *Archipelago*. And thus much we are aſſured from a Piece of *Turkiſh* Hiſtory: But it matters little, what the *Turks* report or write in theſe Caſes; for it is more probable, That the Woman whom the *Turks* call *Coidaſa*, was that great *Amazon Smyrna*, who *Strabo* ſaith gave Name to this City, whoſe Face may be that which we find enſtamped on Medals, with the Inſcription of *Smyrnaion*.

The People who built this City came from *Epheſus*, and diſpoſſeſſed the *Leleges* of their Habitation, as *Strabo* reports: Afterwards the *Lydians* demoliſhed the Buildings: So that for the Space of four hundred Years it was inhabited rather like a Village than a City; until *Antigonus*, and after him *Lyſimachus*, reſtored it to its antient Splendor. The City was chiefly built on the Side of the Hill; and it is now evident, ſince the great Ruins round the Town were digged up to ſupply the new Buildings with Stone, that all thoſe Ruins on the Eaſt Side of the River *Meles*, were no other than Temples and Burying Places of the Dead; particularly that which we call the Temple of *Janus*; which being demoliſhed, proved no other than a Vault full of Sepulchres, and might become the Bodies of the Monarchs and Princes of this Country. I once believed it to be the *Homerium*, or the ſquare Porch which was dedicated to *Homer*; to whoſe Birth this Place is the firſt of the Seven, which lays claim: But my Eyes have evinced the contray, and it may rather be that large Porch, which we find ſituated on the Hill near to the Caſtle."

The third Epiſtle in the *Revelation* of St. *John*[l] is directed to the Church of *Pergamus*[m], "called by the *Turks Pergam*; lying about ſixty Miles Northward from *Smyrna*, once the Regal City over the Provinces of *Myſia*, *Æolis*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and afterwards bequeathed to the *Roman* Empire by the Will and Teſtament of *Attalus* the laſt King thereof. That which I obſerved of the City *Pergamus*, ſaith our Author, as it now ſtands at preſent, is this, that its Situation is on the Side of a Hill, which *Strabo* ſaith is in a conical Form, having a Proſpect unto a pleaſant and fruitful Plain, watered by the River *Caicus*, and abounding with all Sorts of Fruits. The Earth alſo yielding with little Pains or Induſtry, cauſes the People to become lazy and negligent; which manured with the ſame Care as is practiſed in the like naturally happy Countries, would prove one of the moſt fertile Gardens and Paradiſes of the World. For from the Top of the ſmall Hill, which overſhadows the City (ſmall, I ſay, in reſpect of the adjacent Mountains) on which ſtands an antient Caſtle, or rather the Walls thereof ill repaired; ſo pleaſant a Proſpect diſcovers itſelf on all Sides of the Plain, as for ſome Time may well entertain the Eyes of a Stranger with great Delight. The Inhabitants being ſlothful, and abhoring Labour, addict themſelves principally to Thefts and Robberies; being more pleaſed to ſeize a Booty in their Plains with Rapine and Violence, than with honeſt and religious Labour to purchace their Bread by turning up the rich Clods of their native Soil; by which Means this City goes more and more to Decay and Ruin, merely for want of Induſtry. So that whereas about ten

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[l] Rev. ii. 11.

[m] Preſent State of the Greek Church, Page 78, &c.

Years paſt, there were fifty three Streets of this Town inhabited, there are now only twenty-two frequented: The others are deſerted, and their Buildings go to Ruin. Here are ſtill many Remains and Appearances of antique Buildings, ſuch as vaſt Pillars of Marble ſubverted. One Place ſeems to have been the Palace of the Prince, ſtill conſerved by Columns of poliſhed Marble, which like Buttreſſes ſupport the Wall for at leaſt fifty Paces in Length. There are alſo the Ruins of ſeveral Churches; one of which, more ſpacious and magnificent than the reſt, is, by Tradition of the *Greeks* of that Country, reported to have been dedicated to St. *John*, and to have been the Cathedral of that City. Several other Churches are poſſeſſed by the *Mahometans*, and employed to their ſuperſtitious Devotion; amongſt which (as reported by the *Greeks*, and confeſſed by the *Turks*) there are two, one antiently dedicated to St. *John*, and another to St. *Demetrius*, both which the *Turks* have relinquiſhed; the firſt becauſe, as Report goes, the Walls fall as much by Night as they are built by Day; and the other, becauſe the Door of the *Menarch*, or Steeple, which above, where they call to Prayers, points always towards *Mecca*, did, in a miraculous Manner, after it was built, turn itſelf toward the North, to which Point that Door now looks: But what Deceit may have been herein contrived by the *Greek* Maſons, I am not able to aver. There are alſo vaſt Ruins without the City, of arched Work; and ſome Remainders of a Theatre; but there wanting Inſcriptions and Tradition of the Inhabitants to direct us, we were wholly in the Dark, and could make no certain Conjectures or Judgment of what they might have been: Only it is probable, that ſuch vaſt Piles of Buildings are the Relics of public Edifices. Through the Upper Part of this City of *Pergamus* runs a very plentiful Stream of Water, which in many Places is honoured by Antiquity with magnificent Arches in Form of a Bridge; and this Stream I apprehend to have been named *Selimus*. It is obſervable that in the City are many Vaults under Ground, almoſt under every Houſe and under every Street, which muſt have been either Ciſterns or Conveyances for Water." And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken of *Pergamus*.

The fourth Epiſtle [n] in the Book of *Revelation*, was ſent to the Church of *Thyatira*; which, [o] on Account of Likeneſs of Name, is by the Chriſtians commonly taken to be the ſame with the City called by the *Turks Tyria*, about twenty-five Miles diſtant from *Epheſus*; but falſely; this lying quite another Way from the Place, where, according to the Accounts given of it by antient Authors, *Thyatira* lay, and where Sir *Paul Rycaut* happily found its Remains; concerning which he gives this Account.

"[p] Being ſatisfied that *Tyria*, ſo called by the *Turks*, could not be *Thyatira*, we paſſed on South-Eaſt from *Pergamus* through the Plains, with Hopes to find ſome Ruins on the North Side of the *Phrygian River*, which is the [q] *Hermus*; being guided thereunto by *Ferrarius*, who placeth *Thyatira* between *Sardis* and *Pergamus*, thirty Miles from the firſt, and fifty-eight Miles from the latter Southward; and taking likewiſe Direction in our Journey from *Strabo*, who ſays, from *Pergamus* towards the South is a Ridge of Hills; on the other Side of which, in the Way to *Sardis*, ſtands the City *Thyatira*, a Colony of *Macedonians*. In this Journey, when we ſuppoſed ourſelves to draw near to the Place which we ſearched for, we made Enquiry of the *Turks* for antient Ruins, who directed us to a certain Place, which they call *Mormer* or *Marble*, called ſo from the large Quarries of Marble which ariſe there, and are the fineſt and whiteſt Veins that ever I beheld: Of which there remained certain ruined Houſes; but they were ſo evidently modern, that they looked nothing like the antient *Thyatira*, but rather the Subverſion of ſome *Turkiſh* Buildings; which, as we underſtood afterwards, had been deſerted by its Inhabitants, and that they removed thence to a more commodious Situation not far diſtant, which they denominated from the white Marble Rocks of their old Habitation, calling it *Akhiſar*, or *White-Caſtle*.

To that Place thence, being about five *Engliſh* Miles, we bended our Courſe, and found it a City well inhabited, and conſiderable for the Trade of Cottons. At our Entrance into this City, caſting our Eyes on Pillars and broken Stones with rare Sculptures, and on certain Inſcriptions, which at a Diſtance were ſo fair that they ſeemed almoſt legible; we immediatly apprehended, that this muſt have been the antient *Thyatira*. Farther Enquiry gave Light to our Conjectures, and changed our Probable into Arguments of Demonſtration. For entering now within the Gates of the Town, and eſpying carved Works in Stone more antique than the *Turkiſh* Nation itſelf, and better poliſhed than what was ever effected by their Art and Induſtry, we immediately concluded, that we had certainly found that of which we had been ſo long in queſt; which was more aſſuredly confirmed ſo ſoon as we read an Inſcription, which we took for a Pedeſtal of a Pillar in the midſt of the Market-Place, which ſerved to ſupport the new Building. The Inſcription in *Engliſh* begins thus; *To the moſt potent Council of the* Thyatirenians. This Inſcription, wherein *Thyatira* is named, put us beyond all doubt of having found the City for which we looked, and gave us Encouragement to make farther Examination herein: So that proceeding forwards, we found the Stone of a Sepulchre, of which a Tanner made uſe, fill'd with Hides and Lime, and on which there was an Inſcription, wherein there was Mention likewiſe made of the *moſt potent and moſt great City of the* Thyatirenians. We found alſo on a large Sepulchre, placed in an open Court belonging to a *Turk* of Quality, another Inſcription, wherein is mention made of the *moſt excellent City of the* Thyatirenians; with others to the ſame Purpoſe[e].

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[n] Rev. ii. 18.

[o] Preſent State, &c. Page 54.

[p] Ibid. Page 70, &c.

[q] Ibid. Page 55.

The City of *Akhiſar*, which now on Aſſurance we may venture to call *Thyatira*, is ſituated near to that River which *Pliny* calls the *Lycus*; which though it waters not the Town, yet it improves and makes plentiful thoſe pleaſant Plains, thro' which it runs. But for the Town itſelf, it receives ſo full a Stream from a neighbouring Hill, as is divided, according to the Report of the Inhabitants, into three thouſand ſeven hundred Rivulets; ſo that every Houſe flows, and every Street is ſupply'd with full Channels of chryſtalline Waters, cool and ſweet to the Taſte, and light on the Stomach. And beſides all the Air is wholſome, and the Country round rich and delightful, and in all Points agreeable to the Foundation of ſo renowned a City; which cauſes it likewiſe in our Days to flouriſh with Trade, and to be more happy than her other deſolate and comfortleſs Siſters.

The Church mention'd fifth [f] in order by St. *John*, is that of *Sardis*, ſeated on the *Pactolus*, and the Royal City of the Kings of *Lydia*, and ſo of *Crœſus* the laſt *Lydian* King, who was conquer'd by *Cyrus* the firſt *Perſian* Emperor. In the Time of *Xerxes*, being taken by the *Greeks*, it ſo ſtartled him, that he commanded one of his Attendants to ſay aloud every Day whilſt he was at Dinner, [t] *The* Grecians *have taken* Sardis, continuing that *Memento* till it ſhould be recovered. Being over-thrown by a moſt terrible Earthquake, it was re-edify'd at the Coſt of *Tiberius*, continuing long after the Metropolis of *Lydia*. *Strabo* tells us, that it was a great and antient City, and yet of later Date than the State of the *Trojans*. It had in his Time a Caſtle well fortified, the Mountain *Tmolus* hanging over the City; on the Top of which was erected an high Tower of white Stone, built after the *Perſian* Manner; from whence is a pleaſing Proſpect over all the adjacent Plains; and thence alſo you may take a View of the *Cayſter*. Out of the *Tmolus* flows the *Pactolus*, whoſe Streams of antient Times carried great Flakes of Gold with its Current; from whence *Crœſus* and his Anceſtors amaſſed their Riches: But now the Springs of Gold are failed. The Rivers *Pactolus* and *Hylas* fall into the *Hermus*; and afterwards thoſe three, joined with more ignoble Streams, empty themſelves into the *Phocian Sea*, now called *Fogia*, or rather *Fochia*. But Sir *Paul Rycaut* [u] tells us, "That whatſoever this City was in former Days, it is now only a poor Habitation of Shepherds, living in low and humble Cottages; howſoever the antient Pillars and Ruins lift up their Heads, as unwilling to loſe the Memory of their antient Glory. This City is alſo ſeated at the Foot of the *Tmolus*, as *Strabo* before-mentioned hath well deſcribed it. The Caſtle, which is erected on a high and ſteep Mountain, is very difficult to aſcend, and almoſt unacceſſible by Force of Arms. But being on the Top, there appears the moſt pleaſant Proſpect that ever my Eyes beheld, to which the *Pactolus* gives a wonderful Embelliſhment; which turns and winds ſo delightfully through all the Plains, watering all Parts about in that Manner, as to make that Country exceeding fertile and rich, and from thence might give Occaſion of that Saying, that the *Pactolus* ran with golden Streams."

The Church mentioned by St. *John* [w] in the ſixth Place, is that of *Philadelphia*, honoured formerly with the Dignity of a Metropolitan, as well as *Sardis* and *Thyatira*. The Reaſon whereof, (for otherwiſe it was contrary to the Practice both of Church and State, to have in one Province more than one Metropolis,) is thought to have been the Reſpect had to theſe ſeveral Churches, in regard to their primitive Antiquity, and Foundation by St. *John* the Apoſtle, as it was generally believed. This City lies about twenty-ſeven Miles to the South-Eaſt from *Sardis*, as Sir *Paul Rycaut* [x] informs us; who adds, "that it is now inhabited by the *Turks*, and by them called *Ala-ſhakir*, or the *Fair City*; ſtill retaining the Form of a City, with ſomething of Trade to invite People to it, being the Road of the *Perſian* Caravans: Though the Walls which encompaſs it are decayed in many Places, and, according to the Cuſtom of the *Turks*, are wholly neglected. Beſides which there is little of Antiquity remaining, unleſs the Ruins of a Church dedicated to St. *John*, made a Dunghil to receive the Offals of dead Beaſts. However, God has been pleaſed to preſerve ſome in this Place to make Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; for it being inhabited by many *Greeks*, it is adorned with no leſs than twelve Churches; of which St. *Mary*'s and St. *George*'s are the chief, which we viſited. There the chief Papa's preſented before us ſome Manuſcripts of the Goſpel, pretending them to be very antient; but we could hardly be perſuaded to believe them ſo, becauſe the Goſpel of St. *John*, as the prime Apoſtle of *Aſia*, was prefixed in the firſt Place, and becauſe the Chapters were not diſpoſed in the due Form and Order, but according to the Method obſerved in their Miſſals.

The Situation of *Philadelphia*, is on the Riſing of the Mountain *Tmolus*, having a pleaſant Proſpect on the Plains beneath, well furniſhed with divers Villages, and watered by the *Pactolus*. The only Rarity which the *Turks* ſhew in that Place to Travellers, is a Wall of Men's Bones, which they report to have been erected by the Prince who firſt took that City, and who having ſlaughtered many of the Beſieged in a Sally, for the Terror of thoſe who ſurvived, raiſed a Wall of their Bones, which is ſo well cemented, and the Bones ſo entire, that I brought a Piece thereof with me from thence."

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[e] The Inſcriptions may be ſeen at large in Sir Paul Rycaut's Treatiſe referr'd to, pag. 73 to 78.

[f] Rev. iii. 1.

[t] Dr. Heylin obſerves hereupon, that the like Courſe was taken by the Parliaments of France, as long as Calais remained in the Hands of the Engliſh. Coſmogr. pag. 660.

[u] Preſent State of the Greek Church, pag. 75——78.

[w] Rev. iii. 7.

[x] Preſent State of the Greek Church, pag. 73, &c.

The laſt of the ſeven Churches of *Aſia*, mentioned by St. *John*, [y] is that of *Laodicea*, which *Strabo* tells us, being afore but a ſmall Place, grew great and conſiderable in his own and the fore-going Age. Sir *Paul Rycaut* [z] gives us this Account of it. "*Laodicea* is another of thoſe Cities, which is alſo forgotten in its Name, and over-whelmed in its Ruins; and yet we certainly diſcovered it about four Days Journey South-Eaſt from *Tyria*, [a] a City about twenty-five Miles from *Epheſus*.

The firſt Place which we imagined might be *Laodicea*, was a City called by the *Turks Dingizlee*; being ſo eſteemed by the *Greeks* who there inhabit, and are not above forty in Number, where they have a little Church. But little Credit are we to give unto them concerning the antient Condition of their Nation; for they who are in thoſe Parts, and have loſt their own Language, and ſpeak and underſtand no other Tongue than the *Turkiſh*, are not competent Judges of the Antiquities, which extend themſelves beyond the Time of the *Turks*. Howſoever, the Situation of that Place, which is exceeding pleaſant, and not far diſtant certainly from the true *Laodicea*, might yield us Reaſon ſufficient to enquire for it in that City, which is planted with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, watered with plentiful Streams, and abounds with all Proviſions either neceſſary or convenient for Livelihood; ſo that the *Turks* compare it with the Air and Fruitfulneſs of *Damaſcus*. The outward Walls are antient, but neglected, after the *Turkiſh* Cuſtom: The City within built low, after the modern Faſhion of that Country, and is chiefly maintained by a Trade of *Bogaſines*. Some few Churches there are, which appear to have been built by the Chriſtians, now converted into Moſques; ſo that nothing appeared in this Caſe, which could induce us to concur in Opinion with the *Greeks*, that this Place was *Laodicea*.

But being inform'd by the *Turks* of certain Ruins about four Miles diſtant from thence, called by them *Eſki-hiſar*, or the *Old Caſtle*, Curioſity led us thither; where being entered, we found a City of vaſt Circumference, ſubverted and overthrown, ſituated on three or four ſmall Hills. What we had firſt Sight of, was an Aqueduct which guided us to the reſt; beneath which was a River, which I call the *Lycus*, nouriſh'd with two other Streams, which I call *Aſopus* and *Caper*, that ſo the Situation may agree with the Deſcription which *Pliny* gives of it. This certainly can have been no other than the antient *Laodicea*, antiently called *Dioſpolis*, according to the Deſcription of Geographers. Here within we found, beſides a Multitude of other Ruins, three large Amphitheatres and a Circus. The three were of a round Form, conſiſting of about fifty Seats, one above the other, the Stones of which were not much diſplaced. The Circus was long, and at the End thereof was a Cave, where the Wild Beaſts were kept, deſigned for the *Roman* Sports; over the Mouth of which was an Arch, with an Inſcription to [b] the Emperor *Veſpaſian*. Many other Ruins there were of mighty Fabricks, of which we could receive no Knowledge, nor make Conjectures, nor could we be guided by Inſcriptions: For Time and Earthquakes had ſo ſtrangely defaced all Things, that, beſides the Theatre, there ſcarce remain'd one Stone upon the other. It ſeems that this City ſuffer'd much by *Mithridates Eupator*; yet the Excellency of the Soil, and the Riches of the Citizens, quickly repaired the Damages, and reſtored it again to its priſtine Happineſs: For, as I ſaid, the Situation of it is elevated on two or three pleaſant Mounts rather than Hills, which over-ſee the moſt rich and delightful Plains of all *Phrygia*. It hath to the North the Mountain *Cadmus*, being diſtant, as may be conjectured, about ten *Engliſh* Miles; from whence the *Lycus* hath its Source, and overflows thoſe Paſtures round about; which in the Time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, bred numerous Flocks of Black Sheep, which for the Fineneſs of the Fleece, far exceeded the *Mileſian* Wools. And thus the Riches of their Woollen Manufacture being added to the Donative of two thouſand Talents, which *Hiero* bequeathed to that People, might be a conſiderable Revenue to the Public, and ſerve to raiſe them out of the Duſt, when overthrown by Earthquakes. For when *Nero* was the fourth Time Conſul, *Laodicea*, ſaith *Tacitus*, was then ſorely ſhaken by an Earthquake; which notwithſtanding was re-edified by the Puiſſance of its own Riches; but relapſing again into the ſame Calamity, was deſerted by its Inhabitants, and became irrecoverably loſt, not only as to its priſtine Condition of Proſperity, but alſo to its very Name; having now no other Exiſtence or Being, than what wiſe and learned Men have conſerved in the Hiſtories thereof."

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[y] Rev. iii. 14. [z] Preſent State of the Greek Church, pag. 56—64. [a] Ibid. pag. 54.

[b] The Inſcription may be ſeen at large in our Author, pag. 61.

The LIFE *of* St. PHILIP.

St. Philip'*s Birth-place. He becomes a Diſciple of* Chriſt. *Brings* Nathanael *to* Chriſt. *Made an Apoſtle. Anſwers his Maſter's Queſtion about feeding the Multitude. The* Gentile Greeks *deſire* Philip *to ſhew them* Chriſt. *Deſires* Chriſt *to ſhew him the Father. Other Acts of St.* Philip. *His Death. Forged Writings attributed to him.*

ST. *Philip* was [a] a Native of *Bethſaida*, a Town ſituate upon the Bank of the Lake *Genneſareth*. He is ſaid to have been a married Man, and to have had ſeveral Daughters: But of this we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. We are certain, however, that tho' the Cares of a Family might engage him upon worldly Affairs; yet, like a truly pious Man, his main Care was for the Soul, and he made it his daily Buſineſs to read the Law and the Prophets; by which means he ſoon came to the Knowledge of the *Meſſiah*, the Hope of *Iſrael:* For the Day after *Jeſus Chriſt* left the Place where *John* was baptizing, and where *Peter* and *Andrew*, by the Indication of the *Baptiſt*, came to the Knowledge of him, as the Meſſiah and Saviour of the World, he went into *Galilee*, where he met *Philip*, and commanded him to follow him. *Philip*, whether inſtructed the Day before by *Peter* and *Andrew*, who were of the ſame Town, or whether excited by the Teſtimony of *John the Baptiſt*, who often declared openly, That *Jeſus* was the [b] *Lamb of God that takes away the Sins of the World*, preſently yielded Obedience to the Call. And thus he has the Reputation of being the firſt conſtant Attendant upon *Chriſt*; while the fore-mentioned Brethren, tho' they commenced Diſciples a Day before him, yet returned again to their Fiſhing-Trade for ſome Time. *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates [c], that it was *Philip* who would have [d] excuſed himſelf from preſently entering into the Service of *Chriſt*, till he had buried his Father. But beſides that he gives no Account how he came by this Piece of Hiſtory, it is plainly inconſiſtent in Point of Time, *Philip* being called long before the Paſſage, juſt now mentioned, fell out.

Philip was no ſooner a Diſciple, but he became a Preacher of the Truth: For having a Friend named *Nathanael*, a pious and religious Man, to whom he knew no News would be ſo welcome as the Diſcovery of the Meſſiah, the long expected Happineſs of the *Jews*; he ran immediately to find him out, that he might impart the Knowledge which he had by God's ſpecial Favour obtained. And when he had done it, he told him, [e] "That he had found the Perſon of whom *Moſes* and the Prophets did write, the Anointed of God and Saviour of the World; and that this Man was *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, the Son of *Joſeph.*" *Nathanael*, having imbibed ſome prejudicial Principles from the *Jewiſh* Teachers, much doubted whether *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*, becauſe he had been taught that no good Thing could come out of *Nazareth*. *Philip* was not diſcouraged at this incredulous Anſwer of his Friend, but deſired him only to come and ſee the Perſon, that by obſerving his Actions, and hearing his Diſcourſes, he might receive undeniable Convictions of what he had aſſerted. *Nathanael* could not be againſt ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, and therefore went to *Jeſus:* Who, at his firſt Approaches, made good *Philip*'s Conjecture, and firſt ſalutes *Nathanael* by the Name of an Iſraelite *indeed, in whom there is no Guile*; and then tells him, "That he ſaw him under the Fig-Tree, before *Philip* called him." By this he ſhewed himſelf the *All-ſeeing God*, the true *Knower of Hearts:* And *Nathanael*, ſurprized at theſe Sayings, gave up himſelf immediately to the Faith, and ſaid, *Maſter, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of* Iſrael. Thus did *Philip* begin to convert others, before Time could diſcover his own Converſion.

Ever after this, St. *Philip* became a cloſe Attendant upon *Jeſus Chriſt:* and never left him, according to the Opinion of the Fathers: So that probably he was preſent at the Marriage of *Cana* in *Galilee*, to which [f] *Jeſus* and his Diſciples were invited three Days after. He was made an Apoſtle the next Year, when *Jeſus* [g] ſelected out of the Number of his Diſciples twelve Perſons, to be Witneſſes of his Miracles and Doctrine, and to be employed in greater Services under him.

About a Year after his Advancement to the Apoſtleſhip, was that [h] notable Miracle wrought by our Lord, in feeding five thouſand Men, beſides Women and Children, with five Barley-Loaves, and two ſmall Fiſhes. In order to which our bleſſed Lord, willing to make Trial of this Apoſtle's Faith, demanded of him, Where they ſhould have Food enough for the Entertainment of ſo great a Multitude? *Philip* anſwer'd, *Two hundred Pennyworth of Bread is not ſufficient, that every one may take a little.* Here he betray'd his Infirmity, conſidering more the Number of the People, the little Money they had amongſt them, and the Difficulty to get Proviſions upon any Terms in that deſart Place, than the Almighty Power of his Lord, whoſe miraculous Converſion of the Water into Wine he had probably ſeen, at leaſt had certainly heard of, at the Marriage of *Cana* of *Galilee*; and therefore ought to have concluded, that he could with the ſame Eaſe have made Bread of the Stones or Trees in the barren Wilderneſs.

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[a] John i. 44.
[b] John i. 29, 36.
[c] Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. 3.
[d] Matth. viii 22. Luke ix. 60.
[e] John i. 45—49.
[f] John ii. 2.
[g] Mark iii. 14—18.
[h] John vi. 6, 7.

To him it is that we find [i] certain *Gentile* Proſelytes, who came to *Jeruſalem* at the *Paſſover*, applying themſelves for an Opportunity to ſee *Jeſus*, as a Perſon much celebrated on the Account of his Miracles. *Philip* did not carry their Requeſt to our Lord, before he had firſt conferr'd with *Andrew* about it. Some think they were *Gentiles* of *Syrophœnicia*, *Decapolis*, and the bordering Countries, which joining to *Bethſaida*, theſe People might have ſome Acquaintance with *Philip*, a Native and long Inhabitant of that Place.

It was to him in particular that our [k] Lord directed his Diſcourſe, when having aſſerted to his Diſciples, *That they both knew the Father, and had ſeen him*; Philip *ſaid, Lord, ſhew us the Father, and it ſufficeth us.* It is not eaſy to determine what Notion he had of the Father; whether he imagin'd him to conſiſt of corporeal and viſible Parts, or only to be capable of aſſuming them, and appearing in them. Our Lord gently reprehends him for his Ignorance, and ſmall Improvement under ſo many and ſuch clear Inſtructions as he had given him: And then proceeds to inform him how he had ſeen the Father in himſelf: *He that hath ſeen me, hath ſeen the Father:* For I am his expreſs Image, and ſo much one with him, that he dwelleth in me, and I in him: So that I neither ſpeak nor act of myſelf; but the Father, who dwelleth in me, ſpeaketh the Words, and doth the Works.

Theſe are all the Notices which the Evangeliſts have given us of St. *Philip* the Apoſtle, and perhaps all that can be certainly known of him. In the Diſtribution which the Apoſtles made amongſt themſelves of the ſeveral Provinces to preach in, neither *Origen* nor *Euſebius* ſay what Part fell to our Apoſtle: Though others tell us it was the *Upper Aſia*; which doubtleſs is the Reaſon why he is ſaid by many to have preached and planted Chriſtianity in *Scythia*.

Having for many Years exerciſed his Apoſtolical Office of preaching, baptizing, and ſettling Chriſtian Churches, and his Power of healing Diſeaſes and caſting out Devils with great Succeſs, he is reported to have come in the laſt Years of his Life to *Hierapolis*, a rich and populous City in *Phrygia*, where a Serpent or Dragon of a monſtrous Size was the reigning Idol. *Philip*, grieved to ſee the People ſo groſly beſotted and abuſed, beſought God by Prayer, and called upon the Name of *Chriſt*, till the Monſter was ſtruck dead, or at leaſt forced to vaniſh and quit the Place. After this, by his conſtant Preaching and Holineſs of Life, he put Idolatry out of Countenance, and gain'd many to the Chriſtian Faith. Whereupon the old Serpent, the Devil, aſſumed his Character of a *Roaring Lion*, and betook himſelf to his uſual Methods, Cruelty and Perſecution. The Magiſtrates of the City ſeiz'd upon the Apoſtle, impriſon'd him, and cauſed him to be ſcourged. This done, he was led to Execution; and being bound, was hanged up by the Neck againſt a Pillar: Though others ſay he was crucified; and that his Body was taken down by St. *Bartholomew*, and *Philip*'s own Siſter *Mariamne*, and decently buried; after which, having confirmed the People in the Faith of *Chriſt*, they departed thence.

That St. *Philip* was marry'd, is generally affirmed by the Antients, as [l] *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and [m] *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*; which laſt aſſures us, that he [n] celebrated *Eaſter* on the fourteenth Day of the Moon, as St. *John* did. He is ſaid to have lived to the Age of eighty-ſeven Years, and to have died in the Reign of *Domitian* or *Trajan*. *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis* [o] mentions him and his Daughters. *Sozomen* [p] ſays, that his Daughters raiſ'd a Man from the Dead. St. *Hermione*, whom the *Greeks* commemorate on the Fourth of *September*, is thought to be one of them. *Polycrates* extols her for her Piety, above all the Women of her Time. She was martyr'd in the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*, and buried at *Epheſus*. Her Tomb is one of the famous Monuments of that City. The *Greeks* give Names to two other Daughters of St. *Philip*, namely, *Eutychia*, and *Mariamne*; and ſay, they converted many Virgins to the Faith. The Truth is, the not carefully diſtinguiſhing between *Philip* the Deacon, (who lived at *Cæſarea*, and of whoſe four Virgin Daughters we read in the [q] *Acts*) and our Apoſtle, hath bred ſome Confuſion among the Antients in this Matter. The Acts and Goſpel father'd upon this Apoſtle, and made uſe of by the *Gnoſticks*, *Epiphanius* aſſures us, was an infamous Book. *Theodoret* [r] tells us, that St. *John* and St. *Philip* the Apoſtles appeared to *Theodoſius the Great*, almoſt conquer'd by *Eugenius*, and promiſed him a Victory, which he obtained miraculouſly the next Day. The *Greeks* and Eaſtern Church keep his Feaſt on the Fourteenth of *November*: But *Bede*'s, and other Martyrologies, order its Celebration on the Firſt of *May*, in Conjunction with St. *James*'s.

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[i] John xii. 20, 21, 22.
[k] John xiv. 1——12.
[l] Strom. lib. iii.
[m] Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 31.
[n] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. v. cap. 24
[o] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. iii. cap. 39.
[p] Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 27.
[q] Acts xxi. 8.
[r] Lib. v. cap. 22.

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The LIFE *of St.* BARTHOLOMEW.

Bartholomew *and* Nathanael *ſuppoſed to be the ſame. Reaſon of the Name* Bartholomew. *An Objection of St.* Auſtin *anſwered. St.* Bartholomew's *Deſcent. His Travels. Martyrdom. Things falſely attributed to him.*

THE Evangelical Hiſtory of the Election of the Apoſtles informs us, that *Bartholomew* was one of the Twelve. But becauſe he is but juſt named, without any farther Notice taken of him, many, both antiently and of latter Times, have ſuppoſed that he lay concealed under the Name of *Nathanael*, one of the firſt Diſciples that [a] came to *Chriſt*. Accordingly we may obſerve, that as St. *John* never mentions *Bartholomew* in the Number of the Apoſtles; ſo the other Evangeliſts never take notice of *Nathanael*, probably as being the ſame Perſon under two ſeveral Names: And as in St. *John*, *Philip* and *Nathanael* are joined together, in their Coming to *Chriſt*; ſo in the reſt of the Evangeliſts *Philip* and *Bartholomew* are conſtantly put together; for no other Reaſon, as the learned Dr. *Cave* conceives, but becauſe they were jointly called to the Diſcipleſhip. But that which renders this Matter ſtill more probable is, that *Nathanael* is particularly [b] reckoned with the other Apoſtles, to whom our Lord appear'd at the Sea of *Tiberias* after his Reſurrection. And it is hard to give a Reaſon why *Nathanael, an* Iſraelite *indeed, in whom was no Guile*, and ſo early a Diſciple, that he was a Witneſs of the whole Miniſtry, and Doctrine, and mighty Power of *Chriſt*, ſhould not have been propoſed, as well as *Barſabas* or *Matthias*, to have filled up the vacant Place of *Judas*, if he had not been one of the Twelve already.

Nor indeed is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that *Bartholomew* was his proper Name, any more than *Barjona* was the proper Name of *Peter*; but given him only to denote his relative Capacity, either as a Son, or as a Scholar. If it refers to his Father, he was *the Son of* Tholmai, a Name not uncommon among the *Jews*: If to his Sect as a Scholar, he was of the School of the *Tholmæans*, ſo called from their Founder *Tholmai*, Scholar to *Heber*, the antient Maſter of the *Hebrews*. Now it was uſual for Scholars, out of a great Reverence for him who inſtituted their Order, to adopt his Name, as *Ben-Ezra*, *Ben-Uzziel*, and others. So that as to the Names of *Bartholomew* and *Nathanael*, nothing hinders but that they might well belong to one and the ſame Perſon.

The chief Objection againſt all this, is what was antiently hinted by St. *Auſtin*, That it is not probable our Saviour, who propoſed to confound the Wiſdom of the World by the preaching of illiterate Men, would chuſe *Nathanael*, a Doctor of the Law, to be one of his Apoſtles. But this is no Reaſon to him who conſiders, That the ſame Argument is as ſtrong againſt *Philip*, of whoſe Skill in the Law and the Prophets there is as much Evidence in the Hiſtory of the Goſpel: And it may be ſtill urged with greater Force againſt St. *Paul*, than whom, beſides his Abilities in human Learning, there were few greater Maſters in the *Jewiſh* Law.

As for his Deſcent and Family, ſome think he was a *Syrian*, and derive him from no leſs a Stock than the *Ptolomies* of *Egypt*; led into this Conceit perhaps by ſome Affinity in the Letters and Sound of the Name. 'Tis plain, however, that he, as well as the reſt of the Apoſtles, was a *Galilean*; and of *Nathanael* we know it is expreſly ſaid, that he was of *Cana* in *Galilee*. We find our Apoſtle among the other Diſciples who were met together after our Lord's Aſcenſion, joining with the Holy Aſſembly of Chriſtians, in devoutly praiſing and praying to God. And this is all the Scripture ſpeaks concerning him.

St. *Bartholomew* is reported by Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians to have travelled as far as *India*, preaching the Goſpel: Which ſurely is meant of the hither *India*, or that Part bordering upon *Aſia*. *Socrates* [c] tells us, 'twas *the* India *bordering upon* Ethiopia; meaning no doubt the *Aſian Ethiopia*. *Sophronius* calls it the *Fortunate India*; and ſays, that here he left behind him St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel; whereof *Euſebius* [d] gives us this larger Account: That when *Pantænus*, one of the moſt learned of the primitive Chriſtians, and deſirous to follow the Apoſtle's Steps in painful Travels for the Enlargement of the Chriſtan Church, went as far as *India* for this Purpoſe; he there found a *Hebrew* Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, amongſt ſome who ſtill retained the Knowledge of *Chriſt*; who aſſured him from the Tradition of their Anceſtors, that it had been left them by St. *Bartholomew*, when he preached the Goſpel in thoſe Parts.

For a farther Account of our Apoſtle, 'tis ſaid, that he returned from *India* to the North-Weſt Parts of *Aſia*. At *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia* we find him in Company with St. *Philip*, as was obſerved in the Life of that Apoſtle; at whoſe Martyrdom he was likewiſe faſtened to a Croſs, in order to have ſuffered at the ſame Time; but for ſome ſpecial Reaſon the Magiſtrates cauſed him to be taken down again, and diſmiſſed. Hence probably, he went into *Lycaonia*, where *Chryſoſtom* [e] affirms that he inſtructed the People in the Chriſtian Religion. His laſt Remove was to *Albanople* in *Armenia the Great*, (the ſame no doubt which *Nicephorus* calls *Urbanople*, a City of *Cilicia*) a Place miſerably over-run with Idolatry;

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[a] John i. 47. [b] John xxi. 1. [c] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. cap. 19. [d] Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 10. [e] Serm. in SS. xii. Apoſt.

from which, while he ſought to reclaim the People, he was by the Governor of the Place condemned to be crucified. Some add, that he was crucified with his Head downwards: Others affirm, that he was flay'd alive; which might well enough conſiſt with his Crucifixion; this Puniſhment being in uſe, not only in *Egypt*, but amongſt the *Perſians*, next Neighbours to theſe *Armenians*, from whom they might eaſily borrow this Piece of barbarous and brutiſh Cruelty. *Theodorus Lictor* [f] aſſures us, that the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* having built the City *Daras* in *Meſopotamia*, *A. D.* 508. removed St. *Bartholomew*'s Body thither: Which *Gregory* of *Tours* ſeems to contradict, ſaying, that the People of *Liparis*, near *Sicily*, tranſlated it from the Place where he ſuffered into their Iſle, and built a ſtately Church over it. By what means it was removed from hence to *Beneventum* in *Italy*, and afterwards to the Iſle of *Tiber* at *Rome*, where another Church was built to the Honour of this Apoſtle, is hard to account for.

The Heretics, according to their Cuſtom, have forged a Goſpel under St. *Bartholomew*'s Name; which *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome* juſtly branded as Apocryphal, altogether unworthy the Name and Patronage of an Apoſtle. And perhaps of no better Authority is the Sentence which *Dionyſius*, the pretended *Areopagite*, aſcribes to him, *That Theology is both copious, and yet very ſmall; and the Goſpel diffuſe and large, and yet withal conciſe and ſhort.* His Feaſt, according to the antient Martyrologies, is to be kept on the twenty-fourth Day of *Auguſt*; but the *Greeks* keep it on the Eleventh of *June*.

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[f] Lib. II.

The LIFE *of St.* MATTHEW.

St. Matthew*'s Name, Family, and Trade.* Publicans, *what they were.* St. Matthew*'s Converſion againſt his worldly Intereſt. Makes a Feaſt for his Companions. Speaks of himſelf in a different Stile from the other Evangeliſts. Never returns to his Office. Travels and Death. Account of his Goſpel. Writings falſely attributed to him. Manner of Living.*

ST. *Matthew*, who is alſo called *Levi*, both which Names diſcover him to be of *Jewiſh* Extraction, was probably a *Galilean*, the Son of *Alphæus* and *Mary*. His Mother was Siſter or Kinſwoman to the Mother of our Lord. A certain *Arabic* Author ſays, his Parents were of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, and called *Ducu* and *Karutias*: Which is very poſſible; it being common amongſt the *Jews* for the ſame Perſon to be called by ſeveral Names; and theſe latter might be expreſs'd in *Arabic* according to their *Jewiſh* Signification.

His Trade or Way of Life was that [a] of a *Publican*, that is, a Gatherer of the Taxes and Tributes which the *Romans* had laid upon the *Jews*. This was once an Office of Credit and Reputation, not ordinarily conferr'd upon any but *Roman* Knights; inſomuch that the Emperor *Veſpaſian*'s own Father, *Flavius Sabinus*, was Publican of the *Aſian* Provinces. But the *Roman* Tax-Gatherers generally farm'd out the Buſineſs to ſome of the Natives, who beſt underſtood the Affairs of their own Country: For which Reaſon theſe Farmers ſqueez'd the People immoderately, that they might not only be reſponſible to their Maſters, but likewiſe make a ſufficient Gain to themſelves. This Oppreſſion, together with that Servitude which the paying Tribute to a foreign Power implied, render'd this Sort of Men very odious to the *Jews*, who eſteem'd it a Defilement ſo much as to go into their Houſes, or to ſit or eat in their Company; as we learn from the Goſpel: Nay, they held it no Sin to circumvent and over-reach them by all imaginable Ways and Means.

One of thoſe Farmers was St. *Matthew*; but his Calling was no Impediment to that effectual Grace, which carries the worſt of Sinners to Heaven. He ſeems to have been more particularly Collector of the Cuſtoms of all Merchandizes that came by the See of *Galilee*, and the Toll that Paſſengers, who went by Water, were obliged to pay; for which Purpoſe his Office was kept by the Sea Side. Here it was that *Matthew* ſat, when our Lord called him to be a Diſciple.

Living at *Capernaum*, the Place of *Chriſt*'s uſual Reſidence, where his Miracles and Sermons were frequent, he might, in ſome Meaſure, be prepared to comply with that ſpecial Call which [b] he tells us *Chriſt* gave him, as he retired out of *Capernaum* to walk by the Sea Side. For at this Time he ſaid no more to him, than *Follow me. And he aroſe, and follow'd him.* Herein he was a remarkable Inſtance of the Power of divine Grace, and the wonderful Change it can make in the Heart of Man. For he had very powerful Engagements to the World, was in plentiful Circumſtances, and in a fair Way to improve them by a gainful Employment, which he held under the *Romans*, and had their Authority to bear him out in thoſe arbitrary Exactions which were commonly practiſed by ſuch Men. Notwithſtanding all this, no ſooner did *Chriſt* call, but without the leaſt Heſitation he flung up all at once; and not only relinquiſhed his Revenues, as St. *Baſil* obſerves, but hazarded the Diſpleaſure of the ſuperior Officers in this Buſineſs, for leaving their Service ſo abruptly. His Converſion was ſtill more ſurprizing, in that *Chriſt*, who call'd him, appear'd under all the Circumſtances of Meanneſs and Diſgrace; ſeeming to promiſe his Followers nothing but Miſery and Sufferings in this Life, and to propound no other Rewards but the inviſible Encouragement of another World. *Porphyry* and *Julian*, two ſubtil and acute Adverſaries of the Chriſtian Religion, took Occaſion hence to charge this Evangeliſt either with Falſhood or Folly; either that he gave not a true Account of his Converſion, or that it was very weakly done of him, ſo haſtily to follow any one that called him from his Buſineſs. As to his Veracity, he could have no Temptation to record his Caſe otherwiſe than as it really was. And for his Underſtanding, he was undoubtedly a Perſon of ſufficient Inſight into the Affairs of Life, and knew what was for his Intereſt, as well as any Body could tell him; it not being the Way of the World to put ſoft-headed Perſons into an Employment of ſo much Difficulty and Concern to the Public, as his was.

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[a] Matth. ix. 9. Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 27, 28.

[b] Matth. ix. 9.

That he was very well pleas'd with his Change of Life, and his new Maſter, appear'd from the [c] great Feaſt which he made for him in his Houſe upon this Occaſion, to which he invited his old Friends and Fellow-Publicans. 'Tis likely he did this, that he might ſhew his Maſter how joyfully he bid them adieu; whoſe Preſence he deſired at it, that he might moderate the Sobriety and Temperance of it, and be a Witneſs of his parting Affection: Hoping alſo, that by his pious Diſcourſes, which he wiſely intermixed with their Pleaſures, he would win ſome of his Profeſſion to a more pious Love. *Jeſus* accepted the Invitation for the Gueſts' Sake, and knowing there would be many Sinners ſick of Soul Diſtempers, he went like a charitable Phyſician into an Hoſpital to heal them, by bringing them to Repentance. The *Phariſees* and *Scribes*, who abhorred ſuch filthy Company, blamed him for eating with ſuch profligate Creatures, as *Publicans* were. But *Jeſus* replied, "That tho' the Company was indeed bad, his Deſign was innocent in coming among them; for he went only to heal their Souls, and to bring them to Repentance: That God himſelf prefers ſuch Acts of Mercy to Men's Souls far above all the expenſive Sacrifices, which they offered unto him, and all the ritual Obſervations of the Law." And he added further, ſome Directions about the Sanctity and Seaſonableneſs of Faſting, and with what Tenderneſs and Gentleneſs weak Chriſtians, newly converted to the Faith, ought to be treated by Teachers.

Some [d] obſerve, from the former Relation, that St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*, in relating St. *Matthew*'s Converſion, call him *Levi*, his leſs known and leſs uſual Name, as though they were cautious of making him too much taken Notice of, while they mention him as a *Publican*: But he himſelf ſays plainly, Matthew *at the Receipt of Cuſtom*, and, Matthew *the* Publican; that ſo he might magnify the Power of *Chriſt* in reclaiming him from ſuch a Profeſſion, to be one of his Apoſtles; and ſhew that no Man, however entangled in the Temptations of the World, is to be given up for loſt, or reckon'd to ſtand out of the Lines of divine Mercy. He is ſometimes named in the ſeventh, and ſometimes in the eighth Place, in the Catalogue of the twelve Apoſtles.

Matthew, after his Converſion, never returned to his Employment again; tho' St. *Peter*, and ſome other of the Apoſtles, who were Fiſhermen by Trade, went a Fiſhing after the Reſurrection: And the Reaſon which St. *Gregory* [e] gives us, is this, that there are ſome Callings innocent in themſelves, and others cannot be exerciſed at all, or very hardly, without Sin. The Office of a *Publican* is certainly lawful in itſelf; for Kings have a neceſſary and undoubted Right to raiſe Taxes and require Tribute, and they muſt have Officers to collect and gather it for them. But ſince thoſe who undertake ſuch Employs, with a Deſign to do nothing but according to the Rules of Conſcience and Juſtice, are expoſed to great Dangers, unleſs they are above the ſtrong and ſubtil Temptation of Intereſt; it is therefore not ſafe for any Men almoſt, that deſire to preſerve their Innocency, to intermeddle with them: For which Reaſon it was, that in our Saviour's Time none took thoſe Employments, but ſuch as were covetous and inſolent Wretches, who deſerved the Name which the *Jews* gave them of *Sinners*, and the Odium they always lay under from that People.

The ſame Year that St. *Matthew* was called, he was choſen by our Lord to be an Apoſtle. Nothing more is mentioned of him in particular, all the Time of *Chriſt*'s Miniſtry here upon Earth; tho' doubtleſs he was ſubſervient to his Maſter's Will and Command in all Things, and equalled the reſt of his Brethren in true Piety and Religion; with whom we find him met to praiſe God, immediately after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion. After this, the Antients ſuppoſe that he, as well as the reſt, continued at *Jeruſalem* and in *Judea*, about the Space of twelve Years: Tho' others ſay, that after eight Years of his Miniſtry ſpent in his own Country, he betook himſelf to the Care of the *Gentile* World. Little Certainty can be had, what Courſe he took in his Travels. The *Aſiatic Æthiopia* is generally agreed to have been his Province. *Venantius Fortunatus* ſays he ſuffered Martyrdom at *Naddaber*, a City in thoſe Parts; but by what kind of Death, is altogether uncertain. *Nicephorus* writes, that by his Prayers he extinguiſhed the Fire which was kindled to burn him, and afterwards died a natural Death. *Dorotheus* makes him honourably buried at *Hierapolis* in *Parthia*; which, he ſays, was one of the firſt Places to which he preached the Goſpel. St. *Chryſoſtome* ſuppoſes that he died before the ſeventieth Year of *Chriſt*, when *Jeruſalem* was deſtroy'd by the *Romans*, according to our Lord's Predictions.

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[c] Matth. ix. 10. Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 19.

[d] Hier. in Mat. p. 26.

[e] Greg. in Ev. h. 24. John xxi. 3.

[f] Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Acts i. 13.

Several Books are attributed to him; as, The Hiſtory of the Infancy of *Chriſt*, much made uſe of by the *Valentinians*; his *Ethiopic* Liturgy; with ſome other Works, cited by *Metaphraſtes* and others; but theſe are rejected, as falſe and forged Writings.

One Book is undoubtedly his, and that is his Goſpel; ſo called becauſe it brings joyful and happy Tidings to Men, eſpecially Sinners, whom it teaches to hope for Pardon of Sin, Deliverance from the Torments of Hell which they have deſerved, Righteouſneſs, Sanctification, Redemption, the Adoption of Children, and eternal Glory; which are certainly good News, all other Things, in Compariſon of theſe, being mere Vanity and Emptineſs. He contents himſelf to deſcribe the temporal and human Generation of *Jeſus Chriſt*, in which the Promiſes made to *Abraham* and *David* concerning the Birth of the Meſſiah in their Seed, are plainly fulfilled; which, one would think, ſhould have been particular Inducements to the *Jews* to believe. In the reſt of his Goſpel he chiefly ſets down thoſe Paſſages of our Saviour's Life which reſpected Mens Manners, and therefore relates his Sermon on the Mount more largely than any of the Apoſtles.

He wrote his Goſpel the firſt of any of the Evangeliſts; which is the Reaſon it takes Place the firſt in the Canon of the New Teſtament. And indeed, ſaith [g] *Epiphanius*, it was moſt reaſonable, that he who was firſt converted from his great and ſcandalous Sins, ſhould be the Publiſher of that Saviour, who came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance, of which he had ſo early an Experience. He compoſed it chiefly for the Uſe of the *Jews* who were converted, and who had deſired it of him, according to the Commiſſion he had from the Apoſtles. We are told farther, that he wrote it at the Command of the other Apoſtles, and at the Time when he was about to leave *Judea*, that the *Jewiſh* Converts might not want a juſt, authentic Account of the Chriſtian Religion in his Abſence. He was very well qualified for this Work, having been an Eye and Ear Witneſs of all that our Saviour did and ſaid, from the Beginning of his Miniſtry, to his Aſcenſion into Heaven. *Nicephorus* will have this Goſpel to be written fifteen Years after our Lord's Aſcenſion; and *Irenæus* much later: But it muſt be extant before the Diſperſion of the Apoſtles; ſeeing St. *Bartholomew*, as we have noted in his Life, took it with him into *India*, and left it there. That he writ it in the *Hebrew*, or rather the *Syriac* Language, is the unanimous Suffrage of the Antients. And amongſt the Moderns we find Dr. *Cave* and *Du Pin* of the ſame Opinion. And indeed it is very probable, that ſince he intended it for the Uſe of thoſe who were born and bred in *Jeruſalem* and *Judea*, he would give it them in their own Mother-Tongue. It was quickly render'd into *Greek*; and we are told the Verſion was approv'd by the Apoſtles themſelves, and conſequently of the ſame Authority with the Original. By whom it was tranſlated is not certainly known. *Athanaſius*, in his *Synopſis*, attributes it to St. *James the Leſs*; *Anaſtaſius* to St. *Paul* and St. *Luke*; others to St. *John*. Nor is there any clearer Account what became of the Original *Hebrew*, or whether that Copy of it which *Pantænus* is ſaid to have brought from the *Indies*, was laid up at *Alexandria*, and kept there till St. *Jerome*'s Time, who ſays he ſaw it, and had the Peruſal of it.

As for the *Syriac* Text, which we have at preſent, it is not the Original Goſpel, as ſome earneſtly contend, but a Verſion from the *Greek*. Several *Hebrew* Copies are pretended to be the Originals; but the moſt learned Critics ſuſpect them. Some [h] modern Writers have affirmed, that St. *Matthew* wrote in *Greek*; but their Reaſons are not ſufficient to make us abandon the Judgment of ſo many of the Fathers, who affirm he wrote in *Hebrew*. It is probable that he had the Account of the Virgin *Mary*'s Anceſtors, from the Virgin herſelf: And St. *Chryſoſtome* ſays, [i] That all which the Evangeliſts relate before the Baptiſm of *John*, was expreſly revealed by the Holy Spirit. Both St. *Matthew*, and the three other Evangeliſts, are not aſhamed to diſcover their own Faults, and thoſe of their Brethren the Apoſtles, which they were guilty of in *Chriſt*'s Life-time; not to diſgrace one another, but to raiſe in us an Admiration of God's Grace, which was able to make ſuch feeble and imperfect Men ſo exact Patterns of Virtue. Some affirm, [k] that St. *Matthew* was the Author of One Article in the Creed, commonly called the Apoſtles Creed, which was compoſed at *Jeruſalem* by the common Conſent of the Apoſtles: But it ſeems ridiculous that every one ſhould make one Article; and the Grounds on which it is aſſerted are too weak for our Belief to rely on. That which is called *The Goſpel according to the* Hebrews, and ſometimes *The Goſpel of the* Nazarenes, quoted by ſeveral of the Antients, was either wholly different from this, or at leaſt this much interpolated and corrupted by the *Ebionites*, and other Heretics.

St. *Matthew* was a Perſon much devoted to ſpiritual Contemplation, and of a very ſlender and mean Diet; eating nothing of Fleſh, but ſatisfying Nature with Herbs, Roots, Seeds, and Berries, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* teſtifies. His Feaſt, in the *Greek* Church, is kept *November* the Sixteenth; but in the *Latin*, on the Twenty-firſt of *September*.

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[g] Epiph. hær. li. cap. 5.

[h] Synop. in Matth. p. 5, 8.

[i] Chryſ. Act. h. 3. Baſ. S. h. 25.

[k] Ruff. Sy. p. 599.

The LIFE *of St.* THOMAS.

St. Thomas, *why called* Didymus. *His Country. An Inſtance of his Zeal. Two Inſtances of the Slowneſs of his Apprehenſion. Confeſſes* Chriſt *on ſenſible Demonſtration. Continues with the Apoſtles. Sends* Thaddæus *to* Edeſſa. *Some Account of that Miſſion. Preaches in* Parthia, Media, Perſia, *&c. Chriſtians of* St. Thomas. *Their Account of him. A Donation to him. Left no Writings.*

THE Reaſon why St. *Thomas* was called *Didymus*, is thus accounted for by learned Men; That it was cuſtomary with the *Jews*, when they travell'd in foreign Countries, or familiarly converſed with *Greeks* or *Romans*, to aſſume to themſelves a *Greek* or *Latin* Name, of great Affinity, and ſometimes of the very ſame Signification, with that which was given them by their Parents. Thus *Thomas*, a *Syriac* Name, ſignifying a Twin, was explain'd by *Didymus*, of the ſame Importance in the *Greek*: So *Cephas* was called *Peter*, a Rock; *Tabitha* was in *Greek* named *Dorcas*, a Doe. *Euſebius* [a] tells us moreover, *that* Judas, *who was alſo called* Thomas, *ſent* Thaddæus *to* Agbarus *King of* Edeſſa. But *Valeſius* upon the Place obſerves, that *Thomas* is no where elſe called *Judas*; and that perhaps *Euſebius*, by Miſtake, gave him the Surname which belonged to *Thaddæus*, who is ſo called by [b] St. *Jerome*, and in the [c] *Greek* Calendar.

That he was a *Jew* is certain, and in all Probability a *Galilean*. *Simeon Metaphraſtes* ſays, he was born of very mean Parents, and brought up to the Trade of Fiſhing. When and by what Means he came to follow *Chriſt*, we have no particular Account in Holy Scripture. He is noted to have been ſomething ſlow in his Underſtanding, but not ſo in his Love to his Maſter, of which he once gave an [d] eminent Proof. For when the reſt of the Apoſtles diſſuaded our Lord, now on the other Side of *Jordan*, at the Place where *John* at firſt baptized, from returning into *Judea*, on the Occaſion of *Lazarus* his Death, leſt the *Jews* ſhould ſtone him, as they lately attempted to do; *Thomas*, ſeeing he could not be diverted from his Reſolution, ſaid to his Fellows, [e] *Let us go alſo, that we may die with him*; teſtifying hereby his Readineſs to adhere to his Maſter in the moſt dangerous Circumſtances. This ſhews he was forward enough in his Zeal and Affection: But that he was ſomething tardy in apprehending, and ſcrupulous in believing Things, we learn from two Occurrences recorded in the Evangelical Hiſtory.

Firſt, [f] When our Lord at his laſt Supper acquainted his Diſciples that he was about to leave them; but told them for their Comfort, that he was going to prepare Manſions for them in his Father's Houſe, meaning the Kingdom of Heaven; which done, he would come again, and receive them to himſelf; and that he needed not uſe many Words to them, who already knew both the Place, and the Way to it; *Thomas*, whoſe Thoughts probably were upon a temporal Kingdom and earthly Palace, anſwer'd, *Lord, we know not whither thou goeſt, and how can we know the Way? Chriſt* preſently rectifies his Miſapprehenſion, by letting him know, that his Words had a ſpiritual and divine Meaning: *Jeſus ſaid unto him, I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life*; that is, I am the Author of that Way that leadeth unto Life; the Teacher of that Truth which directs to it; and the Giver of that Life which is to be obtain'd by walking in this Way, and according to this Truth. Thus much he told them they knew, or at leaſt might have known perfectly well, becauſe both by his Doctrine and Example, he had always been inſtructing them in theſe Things.

Secondly, [g] After our Lord had ſuffer'd, and was riſen again from the Death, and had appear'd to his Diſciples with ſuch clear Demonſtrations of himſelf, as fully convinced them of the Truth of his Reſurrection; *Thomas* not being with them at ſuch Appearances, utterly refuſed to believe this Article upon their Report, declaring that he ſhould ſuſpend his Faith, till he had the moſt ſenſible Proofs that it was his crucified Maſter, by ſeeing and feeling the Wounds which were made in him at his Crucifixion. This was a ſtrange Piece of Infidelity, not to believe that which *Moſes* and the Prophets had expreſly foretold, which *Chriſt* himſelf had inculcated in his Diſcourſes about his Paſſion, and which the reſt of the Apoſtles atteſted as Eye-Witneſſes. But our merciful Lord, with infinite Condeſcenſion to this Apoſtle's Weakneſs, preſented himſelf again when *Thomas* and his Fellows were met together; and after the uſual Salutation of *Peace be unto you*, turn'd to *Thomas*, as if he had come on Purpoſe at that Time to convince him of his Reſurrection; bidding him *reach out his Hand, and put it into his Side, and his Finger into the Prints of the Nails*, that he might effectually cure his Infidelity. He did ſo; and in a ſurprizing Senſe of his Conviction, burſt out into this Confeſſion, *My Lord, and my God*. Owning him now to have proved himſelf Omnipotent in overcoming Death and the Grave, and Omniſcient in knowing the Doubts and Scruples of his Heart. Our Lord replied no more, but that "it was well he had believed his own Senſes: That it was, however, a more noble and commendable Act of Faith to acquieſce in rational Evidence, and to admit ſuch Teſtimonies as are ſufficient to ſatisfy a wiſe and ſober Man of the Truth of Things, tho' he did not ſee them with his own Eyes." For indeed *Faith*, as St. [h] *Paul* defines it, *is the Evidence of Things not ſeen*; and to be aſſured of any thing by the Teſtimony of our Senſes, is not properly Faith, but Science. Yet with Reſpect to ourſelves, we may ſay with St. [i] *Gregory* of *Tours*, "By this Doubting of *Thomas* we are more confirm'd, than by the Faith of the other Apoſtles;" having hereby a Proof, beyond all Cavil or Contradiction, that the very ſame Body of our Lord, in which he ſuffered, was raiſed to Life again.

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[a] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. i. cap. 13.
[b] Hieron. in Matth. x.
[c] Ad Jun. 19.
[d] John xi. 1——16.
[e] Ver. 16.
[f] John. xiv. 1——7.
[g] John xx. 24——29.

St. *Thomas* being thus again brought into an Union of Faith with his Brother Apoſtles, lived with them in a conſtant Fellowſhip, both civil and religious. And when *Peter*, [k] to relieve the preſent Neceſſities of himſelf and Family, thought fit to return to his old Trade of Fiſhing after *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection, and ſome other of his Diſciples and Apoſtles of *Chriſt* went with him; *Thomas* alſo bore them Company, and toiled with them in their Calling. From whence we may probably argue, that he was a Fiſherman before his Converſion and Election to the Apoſtleſhip; becauſe we do not find that *Matthew*, who had followed another Trade, went with them, but only thoſe who moſt of them were known to be Fiſhermen before. After *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion into Heaven, when the Apoſtles and Diſciples, who waited at *Jeruſalem* for the Effuſion of the Spirit, were [l] met together to praiſe and pray unto God; *Thomas* was at this religious Aſſembly, joining with the whole Congregation of the Faithful, in the ſeveral Parts of Chriſtian Worſhip.

The firſt Act which [ll] Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory hath recorded of St. *Thomas* his Apoſtolic Office, is, his ſending *Thaddæus*, one of the ſeventy Diſciples, and ſuppoſed to be his Brother, to *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, to heal *Agbarus* the King of that Place, of a dangerous Diſeaſe, and to preach the Goſpel to him and his People. This Buſineſs is very particularly related by *Euſebius*, who aſſures, he had the Account of it out of the public Records of *Edeſſa*, with [m] two Letters, which he there inſerts: The firſt of theſe Letters is from King *Agbarus* to *Chriſt*, inviting him, upon the great Report he had heard of his divine Virtues and miraculous Cures, to come and heal him; and, if he pleaſed, to make his City the Place of his Reſidence; ſince he had heard of the *Jews*' Outrages and Plots againſt him. The other contains our Saviour's Anſwer to *Agbarus*, wherein he highly approves of his Faith; but tells him, that as to his Removal, he muſt accompliſh the Things for which he was ſent, in the Place where he then was, and afterwards return to him that ſent him: That immediately after his Aſcenſion, he would ſend one of his Diſciples to the King, to heal his Diſtemper, and give Life to him and all his Family. This Promiſe of our Lord was made good by St. *Thomas*; who, by a ſpecial Direction of the Holy Ghoſt, ſent *Thaddæus* to *Edeſſa* to heal the King, and plant Chriſtianity there.

As to the Authority of theſe Letters, that of our Saviour is mentioned by St. *Ephrem*, *Auguſtine*, *Procopius*, *Evagrius*, *J. Damaſcene*, and *Theodorus Studita*, and looked upon them to be genuine. We have before [mm] quoted ſeveral Moderns who are of the ſame Mind.

But notwithſtanding the Opinion of all theſe, ſeveral Perſons judge that this Letter is ſuppoſititious, and maintain that it ought to be rejected as ſuch: *Becauſe*, ſay they, *if it were a true Letter, it ought to be received into the Canon, and accounted as a venerable Part of Scripture.* But on the contrary it is certain, that the Church never acknowledged it as ſuch: Nay, the Council of *Rome*, under *Gelaſius*, ranks it among the Apocryphal Writings.

This Difficulty, ſay they on the other Side, tho' very conſiderable, yet may be ſolved by ſaying; "That the Church, not having received this Letter by the ordinary Way in which it receives the Scripture, namely, a conſtant and perpetual Tradition from the Apoſtles, but only by the ſingle Authority of the Archives of *Edeſſa*, never admitted it as Canonical, but accounted it an Apocryphal Writing; not as if it were aboſolutely falſe, but as not ſufficiently atteſted to warrant the Church to receive it as Canonical Scripture." St. *Auſtin* ſays, [n] That "if a Letter of *Jeſus Chriſt*'s be produced, we muſt examine from whence it comes, before we allow it any Authority:" And adds, "That 'tis not to be doubted but that *Enoch* writ ſome holy Book or Prophecy, ſince St. *Jude* aſſures us of it; and yet the *Jews* never had ſufficient Reaſon to put it among the Canonical Scriptures kept in the Temple, becauſe they had not a ſufficient Proof that it was his, from Perſons who had it from him, and had conveyed it to them by an uninterrupted Succeſſion."

To proceed with the Hiſtory of *Thaddæus*: *Euſebius* aſſures us, That altho' he was ſenſible that he was ſent to *Edeſſa* chiefly for *Agbarus*'s Sake, yet he took up his Abode firſt at a certain Man's Houſe named *Tobias*, where he began to make his Preaching admirable by a great Number of Miracles, which he did in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Agbarus* had ſome Notice of ſuch an extraordinary Perſon, and preſently ſuppoſing that he was the Man promiſed by *Jeſus Chriſt* in his Letter, ſent to *Tobias* to bring him to him. *Thaddæus* having this Summons to the Court, went without Delay, and found all the chief Lords of the Country met together in the Palace. At his Entrance into the Chamber where they were aſſembled, the Hiſtory tells us, that *Agbarus* ſaw ſomething extraordinary in his Face, and going near to him, fell down at his Feet, and worſhipped him; at which all his Attendants were amazed.

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[h] Rom.
[i] Plus mihi profuit dubitatio Thomæ, quam credulitas Mariæ.
[k] John xxi. 2.
[l] Acts i. 13.
[ll] Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 12.
[m] See Page 685 of this Work, where the two Letters are recited at large.
[mm] Ubi ſupra.
[n] Auguſt. in Fauſt. lib. xxviii. cap. 4.

He then aſked him, Whether it was true that was reported of him, That he was a Diſciple of *Jeſus*, the Son of God, who had promiſed to ſend him a Perſon to cure him? *Thaddæus* anſwered him, *Yes*: That he was come to reward the Faith which he had in *Jeſus*; and that he ſhould obtain what he deſired, according to the Sincerity and Truth of his Faith in him. *Agbarus* replied, like a Soldier, That he had ſo great a Faith in him, that had it not been for the *Romans*, he would have cut in Pieces all the *Jews* who crucified him. *Thaddæus* thereupon ſaid, That *Jeſus* had by his Death fulfilled the Will of his Father, and was again returned to him. Then *Agbarus* replying, That he believed both in him and his Father; *Thaddæus* laid his Hands upon him, and healed him immediately. *Agbarus* admired his Power, which was ſo efficacious to heal him: He was filled with great Joy; and ſo much the more, becauſe one of his Friends, named *Abdus*, who was grievouſly tortured with the Gout, received alſo a perfect Cure of his Diſtemper by the ſame Hands. After this, *Thaddæus* did many other Miracles in the Name of *Chriſt*.

Agbarus being thus convinced that *Thaddæus* was a Diſciple of *Chriſt*, deſired him farther to inſtruct him particularly in the Doctrines of his Holy Maſter. *Thaddæus* did not give him a Denial, but deſired him to wait till the next Day, and call together all his City, that he might deliver his Meſſage, which equally concerned all Mankind, not only to him, but to as many others as he could at the ſame Time. *Agbarus* conſented to his Requeſt, and before he went away preſented him with a great Quantity of Gold; which the holy Man refuſed to accept, giving him this modeſt Anſwer, *If we have left all our own Wealth to follow* Chriſt, *how ſhall we receive it of others?*

The next Day the City met, according to the Order of the Prince; and *Thaddæus*, who had before prepared their Minds to receive the Doctrine he taught, by the Miracles he had wrought among them, inſtructed them, "How *Jeſus* was born of a Virgin; and being the Son of God incarnate, came down from Heaven to ſave Sinners: That being furniſhed with a divine Power, he wrought many Miracles: That he preached the Truth of God neceſſary to Salvation; and when his Time was come, was delivered into the Hands of the *Jews*, who crucified him and put him to Death: That he remained in the State of Death three Days; in which Time he viſited the Receſſes of the dead Saints, and damned Souls; and at the End of them roſe again from the Dead, and brought many Saints from the Grave with him; with whom he aſcended into the Glory of the Father, and there ſits on the Right Hand of God, till he ſhall come again from thence to judge both the Quick and the Dead." Theſe Words were ſo prevalent with the Hearers, that the whole City embraced the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*: And, *Euſebius* ſays, they perſevered in it to his Time, and gave many illuſtrious Proofs of their Faith at ſeveral Times in that Series of Years. Nevertheleſs the Apoſtle himſelf, by whom God wrought the Converſion of this City, is ſcarce known to the Church, becauſe he is commonly taken for the Apoſtle *Judas*, who was alſo named *Thaddæus*. For this Reaſon the *Latins* give no particular Honour to the Name *Thaddæus*; but the *Greek* Church keep his Feaſt *Auguſt* the Twenty-firſt, and hold that he died at *Berytus* in *Phenicia*, after he had baptized and converted many People to the Faith in that City.

The Apoſtolic Province aſſigned to St. *Thomas*, in the Diſtribution made by the Twelve, was [n] *Parthia*, as *Origen* tells us: After which, *Sophronius* and others ſay, he preached the Goſpel to the *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Carmanians*, *Hyrcanians*, *Bactrians*, and the neighbouring Nations. The Author of the imperfect Comment upon St. *Matthew*, who is thought to have writ in the fifth Age, ſays, that St. *Thomas* came amongſt the *Magi*, to whom *Pliny* allots a diſtinct Region in *Perſia*, and from whence thoſe Eaſtern Sages came who brought Preſents to *Chriſt* at his Nativity: That he baptized ſeveral of them, and ordain'd them to aſſiſt him by preaching in thoſe large and populous Countries. That he paſſed through the *Aſian Ethiopia*, and at laſt came to the *Indies*, is proved by antient Tradition, and ſeveral Monuments extant among thoſe People to this Day.

We are told by [o] *Nicephorus*, that our Apoſtle was at firſt unwilling to venture himſelf in thoſe Countries, fearing he ſhould find the Peoples Manners as rude and untractable as their Faces were black and deformed; till encouraged by a Viſion, that aſſured him of the Divine Preſence to aſſiſt him, he travelled a great Way into thoſe Eaſtern Nations, as far as the Iſland *Taprobane*, ſince called *Sumatra*, and the Country of the *Brachmans*; preaching every where with all Gentleneſs, not flying out into bitter Invectives againſt their idolatrous Practices, but calmly inſtructing them in the Principles of Chriſtianity; and that by theſe mild and patient Methods, he prevail'd with many to renounce their Superſtitions, and embrace the Faith of *Chriſt*.

The *Portugueſe* Miſſionaries, who were ſent hither upon the *Europeans* firſt diſcovering theſe Parts, have [p] inform'd us, that there are Chriſtians there, call'd *Chriſtians of St.* Thomas, becauſe they acknowledge him for their Apoſtle and firſt Preacher. They had then no Dependance on the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was adminiſter'd among them in both Kinds: The Bread was ſeaſoned with Salt; and, inſtead of Wine, which their Country affordeth not, they made uſe of the Juice of Raiſins, ſoften'd one Night in Water, and then preſs'd. They baptized not their Infants till they were forty Days old, except in Danger of Death. They uſed not Extreme Unction. They had no Images in their Churches, but only the Croſs. Their Prieſts were only prohibited ſecond Marriages. Their Numbers, at the *Europeans* firſt coming amongſt them, were computed to be fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Families.

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[n] The Parthians were at this Time ſo powerful a People, as to be able to contend with the Romans themſelves.

[o] Niceph. lib. ii. cap. 40.

[p] See Alexis of Meneſes Archbiſhop of Goa's Hiſtory, in the Year 1599; and Breerewood's Enquiries, cap. 20.

The Account which the *Portugueſe* receiv'd from theſe Chriſtians concerning St. *Thomas*, was to this Effect: [q] That he firſt came to *Socotora*, an Iſland in the *Arabian Sea*: Thence to *Cranganor*; where having converted many, he travell'd farther into the *Eaſt*; and having ſucceſsfully preached the Goſpel, return'd back into the Kingdom of *Coromandel*. Here, at *Maliapur*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, not far from the Influx of the *Ganges* into the Gulph of *Bengal*, he began to erect a Place for divine Worſhip, till prohibited by the Prieſts, and *Sagamo* Prince of that Country. But upon the working of ſeveral Miracles, the Building went forwards, and King *Sagamo* himſelf embraced the Chriſtian Faith; whoſe Example was ſoon follow'd by a great Number of his Friends and Subjects. The *Brachmans*, or Heathen Prieſts, perceiving that if this went on, it would in time extirpate their Idolatry, and deprive them of the Advantages they made of it, reſolved to ſtop its farther Progreſs, by compaſſing the Death of the Apoſtle. There was a Tomb not far from the City *Maliapur*, whither St. *Thomas* uſed to retire to his private Devotions. Hither the *Brachmans* took their Opportunity to purſue him with an armed Force, and while he was intent upon his Prayers, they loaded him with Darts and Stones, and then diſpatched him with running a Lance through his Body. His Corps was interr'd by his Converts, in the Church of his own Foundation before-mentioned; where the Eaſtern Chriſtians affirm that it ſtill remains, tho' others ſay it was tranſlated to *Edeſſa*.

While Don *Alfonſo Souſa*, one of the Viceroys of *India*, under *John* the Third King of *Portugal*, reſided in thoſe Parts, [r] certain Braſs Tables were brought to him, whoſe antient Inſcriptions could ſcarce be read; till at laſt, by the Help of a *Jew*, they were found to contain nothing but a Donation made to St. *Thomas*, whereby the King, who then reigned, granted to him a Piece of Ground for the Building of his Church. They tell us alſo of a famous Croſs, found in St. *Thomas*'s Chapel at *Maliapur*, whereon was an unintelligible Inſcription, explain'd at laſt by a learned *Bramin*, who was compell'd to read it, to this Effect: "That *Thomas*, a divine Perſons, was ſent into thoſe Countries by the Son of God, in the Time of King *Sagamo*, to inſtruct them in the Knowledge of the true God; that he built a Church, and perform'd admirable Miracles; but at laſt, while upon his Knees at Prayer, was by a *Brachman* thruſt through with a Spear; and that that Croſs, ſtain'd with his Blood, had been left as a Memorial of theſe Matters." This Interpretation was afterwards confirm'd by another grave and learned *Bramin*. Upon this Paſſage the learned Dr. *Cave* makes the following Reflection. "The judicious Reader, *ſays he*, will meaſure his Belief of theſe Things by the Credit of the Reporters, and the rational Probability of the Things themſelves; which, for my Part, as I cannot certainly affirm to be true, ſo I will not utterly conclude them to be falſe."

Theſe Relations of the *Portugueſe* Miſſionaries, concerning the Martyrdom and Burial of St. *Thomas* at *Maliapur*, are wholly rejected by *Antony Pagi*; who ſays, [s] the Relaters were too credulous to the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*. This Author thinks it better to adhere to the Account of *Rufinus*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and ſeveral other Writers and Martyrologies, that the Apoſtle ſuffered Martyrdom among the *Medes* and *Parthians*, who are likewiſe called *Indians*, and that his Body was tranſlated to *Edeſſa*.

St. *Chryſoſtome* ſays, [t] that St. *Thomas*, who at firſt was the moſt weak and moſt incredulous of all the Apoſtles, became, thro' *Chriſt*'s Condeſcenſion to ſatiſfy his Scruples, and the Power of divine Grace, the moſt active and invincible of them all; travelling over moſt Parts of the World, and living without Fear in the midſt of barbarous Nations. The Church acknowledges nothing to be left by him in Writing, tho' the *Manichees* have forged ſeveral Things under his Name, to favour their own Hereſy. His Feaſt, according to the Martyrologies, is to be kept on the Twenty-firſt of *December*.

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[q] Maſſ. Hiſt. Indic. lib. ii. p. 85.

[s] Ant. Pag. ad. A. D. 327. n. 10.

[r] Oſorius de rebus Emanuelis, lib. iii. p. 120.

[t] Chryſ. in Joan. hom. 64.

The LIFE *of St.* JAMES the LESS.

St. James the Leſs, *who he was, and in what Senſe our Lord's Brother. Character of his Mother* Mary; *and* Cleophas, *or* Alphæus, *his Father.* St. James *conſtituted Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. *But two* James's *mentioned in the New Teſtament.* St. James *preſides at the Apoſtolical Synod held at* Jeruſalem. *Perſuades* Paul *to purify himſelf. Writes his Epiſtle. Writings falſely attributed to him. His Martyrdom, Piety, and Character.*

ST. *James the Leſs* is called in Holy Scripture the Son [a] of *Alphæus* and [b] *Mary*; the Brother [c] of *Jude, Joſes,* and *Simon,* and of [d] our Lord. But in what Senſe he is called our Lord's Brother, is a Matter of much Controverſy amongſt Hiſtorians and Interpreters. Some think he was ſurnamed the *Leſs* from the Stature of his Body, to diſtinguiſh him from *James* the Son of *Zebedee,* who being a big Man was thence called the *Great*; But more probably theſe Names were from their different Ages. Many are of Opinion that *Alphæus* was the firſt Huſband of *Mary,* afterwards the Wife of *Cleophas,* and that by him *James* was her Son. Others think *Cleophas* and *Alphæus* to be one and the ſame Perſon. Others hold that *Alphæus* is no other than *Joſeph,* our Lord's reputed Father; and that he had *James, Joſes,* and other Children, by a former Wife. Nor is there leſs Diverſity of Opinions concerning his Mother. Some ſuppoſe ſhe was Siſter to the Bleſſed Virgin: For indeed her being of the ſame Name, *Mary,* is no Hindrance; that being but Part of her Name. Others, who do not hold the perpetual Virginity of our Lord's Mother, believe, that after his miraculous Nativity, ſhe had *James* and other Children by her Husband *Joſeph,* becauſe in Holy Scripture they are ſo expreſly called *the Brethren of our Lord.*

But becauſe many Difficulties would ariſe, if we ſhould allow them to be ſo in the ſtricteſt Senſe; therefore the moſt judicious Writers obſerve, that they might be ſtiled our Lord's Brethren, as being of near Kindred to his Parents, tho' not their own proper Offſpring; it being familiar in the Language of the *Jews* for Couſin-germans to call Brethren and Siſters. Thus, [e] *we Brethren,* ſaid *Abraham* to *Lot*; whereas *Abraham* was the Son of *Terah, Lot* of *Haran.* So *Moſes* [f] ſpake to *Michael* and *Elzaphan, to carry their Brethren from before the Sanctuary*; whereas thoſe Brethren were *Nadab* and *Abihu,* the Sons, not of their own Father *Uzziel,* but of *Aaron,* who was their Couſin-german. And, to give one Inſtance more, *Jacob* tells [g] *Rachael, That he was her Father's Brother*; whereas *Laban, Rachael's* Father, was his Uncle, being ſtrictly Brother to his Mother *Rebekah.*

Gregory Nyſſen [gg] is of Opinion, that our Apoſtle was ſomewhat older than our Bleſſed Saviour; of the Tribe of *Judah*; an Inhabitant, if not a Native, of *Capernaum*; dedicated to God by his Mother, like *Sampſon,* before he was born, and thereby obliged to obſerve the Rules preſcribed to the *Nazarites.* If this latter be true, it is not likely that he was a *Publican,* as ſome pretend; that ſcandalous Profeſſion being inconſiſtent with the Strictneſs and Severity, which he had taken upon him to practiſe. He was a Perſon of ſuch unuſual Integrity and Sanctity of Life, that he was thence denominated *James the Juſt.*

His Parents, as well as himſelf, were early and exemplary Chriſtians. We find his Mother reckon'd among thoſe who hoſpitably entertain'd our Lord in *Galilee.* And ſhe [h] deſerted him not at his Trial, as his Diſciples did; but follow'd him weeping. She ſtood by the Croſs with his Mother, during the Time of his Crucifixion: But after he had recommended the Bleſſed Virgin to the Care of the beloved Diſciple, ſhe retired and ſtood afar off, while he breathed out his laſt Breath. And when his ſacred Body was taken down, ſhe obſerved the Tomb where it was laid, that ſhe might cauſe it to be embalm'd after the beſt Faſhion of the *Jewiſh* Funerals; for which purpoſe ſhe immediately provided Spices and precious Ointments. And as ſoon as the intervening Sabbath was over, ſhe with others [i] return'd to the Sepulchre to do this laſt Office; where ſhe had the Happineſs to receive the firſt joyful News of his Reſurrection from the Mouth of an Angel, appearing like a Man in glorious Apparel. And as ſhe was returning with a glad Heart to tell this to the Apoſtles, ſhe was favoured with an Appearance of *Chriſt* himſelf, and had the Honour to be amongſt the firſt who caſt themſelves at his Feet, after his Triumph over Death and the Grave. Her Memory is preſerved in the *Latin* Church on the Twenty-fifth of *May,* and in the *Greek* on the Eighth of *April.*

His Father *Alphæus,* or [k] *Cleophas,* was likewiſe a Diſciple of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and [l] look'd upon him while he liv'd, as the Redeemer of *Iſrael*; but began to doubt of it, and faint in his Hopes, when he found that he was apprehended, condemned, and crucified; not knowing that he was to accompliſh the Redemption of his People by that Means. He was [m] going to *Emmaus,* a little Village not many Miles diſtant from *Jeruſalem,* in the Company of another Diſciple, on that very Day that our Lord roſe from the Dead; who came up with them *incognito,* as they were diſcourſing together, and ſadly remembering his Sufferings. He inquired, as if he had been a Stranger, what that great Event was, which had happen'd of late, and made them ſo penſive. Upon their informing him of the whole Matter, he ſet himſelf to demonſtrate to them from *Moſes* and the Prophets, that the Meſſiah was thus to ſuffer, and to riſe again from the Dead: And that he was thus riſen, he ſoon convinced them, by diſcovering himſelf to them, and letting them ſee plainly who he was. Thus our Apoſtle's Parents were the firſt of their reſpective Sexes, whom our Lord vouchſafed to certify of the Truth of his Reſurrection. *Cleophas* is alſo honoured with a Name in the Calendar. In the *Latin* Church his Day is *September* the Twenty-fifth, but among the *Greeks* the Thirteenth of *October*.

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[a] Matth. x. 3.
[b] Matth. xxvii. 56.
[c] Matth. xiii. 55.
[d] Gal. i. 19.
[e] Gen. xiii. 8.
[f] Lev. x. 4.
[g] Gen. xxix. 12.
[gg] Greg. Nyſſ. de reſ.
[h] Matth xxvii. 56. Mark xv. 40. John xix. 25.
[i] Matth. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. 1. Luke xxiv. 10.
[k] Luke xxiv. 18.
[l] Ver. 21.
[m] Ver. 13.

And that our Saviour appeared in a very ſpecial Manner to St. *James* the Son of *Mary* and *Alphæus*, [n] is affirm'd by St. *Paul*. St. *Jerome* [nn] quotes a Paſſage out of the *Hebrew* Goſpel of the *Nazarenes*, importing, that our Apoſtle had bound himſelf with an Oath, not to eat or drink from the Time of his Maſter's Laſt Supper, till he ſaw him reſtored again from the Dead; and that our Lord, to releaſe him of his Vow, appeared to him on the Day of his Reſurrection, and commanding a Table to be ſpread, took Bread, and bleſſed it, and gave it to *James*, ſaying, *Eat thy Bread, my Brother, for the Son of Man is riſen from among them that ſleep.* But a very learned Writer well obſerves, that this is a fabulous Story, as being inconſiſtent with the Goſpel, which plainly intimates how little the Diſciples imagined that *Chriſt* ſhould riſe again, and what Pains he was at to convince them of this, even when it was really fulfilled.

St. *James* was conſtituted Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, according to ſome, by the immediate Appointment of *Chriſt* himſelf before his Aſcenſion. Others hold that he was elected to this Charge by the Apoſtles, who unanimouſly gave him the Preference before all others, to be the firſt Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, the Mother of all Churches, on Account of his near Relation to our Lord: For which Reaſon alſo *Simeon* was choſen his immediate Succeſſor. Hence *James* is ſtiled by the Antients *the firſt Biſhop*; *the Archbiſhop*, *Prince*, *and Biſhop of Biſhops*; *the Chieftain of* Jeruſalem, *the Leader of the Prieſts.* And this agrees with the Eccleſiaſtical Tradition [o] mentioned by *Euſebius*, *That the Brethren and Kinſmen of our Lord, while they lived, were preferred before other Apoſtles and Biſhops.* This Election by the Apoſtles is ſaid by ſome to be only a Declaration of his former Election and Conſecration by *Chriſt* himſelf; which they ſuppoſe to be the ſole Reaſon why *Peter*, *James the Great*, or *John*, were not preferred to him, they ſeeming to have diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than he in the Life-time of their Maſter.

Some have fancied that *James the Juſt*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, was a diſtinct Perſon from our Apoſtle; and there is a Story of three that were called *James*; namely, *James the Great*, *James the Leſs*, and *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. But this, ſays Dr. *Cave*, is a great Miſtake, and built upon a ſandy Bottom. For beſides that the Scripture mentions no more than two of this Name, and both Apoſtles; nothing can be plainer, than that St. *James*, whom St. *Paul* calls the Brother of our Lord, was the ſame that preſided among the Apoſtles, and determined the Diſpute in the Synod at *Jeruſalem*. Nor do either *Clemens Alexandrinus* or *Euſebius* mention any more than two; *James*, beheaded by *Herod*; and *James the Juſt*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, whom they expreſly affirm to be the ſame with him whom St. *Paul* calls the Brother of our Lord. Once indeed *Euſebius* makes our Apoſtle one of the Seventy; though elſewhere, quoting a Place out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, he numbers him with the Chief of the Apoſtles, and expreſly diſtinguiſhes him from the ſeventy Diſciples. The contrary Opinion hath no better Support than *Clement's Recognitions*, a Book of no Weight in diſputable Caſes, to turn the Scale.

In this high Station, which was not then look'd upon only as a Place of Honour and Profit, but of infinite Pains and Hazard, St. *James* acquitted himſelf ſo well, notwithſtanding the Diſturbances of falſe Brethren and open Perſecutors, that he was much reverenced by all the reſt of the Apoſtles and Chriſtians. To him St. *Paul* made his Addreſs after his Converſion, when he went up to *Jeruſalem*, to eſcape the Treachery of the *Jews* of *Damaſcus*; and he glories in it, that [p] he obtained of *James the Right Hand of Fellowſhip.* To him St. *Peter* ſends an Expreſs of his miraculous Deliverance out of Priſon, as to the Perſon of greateſt Regard among the Chriſtians of that City. [q] *Go ſhew theſe Things to* James, *and to the Brethren.* To him they referred themſelves as to an Oracle, and one of the main Supports of the Chriſtian Cauſe, in that memorable [r] Synod which was held at *Jeruſalem*, to conſider how far the *Gentile* Converts ſhould obſerve the *Moſaic* Rites and Uſages: After *Peter*, *Paul*, and *Barnabas*, had open'd and ſtated the Caſe, *James* [s] ſtood up, and authoritatively determined, that the Churches of the *Gentiles* were not to be loaded with the Bondage of the *Jewiſh* Yoke; only that they ſhould be careful to keep themſelves inoffenſive in theſe four momentous Points. Firſt, *To abſtain from Meats offered to Idols*, becauſe otherwiſe they might ſeem to partake in the Idolatry. Secondly, *From Fornication*, which the *Gentiles* accounted little or no Crime. Thirdly, *From Things ſtrangled*, which were exceeding odious to the *Jews*. And, Fourthly, *From Blood*; which was ſuppoſed to have been forbidden, to deter Men from Cruelty and Bloodſhed. And with theſe Injunctions he ſays, [t] *I decide the Controverſy*; and his Sentence was readily allow'd of by the Council, as given by the Direction of the Holy Spirit. St. *Chryſoſtome* ſays, that *Paul* and *Barnabas*, in this Affair, were ſent more immediately to St. *James*, as one who was always reſident at *Jeruſalem*; the other Apoſtles being ſometimes there, and ſometimes elſewhere, as their Miniſtry required. If ſo, it will ſeem probable, that *James* ſummoned the Council to conſult about their Buſineſs. This Synod was held in the Year of our Lord 49, according to Biſhop *Pearſon*, in the ninth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, and about five Years after the Martyrdom of the elder *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*. Some place it two Years later.

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[n] 1 Cor. xv. 7.
[nn] Hieron. de vir. illuſt. cap. 2.
[o] Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib ii cap. 1. & lib. iii. cap. 11.
[p] Gal. ii. 9.
[q] Acts xii. 17.
[r] Acts xv.
[s] Ver. 13, &c.
[t] Κρίνω. In our Tranſlation, *My Sentence is.* Ver. 19.

Upon this Occaſion St. *Paul*[u] gave an Account of the Doctrine he had preached among the *Gentiles*, to *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, the Heads of the Church, who were all of great Reputation for Piety and Knowledge. And altho' St. *Peter* is uſually mentioned firſt among the Apoſtles, yet here St. *Paul* ſets St. *James* before him, to ſhew us that Priority was no proper Privilege to any one of them, but that St. *James* was as great a Pillar in the Houſe of God as *Peter*. Theſe three Apoſtles all approved of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, and Manner of inſtructing the *Gentiles*; and agreed that *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſhould go on in preaching to the Heathen, while they themſelves did the ſame to the *Jews*; acknowledging and owning each other for Fellow-Apoſtles, and Diſciples of the ſame Lord.

The *Jews*, after they had embraced the Faith of *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſtill retained a very great Zeal for the Law of *Moſes*; for which Reaſon St. *James* tolerated the Uſage of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies in that Church, and ſubmitted himſelf to them. This gave a Foundation for that which happened at *Antioch* after the Council before-mentioned; for when ſome *Jewiſh* Converts came down thither, being ſent by St. *James* about the Church's Affairs, *Peter* ſeparated himſelf from the *Gentiles*, with whom he had freely converſed before, for fear of offending the *Jews*: Which being likely to prove of ill Conſequence, St. *Paul* openly and boldly reproved him for his ſinful Compliance, tending to confirm the *Jews*, and offend the *Gentiles*.

More Acts of our Apoſtle occur not in ſacred Writ; except it be this, that he, with his Preſbyters, [w] perſuaded St. *Paul*, at his Arrival in *Jeruſalem* with the Alms and Oblations of foreign Churches, to go into the Temple, and purify himſelf with ſome others, and ſubmit to certain legal Obſervances; in order to take off an Imputation, which ſome of his Adverſaries had faſten'd upon him, to the Hindrance of his Miniſtry, that he taught the *Jews* of the Diſperſion to contemn the *Moſaic* Ordinances. St. *James* uſed not any Epiſcopal Juriſdiction in this Affair, but modeſtly propounded what was moſt convenient for him in that Place; where tho' many of the *Jews* believed, yet they were zealous of the Law, and would not endure any that ſhould teach the Abrogation of it. The *Jewiſh* Chriſtians continued their Zeal for the Law, and the Mixture of Chriſtianity with their antient Ceremonies, till the Time of the Emperor *Adrian*, who denied them the Liberty of going to *Jeruſalem*.

Eccleſiaſtical Writers farther inform us, That about the Year 60 he wrote that Epiſtle which bears his Name, and is the firſt of the ſeven General Ones in the ſacred Canon. It is inſcribed, *to the twelve Tribes that are ſcattered abroad*. The Occaſion of it ſeems to have been, 1ſt, To correct the pernicious Errors both in Doctrine and Manners, which were grown very prevalent amongſt the *Jews*. 2*dly*, To comfort and eſtabliſh the ſincere Believers under the Preſſures which then lay upon them, or which they might ſhortly expect, either from Infidels or falſe Brethren. To which we may add St. *Auſtin*'s[x] Remark, That it was levell'd againſt a pernicious Hereſy then growing up in the Church, That a bare ſpeculative Faith was ſufficient for the Attainment of Salvation, without the Coſt and Trouble of good Works;" and another impious Conceit, which ſome were ſo hardy as to broach, "That God was the Author of Sin." The whole is writ in an unaffected and maſculine Style, full of ſolid and uſeful Matter, and well becomes the Pen of an Apoſtle and Biſhop. It is quoted by *Clemens Romanus* four ſeveral Times, by *Ignatius* in his genuine Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, and by *Origen* in his thirteenth Homily upon *Geneſis*. Which we particularly mention, becauſe *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome* acquaint us, that ſome Perſons queſtion'd the Authority of it: Yet the former ſays, even then it was generally own'd, and publicly read in moſt Chriſtian Churches; and the latter, that in Proceſs of Time it obtain'd Authority. *Eſtius* obſerves, "That they who before doubted of it, in the fourth Century embraced the Opinion of thoſe who received it; and that from thence-forward no Church nor Eccleſiaſtical Writer is found, who ever doubted of it; but on the contrary, all the Catalogues of the Books of Holy Scripture, publiſhed by general or provincial Councils, *Roman* Biſhops, or other Orthodox Writers, number it amongſt the Canonical Scriptures."

St. *Jerome* poſitively aſſerts, [y] that he wrote nothing beſides this Epiſtle. But *Origen* ſpeaks of a Writing of St. *James*'s, which was commonly, in his Time, joined with the [z] Goſpel of St. *Peter*. *Poſtellus* brought out of the Eaſt a *Proto-Evangelium*, or preparatory Goſpel, giving an Account of the Pedigree and Birth of the Virgin *Mary*, and of many other Things not altogether unconſonant with the Truth of genuine Scriptures. This Work he will needs father upon St. *James*; but both Style and Matter ſufficiently betray the Fiction. 'Tis ſtrange that ſuch great Critics as *Leo Allatius*, and the Cardinals *Baronius* and *Bona*, ſhould aſcribe to St. *James* a Liturgy of a very mean Stamp, tho' they do not wholly adopt it for his, but own it to be interpolated. It is thought however, that many of the particular Paſſages, and the Order of adminiſtrating the Sacraments, preſcribed in this Liturgy, are pretty antient. *Athanaſius* attributes to him the *Greek* Verſion of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel.

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[u] Gal ii. 2—9.

[w] Acts xxi. 20, &c.

[x] This Father hath written a long Epiſtle to explain one particular Paſſage in the Epiſtle of St. James.

[y] Hieron. de vir. illuſt. cap. 2.

[z] By this we ſuppoſe he meant St. Mark's Goſpel, ſaid to have been dictated by St. Peter.

We are next to ſpeak of the Martyrdom of St. *James the Leſs*, which happen'd while *Albinus* was on his Way from *Rome*, to take upon him the Government of *Judea*, being the twelfth Governor after the Baniſhment of *Archelaus*, and the ſixth from the Death of *Herod Agrippa*. In the Interval between the Departure of *Feſtus* and the Coming of *Albinus*, the *Jews*, diſappointed of their Deſigns againſt *Paul*, who had lately appeal'd to *Cæſar*, turned all their Fury upon St. *James*, and reſolved to diſpatch him before the new Governor could arrive. To this End, *Ananus* the Younger, then High-Prieſt, a mercileſs *Sadducee*, ſummon'd a Council, before which St. *James*, amongſt others, was convened. His Judges, prepar'd before-hand to condemn him, could willingly have diſpens'd with a tedious Proceſs; only that they might ſeem righteous to the People, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* managed an inſiduous Charge againſt him. "They begun with deploring the miſerable State of the Multitude, that they were fatally beſotted with an Opinion, that *Jeſus* was the Meſſiah. They entreated *James*, in Regard of his great Vogue with the Populace for Sincerity, Virtue, and Judgment, that he would endeavour to ſet them right by his Diſcourſes, which, out of their great Veneration for him, they would immediately follow. Go up, ſaid they, upon the Battlements of the Temple, that you may be the more eaſily ſeen and heard of the People." For it was the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, on which Occaſion, not only the Tribes of the *Jews*, but likewiſe many *Gentile* Proſelytes, were aſſembled at the Temple for divine Worſhip. To the Top of which when they had caus'd St. *James* to go up, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* began to demand of him, "Tell us, *Juſtus*, and the People who are Worſhippers of *Jeſus* that was crucified, what you think of this Way of Religion? For we are all ready to be determined by you in this Matter." The Apoſtle anſwered with a loud Voice, "As to what you enquire concerning *Jeſus* the Son of Man, he now ſits at the Right Hand of God, and ſhall come again in the Clouds of Heaven." The People below hearing this, gave Glory to *Chriſt*, and ſhouted forth *Hoſannahs* to the Son of *David*. But the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* ſaid one to another; "We have done wrong in giving him this Opportunity to magnify *Jeſus*: We have nothing left now, but to go up immediately, and throw him down headlong, that others, being terrified, may profeſs this Faith no longer." Whereupon ſetting up a vehement Outcry, that Juſtus *himſelf was in a damnable Error*, they went and threw him headlong from the Summit of the Temple. However, he was not killed outright by the Fall, but roſe upon his Knees, and pray'd, ſaying; *O Lord and heavenly Father, I beſeech thee pardon them, for they know not what they do.* The *Jews*, when they ſaw this, call'd out to one another to ſtone him: Which as they were doing, one of the Prieſts, of the Family of the *Rechabites*, well ſpoken of by *Jeremiah*, earneſtly beſought them *to ſpare a juſt and good Man, who was praying for them.* While he was thus interpoſing for him, one of them, who was a Fuller, and had his Club in his Hand which they beat their Cloth with in the Water, ſtruck the Apoſtle on the Head, and put an End to his Life.

Such was the Martyrdom of *James the Leſs* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, a Man of that divine Temper and exact Goodneſs, that as *Ariſtides* among the *Athenians*, ſo he chiefly of all his Countrymen had the Honour of being ſurnamed the *Juſt*: Of that abſtracted Piety, that he almoſt wholly neglected his Body, for the Sake of ſpiritual Things. He always lived in the State of Celibacy. He neither did eat Fleſh, nor drink Wine, or any ſtrong Liquor. He wore nothing of Woollen, but cloth'd himſelf only in a Linen Garment. He neither anointed nor bathed, nor trimmed his Head, as the Cuſtom is in thoſe Eaſtern Countries. He had a Privilege (which the Antients ſay was peculiar to him, probably becauſe more frequenty uſed by him than any other) to enter into the Sanctuary, whither none but the Prieſts might come. He was frequently in the Temple by himſelf, interceding with God for the Sins of the People; and proſtrated himſelf ſo often, that the Skin of his Knees grew as thick and hard as a Camel's Hide. This Account of St. *James*'s Life and Death is given by [a] *Euſebius*.

The more conſcientious and religious Part of the Citizens were highly diſpleas'd with *Ananus* for this horrid Execution, and ſent ſecretly to *Agrippa*, who had advanced him to the Dignity of High-Prieſt, beſeeching him that he might not be ſuffer'd to attempt any ſuch Thing for the future. And ſome of them, who went out to meet *Albinus*, and conduct him to his Government, inform'd him, that *Ananus* had exceeded his Power in aſſembling the Council, which he ought not to have done without his Licence. Whereupon *Albinus* ſent him a Letter full of Reſentment, and *Agrippa* [b] removed him from the Prieſthood, after he had enjoy'd that Office three Months.

In ſhort, *James* was the Delight of all good Men; in ſo much Favour and Eſteem with the People, that they uſed to flock about him, and ſtrive who ſhould touch, though it were but the Hem of his Garment. They called him *Oblias*, or *Ozliam*; that is, *the Defence and Fortreſs of the People*; meaning, that his Prayers and Intereſt in the Court of Heaven, conduced much to the Safety of their Nation: And they imputed much of their following Diſaſters to the barbarous Execution which had been done upon him. His Epiſcopal Chair was preſerved with a ſort of Veneration for ſome Hundreds of Years, even to [c] *Euſebius*'s Time. *Epiphanius* ſays, he died in the ninety-ſixth Year of his Age, and the twenty-fourth after *Chriſt*'s Aſcenſion. St. *Jerom* ſays, that he was thirty Years Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and finiſhed his Courſe in the ſeventh of *Nero*'s Empire, which was *A. D.* 60. the ſame Year that St. *Paul* went to *Rome* upon his Appeal to *Cæſar*. *Hegeſippus* in *Euſebius* reports, that he was buried near the Temple, in the Place of his Martyrdom, and that a Monument was there erected for him, which remained a long Time after. But Dr. *Cave*, with good Reaſon, queſtions the Truth of this; becauſe the *Jews* did not uſually bury within their City, much leſs ſo near the Temple; and leaſt of all one whom they had executed, as ſo grievous an Offender againſt their Law. He therefore prefers the Opinion of *Gregory* of *Tours*, that he was buried upon Mount *Olivet*, in a Tomb which he had there provided for himſelf. His Feaſt is kept in the *Latin* Church on the Firſt of *May*, in Conjunction with St. *Philip*'s; but the *Greeks* celebrate it on the Twenty-third of *October*.

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[a] Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 23.

[b] Joſeph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 8.

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[c] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. vii. cap. 19.

The LIFE *of St.* SIMON.

St. Simon's *Name. Why called the* Canaanite *and the* Zealot. *What the* Zealots *were. St.* Simon *zealous for the Honour of his Lord. How diſtinguiſhed from* Symeon *Biſhop of* Jeruſalem. *His Province in preaching the Goſpel. His Martyrdom. Confounded with other* Simons.

ST. *Simon* is but juſt mentioned in the Liſt of the twelve Apoſtles, and is diſtinguiſhed from *Simon Peter* by two Surnames; thoſe of the [a] *Canaanite*, and the [b] *Zealot*. From the firſt of theſe, ſome have concluded him to be [c] born at *Cana* of *Galilee*, and that it was at his Marriage that our [d] Lord turned the Water into Wine. Dr. *Mill*, in his *Greek* Teſtament, hath obſerved, that his Name in ſeveral Copies is variouſly writ, *Cananæus*, *Chananæus*, and *Cannæus*. The learned *Cave* ſays, it hath no Relation to *Simon*'s Birth-place, but deſcends from a *Hebrew* Root, which denotes *Zeal*. Accordingly St. *Luke* [e] ſtiles him *Simon Zelotes*; and ſo his two Surnames ſignify but one Thing.

When and upon what Occaſion he was called *Zealot*, is not fully agreed on. *Nicephorus* dates it only from the Time of his Apoſtleſhip; wherein, ſays he, he expreſs'd an ardent Zeal and Affection for his Maſter; was an exact Obſerver of all the Rules of his Religion, and always oppoſed with a pious Warmth and Concern ſuch as ſwerv'd from it. But then it might have been expected, that if it had been given him on this Occaſion, it ſhould have been taken notice of in the Goſpel, as well as thoſe of *Peter* and *Boanerges*, or at leaſt by ſome Author much more antient than *Nicephorus*. Others therefore, with more Probability, conclude, that before his Coming to *Chriſt*, he was one of that particular Sect or Party among the *Jews*, called *Zealots*, from [f] a ſingular Zeal they profeſſed for the Honour of God, and the Purity of Religion. This they did after the Example of *Phineas*; who, by an immediate Impulſe, and without ſtaying for the uſual Formalities of Law, [g] executed two very provoking Offenders, *Zimri* and *Cosbi*: Which Action of his was approved of God, [h] *and counted to him for Righteouſneſs through all Generations.*

In imitation of *Phineas*, *Mattathias*, the firſt of the *Maccabean* Family, made himſelf Head of a Party of Men, who took upon them to execute Judgment in extraordinary Caſes; and that not only by the Connivance, but with the Leave, of the Magiſtrates and People; till in Proceſs of Time, under Pretence of theſe Enthuſiaſms, they run out into all manner of Licentiouſneſs and wild Extravagances; and when they had turned all Things into Hurry and Confuſion, themſelves in the mean time fiſhed in theſe troubled Waters. *Joſephus* gives a large Account of them, and every where bewails the Miſchiefs they did to their Nation. Of which 'twas none of the leaſt, that after *Judea* became tributary to the *Romans*, they were continually inſtigating the People to caſt off their Yoke, and aſſert their native Liberty. Many of their prime Nobility they aſſaſſinated, as Betrayers of their Country to a foreign Power; openly glorying, that themſelves were the Benefactors and Saviours of it. They abrogated the Succeſſion of antient Families, and thruſt obſcure and baſe-bred Perſons into the Prieſts Office, that ſo they might oblige the moſt infamous Villains to their Party. In ſhort, they ſtuck at nothing, however horrid or impious: They broke into the Temple, and profaned it; they murder'd the Prieſts, join'd with the *Idumeans*, filled the Streets of *Jeruſalem* with Tumults, Rapine, and Bloodſhed, while it was beſieged by the *Romans*, and indeed were the main Cauſe of the *Jews* ill Succeſs in that fatal War. This is a true Account of the Sect of the *Zealots*, of which our Apoſtle is ſuppoſed to have been. We may reaſonably preſume, that as they were not quite ſo far degenerated in our Saviour's Time, ſo even then he was not the worſt of them. However, he ought not to ſuffer any more in our Eſteem, for having been a *Zealot*, than St. *Matthew* doth for his Trade of a *Publican*, or St. *Paul*, who was once a *Phariſee*, and a violent Perſecutor of the Church of *Chriſt*.

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[a] Matth. x. 4. Mark iii. 18. [b] Luke vi. 15.

[c] This is the more likely, becauſe it is evident that the other Apoſtles were Galilæans, and that our Saviour did often converſe thereabouts. [d] John ii. 1—9. [e] Luke vi. 15.

[f] Our Saviour himſelf, in imitation of their Actions, drove the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, and overthrew the Tables of the Money-Changers.

[g] Numb. xxv. 11. [h] Pſal. cvi. 30.

But whatever St. *Simon* was before, we have no Reaſon to doubt, but that after his Converſion, he was very zealous for the Honour of his Maſter, and looked upon all *Chriſt*'s Enemies as really his own, how near ſoever they were to him in any natural Relation. And as he was very exact in all the practical Duties of the Chriſtian Religion, ſo he ſhewed a very ſerious and pious Indignation towards thoſe who profeſſed Religion and the Faith of *Chriſt* with their Mouths, but diſhonoured their ſacred Profeſſion by their irregular and vicious Lives, as many of the firſt Chriſtians really did. *Theodoret* [hh] tells us, That he was of the Tribe of *Zebulon* or *Naphtali*: And by this he diſtinguiſhes him from *Symeon* the Brother of our Lord, who was of the Tribe of *Judah*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. But there are ſtronger Reaſons to prove this Difference than this Conjecture, which ſeems to have no Ground but mere Invention, to evade a Difficulty, which *Euſebius*'s [ii] Authority would much better have ſolved, who never calls *Simon* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* an Apoſtle, but ſays that the Apoſtles' Age ended with the Death of St. *John*, whom *Simon*, or *Symeon*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, out-lived.

St. *Simon* continued in Worſhip and Communion with the other Apoſtles and Diſciples of *Chriſt* at *Jeruſalem*; and at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* receiv'd the ſame miraculous Gifts of the Holy Spirit: So that he was equally qualified with the reſt of his Brethren for the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. And we cannot doubt but that he exerciſed his Gifts with Zeal and Fidelity: But in what Part of the World, is not very certain. Some ſay he went into *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, and *Africa*, and all over *Mauritania*, preaching the Goſpel to thoſe remote and barbarous Countries. And, if we may believe our own Authors, he came into theſe Weſtern Parts, as far as our Iſland of *Great Britain*; where having converted great Multitudes, with manifold Hardſhips and Perſecutions, he at laſt ſuffer'd Martyrdom by Crucifixion, as 'tis recorded in the [i] *Greek* Menologies. But [k] *Bede*, *Uſuardus*, and *Ado*, place his Martyrdom in *Perſia*, at a City called *Suanir*, where they ſay the idolatrous Prieſts put him to Death; and for this they alledge the Authority of *Euſebius*'s Martyology, tranſlated by St. *Jerome*; which, tho' it be not without many Faults, nor entirely either *Euſebius*'s or St. *Jerome*'s, hath yet the Advantage of Antiquity above any now extant. As to the City *Suanir* in *Perſia*, it is not known to our Geographers. Poſſibly it might be the Country of the *Suani* or *Surani*, a People mention'd by *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, in *Colchis*, or a little higher in *Sarmatia*; which may agree with a Paſſage in the ſpurious Hiſtory of St. *Andrew*, "That in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* there is a Tomb in a Grot, with an Inſcription, *That* Simon *the* Zealot, *or* Canaanite, *was interr'd there*." But this is but uncertain Tradition.

Beſides thoſe who have confounded our Apoſtle with *Symeon* the Son of *Cleophas*, Succeſſor of St. *James* in the Biſhoprick of *Jeruſalem*; ſome have fancied he was the ſame with that *Simon* who is ſaid to be one of *Chriſt*'s Brethren. Others will have all three to be but one Man! Such great Confuſion hath the Similitude or Idenity of Names produced in the Records of the firſt Times, which are but ſhort and few. His Feaſt is kept by the *Latins* with St. *Jude*'s, *October* the Twenty-eighth, but the *Greeks* celebrate it on the Tenth of *June*.

[hh] Theod Pſ. 67. v. 28.

[ii] Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 32.

[i] Men. 10. Jun.

[k] Bed. Adon. Uſuard. Martyrol. ad Oct. 28. Florent. p. 632, 637.

The LIFE *of* St. JUDE.

St. Jude*'s three Names. His Lineage. A Queſtion of his recorded in Scripture. His Province in the Miniſtry. His Death. Diſtinguiſhed from* Thaddæus, *the Apoſtle of* Edeſſa. *Character and Defence of his Epiſtle. A Story of his two Grand-Children. Other Particulars concerning St.* Jude. *A Remark concerning our Lord's Kindred.*

BY three ſeveral Names is this Apoſtle mentioned in the Holy Scripture; *Jude* or *Judas*, [a] *Thaddæus*, and *Lebbæus*. The firſt he had in common with other *Jews*, and in honour of one of the twelve Patriarchs; the other two might be added to the former, partly to diſtinguiſh him from *Judas* the Traitor, who had rendered that Name odious to Chriſtians, and partly as a Commendation of his Wiſdom and Zeal: For *Lebbæus*, according to [b] St. *Jerom*,

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[a] Matth. x. 3.

[b] Hieron. in Matth.

rom, ſignifies a Man of Wit and Underſtanding; and *Thaddæus* imports divine Fervour; whence ſome of the Fathers call him, as well as the laſt-mentioned Apoſtle, *Zelotes*.

He was Brother to *James the Leſs*, afterwards Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, [c] being the Son of *Cleophas* and *Mary*; and conſequently he bore the ſame Relation to our Lord as St. *James* did; for which we have already accounted in the Life of St. *James*. It is not known when or by what Means he became a Diſciple of *Chriſt*, nothing being ſaid of him till we find him in the Catalogue of the twelve Apoſtles; nor afterwards till *Chriſt*'s laſt Supper, when diſcourſing to them about his Departure, and comforting them with a Promiſe, that he would return to them again, meaning after his Reſurrection; and that *the World ſhould ſee him no more, but they ſhould ſee him*: This Apoſtle aſks him, *Lord how is it, that thou wilt manifeſt thyſelf to us, and not unto the World?* It ſeems by this Queſtion, as if St. *Jude* expected a ſecular Kingdom of the Meſſiah, with the Solemnity and Grandeur of which he could not reconcile *Chriſt*'s private Manifeſtation of himſelf to his Diſciples only: But the Anſwer ſatisfies him, that the World was unqualify'd for the glorious Appearing of the Meſſiah, as having rejected both him and his Doctrine; that therefore for the future, his intimate Converſe, and ſpecial Acts of Grace, ſhould be reſtrain'd only to thoſe who made worthy Returns, by Acts of mutual Love to him, and Regard to his Laws.

After the Paſſion and Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, St. *Simon* remained at *Jeruſalem* with the reſt of the Apoſtles, till the Holy Ghoſt was poured out upon them at the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*.

Paulinus [d] tells us, that the Province which fell to his Share in the Apoſtolic Diviſion, was *Libya*; but he doth not tell us whether it was the *Cyrenian Lybia*, which is thought to have receiv'd the Goſpel from St. *Mark*, or the more Southern Part of *Africa*; and we find no other Account of his Preaching in thoſe Countries. St. *Paul* [e] taking notice that the Brethren of our Lord carried their Wives along with them, to provide them with Neceſſaries in the Courſe of their Miniſtry; ſome gather from hence, that they preached moſtly in and near their native Country. However, the *Armenians* challenge St. *Jude* for the firſt Planter of Chriſtianity amongſt them, and will not allow his Remains to be lodg'd in St. *Peter*'s at *Rome*, as is pretended, but ſay that he died and was buried in their Country. The *Greek* Menologies intimate, that he was ſhot to Death by Arrows; but mention not the Place where. But by the general Conſent of the Writers of the *Latin* Church, he was martyr'd with St. *Simon* in *Perſia*, and accordingly is commemorated on the ſame Anniverſary with him.

We have taken notice before, in the Life of St. *Thomas*, how he ſent *Thaddæus* to *Edeſſa*, to heal King *Agbarus* of a long Fit of Illneſs, and inſtruct him and his People in the Doctrines of *Chriſt*. This *Thaddæus* St. [f] *Jerome* expreſly declares to be our St. *Jude*; which the Moderns will not readily admit of, upon his ſingle Authority; eſpecially ſince *Euſebius* makes him no more than one of the Seventy Diſciples; which he would ſcarcely have done, had he been one of the Twelve. He doth likewiſe indeed call him an Apoſtle; but that may imply no more, than that he was a Companion and Aſſiſtant to the Apoſtles, as we know the Seventy eminently were. Nor is any Thing more common in antient Eccleſiaſtical Writers, than for the firſt Planters and Propagators of the Chriſtan Religion in any Country, to be honour'd with the Name and Title of Apoſtles.

We have an Epiſtle bearing the Name of St. *Jude*, placed the laſt of thoſe Seven, which are called *Catholic*, in the ſacred Canon. It hath no particular Inſcription as the other Six, but is thought primarily to have been intended for the Chriſtian *Jews*, in their ſeveral Diſperſions, as St. *Peter*'s Epiſtles were. In it he tells them, "That he firſt deſigned to write to them in general of the common Salvation, and eſtabliſh and confirm them in it: But ſeeing the Doctrine of *Chriſt* attacked on every Side by Heretics, he thought it more neceſſary to ſpend his Pains in Exhortation to them, to ſtand manfully in Defence of *the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints*, and oppoſe the falſe Teachers, who laboured ſo much to corrupt it. The Heretics meant in this Epiſtle were the *Nicolaitans*, *Gnoſtics*, the Followers of *Simon Magus*, and others of the like Stamp, whoſe Manners were as corrupt as their Doctrine; becauſe they truſted to a Faith without Works, as ſufficient for their Salvation. So that St. *Jude*'s Subject is much the ſame with that of St. *Peter*'s ſecond Epiſtle, whoſe Senſe he for the moſt Part follows, and often uſes the very ſame Expreſſions: Only as the Infection had ſpread itſelf farther, and had gotten more Ground, he ſeemingly oppoſes thoſe Heretics with more Zeal and Sharpneſs than St. *Peter* had done. But becauſe true Chriſtian Charity, tho' it be zealous, yet is without Bitterneſs and Hatred, he exhorts the Chriſtians to uſe gentle Methods with theſe deluded People, and *to pluck them as Brands out of the Fire*; meaning by Fire their impious Principles and Practices, which, if continued in, would certainly conſume them. He ſeems expreſly to [g] cite St. *Peter*'s ſecond Epiſtle, and to intimate plainly that moſt of the Apoſtles were dead. So that it ſeems as if he had not written his Epiſtle till after *Nero*'s Reign, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

Several Perſons have antiently doubted of the Authority of this Epiſtle: Let us hear what the Learned Dr. *Lightfoot* ſays to this Matter. "As the ſecond Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, ſays he, and this of St. *Jude*, are very near a-kin in Style, Matter, and Subject; ſo it is fairly conjecturable, that they were not far removed in Time; ſpeaking both of wicked Ones, and Wickedneſs, at the ſame Height and Ripeneſs. It may be *Jude* ſtands up in the Charge of his Brother *James*, among the Circumciſion of *Judea*, and directs his Epiſtle to all thoſe who were *ſanctified and preſerved* in thoſe apoſtatizing Times, as his Brother had done to *all the Twelve Tribes* in general.

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[c] Matth. xiii. 55. Jude Ver. 1.
[d] Paulin. Carm. xxvi.
[e] 1 Cor. x. 15.
[f] Hieron. in Matth. x. 4.
[g] Jude Ver. 17.

In citing the Story of *Michael the Arch-Angel contending with the Devil about the Body of* Moſes, he doth but the ſame that St. *Paul* doth in naming *Jannes* and *Jambres*; namely, alledge a Story which was current, and own'd among that Nation, though there was no ſuch Thing in Scripture; and ſo he argueth with them from their own Authors and Conceſſions: For among the *Talmudiſts* there ſeems to be ſomething like the Relicks of ſuch a Matter, the Story of *Michael* and the *Angel of Death* diſputing or diſcourſing about fetching away the Soul of *Moſes*.

His alledging the Prophecy of *Enoch*, is an arguing of the very like Nature, as reciting and referring to ſome known and common Tradition that they had amongſt them. To this Purpoſe the Book *Sepher Jeſher*, an *Hebrew* Writer, ſpeaketh of *Enoch* after ſuch a Tenor: And in both theſe he uſeth their own Teſtimonies againſt themſelves; as if he ſhould have ſaid at large, *Theſe Men ſpeak evil of Dignities*; whereas they have, and own a Story for current, that even *Michael* the Archangel did not ſpeak evil of the Devil, when he was ſtriving with him about the Body of *Moſes*. And whereas they ſhew and own a Prophecy of *Enoch*, of God's coming to Judgment, theſe are the very Men to whom this Matter is to be applied." Thus far have we the Words of this judicious and eminent Divine, concerning the Epiſtle of St. *Jude*; Words which give a ſufficient Anſwer to the only Objection made againſt the Authority of it, That it cites Apocryphal Writings. In a Word, *Euſebius* tells [h] us, That in his Time moſt Churches read it publicly: And 'tis evident, that [i] before the End of the fourth Age it was acknowledged for Canonical Scripture by general Conſent, in the Councils of [k] *Laodicea* and [l] *Carthage*, and by the moſt eminent Fathers, [m] *Athanaſius*, [n] *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and others. St. *Auſtin* ſays, That it cannot be denied, but that *Enoch* did write ſomething by God's Spirit, ſince St. *Jude* cites it in his Canonical Epiſtle: And *Origen* [o] obſerves, That this Epiſtle, in a few Lines, contains many Words full of divine Power and Grace.

That St. *Jude* was a [p] married Man, we cannot doubt; ſince *Hegeſippus* in *Euſebius* mentions two of his Grand-children, of whom he there gives this Account. The Emperor *Domitian*, in the Perſecution which he raiſed againſt the Chriſtians about the Year of *Chriſt* 91, and continued for ſome Years, commanded that if any of the Poſterity of *David*, and Kindred of *Chriſt*, were left alive, they ſhould be put to Death, as having a dangerous Title to the Government. Whereupon the two Perſons aforeſaid were brought before him, and, upon Examination, own'd with great Sincerity, that they were Deſcendants of the Houſe of *David*, but withal that they were Men of a very narrow Fortune, having an Eſtate in Land of about thirty-nine Acres, which they managed themſelves, for the Support of their Families. The Truth of this was ſoon evinced by the Hardneſs of their Hands. Being further queſtioned touching the Meſſiah and his Kingdom, they replied, "That tho' he was a King, yet it was in Heaven, not on Earth, where his Kingdom ſhould not appear 'till the End of the World, when he ſhould come in Glory to judge both the Quick and the Dead." *Domitian* obſerving the Meanneſs and Simplicity of the Men, diſcharged them without farther Trouble, as being below his Fears and Jealouſies. And *Tertullian* adds, that he immediately put an End to the Perſecution which he had rais'd againſt the Chriſtians. Theſe Men, ſays our Author, were afterwards Chiefs in the Government of the Church, and lived till the Reign of *Trajan*. As for St. *Jude*, he is thought by ſome to have out-lived the Reign of *Nero*, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

Theſe are the principal Particulars that are recorded in good Hiſtory concerning St. *Jude*: There are, however, ſeveral other Things ſpoken of him, which may not be paſſed over without ſome Prejudice to the Reader. Some of the more modern *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, notwithſtanding *Euſebius*'s Words, are bold to aſſert, That St. *Jude* preached in *Edeſſa*, and throughout all *Meſopotamia*, completing the Work of God, which St. *Thaddæus* had begun. They add, That after this, he preached in *Judæa* as before. The [q] *Conſtitutions* relate, That ſome of the Apoſtles, who preached the Goſpel, did alſo labour in Husbandry, to maintain themſelves in the Work of the Miniſtry, that they might not diſcourage their Converts by their Charge; and that of thoſe who did ſo, *Judas* was one. Many of the *Greeks* ſay, That he died at *Berytus*; in which it is plain they confound this Apoſtle with *Thaddæus*, the Evangeliſt of *Edeſſa*. Some attributed to him a falſe Goſpel, which has been condemned by Pope *Gelaſius*.

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[h] Euſeb. lib. iii cap. 25.

[i] Hier. de vir. ill. lib. cap. 4.

[k] Conc. Laod. Can. 60.

[l] Conc. Carth. cap 47.

[m] Athanaſ. Syn. t. 2. p. 39.

[n] Cyr. cap. 4.

[o] Orig. in Matth. p. 223.

[p] Nicephorus relates, that the Name of his Wife was Mary.

[q] Conſt. lib. ii. cap. 63.

The

The LIFE *of* St. MATTHIAS.

The Hiſtory of St. Matthias *writ by a Monk of* Treves. *An Account of* Matthias's *Election to the Apoſtolate, in the Room of* Judas Iſcariot. *Where he preached and ſuffered Martyrdom. A Saying of his. Left no Writings.*

IT is the Advice of the learned[a] *Francis Combeſis*, that we ſhould believe nothing of St. *Matthias*, but what we find in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. However, the Curious may be entertained with a Hiſtory of his Life in[b] *Bollandus*, ſaid to be writ in the twelfth Century, by a Monk of the Abby of St. *Matthias* at *Treves*; wherein it is affirm'd, "That our Apoſtle was a Native of *Bethlehem*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, and of an illuſtrious Family: That he was well inſtructed, not only by his Parents, but by an eminent Rabbi, named *Symeon*: That after his Election to the Apoſtleſhip, he was appointed to preach the Goſpel in ſome Province of *Paleſtine*, where he wrought abundance of Miracles, and converted great Multitudes to the Faith of *Chriſt*: That thirty-three Years, or thereabout, after the Paſſion of *Chriſt*, *Ananus* the younger, High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, having put *James* the Leſs, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, to Death, cauſed *Matthias*, at the ſame Time, to be apprehended in *Galilee*, and brought before him; where, when upon Examination he confeſſed *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* to be the Meſſiah, the High-Prieſt condemned him to be ſtoned, and the Sentence was immediately executed." This is the exacteſt Account we have of St. *Matthias*, except what the Holy Scripture relates of him; to which we now proceed.

[c] After the Apoſtles had attended our Lord to the Top of Mount *Olivet*, and been Witneſſes of his glorious Aſcenſion into Heaven, they returned thence to St. *John*'s Houſe in Mount *Sion*, which *Nicephorus* ſays was the uſual Place of the firſt Chriſtian Aſſemblies. The whole Company at this Time conſiſted of about one hundred and twenty Perſons. In the midſt of them St. *Peter* ſtands up, and gives them a ſuccinct Account of *Judas Iſcariot*, who had been lately one of the Apoſtolic Order, and had been empower'd equally with them to preach and work Miracles in *Chriſt*'s Name. That, notwithſtanding the high Privileges and ſacred Character he was inveſted with, a Spirit of the baſeſt Ingratitude, Avarice, and Perfidiouſneſs, reigned within his Breaſt, which had often prompted him to grudge his Maſter every thing, and to embezzle his Goods with which he had entruſted him; and at laſt prevailed with him, for the vile Lucre of thirty Pieces of Silver, to betray his innocent Lord into the Hands of his implacable Enemies, to whom he join'd himſelf, and conducted them to the Place where he knew *Jeſus* would be at ſuch a Time, and then with a treacherous Kiſs pointed him out to them, that they might be ſure to lay Hands on the right Perſon, and prevent his Eſcape.

But afterwards, when this ſordid Traitor ſaw that his Maſter was arraign'd, and condemn'd, and juſt ready to be led to Execution, and that he did not by his divine Power reſcue himſelf from his Perſecutors, as ſometimes before he had done, a direful Horror and Deſpair came upon him, which render'd him unable to contain himſelf, or keep the Reward of his Treaſon any longer; but to the *Sanhedrim* he repairs, throws the Money at thoſe who had given it him, openly confeſſes to them that he had betrayed innocent Blood, and then went and hanged himſelf. But the Rope, or that to which it was faſtned, breaking, he fell down headlong, and burſt aſunder, and his Bowels guſhed out. His Money was turned into a ſtanding Monument of his Villany, being laid out in the Purchaſe of a Burying-place for Strangers, which in reference to the treaſonable Acquiſition, was by every Body called, *The Field of Blood*.

St. *Peter* obſerves, that all this was foretold by[d] the Royal Prophet *David*, who had ſpoken expreſly of this Son of Perdition's Apoſtaſy; and at the ſame Time declared, that *another ſhould ſucceed in his Office*. For the Fulfilling of which he moves for a ſpeedy Election of a new Apoſtle; and that he ſhould be one of thoſe Diſciples who had attended upon *Chriſt* all the Time of his public Miniſtry, from the Day that St. *John* baptized him, to the Time that he was taken up into Heaven; that ſo he might be a proper and unexceptionable Witneſs of the holy Life and mighty Works of the Lord *Jeſus*, and eſpecially of that great Ratification of all his Doctrine and Miracles, his Reſurrection from the Dead.

The whole Aſſembly readily agreed to St. *Peter*'s Propoſal, and appointed two Candidates; one called *Joſeph*, ſurnamed *Barſabas* and *Juſtus*, ſuppoſed to be Brother to *James the Leſs*; and the other called *Matthias*. The Way of Election was by[e] Lots, a Way frequently uſed both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*, for the Choice of Officers and Magiſtrates: The Apoſtles had recourſe to it more eſpecially at this Time, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt was not yet given, by whoſe immediate Direction they were chiefly guided afterwards. And that they might not depend upon mere Chance, they put up their Prayers to God, *that he who knew the Hearts of all Men, would ſhew whether of thoſe two he had choſen*. The Lots being put into the Urn, the Name of *Matthias* was drawn firſt; whereupon he was declared to be the twelfth Apoſtle.

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[a] Auct. Tom. iii. p. 503.

[b] Page 431.

[c] Acts i.

[d] See Pſal. lxix. 25. & cix. 8. & p. 729. n. [f] of this Book.

[e] See Page 730.

From hence we may certainly conclude, that tho' the Scripture be ſilent as to the Time when *Matthias* became a Diſciple of *Chriſt*, yet he was one of his earlieſt Followers and Attendants. That he might be of ſuch long ſtanding, St. *Peter* inſiſts, and with very good Reaſon, that his Teſtimony of *Chriſt* might be grounded upon his own perſonal Knowledge of every Thing, and ſo equally valid with that of the other Apoſtles. *Euſebius* and *Epiphanius* name him for one of the ſeventy Diſciples; and ſo doth *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who tells us withal, that ſome in his Time took him for *Zacchæus*, the rich *Publican*; but his Converſion was of too late a Date for that conſtant Attendance on our Lord, which St. *Peter* required in an Apoſtle.

After the firſt Fruits of our Apoſtle's Miniſtry ſpent in *Judea*, he is ſuppoſed by the *Greeks* to have travelled Eaſtward: St. *Jerome* ſays, his principal Reſidence was near the Irruption of the River *Apſarus*, and the Haven *Hyſſus* in *Cappadocia*. The People were a very rough, uncivilized Sort of Men; among whom, after painful Labours and Sufferings, and numerous Converſions to the Chriſtian Faith, he was crown'd with Martyrdom, *A. D.* 61, or, as others, 64. *Dorotheus* will have him to die at *Sebaſtople*, and to be buried there near the Temple of the *Sun*. An antient Martyrology reports him to have been ſeized by the *Jews*, and, as a Blaſphemer, to have been firſt ſtoned, and then beheaded. But the *Greek* Offices, ſupported herein by ſeveral antient Breviaries, tell us that he was crucified. His Body, by ſome, is pretended to be at *Rome*; by others, at *Treves* in *Germany*. *Bollandus* thinks, [f] the Body of *Matthias*, which is at *Rome*, is of that *Matthias* who was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *A. D.* 120, whoſe Hiſtory they confound with our Apoſtle's. The *Greeks* celebrate his Feaſt *Auguſt* the Ninth; the *Latins*, *February* the Twenty-fourth, except it be Leap Year, and then 'tis *February* the Twenty-fifth.

Some Things have been pretended to have been writ by St. *Matthias*, particularly a Goſpel; but nothing of this Kind was ever allowed of by the Church. *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates a Saying of his, of great Uſe in the Life of a Chriſtian: 'Tis to this Purpoſe; [g] *That we ought to mortify and ſubdue the Fleſh, and maintain a continual Oppoſition to it, by granting it nothing, whereby its irregular and ſenſual Deſires may be gratified; but that we ſhould, on the contrary, nouriſh and fortify our Souls with Faith and divine Knowledge.*

Some have thought, that the ſame Father [h] cites a Paſſage out of a Book called, *The Traditions of St.* Matthias; but perhaps, upon a careful Inſpection of the Place, nothing of a Book will appear to be intended, but only this Senſe, that *Matthias* and the Apoſtles left us one and the ſame Tradition, as they all received one and the ſame Doctrine.

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[f] Boll. p. 444.

[g] Strom. lib. iii. p. 436.

[h] Strom. lib. ii. p. 340.

The LIFE of St. MARK.

St. Mark the Evangeliſt *different from* John-Mark. *His Name, and Family.* St. Peter's *Interpreter, and why. Wrote his Goſpel in* Greek. *Occaſion and Character of it. His Travels and Death. Aſhes ſaid to be tranſlated to* Venice.

THAT St. *Mark the Evangeliſt* was a different Perſon from *John-Mark*, whom we ſhall have Occaſion to mention in the Life of St. *Barnabas*, is not at all doubted by learned Men at this Day: Who likewiſe agree, that notwithſtanding his *Roman* Name, he was born of *Jewiſh* Parents, of the Tribe of *Levi*, and Line of the Prieſthood; and that he probably aſſumed the Name of *Mark*, at his going to *Rome*, after the Example of his Countrymen, who uſually took *Roman* Names on ſuch Occaſions. *Nicephorus* will have him to be St. *Peter's* Siſter's Son; and *Epiphanius* makes him one of thoſe Diſciples, who taking Offence at our Lord's [a] Diſcourſe of *eating his Fleſh, and drinking his Blood, went back and walked no more with him*; but that his Uncle, St. *Peter*, recovered him again. But the Account of a much older Man, [b] *Papias* Biſhop of *Hierapolis*, quite overthrows this; for he poſitively affirms, that St. *Mark* never was a Hearer or Follower of our Lord. 'Tis moſt probable that he was a Diſciple and Convert of St. *Peter's*, who calls him [c] *his Son*, and whom he aſſiſted in the Quality of an *Amanuenſis*, or Interpreter, as the aforeſaid *Papias* ſtiles him.

But becauſe ſome may wonder, how an Apoſtle inſpired with the miraculous Gift of Tongues, as [d] St. *Peter* undoubtedly was, ſhould want an Interpreter; 'tis anſwer'd, That *the Interpretation of Tongues* was likewiſe a diſtinct [e] Gift; and whenever there was a ſufficient Interpreter, the Apoſtle's Senſe was convey'd to others by his Means; tho' perhaps this was not ſupernatural in

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[a] John vi. 66.

[b] In Euſeb. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 39.

[c] 1 Pet. v. 13.

[d] Acts ii. 14.

[e] 1 Cor. xii. 10.

St. *Mark*, but only the Effect of his Education: He might be bred to good Skill in the *Roman* Language. Some will have him ſo great a Maſter of it, that he choſe to write his Goſpel originally in it: Tho' we are inclin'd to think, that both *Greek* and *Latin* were as commonly join'd in the Schools of Grammarians then, as they are in our Days; and we are told, that in his Time there were very few *Romans* of any Faſhion, who did not underſtand *Greek*. Dr. *Cave* therefore judiciouſly obſerves, That it was no leſs proper for St. *Mark* to write his Goſpel in *Greek*, for the Uſe of the *Romans*, than that St. *Paul* ſhould in the ſame Language write his Epiſtle to the *Roman* Church. Beſides, the *Jews* at *Rome* underſtood very little *Latin*: It ſeems therefore neceſſary, that a Work ſo likely to be of general Uſe, ſhould be written in the general and genteel Language of thoſe Times. As to the laſt Chapter of this Goſpel, or Part of it, which is ſaid to be wanting in all antient *Greek* Copies, and has for that Reaſon been by ſome rejected, as diſagreeing in ſome Things with the other Goſpels; St. *Jerome* does ſo reconcile them together, that he makes them fairly conſiſtent with each other.

The original *Greek* Copy of St. *Mark*'s Goſpel is reported to be in the Poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*, and is pretended to be written by the Evangeliſt at *Aquilea*, and thence tranſlated to *Venice*, after many Ages; but the Letters are ſo worn out that they cannot be read, and the whole Story appears to be a Forgery. For that his Goſpel was [f] compoſed at *Rome*, and at the Entreaty of the Chriſtians there, is the unanimous Tradition of the Antients, ſuch as *Papias*, *Iræneus*, *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, and others; as alſo that it was peruſed by St. *Peter*, and ratify'd by his Authority. Only *Iræneus* intimates, that it was written after St. *Peter*'s Death; and Dr. *Cave* ſeems to believe, that in his Life-time he only furniſhed the Evangeliſt with Materials, and gave him Directions for putting them together as we now have them; but that the Work was not actually compoſed till after the Apoſtle's Death. *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of Opinion, that he compoſed it out of thoſe Diſcourſes which St. *Peter* uſually delivered to his Auditors. It was antiently ſtiled St. *Peter*'s Goſpel; and St. *Chryſoſtome* obſerves, that the Style and Manner of Expreſſion is like that in his Epiſtles, repreſenting much in a few Words. It may very well be looked upon as a Supplement to St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel; for tho' in ſome Things it be more conciſe, yet in others it is larger and more particular. His great Impartiality in his Relations appears from hence, that he is ſo far from concealing his Maſter St. *Peter*'s Denial of *Chriſt*, that he records ſome particular Aggravations of it, which none of the other Evangeliſts have mentioned.

Euſebius [g] tells us, that St. *Mark* preached the Goſpel in *Egypt*, and planted a Church in *Alexandria*, the Metropolis of it. *Valeſius* reports it as the Opinion of *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that he came thither in the ninth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, which was *Anno Domini* 49, the Year that the great Synod was held in *Jeruſalem*. *Metaphraſtes* and others ſay, he proceeded Weſtward to *Marmorica*, *Pentapolis*, and ſeveral Parts of *Lybia*; and notwithſtanding the barbarous Ignorance and Idolatry of the Inhabitants, converted many of them to the Faith of *Chriſt*. After this he return'd to *Alexandria*, and ordain'd Paſtors and Governors in that Church. But at the Solemnity of *Eaſter*, while he was employed in Divine Worſhip, the great Enemy of God and Man rais'd a tumultous Company of idolatrous People againſt him. It happen'd that the ſuperſtitious Rites of *Serapis* were celebrated at the ſame Time: The *Egyptians*, to vindicate their Idol, broke in upon St. *Mark*, and binding his Feet with Cords, dragged him through the Streets, and thruſt him into Priſon, where in the Night he was much ſtrengthened and comforted by a heavenly Viſion. The bloody Rage of the Idolaters not being yet ſatiated, they returned early next Morning, and dragged him about the Streets a ſecond Time, and miſerably bruiſed and tore his Fleſh, till he expired in their cruel Hands. As to the remaining Part of his Hiſtory; how his Enemies burnt his Body to Aſhes; how thoſe Aſhes were gathered up, and decently entomb'd by the Chriſtians near the Place where he uſed to preach; how they were afterwards tranſlated from *Alexandria* to *Venice*, where they are preſerved with a religious Veneration; theſe Things are related by Authors whoſe Credit we cannot wholly rely upon. However, the *Venetians* have adopted St. *Mark* the tutelar Saint and Patron of their Republic, and erected to his Memory one of the richeſt and ſtatelieſt Churches that the Chriſtian World can boaſt of.

The Twenty-fifth of *April* is kept as the Day of his Martyrdom; but the Year wherein he ſuffered is not certain. *Iræneus* ſuppoſes, that he out-lived St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* ſome conſiderable Time; and their Martyrdom is placed about the End of *Nero*'s Reign.

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[f] According to ſome about the Year of Chriſt 43. but it is much more likely to have been many Years later.

[g] Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. ii. cap. 16.

The LIFE *of St.* LUKE.

Who St. Luke *was, and whether a Hearer of our Lord. His Birth-place and Profeſſion. Of St.* Paul*'s mentioning him in his Epiſtles. That he was St.* Paul*'s Companion. When and where he wrote his Goſpel and Acts, with a Character of thoſe Works. His Travels after St.* Paul*'s Arrival at* Rome; *and his Martyrdom. His Body removed to* Conſtantinople.

ST. *Luke* hath had the ſame Fate with St. *Mark*, to be repreſented one of thoſe Diſciples who [a] deſerted our Lord, upon Occaſion of ſome Paſſages in his Diſcourſe concerning his Fleſh and Blood; and that he was afterwards recovered by St. *Paul*: As alſo, that he was one of thoſe two Diſciples, to whom our Lord preſented himſelf on the Day of his Reſurrection, as they were travelling from *Jeruſalem* to *Emmaus*: Which ſome are ſo far from allowing, that they affirm he never ſaw our Lord, and ground themſelves for this upon his own Words in the Beginning of his Goſpel. [b] But the learned Dr. *Whiby* obſerves, that thoſe Words in St. *Luke*, which mention his receiving the Facts concerning our Lord from thoſe *who were Eye and Ear-Witneſſes* of them, are ſo far from giving any Ground to this Aſſertion, that they fairly plead for St. *Luke*'s perſonal Knowledge of all the Things written in his Goſpel, even from firſt to laſt.

He was born at *Antioch*, the Metropolis of *Syria*, a City of great Traffic and Riches, and eminent for Schools of Learning, which produced the moſt renowned Maſters in all Arts and Sciences. Beſides the Learning which he acquired here in his younger Years, he improved himſelf by his Travels in ſeveral Parts of *Greece* and *Egypt*, as we are told; and became particularly well ſkill'd in Phyſic, which he made his Profeſſion. They that from hence infer the Quality of his Birth and Fortune, forget to conſider that this noble Art was in thoſe Times managed by Perſons of no better Rank than Servants: Upon which Account *Grotius* conceives that St. *Luke* was carried to *Rome*, and lived a Servant to ſome Family there in Quality of a Phyſician: Whence, having obtained his Freedom, he return'd into his own Country, and probably continued his Profeſſion all his Life; it being ſo fairly conſiſtent with, and in many Caſes ſubſervient to, the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Care of Souls.

Metaphraſtes, *Nicephorus*, *Gretſer*, and others, mightily celebrate him for his Skill in another Art, that of Painting: And Dr. *Cave* mentions an antient Inſcription, found in a Vault near the Church of St. *Mary* in *Via lata* at *Rome*, ſuppoſed to have been the Place where St. *Paul* dwelt, wherein mention is made of a Picture of the Bleſſed Virgin, [c] *being one of the ſeven painted by St.* Luke.

When he firſt became a Chriſtian, is uncertain. Thoſe who underſtand him in the Beginning of his Goſpel to ſay, that he had the Facts from the Report of others who were Eye-witneſſes, make him a Convert of St. *Paul's*, and that he learn'd the Hiſtory of his Goſpel from his Converſation, and writ by his Direction, as St. *Mark* did from the Dictates of St. *Peter*; and that when St. *Paul*, in his [d] Epiſtles, ſays, *according to my Goſpel*, he means this of St. *Luke*; which he ſtiles *his*, in reſpect of the great Share he had in the Compoſure of it. But thoſe on the other Side, who hold that he writ his Goſpel upon his own perſonal Knowledge, obſerve, that he could not receive it from St. *Paul*, as an Eye-witneſs of the Matters contained in it; becauſe all thoſe Matters were tranſacted before St. *Paul* was converted to the Chriſtian Faith, who never ſaw our Lord otherwiſe than as he appeared to him after his Reſurrection: That therefore when he ſays, *according to my Goſpel*, he means no more than that Goſpel in general which he preached; the whole Preaching of the Apoſtles being ſtiled, *the Goſpel*. They obſerve farther, that it is not probable St. *Luke* was converted by St. *Paul*; otherwiſe he would have called him his Son, as the Way was for the Apoſtles to call their eminent Converts; but he mentions him by the Stile of [e] *Luke the beloved Phyſician*. They make him therefore one of the *Jewiſh* Proſelytes at *Antioch*, of which there were great Numbers in that City. They ſend him afterwards, upon the Authority of *Theophylact*, to *Jeruſalem*, for a more perfect Education in the *Jewiſh* Learning. Hence they bring him into the Number of *Chriſt*'s ſeventy Diſciples, for which they quote *Origen* and *Epiphanius*, who expreſſly aſſert it; and ſo they conclude that he wrote his Goſpel upon his own perſonal Knowledge.

That St. *Luke* became St. *Paul*'s Companion in Travels, and Fellow-Labourer in the Work of the Miniſtry, is evident from both their Writings, The Acts of the Apoſtles, and St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles. He follow'd him in all his Dangers, eſpecially after his going into *Macedonia*; was with him at his ſeveral Arraignments at *Jeruſalem*; accompanied him in his hazardous Voyage to *Rome*, where, according to moſt, he ſtill attended on him to ſerve his Neceſſities, and ſupply thoſe miniſterial Offices which the Apoſtle's Confinement would not permit him to undergo, and eſpecially in carrying Meſſages to thoſe Churches, where he had planted Chriſtianity.

Two Books he wrote in *Greek* for the Uſe of the Church; which are *his Goſpel*, and the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; both with ſo much Exactneſs and

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[a] John vi. 66.

[b] Luke i. 2.

[c] Una ex Septem ab Luca depictis.

[d] Rom. ii. 16. 2 Tim. ii. 8.

[e] Col. iv. 14.

Accuracy, Politeneſs, and Elegancy, with ſuch a lofty, but clear and perſpicuous Style, that one may ſee by it how great a Share he had in the native Genius of *Antioch* his Birth-place. He was a true *Hiſtorian*, both faithful in his Relations, and elegant in his Writings.

The Place and Time aſſign'd, with good Probability, by the learned Mr. *Echard*, for St. *Luke*'s writing his Goſpel, are the City of *Rome*, during St. *Paul*'s two Years Impriſonment there. The Occaſion of it, as he himſelf intimates in the Introduction, was partly to prevent thoſe falſe and fabulous Narrations which even then began to be obtruded upon the World, and partly to ſupply what ſeem'd wanting in the two former Evangeliſts, tho' it is not certain whether he had ſeen St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel when he wrote this. He mainly inſiſts upon what relates to *Chriſt*'s prieſtly Office: For which Reaſon the Ancients, in accommodating the four ſymbolical Repreſentations mentioned in [f] *Ezekiel*, to the four Evangeliſts, aſſigned the *Ox* or *Calf* to St. *Luke*. Tho' the Whole is writ with much Variety, and in purer *Greek* than the former Goſpels, and therefore deſerves the Character which we have before given it; yet is it not wholly free from *Hebraiſms* or *Syriaciſms*. He dedicates it to one *Theophilus*; who, becauſe he ſtyles him *moſt excellent*, is thought to have been ſome Magiſtrate of *Antioch*, whom St. *Luke* had converted and baptized. St. *Jerom* is of Opinion, that this Goſpel was writ in St. *Paul*'s Travels through *Achaia* and *Bœotia*, which was about eight Years before the Term aſſigned above.

His Hiſtory of the Apoſtolical Acts was written, no doubt, at *Rome* too. In the Dedication of it to the ſame *Theophilus*, it appears that it was compoſed after his Goſpel: And from the Concluſion we may gather, that he finiſhed it at the End of St. *Paul*'s two Years Impriſonment: Though we may well take it for granted, that he committed to Writing the ſeveral Facts all along at the Times when they happened, having himſelf been an Eye-witneſs of them. In this Hiſtory he does not only relate the Actions, but alſo the Sufferings, of ſome of the chief Apoſtles, and of St. *Paul* eſpecially; of whoſe Carriage and moſt intimate Tranſactions, he was beſt able to give a true Account, having been his conſtant Attendant. But, among other Things, he enlarges particularly upon the great Miracles wrought by the Apoſtles, as being the grand Confirmation of the Truth of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection.

And now having loſt the Light which his own Hiſtory afforded us of himſelf, we are much bewilder'd among the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians to find how he was employed the remaining Part of his Life, or where and in what Manner he ended his Days. An *Arabic* Writer of his Life, in *Kirſtenius*, ſays, that preſently after St. *Paul*'s Enlargement, he was martyr'd at *Rome*: For which he gives this Reaſon, that if he had lived longer, he would have continued his *Acts of the Apoſtles* farther. *Metaphraſtes* makes him leave *Paul* at *Rome*, travel into *Egypt*, and take upon him the Epiſcopal Charge of the Church of *Thebais*: But he is not eaſily credited in this. *Epiphanius* reports him to have preached in *Dalmatia*, *Galatia*, *Italy*, and *Macedonia*. As little Agreement is there either about the Time or Manner of his Death; ſome affirming him to die in *Egypt*, others in *Greece*, the *Roman* Martyrology in *Bythinia*, *Dorotheus* at *Epheſus*; ſome make him die a natural, others a violent, Death. Indeed neither *Euſebius* nor St. *Jerom* take any notice of it: But *Nazianzen*, *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, and ſeveral others, expreſly aſſert his Martyrdom; whereof *Nicephorus* gives this particular Account; That coming into *Greece*, he ſucceſsfully preached, and baptized many into the Chriſtian Faith; till a Party making Head againſt him, drew him to Execution; and, for want of a Croſs, whereon to diſpatch him preſently, they hanged him on an Olive-Tree, in the eightieth, others ſay the eightieth-fourth, Year of his Age. His Body afterwards, by the Command of *Conſtantine*, or his Son *Conſtantius*, was ſolemnly removed to *Conſtantinople*, and buried in the great Church built to the Memory of the Apoſtles. He is ſaid to have lived a ſingle Life. The Church celebrates his Memory on the Eighteenth of *October*.

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[f] Ezek. i. 10. The other three Repreſentations are of a Man, a Lion, and an Eagle; the firſt of which is generally given to St. Matthew; the ſecond to St. Mark; and the laſt to St. John. They are ſeen thus diſpoſed in moſt Pictures of the four Evangeliſts.

◆

The

The LIFE *of* St. BARNABAS.

St. Barnabas *an Apoſtle. Why called* Barnabas. *His Family, Country, and Education. One of the ſeventy Diſciples. Sells his Patrimony to relieve the Church. Preſents* Paul *to the Apoſtles. Goes with* Paul *to* Antioch, *to confirm the new Converts, and carries the* Antiochians *Charity to* Jeruſalem. *Solemnly ſet apart with* Paul *to preach to the* Gentiles. *Whence called the fourteenth Apoſtle. Idolized with* Paul *at* Lyſtra. *Goes with him to the Council at* Jeruſalem. *Separates from him on account of* John-Mark. *His Separation redounds to the Good of the Church. His farther Travels uncertain. His Martyrdom in* Cyprus. *His Epiſtle.*

ST. *Barnabas*, though not of the Number of the Twelve, yet is honour'd by St. *Luke* and the primitive Writers, with the Title of an Apoſtle; and indeed the great Share which he hath in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, juſtly beſpeaks him a Place among them. He was firſt called *Joſes*, by a ſofter Termination, familiar with the *Greeks*, for *Joſeph*. His Fellow-Diſciples added the Name of *Barnabas*, as ſignificant of ſome excellent Property in him. St. *Luke* interprets it, [a] *the Son of Conſolation*; which he was very forward to adminiſter to the Afflicted, both by Word and Deed; as his comfortable Diſcourſes, his ſelling his own Eſtate, and collecting the Benevolence of others, for the Relief of the poor indigent Chriſtians, do abundantly teſtify. St. *Jerome* ſays, [b] that this Name farther denotes *the Son of a Prophet*: And in this reſpect too, it is well ſuited to our Apoſtle, as being eminent for his prophetic Gifts and Endowments.

He was of the Tribe of *Levi*, of a Family removed out of *Judea*, and ſettled in the Iſle of *Cyprus*; where they had purchaſed an Eſtate, as the *Levites* might do out of their own Country. His Parents, we are told, finding their Son of a promiſing Genius and Diſpoſition, put him to a School at *Jeruſalem*, under the Tuition of *Gamaliel*, St. *Paul*'s Maſter; which, if ſo, might lay an early Foundation of that Intimacy, which was afterwards between theſe two Apoſtles. We are farther told, that being a frequent Spectator of *Chriſt*'s Miracles, particularly of his curing the Paralytic at the Pool of *Betheſda*, he took him for his Maſter, and brought him to his Siſter *Mary*'s Houſe; where he was wont to aſſemble with his Diſciples, as the Church continued to do afterwards: And that her Son *Mark* was that *young Man* who bore the Pitcher of Water, whom our Lord commanded his two Diſciples to follow home, and there prepare for them to eat the *Paſſover*. However, [c] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Euſebius*, *Epiphanius*, and other Antients, poſitively affirm, that he was one of the ſeventy Diſciples; and, perhaps, the [d] modern *Greeks* may not be in the wrong; who ſay, he was one of the firſt and chief of them.

The firſt mention we have of *Barnabas* in Holy Scripture, is the Record of that great and good Service he did the infant Church of *Chriſt*, by ſuccouring it with the [e] Sale of his Patrimony in *Cyprus*, the whole Price of which he laid at the Apoſtles Feet; to be put into a common Stock, and diſpoſed of, as they ſhould think fit, to ſuch as wanted. The reſt of the richer Chriſtians all did the ſame Thing: None of them kept their Plenty to themſelves, but turn'd their Houſes and Lands into Money, and devoted it to the common Uſe of the Church. Only *Barnabas* is recorded by Name, as parting with the moſt valuable Eſtate on this Occaſion; or being the moſt forward and ready to begin a common Fund, and ſet others a laudable Pattern to copy after.

And now *Barnabas* became conſiderable in the Miniſtry and Government of the Church. For we find that [f] St. *Paul* coming to *Jeruſalem* three Years after his Converſion, and not readily getting Admittance into the Church, becauſe he had been ſo grievous a Perſecutor of it, and might ſtill be ſuſpected of a Deſign to betray it; he addreſſed himſelf to *Barnabas*, as a leading Man among the Chriſtians, and one that had perſonal Knowledge of him; who preſently introduced him to the Apoſtles *Peter* and *James*, and ſatisfied them of the Sincerity of his Converſion, and in what a miraculous Way it was brought about. This Recommendation carried that Weight with it, that *Paul* was not only received into the Communion of the Apoſtles, but taken into *Peter*'s Houſe, [g] *and abode with him fifteen Days.*

About four or five Years after this, [h] the good News was brought to the Church at *Jeruſalem*, that [i] ſeveral of their Body, who had been driven from thence by the Perſecution rais'd about St. *Stephen*, had preached at *Antioch* with ſuch Succeſs, that a great Number, both of *Jews* and Proſelytes, embraced Chriſtianity; and wanted ſome of the ſuperior Order to confirm them. Hereupon *Barnabas* was deputed to ſettle this new Plantation. Upon his Arrival, he rejoiced extremely, to ſee what Progreſs the Goſpel had made among them; and earneſtly exhorted them to continue immoveable in their Profeſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*. And being himſelf *a good Man, and full of the Holy Ghoſt, and of Faith*, his charitable Deeds accompanying his Diſcourſes, and his pious Life exemplifying his ſound Doctrine, [k] People were much influenced by him, and great Additions were made to the Chriſtian Church. But there being too large a Field for one Labourer, [l] he went to fetch *Saul* from *Tarſus*; who came back with him to *Antioch*, and aſſiſted him a whole Year in the Eſtabliſhment of that Church. Their Labours proſper'd; their Aſſemblies were well fill'd; [m] *and the Diſciples,* who before this were call'd among themſelves, *Brethren, Believers, Elect,* and by their Enemies *Nazarenes* and *Galileans, were now called Chriſtians firſt in* Antioch.

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[a] Acts iv. 36. [b] Hieron. de nom. Heb. [c] Clem. Alex. Strom. [d] Menol. p. 118.

[e] Acts iv. 36. [f] Acts ix. 26, 27. [g] Gal i. 18. [h] Acts xi. 19—24.

[i] It is probable that Lucius of Cyrene, Symeon, who was called Niger, and Manahen, were the Miniſters by whom this Converſion was wrought; for they were Prophets and Teachers: And theſe were the Men who about a Year or two after laid Hands upon Paul and Barnabas, to ſet them apart for that ſpecial Service, which God by his Spirit had ſeparated them to. Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3.

Upon the Notice which the Prophet *Agabus* gave to the Church at *Antioch*, that there would ſhortly be a great Famine throughout the World, or throughout the *Roman* Empire, as 'tis commonly underſtood, and eſpecially in *Judea*; the [n] *Antiochians*, conſidering the Number and Neceſſities of their Chriſtian Brethren at *Jeruſalem*, and how generouſly the richer Sort there had exhauſted their Eſtates in the Maintenance of the Poor, determin'd to ſend them a priviſionary Relief againſt the enſuing Scarcity; which they rais'd by Contributions, according to every Man's Ability, and ſent it to the Heads of the Church there, by the Hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. This Famine lay heavy upon *Judea*, during the four Years Government of *Cuſpius Fadus* and *Tiberius Alexander*, Preſidents of that Province under the Emperor *Claudius*, as [o] *Joſephus* obſerves.

When the Apoſtles had fulfill'd their charitable Embaſſy, and ſtaid ſome Time at *Jeruſalem* to ſee the good Effect of it, they return'd again to *Antioch*, bringing with them *John*, whoſe Surname was *Mark*, the Son of *Mary*, Siſter to *Barnabas*; whoſe Houſe, as we hinted before, was the Sanctuary where the Diſciples found both Security for their Perſons, and Conveniency for the Solemnities of their Worſhip. [p] They had not been long return'd, before an expreſs Revelation was made to the Church, by the Mouth of one of the Prophets who miniſter'd there, that Barnabas *and* Saul *ſhould be ſet apart for an extraordinary Work, whereunto the Holy Ghoſt had aſſign'd them.* Whereupon they appointed a Day for this ſolemn Miſſion; and after much Prayer and Faſting, they laid their Hands upon them, and ordain'd them to their Office; which was, to travel over certain Countries, and preach the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*. From this joint Commiſſion *Barnabas* obtain'd the Name of an Apoſtle, not only among later Writers of the Church, but with St. *Paul* himſelf, and St. *Luke* in his Hiſtory of the Apoſtles' Acts. Upon this Account it is that St. *Jerome* calls him, *the fourteenth Apoſtle*; that St. *Ambroſe* ſays, [q] he well deſerv'd to be eſteem'd as ſuch; and that the *Greek* and *Latin* Church agree to honour him in that Character.

But to proceed: [r] *Paul* and *Barnabas*, being thus conſecrated *the Apoſtles of the* Gentiles, enter'd upon their Province, taking with them *John-Mark* for their Miniſter or Deacon, who aſſiſted them in ſundry eccleſiaſtical Offices, particularly in taking care of the Poor. They departed from *Antioch* to *Seleucia*, a City of *Syria* adjoining to the Sea; from whence they ſet ſail to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the native Country of *Barnabas*; and arrived at *Salamis*, a Port formerly of great Account. Having undauntedly preached *Chriſt* here in the *Jews* Synagogue, they proceeded to *Paphos*, a City in the ſame Iſle; famous for the Temple of *Venus*, the tutelar Goddeſs of the Iſland; concerning which the Inhabitants have a Tradition, that at St. *Barnabas*'s Prayers it fell flat to the Ground; and the Ruins of an antient Fabrick are ſtill ſhewn to Travellers, and under it an Arch, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* were ſhut up in Priſon. The Converſion of *Sergius Paulus* the *Roman* Proconſul at this Place, and the miraculous Blindneſs inflicted on *Elymas* the Sorcerer for oppoſing the Apoſtles, are related in the Life of St. *Paul*. From hence they croſs'd the Sea to *Perga* in *Pamphylia*; where their Deacon *John*, to the great Grief of his Uncle *Barnabas*, left them, and returned to *Jeruſalem*; either tired with continual Travels, or diſcouraged at the unavoidable Hazards and Difficuties, which he ſaw accompanied the Preachers of *Chriſt*, from hardened *Jews* and idolatrous *Gentiles*.

The Apoſtles tarried not long at *Perga*; [t] but travell'd ſeventy or eighty Miles Northward, to *Antioch* in *Piſidia*; ſo call'd to diſtinguiſh it from the other *Antioch* in *Syria*, mention'd before. Here they preached to the *Jews* in their Synagogue; but meeting with blaſphemous Oppoſition, they told them plainly, that they thought it reaſonable to preach the Word of God to them in the firſt Place; but ſince they had ſo unthankfully rejected it, they would now make the ſame Overtures of Salvation to the *Gentiles*, according as the Lord had commanded by his Prophets. But the exaſperated *Jews* ſtirred up ſome of the principal Citizens to perſecute them, and force them away. Whereupon they left this Place, and came to *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycaonia*: [u] And continued there a good while, preaching in the Synagogue with great Succeſs; 'till the old Spirit of *Jewiſh* Rage and Malice prevail'd againſt them here alſo, and obliged them, for the avoiding of Violence and Stoning, to retire to *Lyſtra* and *Derbe*, Cities in the ſame Province: At the former of which Places, working a miraculous Cure upon a Man that had been lame from his Mother's Womb, the Inhabitants adored them, and in good earneſt took them for Gods. *Barnabas* they treated as *Jupiter*, their ſovereign Deity; either becauſe of his Age, or for the Gravity and Comelineſs of his Perſon; being repreſented by all Antiquity as a Man of a venerable Aſpect, and a majeſtic Preſence. They with all Humility declared themſelves to be but Mortals, and the unconſtant Populace ſoon ſatisfy'd themſelves that they were no more: For at the Perſuaſions of their indefatigable Perſecutors, who follow'd them hither alſo, they made an Aſſault upon them, and ſtoned *Paul* till they left him for dead. But he quickly recovering his Spirits and Strength, through the infinite Mercy of God, they departed to *Derbe*; where when they had converted many to the Faith of *Chriſt*, they returned back to *Lyſtra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch* in *Piſidia*; *confirming the Souls of the Diſciples, and exhorting them to continue in the Faith; and that we muſt through much Tribalation enter into the Kingdom of God.* Hence they reviſited the Churches in *Pamphylia*, *Perga*, and *Attalia*; where they took Ship, and ſail'd to *Antioch* in *Syria*, the Place whence they had firſt ſet out. Preſently after their Arrival, they called the Church of this City together, and gave an Account of their Travels, and the good Succeſs which their Preaching had in the *Gentile* World.

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[k] Ver. 24. [l] Ver. 25, 26. [m] A. D. 43. Claudii Imp. iii. [n] Acts xi. 29, 30.

[o] Joſeph. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 3. [p] Acts xiii. 1, 2, 3. [q] Ambr. de ſpirit. lib. ii. cap. 12. [r] Acts xiii. 4—13.

[s] Tho' they had a Power to carry about with them a Siſter or Wife, as well as the Brethren of the Lord, and Cephas, yet they choſe to take along with them a Man to miniſter to them: For tho' it was not ſcandalous amongſt the Jews to carry rich Women to miniſter to the Apoſtles, becauſe it was uſual; yet among the Gentiles it would have created a Suſpicion of Evil; and therefore they forbore it, and abridged themſelves of this Liberty, as St. Paul did in the Caſe of Goſpel-maintenance.

[t] Acts xiii. 14—52. [u] Acts xiv. throughout.

They had not reſted themſelves long, before their Aſſiſtance was required to compoſe a Difference in this Church, [w] occaſion'd by ſome of the *Jewiſh* Converts, who would needs perſuade the *Gentiles* that they were bound to join the *Moſaic* and Chriſtian Laws together, and to be circumciſed as well as baptized. The Part which *Barnabas* bore in this Controverſy, was to have diſſuaded the *Zealots* from preſſing ſuch unneceſſary Obſervances: But when all Endeavours proved ineffectual, he was deputed, with St. *Paul* and others, to go up to the Church at *Jeruſalem*, and ſubmit the Queſtion to be determin'd by them in a full Aſſembly. Here probably it was that *Mark* reconciled himſelf to his Uncle *Barnabas*, and returned with him and St. *Paul* to *Antioch*, after they had ſucceeded in their Buſineſs at *Jeruſalem*, and obtain'd a Decree from the Synod there, that the *Gentile* Converts ſhould not have Circumciſion and other *Moſaic* Rites impoſed upon them.

This Determination very much comforted and quieted the Minds of the *Gentiles*; but it did not prevent the bigotted *Jews* from keeping up a Separation from them; and that with ſo much Obſtinacy, that [x] when St. *Peter* ſome Time after came to *Antioch*, for fear of offending them, he contradicted his former Practice, and late Speech and Vote in the Synod at *Jeruſalem*, and refrain'd from all Sort of Communion with the *Gentiles*: And *Barnabas* himſelf, though a great and good Man, was tempted by the Authority of his Example to commit the ſame Error. Tho' doubtleſs, upon St. *Paul*'s Reproof, they both took more Courage, and walked according to the true Liberty and Freedom of the Goſpel.

Some Days after this laſt Occurence, [y] *Paul* made a Propoſal to *Barnabas*, that they ſhould repeat their late Travels among the *Gentiles*, and ſee how the new planted Churches increaſed in their Numbers, and improved in the Doctrines which they had taught them. *Barnabas* very readily complied with the Motion; but deſired that he might take his reconciled Nephew, *John-Mark*, along with them. This *Paul* would by no Means agree to, becauſe in their former Courſe, *Mark* had not ſhewn the Conſtancy of a faithful Miniſter of *Chriſt*; but conſulting his Eaſe in a dangerous Juncture, parted from them without Leave at *Pamphylia*, and returned to *Jeruſalem*. *Barnabas* ſtill inſiſted upon taking him, and the other continuing as reſolute againſt it, a ſharp Debate aroſe, which ended in a Rupture: And [z] ſo theſe two holy Men, who had for ſeveral Years been Companions in the Miniſtry, and with united Endeavours propagated the Goſpel, now took different Provinces: *Barnabas*, with his Kinſman, ſail'd to his own Country *Cyprus*; and *Paul*, with *Silas*, went to the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*.

Though this Separation of the Apoſtles might ſeem to reflect on them, as to the Government of their Paſſions; yet the Providence of God did ſo over-rule it, as to redound to his Glory, and the greater Benefit of his Church. Their taking ſeveral Ways, was the Occaſion that the Goſpel was preached in more Parts of the World, than otherwiſe it would have been in the ſame Compaſs of Time. And the future Service of *John-Mark* in the Miniſtry, proved ſo faithful and laudable, that St. *Paul* was perfectly reconciled to him; inſomuch that [a] he recommends him very heartily to the *Coloſſians*: And afterwards, in his Impriſonment at *Rome*, he ſends to [b] *Timothy* to bring *Mark* along with him, giving him the Character of a very uſeful Perſon.

From henceforth we have no farther Account of St. *Barnabas* in Holy Scripture, but muſt have Recourſe to Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians; who tell us, That he did not continue to his Life's End in *Cyprus*, but preached the Goſpel in ſeveral other Places. *Dorotheus*, and the Author of the *Recognitions*, make him to have been at *Rome*, and mention Part of a Sermon preached there by him. The Writers of the *Roman* Church affirm, that he founded a Church at *Milan*, and was himſelf the firſt Biſhop of it. The *Greeks* tell us, that he went for *Alexandria*, and thence into *Judea*. *Theodoret* [c] thinks that he returned to St. *Paul* again, and was ſent by him to *Corinth* along with *Titus*. However, 'tis thought that he ended his Days in his own Country *Cyprus*, by Martyrdom, in the following Manner. Certain *Jews* coming from *Syria* to *Salamis*, where *Barnabas* then was, enraged at the great Succeſs which his Preaching met with, ſet upon him as he was diſputing in the Synagogue; in a Corner whereof they ſhut him up till Night; when they brought him forth, and, after infinite Tortures, ſtoned him to Death. His Kinſman, *John-Mark*, privately buried his Body in a Cave, not far diſtant from the City. 'Tis ſaid the Remains of his Body were diſcovered in the Reign of the Emperor *Zeno*, *A. D.* 485, with St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, written in *Hebrew* by St. *Barnabas*'s own Hand, lying upon his Breaſt.

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[w] Acts xv. 1—31.
[x] Gal. ii.
[y] Acts xv. 36—41.
[z] Ver. 39.
[a] Col. iv. 10.
[b] 2 Tim. iv. 11.
[c] Theod. in 2 Cor. viii. 18.

There is an Epiſtle extant in *Greek*, which bears this Apoſtle's Name: The Church hath not receiv'd it into the Canon of Holy Scripture; and *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome* for that Reaſon call it Apocryphal; but they do not deny that it was written by St. *Barnabas*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Origen* often quote it, as his. And *Menardus*, who first [d] publiſhed the *Greek*, with the old *Latin* Verſion, ſhews very well that this is the ſame which the Antients had; becauſe all their Quotations are found in it, unleſs it be one Paſſage, where *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſeems to have miſtaken the Name of *Barnabas*, for that of *Clemens Romanus*. The Style of it ſavours of the Apoſtolic Age; yet it appears to have been compoſed ſome Time after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, when *Barnabas* indeed might be ſtill living. The Beginning of it is wanting; and the Inſcription, if ever it had any. But the Matter of it evidently ſhews, that it was written to ſuch *Jews* as are mention'd in the fifteenth Chapter of *Acts*, who having embraced Chriſtianity, ſtill held that the Obſervance of the Ceremonial Law was neceſſary to Salvation. It ſhews that this Law is aboliſhed by the Goſpel, and that the Uſages of it are of no Concernment to Chriſtians. The latter Part of it contains excellent Precepts, ſet forth under the Notion of two *Ways*; the one of *Light*, the other of *Darkneſs*; the one under the Conduct of the *Angels of God*, the other under the Influence of the *Angels of Satan*. The Way of *Light* is a Summary of what a Chriſtian is to do, that he may attain eternal Happineſs; and the Way of *Darkneſs* repreſents thoſe particular Sins and Vices, which exclude Men from the Kingdom of God. He cloſes the whole with preſſing Chriſtians to live ſo, that they may be bleſſed to all Eternity. The Agreement that there is in the Subject, between this Letter and the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, hath made [e] *Tertullian*, and ſome others, to attribute this laſt to *Barnabas*; not having ſeen, perhaps, the Letter itſelf that bears his Name. The Goſpel attributed to this Apoſtle, and his Acts, pretended to be written by his Nephew *John-Mark*, are mere Forgeries. Both the *Latin* and *Greek* Church keep his Feaſt on the Eleventh of *June*.

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[d] At Paris, 1645.

[e] Tert. de pudicit. cap. 20.

The End of the Lives of the Apoſtles.

A CHRO-

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A
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
TO THE
FOREGOING HISTORY,
FROM THE
Beginning of *Herod*'s Reign, at the Taking of *Jeruſalem*, to the End of the Apoſtolic Age.

	Julian Period.	Years before *Chriſt.*	Kings of *Judæa.*	*Roman* Emperors.	
			HEROD.	*Octavianus Cæſar* from the Death of *Julius Cæſar.*	*Auguſtus* from the Victory at *Actium.*
HEROD, having been declared King of *Judæa* about three Years before at *Rome*, after half a Year's Siege takes *Jeruſalem*. *Antigonus* is ſent Priſoner to *Antony* at *Antioch*, and there beheaded, and *Herod* is ſettled in full Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Judæa*.	4677	37	1	7	
Herod makes *Ariſtobulus*, the Brother of *Mariamne*, High-Prieſt, and afterwards murders him.	4679	35	3	9	
Herod in Danger of being put to Death by *Antony* for the Murder of *Ariſtobulus*, eſcapes by the Means of large Sums of Money preſented to *Antony*.	4680	34	4	10	
Diſguſts happen between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, which break out into a War, that ends in the Ruin of *Antony*. Hereon *Antony* draws all his Forces into *Greece*, and ſpends great Part of the Year at *Athens*, in making Preparations by Sea and Land.	4681	33	5	11	
All the Eaſt engageth on the one Side, and all the Weſt on the other, in the Quarrel between *Octavianus* and *Antony*. *Herod*, by the Order of *Antony*, makes War upon *Malchus* King of *Arabia Petræa*, and is worſted by him.	4682	32	6	12	
Herod gains a complete Victory over *Malchus*, and brings him to Terms. *Octavianus* vanquiſheth *Antony* and *Cleopatra* at *Actium*.	4683	31	7	13	
Herod addreſſeth himſelf to *Octavianus*, and makes his Peace with him. *Antony* and *Cleopatra* kill themſelves. *Egypt* reduced to a *Roman* Province by *Octavianus*, who marching thence thro' *Syria*, winters in *Aſia*.	4684	30	8	14	1
Octavianus returns to *Rome*, and enters it in three Triumphs. *Herod*, in a Fit of Rage and Jealouſy, puts *Mariamne* his beloved Wife to Death, and afterwards bitterly repents of it.	4685	29	9	15	2
Herod puts to Death *Alexandra* the Mother of *Mariamne*.	4686	28	10	16	3
The Monarchy of the whole *Roman* Empire conferr'd on *Octavianus* by the Senate and People of *Rome*, who alſo compliment him with the Name of *Auguſtus*.	4687	27	11		4
Herod puts to Death *Coſtobarus* his Siſter's Husband, and conforms to Heathen Rites, which gives great Offence to the *Jews*.	4688	26	12		5
Herod rebuilds *Samaria*, and calls it *Sebaſte*, in Honour of *Auguſtus*. A grievous Famine happens in *Judæa*, againſt which *Herod* takes great Care to relieve his People, and thereby much ingratiates himſelf with them.	4689	25	13		6
A ſtately Palace built by *Herod* on Mount *Sion*, who this Year furniſhes *Ælius Gallus* with five thouſand Men for his Expedition into Southern *Arabia*.	4690	24	14		7
Herod builds *Herodium*.	4691	23	15		8
Herod begins to build *Cæſarea*, which he finiſhed in twelve Years Time: Sends his Sons by *Mariamne* to *Rome* for Education; and receives from *Auguſtus*, *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, and *Batanæa*, in Addition to his former Dominions: Waits on *Agrippa* at *Mytilene*; before whom being accuſed on Account of his ſuppreſſing the Thieves of *Trachonitis*, he comes off with Honour.	4692	22	16		9
Auguſtus leaving *Agrippa* to govern the Weſt, goes himſelf into the Eaſt, and winters at *Samos*.	4693	21	17		10
Auguſtus paſſeth into *Syria*. *Herod* accuſed before him on Account of the *Trachonites*. *Zenodorus* Tetrarch of *Paneas* failing in his Cauſe againſt *Herod*, ſlays himſelf, and his Country is given to *Herod*.	4694	20	18		11
Auguſtus returns to *Rome*. *Herod* propoſes to rebuild the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and accordingly begins to prepare Materials for it.	4695	19	19		12
After having been two Years preparing Materials for the New Temple, *Herod* pulls down the old one.	4697	17	21		14
Herod fetches home from *Rome Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, his Sons by *Mariamne*, and marries them.	4698	16	22		15
Agrippa being ſent into the Eaſt, *Herod* invites him into *Judæa*, and there treats him with great Splendor and Magnificence.	4699	15	23		16
Herod having aſſiſted *Agrippa* againſt the *Boſphorans*, in Reward for that Service, procures from him to the *Aſiatic Jews* a Confirmation of all the Privileges formerly granted them.	4700	14	24		17
Auguſtus, on the Death of *Lepidus*, takes on him the Office of High-Prieſt of *Rome*; and by Virtue thereof examines the *Sybilline* Books, and burns ſuch as he judges ſpurious. *Herod* breaking with his Sons by *Mariamne*, ſets up *Antipater* againſt them.	4701	13	25		18
Agrippa dies, and *Tiberius* is made Aſſiſtant to *Auguſtus* in his Room.	4702	12	26		19
Herod accuſeth his Sons before *Auguſtus*, who makes Reconciliation between them. *Herod* returns to *Jeruſalem*, gives an Account of this Affair to the People, and names to them *Antipater* for his Heir.	4703	11	27		20
Herod having finiſhed his Works at *Cæſarea*, gives it that Name in Honour of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. He builds alſo *Cypron*, *Antipatris*, *Phaſaelis*, and the Tower of *Phaſael* at *Jeruſalem*.	4704	10	28		21
The *Jews* of *Aſia* and *Cyrene* being oppreſſed by their Heathen Neighbours, obtain a farther Confirmation of their Privileges. The Breach between *Herod* and his Sons again revived, and carried by *Herod* to a great Height.	4705	9	29		22

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian Period.	Year before Chriſt.	Kings of Judæa. Herod.	Roman Emperors.
Archelaus, King of *Cappadocia*, reconciles *Herod* and his Sons. *Herod* going to *Rome* to acquaint *Auguſtus* with it, in his Abſence the *Trachonite* Thieves ravage his Territories, but are repulſed by his Lieutenants. *Herod* returns, and finiſhes the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and dedicates it.	4706	8	30	*Auguſtus*, from the *Actian* Victory. 23
Herod purſues the *Trachonite* Thieves into *Arabia*, deſtroys their Fortreſs, and cuts off a great Number of them: For which being accuſed to *Auguſtus*, he is for ſome Time out of Favour.	4707	7	31	24
The third Breach between *Herod* and his Sons by *Mariamne*. *Herod* having recovered the Favour of *Auguſtus*, obtains his Leave to proceed againſt them: Whereupon having procured them to be condemned in a Council at *Berytus*, he cauſeth them both to be ſtrangled. *Zacharias* ſees the Viſion, whereby is foreſhewn to him the Birth of *John the Baptiſt*.	4708	6	32	25
A Plot of *Antipater*'s againſt his Father's Life defeated. The Angel *Gabriel* foreſhews to the Virgin *Mary* the Birth of *Chriſt*. *Jeſus Chriſt* born at *Bethlehem* on the 25th of *December*, at which Time *Auguſtus* examined the State of the whole *Roman* Empire.	4709	5	33	26
Our Lord circumciſed *January* 1. Preſented in the Temple, *February* 2. Adored by the Wiſe Men of the *Eaſt*. Carried into *Egypt* to eſcape *Herod*.	4710	4	33	26
Herod maſſacres the Infants in and about *Bethlehem*. Puts *Zachary* to Death, which obliged *Elizabeth* to hide her Son *John* in the Deſart. *Antipater* convicted of his intended Parricide, is put to Death. *Herod* dies himſelf five Days after, a little before the Paſſover.	4710	4	34	27
Archelaus ſucceeds *Herod* in *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*; *Herod Antipas* in *Galilee* and *Peræa*; and *Philip* in *Auranitis*, *Trachonitis*, *Paneas*, and *Batanea*. Our Lord brought back from *Egypt* to *Nazareth* in *Galilee*.	4711	3	*Archelaus.* 1	
The Vulgar *Æra*, or Style, from our Saviour's Birth, as fixed by *Dionyſius Exiguus*, commences in the Year of the World 4004, after the Building of *Rome* 754, four Years after the Nativity, as we ſuppoſe.	4714	Year of *Chriſt*. 1	4	31
The *Julian* Calendar is ſet right. *Auguſtus*, on the Death of his two Grandſons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, adopts *Tiberius*, and obliges him at the ſame Time to adopt *Germanicus*. St. *John* the *Evangeliſt* and St. *Paul* are ſuppoſed to have been born this Year.	4717	4	7	34
Archelaus being accuſed before *Auguſtus* for many Male-Adminiſtrations in his Government, is cited to *Rome*, there to anſwer for the ſame:	4720	7	10	37
Where being convicted of them, he is depoſed, and baniſhed to *Vienna* in *Gallia*, all his Goods decreed to be confiſcated, and his Principality to be made a *Roman* Province: Which Decree *P. Sulpitius Quirinus*, then ſent to be Preſident of *Syria*, executed, and *Coponius* was made Procurator of *Judea*. Great Troubles enſued among the *Jews* on this Change, eſpecially on the Account of the Tax then laid upon them. *Judas* of *Galilee* forms a new Sect on this Account. At this Time the Scepter departed from *Judah*, and the Lawgiver from between his Feet: And *Chriſt*, the promiſed *Shilo*, being twelve Years of Age, made his firſt Appearance in the Temple, and ſat among the Doctors.	4721	8	Procurators of *Judæa*. *Coponius*. 1	38
Marcus Ambivius is ſent by *Auguſtus* to be Procurator of *Judæa* in the Place of *Coponius*. *Salome*, the Siſter of *Herod*, dies.	4723	10	*Marc. Amb.* 1	40
Tiberius was admitted into Copartnerſhip of Power with *Auguſtus* in the Provinces of the Empire.	4725	12	3	*Tiberius* with *Auguſtus*. 1 42
Annius Rufus made Procurator of *Judæa* in the Place of *Ambivius*.	4726	13	*Annius Rufus.*	2 43
Auguſtus dies at *Nola*, a Town in *Italy*, about fourteen Miles from *Naples*, *Auguſt* 19. in the 57th Year of his Reign from the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, but the 44th from the *Actian* Victory; and is ſucceeded in the Empire by *Tiberius*, his Wife's Son by a former Huſband, who reigned twenty two Years, ſeven Months, and about ſeven Days.	4727	14	2	3 44
Tiberius ſends *Valerius Gratus* to be Procurator of *Judæa*, in the Place of *Rufus*.	4728	15	*Valer. Gratus*	*Tiberius* alone. 1
Valerius Gratus removes *Annas* from being High-Prieſt, after he had enjoy'd that Place fifteen Years, and ſubſtitutes in his Room *Iſmael* the Son of *Fabus*.	4736	23	8	9
Eleazer the Son of *Annas* is made High Prieſt in the Room of *Iſmael*.	4737	24	9	10
Simon the Son of *Camith* is made High Prieſt in the Room of *Eleazar*.	4738	25	10	11
Joſeph, ſirnamed *Caiaphas*, Son-in-Law of *Annas*, is made High-Prieſt in the Place of *Simon*. *Pontius Pilate* is ſent by *Tiberius* to be Procurator of *Judæa* in the Place of *Valerius Gratus*. The Miniſtry of the Goſpel is firſt begun by *John the Baptiſt*, the Fore-runner of *Chriſt*, who this Year, about the Time of the Paſſover, takes upon him to preach Repentance, and to baptize; which he continues to do three Years and a half; till *Jeſus Chriſt* aſſumes his perſonal Miniſtry. And here begins the laſt of *Daniel*'s Seventy Weeks, which was divided between the Miniſtry of *John*, and of *Chriſt*.	4739	26	*Pont. Pilate.*	12
Herod Antipas, Tetrarch of *Galilee*, divorces his Wife, who was Daughter to *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, and marries his Brother *Philip*'s Wife.	4740	27	1	13
Joſeph, Huſband to the Bleſſed Virgin, dies, according to the moſt received Opinion.	4741	28	2	14
Jeſus Chriſt is baptized. Is tempted in the Deſert. Upon *John*'s Teſtimony of him, *Andrew*, *Peter*, *Philip*, and *Nathanael* follow him. He turns Water into Wine at the Marriage in *Cana*. *John* being put into Priſon by *Herod Antipas*, for reproving his Inceſtuous Marriage, about the Time of the Autumnal Equinox; *Chriſt* appears perſonally in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, which he carries on three Years and an Half more, to the Time of his Crucifixion at the Paſchal Feaſt, which happened about the Time of the vernal Equinox.	4742	29	3	15
Jeſus goes up to *Jeruſalem*, to the firſt Paſſover after his Baptiſm, *April* 6. when he drives the Traders out of the Temples, and converſes with *Nicodemus*. In the ſame Year he converſes with the *Samaritan* Woman, and heals the Nobleman's Son in *Galilee*.	4743	30	4	16
Jeſus ſettles at *Capernaum*. Goes to the ſecond Paſſover after his Baptiſm, *March* 28. Chuſes his Twelve Apoſtles in *May*.	4744	31	5	17
John ſends to *Jeſus* from Priſon. *Jeſus* receives *Mary Magdalene*; goes over into *Trachonitis*: Raiſes the Dead, and works other *Miracles* in *Capernaum*.	4745	31	6	18
The Miſſion of the twelve Apoſtles in *January*. *John Baptiſt* beheaded in *February*. Firſt Miracle of the Loaves. Third Paſſover after *Chriſt*'s Baptiſm, *April* 14. in which *Pilate* ſlays the *Galileans*. Second Miracle of the Loaves. *Chriſt*'s Transfiguration. Miſſion of the Seventy Diſciples. *Chriſt* goes to the Feaſt of the Tabernacles in *October*. The Return of the Seventy Diſciples. *Chriſt* goes to the Feaſt of Dedication in *December*.	4746	32	7	18 19
The eighty firſt Jubilee, or Great Year of the *Jews*, begins. *Jeſus* raiſes *Lazarus* at *Bethany*. Converts *Zachæus* the Publican. Makes a Kingly Entrance into *Jeruſalem*. Celebrates his fourth and laſt Paſſover with his Diſciples, *April* 2. He is apprehended the Night following. Carried before *Pilate*. Condemned and crucified, *Friday*, *April* 3. Riſes from the Dead, *Sunday*, *April* 5. Appeared to his Diſciples five Times the ſame Day, and ſeveral Times after. Aſcended into Heaven, *Thurſday*, *May* 14. Sends down the Holy Ghoſt on his Diſciples, *Sunday*, *May* 24.	4747	33	8	19 20

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian Period.	Year of Chriſt.	Pro. of *Judæa* Pont. Pilate.	*Roman* Emperors.	
The Election of the ſeven Deacons, *Acts* vi. St. *Stephen*, the firſt of them ſtoned, about the Time of the *Paſſover*: Whereupon ariſes a Perſecution of the Church. *Philip*, another of the Deacons, baptiſes many at *Samaria*, and amongſt the reſt *Simon Magus*: And afterwards the *Æthiopian* Eunuch.	4748	34	9	*Tiberius.*	20 21
St. *Paul* is converted in his Journey to *Damaſcus*; whereupon he retires to *Arabia*, and continues there two Years.	4749	35	10		21 22
Pontius Pilate is deprived of his Government of *Judæa*, and baniſhed ſoon after to *Vienna* in *France*. *Herod Antipas* is warr'd upon and defeated by *Aretas*, whoſe Daughter he had divorced. St. *Paul* returns from *Arabia* to *Damaſcus*.	4750	36	*Marcellus.*		22 23
Tiberius dies at *Miſenum*, a Maritime Town of *Campania* in *Italy*, *March* 26. *Caius Caligula* ſucceeds him in the Empire, and reigns three Years, ten Months, and eight Days.	4750	37	1		23
Herod Agrippa advanced to be King of Part of *Judæa*.	4750	37	1	*Caligula.*	1
Paul goes from *Damaſcus* to *Jeruſalem*, and thence to *Tarſus*. *Herod* and *Herodias* baniſhed to *Lyons* in *France*. *Pilate*, in Deſpair at *Vienna*, kills himſelf.	4751	38	2		1 2
Peter ſuppoſed to have founded the Biſhoprick of *Antioch*. Goes to *Lydda*, where he heals *Æneas*; and to *Joppa*, where he raiſes *Tabitha* from the Dead.	4752	39	3		2 3
The Church open'd to the *Gentiles*, by the Baptiſm of *Cornelius*, the *Roman* Centurion.	4753	40	4		3 4
Caligula ſlain by *Chæreas* on *January* the 24th. Succeeded in the Empire by *Claudius*, who reigned thirteen Years, eight Months, and nineteen Days.	4753	40	4		4
Many *Gentiles* being converted at *Antioch*, the Church at *Jeruſalem* ſends *Barnabas* thither, *Acts* xi. St. *Matthew* wrote his Goſpel.	4754	41	5	*Claudius.*	1
Paul, after three Years Labour in *Cilicia*, &c. aſſiſts *Barnabas* at *Antioch*. *Peter* ſuppoſed to have ſettled at *Rome* this Year, and to have left in his Place St. *Ignatius* or *Euodius*. It was now, that he is ſaid to have oppoſed *Simon Magus*, who had made himſelf to be worſhipped at *Rome*. But others deny his having been there ſo early.	4755	42	6		1 2
Chriſtians firſt ſo called in *Antioch*. St. *Mark*'s Goſpel ſaid to be written under the Direction of St. *Peter*.	4756	43	7		2 3
Paul and *Barnabas* go up to *Jeruſalem*. *Herod Agrippa* perſecutes the Church. Beheads St. *James the Great* a little before the *Paſſover*. Impriſons *Peter*; and ſoon after dies miſerably, being eaten by Worms. *Cuſpius Fadus* ſent by *Claudius* to be Procurator of *Judæa*.	4757	44	*Cuſp. Fadus.* 1		3
Theudas, who rais'd a Sedition in *Judæa*, defeated. The Apoſtles leave *Jeruſalem*, and go to preach in ſeveral Countries. *Herod Agrippa* dying about this Time, his Part of *Judæa* reverts to the *Romans*. *Paul* and *Barnabas* having been ordain'd Apoſtles of the *Gentiles*, begin their Circuit, and convert *Sergius Paulus* in *Cyprus*.	4758	45	2		4 5
Paul and *Barnabas* go to *Antioch* in *Piſidia*; from thence to *Iconium*, *Lyſtra*, and *Derbe*. St. *Peter*, according to ſome, returns to *Rome*.	4759	46	3		5 6
After three Years Circuit, *Paul* and *Barnabas* return to *Antioch* in *Syria*, where they reſide till the Diſpute about Circumciſion. *Ananias*, the Son of *Zebedeus*, was this Year made High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, and *Tiberius Alexander* Procurator of *Judæa*.	4760	47	*Tiber. Alex.* 1		6
The Virgin *Mary* ſuppoſed to die this Year, aged ſixty-eight Years. The Church diſturbed at *Antioch* by *Judaizing* Chriſtians, who inſiſt on the Obſervance of Ceremonies, *Acts* xv.	4761	48	2		7 8
Paul and *Barnabas* go up to *Jeruſalem* about the Diſſenſion at *Antioch*. A Council is held thereupon, the firſt in the Chriſtian Church, in which St. *James the Leſs* preſides. After which they return again to *Antioch* with the Synodical Letter of the Apoſtles.	4762	49	3		8 9
A while after, *Peter* being at *Antioch*, did not obſerve the late Decree, but ſeparated from the *Gentiles* for fear of offending the *Jews*. Whereupon *Paul* openly reproved him. *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſeparate, and take different Provinces to preach in; one accompanied by *Silas*, the other by *John-Mark*. *Paul* circumciſes *Timothy* in *Aſia*, and makes him his Companion. He preaches in *Phrygia* and *Galatia*.	4763	50	4		9 10
Paul travels in *Europe*. At *Philippi* in *Macedonia* he is ſcourged and impriſon'd with *Silas*. Thence he goes to *Theſſalonica* and *Beræa*.	4764	51	5		10 11
Paul at *Athens* diſputes with the Philoſophers, and in the Court of *Areopagus*; where he converts *Dionyſius* and *Damaris*. Goes to *Corinth*, and ſtays eighteen Months there. Writes his firſt Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*. There happened a Diſturbance this Year in *Judæa*, for which *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, the Chief-Prieſts, were ſent to *Rome* by *Quadratus*, Governor of *Syria*. *Claudius* baniſhes the *Jews* from *Rome*. The Apoſtle *Philip* dies this Year, according to the moſt certain Accounts, tho' others ſuppoſe him to have lived many Years longer, till the Reign of *Domitian*.	4765	52	6		11 12
Felix made Governor of *Judæa*. The *Jews* carry *Paul* before *Gallio* Proconſul of *Achaia*. *Paul* writes his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*. *Silas* dies.	4766	53	*Felix.* 1		12 13
Paul ſails from *Corinth* to *Epheſus*; thence to *Cæſarea*; from whence he went up to *Jeruſalem*. Afterwards viſiting the Churches in *Galatia* and *Phrygia*, he return'd to *Epheſus*, where *Apollos* had ſupplied his Abſence, and preached in the Synagogues there about three Months; and afterwards for more than two Years in the School of *Tyrannus*.	4767	54	2		14
Claudius being poiſoned by *Agrippina*, died *October* the 13th. *Nero* ſucceeded him, and reign'd thirteen Years, ſeven Months, and twenty-ſeven Days.		54			14
Apollos preaches at *Corinth*. *Peter* goes to *Babylon*, from whence, according to many, he writes his Epiſtle. *Cerinthus* is ſuppoſed to have begun his Hereſy about this Time.		54		*Nero.*	1
The Sons of *Sceva* at *Epheſus*, attempting to caſt out an evil Spirit, in Imitation of St. *Paul*, are defeated.	4769	56	4		3
Paul at *Epheſus* writes his Epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and his firſt to the *Corinthians*, the latter occaſioned by the Diviſions and ſcandalous Sins of the Church of *Corinth*.	4670	57	5		3
Endanger'd at *Epheſus* by the Tumult of *Demetrius*, he went into *Macedonia*, where he collected the Alms of the Chriſtians for their Brethren in *Judæa*, and wrote his ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.	4671	57	5		3
Afterwards he goes to *Corinth*, and writes his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, in which he ſalutes ſeveral Perſons, who have been ſince honoured as Saints.	4671	58	6		4
Leaving *Greece* to go to *Jeruſalem* (which was his laſt Journey thither); at *Troas*, which lay in his Way, he rais'd *Eutychus* from the Dead. Arriving there, *May* the 15th, he was ſeized in the Temple by the *Jews*, who deliver'd him to *Lyſias* the *Roman* Captain, and he ſent him to *Cæſarea*, to *Felix* the *Roman* Governor, who reſided there, and kept him Priſoner two Years. *Iſhmael*, the Son of *Fabi*, was made High-Prieſt in the Room of *Ananias*.	4672	58	6		4 5
Being accuſed before *Portius Feſtus*, (who was newly made the Succeſſor of *Felix*) and in Danger of being ſent away to *Jeruſalem*, to take his Trial among thoſe who lay in wait for his Life, *Paul* appeals to *Nero*. Is ſent towards *Italy* in *September*. Is Shipwreck'd, and caſt upon the Iſland *Melita*. About which Time St. *Matthew* is ſuppoſed to have ended his Life.	4773	60	*Portius Feſtus.* 1		5 6

St. *Paul*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian Period.	Year of Christ.	Pro. of Judæa Festus.	Roman Emperors.
St. *Paul* arrives at *Rome* in *February*, where he continues two Years a Priſoner, converting many, and among others *Oneſimus*, the Servant of *Philemon*, in whoſe Favour he the next Year writes an Epiſtle. The Chriſtians of *Laodicea* write to him; and the *Philipians* ſend to him *Epaphroditus* their Biſhop. During this Time St. *Luke* writes his Goſpel, and St. *Mark* dies, as is generally ſuppoſed.	4774	61	2	*Nero.* 7 8
Ananus the High-Prieſt, who was newly promoted to that Dignity, and depoſed in a ſhort Time after, cauſes the Martyrdom of St. *James the Leſs*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, about the Time of the Paſſover. *Simeon*, the Son of *Cleophas*, ſucceeds him, being elected in a general Aſſembly of the Apoſtles. *Matthias* is ſuppoſed to die this Year. *Paul* writes his Epiſtles to the *Philippians*, *Epheſians*, *Philemon*, and *Coloſſians*.	4775	62	3	8 9
St. *Luke* writes the Acts of the Apoſtles. *Paul*, now at Liberty, writes his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. He goes into *Spain*, and after that into *Crete*, where leaving *Titus*, he goes into *Judæa*, as ſome think. *Lazarus*, whom *Chriſt* raiſed, is ſuppoſed to have died this Year.	4776	63	4	9 10
St. *Peter*, according to the Tradition, ſettles at *Rome*. He defeats *Simon Magus*. The firſt General Perſecution, beginning in *July*. The Death of St. *Andrew*. St. *Paul* travels in *Aſia*.	4777	64	*Albin.* 1	10 11
St. *Paul* at *Philippi* writes his Epiſtle to *Titus*, and his Firſt to *Timothy*.	4778	65	2	11 12
St. *Paul's* Death foretold him. *Jeruſalem* inveſted by *Ceſtius Gallus* in *October*. The Chriſtians fly to *Pella*, a little Town on the Borders of *Arabia*, where they continued during the Troubles of *Judæa*.	4779	66	*Geſſius Florus.* 1	12 13
St. *Paul's* ſecond Arrival at *Rome*. He and St. *Peter* are impriſon'd, as is commonly reported, for overcoming *Simon Magus*. St. *Peter* writes his ſecond Epiſtle. St. *Paul* writes his ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*, which moſt Authors believe to be his laſt.	4780	67	2	13 14
St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* martyr'd at *Rome*, *February* 22. *Linus* ſucceeds them in that See. St. *John* is reported to have come into *Aſia* about this Time.	4781	68	3	14
Nero abandon'd and ſlain near *Rome*, *June* 9. *Galba* reigns ſeven Months and ſeven Days. St. *Clement* writes his Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.	4781	68	3	*Galba.*
Otho reigns twelve Weeks and ſix Days. Kills himſelf *April* 15.	4782	69	4	*Otho.*
Vitellius reigns eight Months and five Days. Slain *December* 20.				*Vitellius.*
Veſpaſian proclaim'd *July* 1. From which Time he reigns ten Years wanting ſix Days. Upon Examination he finds Men alive from 100 to 150 Years of Age.	4783	69		
Titus beſieges *Jeruſalem*. The perpetual Sacrifice ceaſes *July* 7.		70	5	*Veſpaſian.* 1
The Temple burnt, *Auguſt* 8. *Jeruſalem* taken and demoliſhed, *September* 8. The *Jewiſh* Œconomy ended, with the Death of 1,337,490 *Jews*.		70		2
St. *Jude* writes his Epiſtle.	4784	71	From the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.* 1	3
The *Jews* Temple in *Egypt* demoliſhed, and the Race of *David* ſought for. The Chriſtians return to *Jeruſalem*. *Barnabas* writes his Epiſtle. The Death of St. *Jude* and St. *Bartholomew*.	4785	72	2	3 4
The Death of St. *Thomas* in the *Eaſt-Indies*.	4786	73	3	4
The Death of St. *Luke* and St. *Simon*.	4787	74	4	5 6
Veſpaſian dies near *Reate* in *Italy*, *June* 24.	4792	79	9	10
His Son and Succeſſor *Titus* reign'd two Years, two Months, and twenty Days.				*Titus.*
Polycarp made Biſhop of *Smyrna*. St. *John* founds Churches in *Aſia*.	4794	81	11	2 3
Titus dies in *Sabina*, *September* 13. *Domitian* ſucceeds him, and reigns fifteen Years and five Days.				*Domitian.*
The Hereſy of the *Nicolaitans* about this Time.	4800	87	17	6 7
The ſecond General Perſecution in the beginning of the Year. St. *John* thrown into a Caldron of boiling Oil, where not being hurt, he is then baniſhed to the Iſle of *Patmos*. Some place the Martyrdom of St. *Andrew*, at *Patræ* in *Achaia*, about this Time.	4808	95	25	14 15
St. *John* writes his Revelations. Several are martyr'd, and St. *Jude's* Grandchildren are queſtion'd. *Domitian* relaxes the Perſecution a little before his Death.	4809	96	26	15 16
Domitian ſlain in his Palace, *September* 18. *Nerva* ſucceeds him, and reigns 1 Year, four Months, and eight Days.				*Nerva.*
Timothy martyr'd at *Epheſus*, *January* 22, or 24.				
St *John* returns to *Epheſus*, and takes Care of the Church. He writes his three Epiſtles. At the Requeſt of the *Aſian* Churches he writes his Goſpel.	4810	97	27	1 2
Nerva dies at *Rome* on the 21ſt or 27th of *January*. *Trajan* ſucceeds him, and reigns nineteen Years, ſix Months, and fifteen Days.				*Trajan.*
St. *John* ſtill careful of the Church. He reclaims a young Man, who from a Chriſtian was become a Captain of Thieves.	4812	99	29	1 2
The third General Perſecution.				
It is generally believed that St. *John* died at *Epheſus* this Year, *December* 20. but ſome make him to have lived four Years longer, and to have been juſt an hundred Years old at the Time of his Death.	4813	100	30	2 3
The End of the Apoſtolic Age.				

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